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Moral Sources of Competitiveness: Revisiting Moral Economy from an Organizational Perspective

Marietta L. Baba[1]

Abstract

This essay explores the intersection of morality and economy, not only within pre-capitalist or market-based economies, but across the entire spectrum of human experience, in evolutionary as well as historical and comparative terms. For this broader investigation, a more dynamic conception of moral economy is required, with these constructs on equal terms, more or less, as two related domains of human experience. A historical perspective in particular may enhance our understanding of the moral economy dynamic more generally, especially as it sheds light on Thompson's (1971) notion of a moral consensus, rooted in past notions of legitimacy. In some circumstances, my argument goes, such as Meiji Japan, a past moral consensus may be re-contextualized and reconstituted following the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and may continue to have influence, albeit in a modified form, after this period. Cooperation is then encouraged, and/or compliance, across diverse social groups, leading to economic outcomes that are, over the long term, beneficial for large sectors of the population. This essay also explores relationships among the economic and moral principles upon which are grounded the conditions for global competitiveness. The moral sources of competitiveness discussed in this essay are those that are situated historically and specific to a particular moral-economy dynamic, in this case, those created within the institutional framework of the Toyota Motor Corporation.

Introduction

It is the purpose of this essay to explore certain aspects of the relationship between morality and economy, especially as these are expressed in complex work organizations that are active in global economic competition. Reports from distant quarters of the moral universe bring word that our received species of rational economic man, *Homo economicus,* and his self-regarding morality is not universally recognized, nor widely accepted, and thus may not be a workable model for a sustainable economic future (Gintis et al. 2005). Ethnographic and other forms of evidence suggest alternative moral orders where the game is not played by rules that are predicted by neo-classical economic theory, yet producers still manage to deliver goods and services that are competitive in the global marketplace (for example, open source code software, Moody 2001; quality management practices, Winter 1990; Cole and Mogab 1995). My endeavor revisits the terrain of morality and economy with an eye toward understanding moral-economy dynamics. First, some of the definitions, concepts, and issues that are important in any exploration of such relationships are fore-grounded. Then a Japanese case illustration is presented that may enable consideration of some initial propositions regarding *moral sources of competitiveness* from a perspective that takes us beyond the Western tradition of moral reasoning. I discuss *moral sources of competitiveness* at a later point in this essay, but here I introduce it briefly as an economic phenomenon that directly or indirectly generates sustainable gains for large sectors of a producer and/or consumer population. At the same time, it reflects a broad consensus, coalition, or accord among diverse social groups, such as classes, concerning the moral legitimacy of the economic practices in question.

The Domain of Morality

The *moral domain* is defined here as locally constructed meanings and enactments, together with their attendant emotions, that discriminate between what is considered or interpreted to be *good* or *right* on the one hand, and what is *bad* or *wrong* on the other. Such discriminations pertain especially to meanings and enactments within human social relationships, or relationships between people and other subjects or objects, such as deities, non-human animals, or non-living things (Turiel 2006; Thomas 1997). There is no implication here that any given moral order is *good* or *bad* in any absolute or universal sense;

only that a local morality defines *goodness* and *badness* in situ. Locally constructed moralities may not be acceptable as such when they cross boundaries of space or time, and may be reinterpreted or recast in ways that transform them into ambiguities or even into their opposites. The possibility of universal moral principles or central human tendencies such as reciprocity or human rights, for example, applied to subsistence (Scott 1976) continues to be an important debate in the literature (see Fry 2006). Even such central tendencies are locally nuanced and guided by simultaneous, multiple, and sometimes conflicting human moral goals, situated within multi-layered and interacting social contexts, maneuvered by agents, both singular and collective, and constrained by the availability of resources offered up through the vicissitudes of local circumstances. Therefore, for purposes of this essay, please understand morality as a universal human experience influenced by proximal forces.

Moral considerations are particularly salient where there are power differentials and conflicts of interest, and/or where decisions may result in harm or injury to a person or group. A given moral order may place restraints upon the powerful, through law or informal social mechanisms, or it may condone the actions of the powerful as weaker parties suffer harm, depending upon the context, and the contingencies of the situation (see Scott 1985). Such conditions vest moral judgments with special gravity; that is, actors likely face accountability afterwards and face consequences if they do the *wrong* thing. Yet, in times of rapid social and economic change, increasing complexity and/or uncertainty regarding outcomes may make any decision inherently more risky, including moral choices. Thus, morality is an especially important subject during times of social and economic change.

The Domain of Economy

Classically, in keeping with Polanyi's (1944) discussion in *The Great Transformation*, economic anthropology recognized a fundamental difference between so-called primitive or pre-capitalist and modern societies. The former embeds economic activities in various types of social institutions like kinship, politics, and religion, while the latter develops separate economic institutions such as the market that displays its own *self-regulating mechanisms*, for example, the law of supply and demand. Previously, economic phenomena had been characterized differently in these two types of societies. In pre-capitalist societies, economic behavior generally was viewed as the provisioning of human needs (primarily, subsistence or exchange activity; see Sahlins 1972). Indeed, this was the first way in which '*economy*' was defined—as the "art or science of managing a household" (dated from 1530; see Oxford English Dictionary 1971:831). In market societies, on the other hand, *economy* means the rational maximization of individual utility or preference, whether associated with material provisioning or other desirables (Wilk 1996). More recently, emerging scholarship across the social sciences dealing with economic globalization has been eroding the conceptual and actual barriers between pre-capitalist and modern societies. It has become increasingly clear that *economy*, whether conceived as management at the household or larger administrative levels is a basic type of human behavior that is socially embedded in various kinds of institutions; the new institutional economics is one example of such scholarship (see Menard and Shirley 2005). Also, it is increasingly evident that all societies display the economic rationality of the maximizing individual (see Appadurai 1986; Wilk 1996; Ong and Collier 2006). We are thus bequeathed with two quite different conceptions of economy, that is, material provisioning and rational maximizing, which are not mutually exclusive, and may represent phenomena at different levels of analysis—social systemic and individual cognition and behavior (Wilk 1996). For purposes of this discussion, we will be especially interested in phenomena that rest at the nexus of these two conceptions, that is, the management of material provisioning for production and/or consumption that involves some form of rational maximizing, both at the individual and organizational levels of analysis.

By any definition, economic activity embeds morally-relevant meaning and action. Material provisioning of production or consumption requires exchanges involving allocations of

valued yet scarce resources among parties. Such transactions require qualitative and quantitative judgments about *good* and *bad*, or *right* and *wrong*, with respect to means and ends, as well as the moral qualities of trading partners, as noted by Sahlins (1972) in his seminal work on reciprocity. Rarely are the values represented in human exchanges exactly equivalent, and individual contributions to the creation of differing forms of value may be difficult to measure, and may fluctuate over time, adding to complexity (see Kaplan and Gurven 2005). The moral issues that arise within the economic sphere include judgments concerning the process of allocation or exchange. For example, what decision rules or criteria should be used to make allocations of resources, and judgments about the outcomes of the process? Should resources be allocated more or less equally among recipients? These judgments flow from interactions between conceptions and enactments of morality and economy embedded within the social context.

When viewing economic behavior as rational maximizing of individual utility, moral issues are particularly evident. For example, what sort of professional ethics attends the organizations and individuals that may be involved in the business of rationally maximizing their interests, especially if this happens at the expense of others? This serious question plagues modern business ethicists, and it could worry anthropological practitioners who work inside modern business organizations. As American business organizations have evolved ever farther toward their emphasis on shareholder interests in the past two decades (Jacoby 2005), it is not clear how the economics of rational maximizing that correlates with these interests can be accommodated to more generalized moral frameworks. The latter are broadly accepted in democratic civil society such as individual liberty, equal rights, and arguably, the avoidance of undue discrepancies of wealth.

Moral Economy

The Marxist historian E. P. Thompson (1971) popularized the concept of *moral economy* in his study of 18th century English crowds, that is, food rioting. He showed that moral outrage and violent uprisings might result when traditional social norms representing a legitimate consensus about past economic practices come up against different or emerging market-based practices, such as food prices, perceived to be illegitimate. Prior to the 18th century in England, it was considered illegitimate in times of dearth to withhold or "forestall" food staples such as corn from the market in order to increase its price by exacerbating shortages. See Fei (1948) for a discussion of the exclusion of markets from traditional Chinese villages to preserve moral order. During such times, riots might break out when market-going consumers, often women, suspected that these and other questionable practices were indeed being used by farmers and others in the provisioning "supply chain" to raise prices, or cut sellers' costs, at the consumers' expense. Thompson generalized from this case study to conceptualize moral economy as "a popular consensus about what distinguishes legitimate from illegitimate practices, a consensus rooted in the past and capable of inspiring action" (Arnold 2001:86). Significantly, the English crowd was able to "set the price" of food staples through spontaneous, direct action in the streets and farms—seizing food supplies and forcing them to market under a popular price (Thompson 1971). These practices continued over the course of the 18th century, so long as influential *paternalists,* such as chief justices, members of parliament, and magistrates agreed with the working poor that forestalling food was not a legitimate practice during a time of dearth. Indeed, it was an illegal act at that time. Thompson explains the coalition of forces that condoned direct action by English crowds as follows:

> It is of course true that (food) riots were triggered off by soaring prices, by malpractices among dealers, or by hunger. But these grievances operated within a popular consensus as to what were legitimate and what were illegitimate practices in marketing, milling, baking, etc. This in its turn was grounded upon a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the moral economy of the poor. An outrage to these

> moral assumptions, quite as much as actual deprivation, was the usual occasion for direct action...this moral economy...supposed definite, and passionately held, notions of the common weal—notions which, indeed found support in the paternalist tradition of the authorities; notions which the people re-echoed so loudly in their turn that the authorities were, in some measure, the prisoners of the people. Hence this moral economy impinged very generally upon eighteenth-century government and thought, and did not only intrude at moments of disturbance (Thompson 1971:78-79).

According to Thompson, the moral coalition of paternalists and the working poor continued over the course of the 18th century, until anti-Jacobin fears led authorities to take military action against such so-called crowds and the rise of liberal ideology. The military action crystallized with the publication of Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776. This work, and its interpretation by Smith's followers, provided those with market-based interests a new moral argument against the persistence of traditional practices, that is, the greater good of the nation was better served by free competition in an open market environment.

The political scientist James Scott's ethnographic studies in Southeast Asia (1976, 1985) further reveal that discourse related to locally-based moral economies may act to constrain certain market-based practices. Such constraint is achieved through "everyday" acts of resistance that do not necessarily take violent form such as riots, but are effective nevertheless in dampening the worst excesses or abuses of the market in transitions from subsistence agriculture to agrarian capitalist economies. In Scott's *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985), resistance expresses itself often in religious terms, for example, through rumors attacking the reputation of those violating Islamic prohibitions against usury, or exhortations to protect the most vulnerable of the poor, as required by Islamic scriptures. At times, however, resistance by the desperate and dispossessed goes beyond words and includes outright acts of theft, killing of livestock, sabotage, boycotts, and other forms of militant organizing against offenders. Scott's (1976) research provides empirical evidence for the claim that the right to subsistence may be one that is central to human experience; that is, no one should starve or be malnourished while others in the community have a surplus. For related arguments, see Fei (1948).

Such studies, while invaluable in formulating the moral-economy construct, seem to have created an impression that this concept is limited to instances of moral outrage or forms of physical or other resistance mounted by pre-market or non-market social groups against market-based economic forces (Arnold 2001). More recently, other political scientists have more broadly conceptualized moral-economy phenomenon; for example, when a modern, but economically depressed community in the United States resists the designs of commercial real estate developers (Ramsay 1996), or a small community in the arid West of the United States rebels against the fraudulent maneuvers of a larger and more powerful community to capture its water rights (Walton 1992). Both of these studies involve power struggles for control over social goods (Arnold, 2001) in cases where a wealthier or more powerful group intended to put the social good in question to a new use perceived as illegitimate by an original group that held a prior consensus around a legitimate use for the good.

This essay explores the notion of moral economy in a more expansive context, considering the intersection of economic activity and morality, not only within pre-capitalist or market-based economies, but also across the entire spectrum of human experience, in evolutionary as well as historical and comparative terms. For this broader investigation, a more dynamic conception of the interaction between morality and economy is required. These constructs must be on nearly equal terms as two related domains of human experience. Perhaps they are best represented as *moral-economy*, or even *moral/economy*, rather than the current construction of *moral economy,* which appears to set up *moral* as a qualification or modifier of *economy*, implying that

- our primary interest is in economy, rather than morality;
- from a normative or values perspective, an economic system should or must be moral in the sense of being fair or just, and
- market economies introduce conditions under which economic justice cannot be sustained.

Certainly, for our purposes, the first is not necessarily the case. The second is a noble purpose and not to be denied in an idealistic sense. The third seems unnecessarily restrictive in constraining our view of moral-economy interactions to situations in which an economic system violates the basic principles of justice, and to those in which unscrupulous marketing practices provoke moral outrage. This latter view would seem to place morality and economy within the confines of an endless conflict, influenced perhaps too much by stereotypical notions of capitalist societies as being dominated by a homogenous and/or hegemonic form of impersonal market system, inhabited by a single kind of human being, the rationally maximizing, materialist denizen, *Homo economicus*. If this vision of capitalism is an over-simplification, which recent scholarship suggests that it is, then perhaps moral-economy interactions may result in something other than outrage, riots, sabotage and resistance; see Blim (2000) for a discussion of capitalism in late modernity. Further, if *H. economicus* is not the only species of human that exists in the moral universe, that is, if other societies present different configurations of moral-economy that are not so thoroughly dominated by optimization of individual utility and self-regard, then again perhaps moral-economy interactions may result in something other than outrage, riots, sabotage and resistance. By approaching the phenomena of interest with a wider-angle lens, it is conceivable that a new perspective may come into view.

Dorinne Kondo points toward an alternative perspective on moral-economy in her book *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace* (1990). Commenting on owner-targeted criticisms made by employees of the small Tokyo confectionery shop she studied, Kondo explicitly rejects the representation of resistance offered by Scott and other Marxist and neo-Marxist writers:

> Rather than relying on notions of a whole subject who can authentically resist power, on a notion of power as simply repressive, and therefore on the assumption that there exists a place beyond power; rather than seeing resistance as a mechanism of social reproduction within a closed system...I would argue for a more complex view of power and human agency...our starting point for a politics of meaning should not be a monolithic category of hegemony or domination countered by a grand, utopian space of pure resistance, especially if the forms of that hegemony or resistance become foundational categories which can always be known in advance. To indulge in nostalgic desire for "authentic resistance" might blind us to the multiple, mobile points of potential resistance moving through any regime of power (Kondo 1990:224-225).

Kondo is not only a post-modern theorist criticizing a Marxist. Her analysis is grounded in a particular place and time where conventional constructions of moral economy may not be fully satisfying. In Japanese work organizations, *resistance* as it has been described elsewhere in the literature takes on different forms and has different consequences, both for individuals and for organizational entities. For example, despite low wages, poor working conditions, the apparently arbitrary use of power, and constant surveillance by cameras on the shop floor, these are the forms of employee resistance Kondo reports. Besides perpetual grousing, the forms are declining to participate on a company trip for part-time employees and refusal to purchase broken-up cherry tarts. A potentially more serious problem is turnover when workers leave the firm for better paying jobs elsewhere, a long-standing pattern among Japanese artisans (Dore 1973). There is little or nothing to speak of in the way of theft, sabotage, violence, or political counter-organizing. Workers even participate in their own exploitation by illegally working twenty-two hour shifts during an especially busy season. Part of the reason for this difference in behavior when comparing low wage Japanese workers with those

in Malaysia or England may be the ways in which morality and economy historically and socially manifest themselves in Japan, and therefore interact with one another to shape employees' responses to employment practices (discussed further below; see also Bellah 1985).

Further evidence of the need for a more nuanced approach to moral-economy interactions is provided by Ong (1988), whose study of Malaysian female workers in Japanese-owned factories based in Malaysia describes an entirely different context for low wage labor and exploitative working conditions sponsored by Japanese firms. In this case, responses to the situation were highly complex and multidimensional. They included mild mannered compliance by the women workers, making these plants even more profitable than those in Japan. But they not only included negotiations for more favorable treatment with cooperative supervisors, but also disruptive physical reactions involving secret attacks on factory machinery – so-called *mass hysteria* or *spirit attacks* among the women – and violence against factory managers by village youths who perceived that the women workers had been mistreated. Ong calls this *rough justice* (1988:212).

The complexity revealed by Ong's (1988) study, where ethnic and gender differences among factory owners, managers, and workers create the social distance that Sahlins (1972) finds is a corollary of negative reciprocity, or getting more than one gives, suggests that Kondo (1990) could have taken her analysis further. That would have occurred if she had pushed back in time to analyze historically cases of more serious resistance, such as riots or strikes, among Japanese workers that took place during the transition from feudalism to capitalism. That was when social distance between industrial entrepreneurs and workers also was peaking in that country. She might have noted how such violence was provoked and then ameliorated. A historical perspective may enhance our understanding of the moral-economy dynamic more generally, especially as it sheds light on Thompson's (1971) own notion of a moral consensus, and we may add, consent, rooted in past notions of legitimacy. I argue here that in some circumstances, such as Meiji Japan, a past moral consensus may be re-contextualized and reconstituted following the transition from feudalism to capitalism. It may continue to have influence, albeit in a modified form, after this period, encouraging cooperation, and/or compliance, across diverse social groups. Such a moral consensus may then lead to economic outcomes that are, over the long term, beneficial for large sectors of the population. Historical scrutiny may enable us to discern if and how such cooperation was able to prevail rather than being quashed, as was the case for the English crowds, or seriously eroded, as was the case for Scott's Malaysian peasants.

Indeed, this is the way in which *moral sources of competitiveness* are conceptualized. They make up a special case of the moral-economy dynamic in which exceptional economic performance within a capitalist framework is achieved as a result of a moral consensus, cooperation, consent and/or compliance across diverse social groups. An agreement ultimately facilitates realization of economic benefits for those same groups, rather than the opposite scenario sketched out by Thompson (1971). If this argument has validity, it provides symmetry to the larger moral economy literature. In other words, it allows for an alternative to, or a resolution of, moral outrage, violence, and dissent when conditions are reversed. For example, consensus, cooperation, and consent produce benefits, rather than adversarial conflict producing wastage. The challenges of this essay are to set forth some set of background conceptualizations and empirical literature to support this claim, to identify contextual conditions that are related to cooperative outcomes, and to provide a historical exposition of these concepts and conditions through a Japanese case. We also will consider the situation that unfolds when localized moral-economy complexes that have grown out of one context are transplanted to other contexts without due consideration given to the historical, cultural, and contextual nature of their integrity.

Homo economicus: Hello and Goodbye

If social scientists have tended to view capitalist markets through a lens that magnifies moral outrage more than other types of phenomena, it is no surprise given the way in which such

markets have been characterized in the theoretical literature. Most social scientists, anthropologists included, have tended to accept, either implicitly or explicitly, economists' conceptions of *the market* as an impersonal system in which the exchange of commodities was increasingly separated from community-based social relationships (Miller 1995). The economists' conception bore within it a moral vision that is at once individualistic and materialistic, while at the same time representing *good* as a means of allocating scare resources for the benefit of society in the long run. The model of human behavior here referenced has been given the nomenclature *Homo economicus*. This mythical species draws much of its substance from Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), with its arguments for competition within free markets and the rational division of labor that best achieves greater efficiency, thus increasing profitability within an enterprise. From Smith's tome arises the rational economic man, a self-interested form of humanity who knows what he wants and acts rationally to maximize his preferences, while the *invisible hand* of the market ensures the best overall result for society as a whole. Of this rational economic man, Smith famously wrote:

> As every individual, therefore, endeavors as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value; every individual necessarily labors to render the annual value of society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, *neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it*. But preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, *he intends only his own gain*, and he is in this, as in many other cases, *led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intension*. Nor is it the worse for the society that it was no part of it. *By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it*. (Adam Smith 1776:423 emphasis added.)

The notion of an *invisible hand* directing the functioning of the market, while each individual pursues his or her own self interest, is the underlying moral vision upon which the notion of a free market economy is founded. Modern economic theory revises Smith's essentially moral philosophic vision in recognition of market failures and limitations, balancing these with policy mechanisms that are adjudicated by governments. Yet, such revisionism has not fundamentally altered the underlying theory of the essential *correctness* of free market principles as the *right* or most efficient way to achieve important societal goals such as economic growth, reductions in unemployment, and lower costs of consumer goods. From this perspective, capitalist economics arguably may be viewed as a form of *morality* in its own right.

The 21st century has brought about an intriguing shift in which the neo-classical vision of a society populated by rational maximizers has been falling out of favor with a growing number of professional economists. This is so even though those critical of the standard neoclassical approach have yet to integrate new insights into mainstream economic textbooks. Many of the Nobel Prizes awarded in economics over the past two decades have been granted for research that revises the *Standard Social Science Model* used in economics, which assumes that human behavior reflects the rational maximization of individual preferences. While economists recognize that actual human behavior does not conform to the requirements of this model, many still prefer to use the model in research and writing because of its power and utility in making theoretical and policy arguments. Yet, new research in economics is chipping away at the theoretical and empirical base of the model, producing anomalous arguments that are beginning to develop their own gravitas. Of particular interest is work in the areas of behavioral and experimental economics, which explores the influence of human psychology in economic decision-making. This work is based on Nobel laureate Herbert Simon's (1976, 1979) insights regarding *bounded rationality*. That is, no human controls sufficient resources of time or information to act in a fully rational manner, or to maximally pursue his or her advantage relative to

every decision. People *satisfice*, so to speak, and follow rules of thumb that provide *good enough* outcomes rather than the best possible outcome in all circumstances. From this work came experimental economics—using experiments in decision-making to make markets work more efficiently, and developing game theory to uncover and explain systematic departures from rational behavior. Nobel Prizes for this work were awarded to Vernon Smith and Daniel Kahneman (Coyle, 2007). A recent and particularly interesting innovation is neuro-economics, in which *functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging* (fMRI) is used to monitor the human brain during economic decision-making activity. Brain research in economics has revealed that different parts of the brain appear to predominate during different types of decision-making. According to Diane Coyle (2007:125), such research suggests that "there appears to be a rational economic agent inhabiting the cortex, fighting for control of decisions with less rational actors in the older limbic system." This research is relevant because the experiments have revealed clear departures from self-interest, and they also have important implications for moral-economy interactions.

As a result of this broadening frame of reference, some economists have become more interested in another of Adam Smith's works, namely *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1817/1759; Gintis et al. 2005). In this volume, Smith attempts to address the question of why *sympathy* toward others seems to be a fundamental emotion motivating human behavior. Sympathy was not a quality assigned to *Homo economicus* by Smith's disciples. But the notion that people within a social community, including different classes, care about and *sacrifice* for one another, even at cost to themselves, reflects a line of reasoning that runs from David Hume through Thomas Malthus to Charles Darwin and Emile Durkheim (Gintis et al. 2005). Sympathy, or compassion in more contemporary terms, is a distinctive moral quality in its own right, and one that may have a relationship to reciprocity, defined in broad evolutionary terms.

We are all aware of cases in the ethnographic literature, in the non-human animal world, and/or in our daily lives, in which one individual defends other weaker ones, sometimes at the loss of the defenders' own life. Darwin mentioned this pattern as an evolutionary problem (1871); how could self-sacrificing behavior exist when those manifesting it were killed? Hamilton (1964) provides an explanation for selfless behavior in animals. He reasons that an individual's fitness is extended to encompass the fitness of biological relatives because kin share certain alleles. Thus, when an individual defends or protects another animal that is likely to be a close relative, and only a close relative counts here, the caregiver is actually enhancing his or her own *inclusive fitness*. Evidence from several non-human primate species provides support for the inclusive-fitness hypothesis. Primates recognize both female and male kin through close associations early in life, while spatial location patterns also provide information for kin discrimination (Silk 2005). Coalition formation, where one individual intervenes on behalf of another in an agonistic encounter, are particularly convincing as they reveal that females are more likely to support and defend kin than non-kin. This argument appears to be a genetic form of enlightened self-interest and provides a biological basis for *morality* as good behavior to survive in a collective sense in the non-human world. And it may also explain how such emotions as empathy, sympathy, and behaviors of caring and sharing first emerged in early hominids (Fry 2006).

Another focus of anthropological attention to moral-economy derives from research on food sharing among contemporary small-scale human societies, particularly hunter-gatherers and groups that combine simple horticulture with hunting and gathering. Inter-familial food sharing is pervasive in virtually all such groups, so much so that they are known as *egalitarian societies* (Kaplan and Gurven 2005:76). Since agriculture originated only about 10,000 years ago, hominids probably lived as hunter-gatherers throughout the vast majority of our evolutionary existence, meaning that the study of food sharing among such societies may tell us something about the moral-economy nexus more generally. Such societies, with few exceptions, engage in a practice known as *reciprocal altruism*, which may be defined as the provision of food at one time in exchange for receipt of food at another time. In

this pattern, food sharing involves the largest, highest quality, nutrient dense food sources that are difficult to obtain and highly variable with respect to availability, generally meat or sea-based proteins. Producers such as hunters tend to exert some degree of control in the sharing process, with a primary distribution of food going to those who participated in the work effort, and a secondary distribution to those who did not (Kaplan and Gurven 2005:102). Over the short term, producers form preferential food-sharing partnerships, with high rates of giving and receiving. Those that give less also receive less. However, it has been noted that there are persistent imbalances. That is, some consistently give more than others, which is not all that surprising, given the stochasticity or randomness of family size and child demands, coupled with the long period of juvenile dependency. This means that reciprocal altruism is not the whole story.

To explain the variability in their data, Kaplan and Gurven (2005) propose a model in which *multi-individual negotiations* within small-scale societies resulted in the emergence of social norms that were collectively enforced, and importantly, these norms included not only cooperation but also *punishment*. They propose that non-cooperators were and are punished, as well as those who do not punish non-cooperators, norms that deter free riders from benefiting through generosity toward those who genuinely need help due to illness, nursing, and/or high dependency ratios. They note that laziness and stinginess are constant themes for gossip and ridicule, or punishment, in most of the societies included in their survey. These patterns are not unlike those observed by Scott (1985) among Malaysian peasants. However, while Sahlins (1972) acknowledges stinginess, self-interest and refusal to share as potential forms of deviation from typical reciprocity patterns, he does not establish *punishment* as a key element of reciprocity. Yet here the *reciprocation of non-reciprocation* appears to represent a critical element that sustains reciprocity over time.

In economic anthropology, generalized reciprocity is viewed as altruism, or according to Sahlins (1972) *weak reciprocity*, which might never be repaid, thereby, perhaps inadvertently, linking morality with weakness. Punishment is not an important element in the theoretical model—the giver gives, even if the receiver never reciprocates. In balanced reciprocity, the driving notion is that of *truck*, *barter*, or *exchange* (Smith 1776), with the commanding symbolism of flows between or among exchange partners. Trading partners might be more or less successful in the practice of exchange (Appadurai 1986), but again, punishment is not sharply theorized. In negative reciprocity, one party gives less than she or he receives in return. However, it is not characterized as punishment, but cheating. Punishment is quite a different concept. It suggests that certain parties take it upon themselves to mete out negative consequences upon others who break the norms of reciprocity, regardless of the consequences for those delivering the punishment (Kaplan and Gurven 2005). Indeed, punishment is separated from exchange; it is politics in the service of moral-economy. Suddenly, morality is no longer weak; it has a political will to punish.

At the level of the social group, both cooperative and punishing behaviors may be conceptualized and modeled as reciprocal over long periods of time. They could provide an advantage to such groups in evolutionary terms. Such patterns may have been encoded both in our cultures at the level of enculturation and possibly at the level of genetics through natural selection as inclusive selection. A pattern of gene-culture co-evolution is postulated (Gintis et al. 2003).

Acknowledging that such findings challenge the notion of *Homo economicus* as a self-regarding hominid, experimental and behavioral economists, together with trans-disciplinary collaborators from other social science disciplines including anthropology, have been working together to re-examine human behavior in competitive and cooperative settings. From this work, emerges a new concept of human social behavior that is more fundamentally other-regarding. This concept is based upon the notion of *strong reciprocity,* which is defined as

> a predisposition to cooperate with others, and to punish (at personal cost, if necessary) those who violate the norms of cooperation, even when it is implausible to expect that these costs will be recovered at a later date (Gintis et al. 2005:8).

Strong reciprocity is not the same as we understand reciprocity in economic anthropology, which does not embed the construct of punishment as conceptualized here. Strong reciprocity transcends previous arguments that polarized debate between the proponents of a view of humans as basically self-regarding as the *H. economicus* crowd, and between those who view humanity as essentially altruistic, perhaps derived from widespread observations of human *sympathy*.

It is at this point that experimental economics becomes especially relevant to our discussion. An interesting series of economic experiments has shown that people do not actually behave in the self-interested ways that neo-classical economists might assume they do when we confront them with choices that involve serving themselves versus serving others (Gintis et al., 2005). One type of game that has been used to test people's self versus other regarding choices is the so-called ultimatum game, in which two players interact anonymously for one round only. Let us imagine that Player X proposes how to divide a given sum of money with Player Y, say, $10. If Player X's offer is accepted, for example, a 50/50 split, the money is shared accordingly. If Player Y rejects the offer, however, neither player receives anything; both receive $0. For self-interested players, the goal would be theoretically to maximize one's gains. Since the game is played only once, and players do not know each other's identities, the self-interested Player Y should accept any amount of money. Otherwise, if she or he rejects the amount offered, she or he gets nothing, and any amount is worth more than $0. Knowing this, the self-interested Player X should offer the minimum possible, say $1, which should be accepted, since $1 is more than $0.

When the game is played, however, this is not what happens. In as many variations as have been played, Player X routinely offers Player Y substantial amounts above the minimum (50% of total generally being the model offer), and Player Y frequently reject amounts below 30%. Players will, however, accept *unfai*r (far below 50%) offers made by a computer, but not from a human player (Coyle 2007:130). This suggests two things:

1) Clear departures from self-interest, since both players fail to maximize their gains, either by sharing as little as possible (on the part of Player X) or by accepting all offers of any substance (on the part of Player Y) (Gintis et al. 2005); and

2) Our tendency toward reciprocity is strongly influenced by what we believe to be the other parties' motivation or intention—if we believe the motive to be unfair (for example, being too stingy), then retribution (punishment) will be the response, even if it costs us (meaning we get nothing). These results argue against the rationalism of *Homo economicus*, who would never behave in such a fashion. The ultimatum game has been played around the world, usually with university students.

Such evidence has given rise to the view that reciprocity is one of the most important keystones of human moral thinking and action, as summarized in this statement by Fry:

> Everywhere, reciprocity is a key element of human moral thinking. Humans repay good deeds and revenge bad ones. Across the spectrum of human societies, fulfilling obligations is good but shirking them is bad; kindness is good and gratuitous aggression is bad. An aspect of the reciprocity principle is that paybacks, whether positive or negative, should be roughly equal to the original deeds...at a fundamental level, the idea of justice in humans is linked to the reciprocity principle, but the specific paths to justice are extremely variable (Fry 2006:416).

Strong reciprocity may underpin a widespread moral tendency to do no harm or to hold others safe from harm, and motivate a special duty to society's weakest and most vulnerable members (Scott 1976; Smith 2000). One aspect of sympathy or compassion as a form of enlightened self-interest is that it discourages social unrest among the poor and sustains contributions to programs for people deemed *worthy* of help such as the working poor. For example, in peasant societies, the elite members may be bound by obligations of care and protection, to

the non-elite members who in turn are bound by obligations of service and loyalty. If these obligations are not maintained, the legitimacy of elite power and privilege erode, and may lead to peasant uprisings and violence among the poor (Sivaramakrishnan 2005; Scott 1976).

The form of reciprocity emerging from this discussion resonates to a certain extent with that which ethnographers have written about; that is, an empirically rendered set of culturally-nuanced transactions embedded in a network of social relationships, with each case being highly distinctive and sometimes glossed as *moral*. Yet, it is different as well. In addition to integrating the political principle of punishment, the discussion above has theoretically transformed strong reciprocity into a more-or-less trans-human principle of morality. In other words, that which is considered *good* or *right* springs from human evolutionary and cultural experience as variously shaped by society into myriad manifestations that ethnographers encounter separately in the field. The term *universal* is deliberately avoided, since that conveys an all-encompassing totality, which is not intended. Certainly, it is conceivable that some human groups did not or do not display strong reciprocity. Rather, what is intended is the idea that strong reciprocity emerges across cultural formations, prior to and after the Enlightenment, and is not contingent on Western constructs of liberalism. Strong reciprocity is, perhaps, an instantiation of the sort of moral principle that Kluckholn (1944) challenged anthropology to discover. That is, a central human tendency which is drawn upon to legitimate, or de-legitimate, many forms of economic order that arise to power, and that will call those orders to account, sooner or later, if need be.

Religion and Economy

With this essential foreground in place, attention turns now to the topic of *moral sources of competitiveness*. A potential candidate probably most familiar to social scientists is Max Weber's work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958/1930). Weber's thesis was an initial effort to explore the relationship between religion and economy, and it was in part a criticism, and perhaps a confirmation, viewed over the long term, of Marx's views on this subject. That is, Marx believed that economic phenomena determine ideology. Weber's *Protestant Ethic* embeds the opposite point of view that Calvinist religious ideology constructed capitalism. Weber's research attempted to construct a portion of the narrative of capitalism's early history. Merchants and traders emerged as a class in their own right, the bourgeoisie, during the 16th and 17th centuries in certain parts of northern Europe but primarily during the 17th century in Puritan England (Tawney 1958). Weber recognized that this class had found both a practical and a psychological means to break through what he saw as traditional prohibitions against the accumulation of wealth. His study was an effort to explain how and why this had happened. Noting that many of the bourgeoisie, or *parvenus* as Weber called the *arrived class*, were Calvinists at that time, Weber argued that their efforts to break through the economic and political hegemony of the aristocracy were abetted, perhaps unintentionally, by their religious beliefs.

While Weber's thesis explicitly links morality with rising economic power and thus would appear to conform at least in part to the previously established definition of a *moral source of competitiveness*, the appearance is superficial. Ironically, this potentially illustrative case does not satisfy our requirements because the moral force of the Protestant ethic was weakened significantly as its economic success gained strength through the rise of capitalism. In the following paragraphs, a brief digression is undertaken to summarize Weber's thesis, followed by a critical appraisal of the Protestant ethic as a *moral source of competitiveness*. This cautionary tale also serves as a kind of origin myth for *Homo economicus,* explaining the moral paradox by which that self-regarding brand of humanity came into existence as a result of intense religiosity.

Weber's Thesis on the Protestant Ethic

Calvinists believed that each person had only one preordained fate—election to salvation or damnation—known only to God, a situation

that bred psychological distress. To soothe the nagging qualms of parishioners, pastoral advice recommended "intensive, self-confident worldly activity as the most reliable means" to dispel religious doubt and give the certainty of grace (Weber 1958:112). Yet, that was not all. Significantly, it was believed that God would bless only the efforts of the elect, not those of the damned. Thus, any proceeds from commercial activity had to be reinvested in the business, thus better to ensure a blessed result; "God helps those who help themselves" (Weber 1958:115). The engine of capitalism was ignited from this spiritual spark, and once this engine turned over, apparently it could not be stopped. It then ran on the logic of rationalism. It ran on the production efficiency that leads to increased profitability, with more to invest in the name of God's glory, and more assurance that the investor was not damned. According to Tawney [1958:1(e)]. "The word 'rationalism' is used by Weber as a term of art, to describe an economic system based, not on custom or tradition, but on the deliberate and systematic adjustment of economic means to the attainment of the objective of pecuniary profit."

By the time Weber wrote his original thesis, the German edition having been published in 1904-1905, the relationship between the bourgeois class and their Calvinist God had largely disappeared, revealing the fragility of specific moral-economy forms over time and place. As the bourgeoisie gained wealth and power, many lapsed Calvinists left the church. Little remained of their morality but the hungry *habitus* of capitalist rationalism, driven by the inner logic of competition for its own sake. That is, rationalist logic must continually be exercised within an enterprise, or it risked being overtaken by a competitor. Further, once the deity is removed from the Calvinist *habitus*, it is but a short step to the *appetitus divitiarum infinitus*—the unlimited lust for gain, which Tawney [1958:1(e)] notes has long been considered anti-social and immoral, before capitalism came along, and afterwards as well. The secularization of the economic realm lifted the religious ban against spending profits on hedonistic pursuits, thereby weakening the moral authority of capitalism as a potential fount of social benefit. Popular debates concerning the place and role of wealth in the Protestant church continue apace (see Ellins 2006).

The Protestant Ethic as a Moral Source of Competitiveness?

The claim that the Calvinist *habitus* represents a moral source of competitiveness, but only within its historical context, rests upon the argument that, as Weber portrays it, morality was *internal* to the economic order of the time. That is, it was *internal* to the religious ideology of the parvenus, but only before they became a capitalist class in their own right. Calvinist religious mores regulated behavior strictly, closely detailing what a merchant or trader may or may not do within the religious community. That applied as well to what could be done with the profit she or he gained from his or her enterprise. This religious morality was, in many ways, a stimulator of economic growth and a regulator of social differentiation; since profits must be reinvested, the business should grow, meaning a certain degree of economic flow-back toward the community versus hedonic pleasure for the bourgeoisie. Among Puritans, conspicuous consumption generally was discouraged along with displays of wealth that enflame jealousy and its social fall-out. For example, sabotage, theft, and class hatred were minimized or ameliorated. Weber emphasized that the *parvenus* understood their dependency on the need for free wage workers to make their businesses thrive, and since they were in a struggle with the aristocracy, access to free wage labor was not assured. Thus, the interdependency of the nascent working and middle classes may have been more apparent at this point in history than later on when the bourgeoisie became a ruling class, and is similar to Scott's (1985) argument regarding the interdependency of landowning rich and landless or land poor peasants prior to the green revolution in Malaysia. Once the bourgeoisie became wealthy and powerful, however, the religious aspects of their practice began to fade, and with them went the constraints against self-regarding economic behavior that have ever since separated our notions of capitalism and morality (Tawney 1958).

The Calvinist influence on the creation of *Homo economicus* becomes clear in the light of the

foregoing discussion. While the *invisible hand* was never claimed by Adam Smith to be supernatural, it seemingly was capable of supernatural powers in its ability to perfectly balance the potential greed of multitudes of self-regarding individuals. The moral relationship under Adam Smith's vision of the *good* is not so much among humans, as it is in the theory of strong reciprocity between humans and a nearly god-like, invisible force of the market. That force aggregates information through prices in ways that no social mechanism ever could, or can now; see for a contemporary example Zaloom (2006). Lonely pilgrims struggle one by one under an almighty, unseen power that determines their fate in a colossal market competition of each person against herself or himself, that is, with each trying to better herself or himself. Such a moral order does not link individuals to one another in an interdependent social compact. Rather, it isolates them in a never-ending quest for competitive advancement, which eventually becomes replicated at the enterprise and societal levels, even though Adam Smith himself strove to limit sociality, and was against corporations and professional associations.

There would thus appear to be a disjuncture between the neo-classical economic morality emerging from Adam Smith's moral vision and that embedded within the model of strong reciprocity. The latter demands an other-regarding recognition of obligations among trading partners. Broadly defined, it even applies to those that one has never met before and will never meet again. And it also metes out punishment to those who fail to deliver upon their obligations and to those who do not punish the non-reciprocators, perhaps an early form of so-called *tough love*. In a sense, the 18th century English crowd was demonstrating strong reciprocity when it meted out punishment to the farmers who were withholding corn during a dearth. The chief justices and magistrates who sided with them were not simply *paternalists*, but they were upholding their part in a moral coalition to see that this punishment was delivered according to the law. The dissolution of this moral coalition was sanctioned and theorized by Adam Smith's treatise, which acknowledged a shift in the balance of powers toward the self-regarding economic actors whose ascendancy was at the heart of the rise of capitalism. This was indeed a momentous moral shift that changed the world. Yet, perhaps the *H. economicus* brand of morality that came after the 18th century was not a theoretical finality. Instead, it may have been a transitory cultural anomaly, and with the rise of global markets we are about to witness another shift that turns once again to the strongly reciprocal forms of morality that more likely have been evident over much of human history.

Beyond the Protestant Ethic: Moral Sources of Competitiveness from Japanese Enterprise

The rise of industrial Japan in the late 19th and 20th centuries presents an alternative historical perspective on moral-economy that suggests a more contemporary candidate for *moral sources of competitiveness*. The notion that modern Japanese industrial practices were in some way *moral* probably was touched off by the first systematic study of a Japanese factory published in English (Abegglen 1958). It described the *lifetime commitment* made by large Japanese corporations to their employees as a continuation of paternalistic traditions rooted in the Tokugawa merchant houses of feudal society (Dore 1973; see also Kondo 1990). The *enterprise family system* of large Japanese corporations classically has involved a distinctive suite of practices that provide long-term paternalistic care for core employees that goes far beyond what a comparable Western firm would offer (Cole 1971; Dore 1973). Characteristic elements include career-long employment; hiring directly after graduation followed by extensive, on-going training; wage scales and promotion based on seniority; twice annual bonuses; financial support for housing, and for life transitions such as weddings, childbirth, funerals; company-sponsored vacations, and so on. Such practices are represented explicitly as the company's commitment to the well-being of its core workforce, and in turn are designed to win the employees' loyalty, cooperation, and most diligent efforts. Public discourse regarding the bonds between companies and employees often is couched in moral terms of obligation and duty (see for examples Rohlen 1974, Kondo 1990). It is highly significant that major Japanese corpora-

tions have maintained their commitment to many traditional employment practices throughout and following Japan's recent and difficult recession. Such practices include employment security (i.e., career-long employment for core employees), taking job cuts from attrition or retirement, maintaining close ties to suppliers, continuing enterprise unions, even though some of these practices may have prolonged economic recovery (Jacoby 2005; Patrick Smith 2006:1). At the same time, it should be noted that Japanese firms adopted many other management practices from the West in recovering from its recession, producing a *hybrid* corporate model that reportedly has reinvigorated the profitability of the corporate sector. Among the changes made are reductions in cross-shareholdings which protected companies from hostile take-over, elimination of many "illogical" subsidiaries and subdivisions to concentrate on core businesses, greater transparency in financial accounting, reductions in overtime and twice-yearly annual bonus payments, and replacement of some full-time with contract workers (Patrick Smith 2006).

While the modern *enterprise family system* is not a direct descendant from the Tokugawa merchant houses (Dore 1973, Clark 1979), an argument can be made that this employment system nevertheless has contributed toward the development of a *moral source of competitiveness* as defined herein. As discussed below, the continuity in modern times of the Japanese employment system enables corporations to make the most of human capital in those industries in which Japanese firms dominate the world, particularly manufacturing industries. A historical case study of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Japan provides evidence for this argument, and also is illuminating in that it reveals ways in which the moral-economy dynamic of Japan is both similar to and different from that described elsewhere in the literature.

Historical Origins of the Japanese Enterprise Family System

In the transition to capitalism that took place after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the new government broke-up the four classes of feudal society, that is, samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants, named in descending order of prestige. In Confucian theory, merchants were the least prestigious because by law they did not produce anything, but only traded or distributed what other classes produced, and in so doing, could become quite rich, but in a way that encouraged self-indulgence (Clark 1979). The disruption of traditional class structures was intended to encourage the formation of new industries to compete with the West. There followed a highly chaotic period of about twenty years when foreign technology and institutions were being imported and new employment relations were springing up (Dore 1973:379). Novice entrepreneurs, who were often former peasants with government connections and samurai pretensions (Clark 1979:22) were establishing or reorganizing businesses, and during this period certain sectors of the new working class came to know some of the worst excesses of the emerging capitalist labor market. For example, unsanitary living quarters for teenage farm girls working in textile mills contributed to the spread of tuberculosis, and as news of this malady traveled, it became increasingly difficult for industrialists to recruit farm workers into factories. Another particularly egregious example in the mining industry was revealed in a series of articles published in 1888 that exposed the exploitative employment relations in the *doss-house* system of indirect labor at the Takashima mining island. The indirect system of labor was common in mining, dock work, and construction that relied upon unmarried men. It used fictive kin relations whereby a so-called *father* provided food, shelter, and the opportunity to work. In return, the *father* decided what shares of income his *sons* would receive, according to how much work was done. In the case of the Takashima mining island, geographical isolation, backed-up by physical coercion and a system of permanent indebtedness, kept workers in a state of unending bondage. Examples discussed are drawn from Dore (1973:378-88).

The public was outraged by the resulting scandals. Confucian ideology forbids inhumane and degrading working conditions as immoral. In some cases, wage laborers who had been trained in the artisan tradition were not accustomed to remaining with a single employer for a long period of time, and many exercised their

option to walk out on bad working conditions, disrupting production and contributing to labor shortages. Workers also began to organize labor unions, such as the Metalworkers Union, and strikes in response to the unacceptable conditions they faced (Dore 1973).

Meanwhile, the Meiji government, ever concerned with Japan's image in the West, considered proposals for regulatory labor legislation. Ministry officials drafted factory legislation late in the 1890s, and formed a special committee to debate regulatory provisions with industrialists (see Dore 1969). The predominant opinion of the industrialists was to oppose the legislation on the basis of the *warm spirit of family harmony*, in their terms, prevailing in the factories, and the concern that European-style legislation would "destroy the fine basis of morality and trust on which good relations depended" (Dore 1973:392). In fact, while some emerging industries displayed remnants of familial arrangements, often these masked deeper forms of exploitation, as discussed above. Debate within the special committee acknowledged that large-scale corporate enterprise required new means to ensure "the fine basis of morality and trust" when employer and employee do not know one another personally. Some industrialists were willing to learn or invent new methods of industrial relations to adapt their firms to the new conditions facing Japan (Dore 1973:393).

Novel experiments with *enterprise-as-extended-family* arrangements began in the female-dominated textile industry, which had been under attack by socialists, and diffused to other industries (see for details Dore 1973:395). These new methods required many decades to diffuse, and in fact their diffusion concentrated in larger corporations, not smaller ones. Gradually, during the 20th century, the new approach and its ideology gained adherents and diffused to many other branches of industry. Over time, the modern Japanese employment system gradually came to embody an innovative mélange of structural ingredients. Some derived directly from Tokugawa merchant houses, others were drawn from different feudal institutions, and still others borrowed from modern European businesses or invented *de novo* in industrial Japan. They were specially crafted to solve the modern problem of labor shortages, turnover, and labor-management strife in a complex, transitional economy (Dore 1973).

There is little doubt that the primary beneficiaries of the structural and ideological innovations were, and are, the companies themselves, via improved workforce stabilization and thus, profitability. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that employees also realized significant gains through enhancements in their working conditions and overall compensatory rewards, and through larger benefits to the Japanese economy. After World War II, the Japanese employment system became associated with a highly competitive economic development model that combined public (government) policy with private (corporate) strategy. Long hours of hard work and income savings by the Japanese people, resulted in a much improved standard of living within a relatively short period of time. For example, the average salaried worker in the nation's largest 155 companies reported income doubling from 1966 to 1969; as one result, 85% of all families owned refrigerators in 1969, compared with only 35% in 1964 (Rohlen 1974:11). At the time, Japan's economic development model was viewed as highly successful, and began to be emulated by nations throughout Southeast Asia (Yergin and Stanislaw 1998).

The employment system was not equally beneficial for all workers, however. Flexibility was preserved through a two-tiered labor structure of permanent and temporary employees that has been preserved and even strengthened to this day. Career-long employment guarantees are in place for the elite core of permanent workers, but no such security for contingent workers exists, who could be released during downturns, as might employees in smaller firms, or female employees (Hamada 2004). Yet, even temporary workers in small firms realized some of the gains achieved by the Japanese employment system; for example, the part-time artisans in the small confectionery shop studied by Kondo came to view paternalistic care and benefits such as company trips as their *right* (1990:202-204).

The Moral Economy of Japan

Religious ideology had a significant role in shaping the outcomes of the capitalist transition

toward the specific social forms that are represented in the Japanese employment system. As Dore explains:

> ...the modified Confucian world-view which prevailed in late nineteenth-century Japan assumed original virtue rather than original sin. Confucianists in positions of authority... have been less predisposed than their Western counterparts to see their subordinates as donkeys responsive to sticks and carrots, and more disposed to see them as human beings responsive to moral appeals. Japanese industrialists' view of man...made them believe in the efficiency of benevolence in evoking loyalty, and of trust in evoking responsibility. This clearly, for any given set of objectives, predisposed them to certain choices of means rather than others (Dore 1973:401-402).

The *moral* cast of Japanese enterprise via its negotiated *familial* arrangements at the turn of the 20th century was not only a defensive reaction on the part of industrialists eager to ward off restrictive labor legislation. But also it was a conscious strategy adopted by the Meiji government to reform the morally inferior image of the former merchant class. It served to endow them with moral superiority within the context of neo-Confucian ethical sensibilities (Clark 1979). This could be done only if the business leadership accepted a role that extended beyond the self-interest of individual enterprises and came to embrace the interests of the nation as a whole. Business elites do not appear to have been reluctant to assume this role, and indeed some may have enthusiastically embraced the notion that their firms embodied the ancient social form of the Japanese *ie* (or household) and relished the idea that the continuity of their firm was analogous to the reproduction of a Japanese household over time. This conceit could reflect a novel and powerful means of social integration and identity that would represent a competitive advantage over Western firms with their individualistic modes of social control (Hamada 2004:129). Here, the distinctive moral economy of Japanese corporations are shown to be historically rooted and deeply contextualized, while also reflecting the highly rational and calculated strategies of their founders and management agents.

Strong resonance between conceptions of morality, economy, and political leadership may be traced to the Tokugawa era, where their intersection was facilitated through notions of the divine that derive from neo-Confucian, Buddhist and Shinto influences. Bellah discusses these ideas at length in his classic Weberian analysis *Tokugawa Religion: The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan* (1985, 1957 original edition). Bellah (1985:59-77) identifies two basic constructions of the divine in Japanese religious ideology, each with a significant presence in the Japanese moral-economy. The first conception is that of a beneficent, super-ordinate being or entity who dispenses care and nurture to whom recipients owe a debt of *on*, which is a sense of indebtedness by a subordinate for favors bestowed by a superior (Cole 1971:202) for their blessings. Such debts can never be repaid due to the superior's higher status. This leads to a requirement for unending performance in the service of one's collective, which ultimately is tied to a sacred purpose. The second conception is that of the *ground of being*, or the *inner essence of reality* (Bellah 1985) of which the seeker desires to gain knowledge and/or identification or unity. Religious action leads the seeker toward ethical works or other types of experiences that display meaningful selflessness and devotion to others, that is, toward unity or identification with the *ground of being.* These two interrelated constructions guide the religious practitioner to conduct his or her relationships with others in a manner that both (1) fulfills the responsibilities of *on* external to the self and (2) that explores the relationship with the self as the internal quest for knowledge. Simultaneously all the while the requirements of a moral person in a social context should be fulfilled.

Both leaders and members of groups were expected to conform to these moral codes, to a greater or lesser degree, depending upon their occupational status. In the Tokugawa era, the Bushido or samurai ethical code placed the greatest burden of conformity on samurai houses. Such moral values penetrated all of the important polities within Japanese society, including the family, the territorial units such as the village, the commercial houses, meaning

businesses, and the state. Integration of these units was achieved through the notion that all family units were branches from an ancestral lineage, of which the Imperial family was the main house. According to Bellah (1985:103), God, emperor, lord and father were all of one lineage, and the whole nation could be viewed as a single family. The family did not serve as the locus for an opposing set of values; rather, the family was integrated into the overarching values that served the national polity, with filial piety taking second place behind loyalty and service to the emperor. The concept of *kokutai* suggests a nation state in which religious, political and family ideals are merged together, and *on* obligations to the emperor take precedence. Bellah (1985) and others (Rohlen 1974; Clark 1979; Kondo 1990, Rhody and Tang 1995) have made a case for the continuing influence of these ideological forces in modern Japanese business. Several relevant observations may be derived from this discussion.

First of all, the Japanese case parallels the existing moral economy literature in some respects, yet diverges from it in others. The transition from feudalism to capitalism in Japan, as in other places, resulted in severe social dislocation that brought harm to many and violated past understandings about what separated legitimate from illegitimate economic practice. In early capitalist Japan, as in 18th century England and 20th century Malaysia, moral outrage was the result when a past moral code regarding legitimate employment practices was violated; Confucian ethics proscribed inhumane working conditions. In the Japanese case, however, moral outrage catalyzed a social process through which the aggravating parties, that is, the new entrepreneurs were pressured by a moral coalition. The consensus was rooted in the past. It tended toward a reconsideration of their actions, and a gradual modification of employment practices in large firms toward a form more in keeping with societal expectations. The outcome was the invention of a new set of practices that incorporated past moral intentions, if not identical forms, within a new economic and social context. From this complex process, a novel moral-economic assemblage emerged—the Japanese employment system—that brought benefits to a large sector of the population, not equally to everyone, however. A shared history—and more importantly, a broad social consensus on moral standards rooted in this history—may have served as a kind of platform or template for the assemblage of elements from varying sources that together would meet the requisite standards well enough to quiet the critics and satisfy the angry workers.

Another observation concerns the nature of the coalition that brought pressure to bear on industrialists. This coalition emerged from three other sectors of society, led by the state, which had traditionally held the highest moral authority. The coalition included the *Meiji government* with its concerns about Japan's image in the West and its threats of impending legislation. It included the *public or civil society* with demands for labor legislation. That was upon discovery of exploitative working conditions through journalistic accounts. And it included the *wage laborers* with their refusal to be employed under inhumane conditions, their tradition of walking off the job and holding strikes, and the formation of unions. The basis for the moral consensus held by this coalition derived from the Tokugawa era but continued into the Meiji period. Leaders, and this now included industrialists, had a sacred duty to serve society through the performance of unending service, in this case, to the nation, which meant, in part, a display of meaningful selflessness and devotion to others, including their employees. To gain legitimacy and respect as key figures in society, the new Japanese entrepreneurs had to have more than power and wealth. They had to gain legitimacy by aligning themselves around the same moral vision as the nation state and the civil society by displaying their concern and regard for the workforce upon whose labor and skills they depended (Clark 1979).

A further point relates to the specific social and economic practices needed to solve the problems of industrial capitalist production in the post-Meiji era. While these clearly differed from the production and distribution practices of feudalism, the *familistic* idiom which blanketed the economic realm in Japan for centuries and was successful in surviving the transition from feudalism and capitalism is not just any cobbled

pastiche, nor is it merely a government public relations scheme. Rather, *familism* is a contextually-situated idiom that grows out of historically and socially-sanctioned moral concepts and principles related to the *continuity of polities* considered fundamental to Japanese society (Bellah 1985). The rise of the Meiji era made large industrial corporations central to Japan's future as a world economic power and to its national security. The stable employment of a core workforce for these corporations was vital to the strategic interests of both corporations and the state (Clark 1979). Labor strife and the resulting disruption of operations would not make Japan a world class power, and at that point in time Japan probably did not possess the military fire power (or political will) needed to quell labor uprisings. A family-like (non-contractual) bond between large corporations and their core employees was considered to be the most effective and efficient means (Dore 1973) to bind labor and capital to each other, and thus to ensure a convergence of interests and mutual prosperity. As a guiding metaphor for social organization, the Japanese stem family or *ie* (household) has many advantages in a capitalist context, not the least of which include the vertical organization of authority, and collective responsibility for the long-term continuity of the whole. These advantages were not lost on Japanese entrepreneurs, who may have over-emphasized their presence even beyond what was justified (see Kondo 1990; Hamada 2004). On the surface, and from a Western perspective, it would appear that the *enterprise family* is an emergent moral-economy assemblage. The enterprise represents the economy; as one manages a household, so one must manage an enterprise. *Moral* values, on the other hand, would seem to derive from the relationships within the family. At least, this is how the assemblage has been considered in the literature.

It is important to recognize, however, and this is a key point, that in Japan, if there is a *thumb on the scales* of the moral-economy equation, it tips the balance toward the *enterprise* side of the interaction, not that of individual family members or their relationships. The appropriation of family-like relationships by modern Japanese industry is a means to ensure *enterprise continuity*; that is, the family, real or fictive, serves as a mechanism to accommodate the needs of the enterprise, not the other way around. Morally speaking, what is *right* is to ensure that the enterprise as the household, the *ie*, the economic dimension survives; individual family members may be of lesser importance, relatively speaking. Relationships among family members serve the higher purpose of the enterprise. So, one might say that what we have is an economic morality, rather than a moral economy. Individual family members' interests may be taken into account, but enterprise fortunes more often are the primary consideration. This is quite a different kind of *enterprise familism* than that in which the enterprise is maneuvered as a vehicle for family fortunes. See, for example, Ferkany's (1992) discussion of family-owned business in Mexico.

Japanese-style *enterprise familism* was a long-standing tradition among the Tokugawa merchant houses of feudal society (Dore 1973; Clark 1979; Kondo 1990). The traditional Tokugawa merchant house was open to the incorporation of non-kin members through several mechanisms. For example, loyal and trustworthy apprentices could become heads of branch businesses, non-kin could marry in as *adopted husbands*, if such fictive kin were capable of bringing continuity to the enterprise through competent performance that could ensure a strong successor generation to lead the firm in the future. These mechanisms continued to be employed after the Meiji Restoration, as is clear from an important example of *enterprise familism* found in one of Japan's most successful modern firms, the Toyota Motor Corporation. See detail in Box One. In this Toyota narrative, a father maneuvers family members to ensure a strong future for his company, but in the process, he must *disinherit* his eldest son, not because his son had *behaved dishonorably* or made any other false moves per se, but because the company's fortunes rested upon selection of the strongest possible president for future leadership, and this might not be the son by birth. The Toyota narrative underscores the way in which morality, what is *right*, is linked to the interests of the *enterprise,* or economy, as defined by its leadership, not to the interests of individual family members, as might be assumed in a Western context. The meaning of *enterprise*

familism in historic Japanese practice thus conceptually reverses our notion that morality should be linked to family relationships within the enterprise. Even real, or genetic, family members may be passed over for leadership if that is deemed necessary to provide a better chance for a company to continue and thrive over the long term. (See Box One.)

The morality at the core of these *familistic* relationships is one that bespeaks an obligation to do what is best for the larger collective of others beyond the self, that is, those in one's group but beyond one's own genetic offspring and others forward and backward in time. *Enterprise familism* does not mean that real or imaginary family members always are treated in a *moral* way, with *moral* defined in terms we would approve, such as by recognizing their individual rights or giving them a say in the matter. Rather, *enterprise familism* means that real and fictive kin are bound to the firm through webs of obligation and indebtedness that are strong enough to guarantee that they will do *whatever* is required, no matter how difficult, painful, or unpleasant, to ensure the firm's continuity and prosperity over time. This is so even if this means individual sacrifice or the sacrifice of individuals. Sometimes, the sacrifices that are required of real and fictive kin do not seem *good* or *right* at all, as when the eldest Toyoda son was *disinherited* and displaced by a business partner. But the son accepted his fate and continued to work loyally for the family firm, even at a task he did not relish. As a result, the larger enterprise was served well in Japanese moral terms, and the son was not forgotten. Indeed, and maybe this is the "moral" of the story, the son's contribution was all the more significant over the long term; see Kamata (1982) for other examples of *not so nice* sacrifices at Toyota.

The historical perspective gained through examination of the Toyota case provides another vantage point for considering the situation presented in Kondo's (1990) case study of a small confectionery shop in modern Tokyo. In Kondo's study, the family idiom of the firm is fractured by a clear division between the company's owner and his family, who are in a central position of authority and privilege, and the part-time artisans, who are economically and politically marginalized. The Toyota case, positioned closer in time to the transition from feudalism but still within the capitalist era, shows that *family* is not always a monolithic entity, nor are its genetic members' interests always foremost when an enterprise's future is at stake. Rather, family itself may be fractured to promote the interests of a higher polity, that is, the enterprise.

To be clear about power, the social and economic structures that grow up within the ideological and moral contexts in Japan fashion a consensus. The requisite consent integral to it leans toward the interests of the enterprise and its management and the nation state with power vested in the polity (Bellah 1985). As described in the Toyota case of Box One, individuals may be accommodated within the moral framework, but they are not necessarily privileged in this process. Decision-making is top-down, from the head of the polity as a means to represent its interests foremost, although the desires of other constituents are taken into account. Nevertheless, as Cole (1971) notes, the historical context of industrialization in Japan tended to foster more cooperative and consensual relationships between workers and management here than elsewhere in the industrialized world. Cole (1971) contrasts the contexts of early industrialization in Japan with those of England, underscoring the contrasts in moral-economy dynamics experienced in each place. In Japan, Meiji industrialists embraced their role as contributing to the future prosperity of the empire, while Japanese workers and families of that era viewed their relocation to industrial sites as opportunities for achieving individual and family success. A popular slogan of the time was "make something of yourself" or *risshin shusse* (Cole 1971:174; see also Toyota 1988). The Japanese sense of stalwart advancement into an industrial frontier is in striking opposition to that portrayed by E. P. Thompson (1963) for the early English working class at the dawn of industrialization. In England, industrialization was achieved through the force of violence and the law, as British rulers coerced rural peoples off their farm lands and into the cities and factories, using legal means such as the Enclosure Laws and Poor Laws, or violent action, if necessary (Cole 1971:174-75). The rise of industrialization in England thus was associated more

directly with the superior will of a "master" class (Thompson 1963; Cole 1971:175), while in Japan it was a national project with collective participation and support, albeit still directed from on-high. These differences may, in turn, help to explain tendencies toward greater cooperation between management and the workforce, and worker compliance, in Japanese industry, although that is not the whole story, as will become evident.

Japanese Enterprise and Strong Reciprocity

Although the early Japanese industrialists may have agreed privately with Adam Smith that self-interest for them personally was the driving force behind the rise of industrial Japan, *Homo economicus* was not prominently featured in the Japanese moral vision depicted above, and neither was the *invisible hand*. *H. economicus*-type behavior indeed was suspected of individual business leaders in Japan, and no doubt it was a factor since the Tokugawa era (Clark 1979; Bellah 1985). However, significant portions of society were pushing and tugging in an opposing direction, which had a mitigating influence. This moral-economy dynamic appears somewhat distinctive in comparison to that described by Thompson (1971) in England after the 18th century, and even that explored by Scott (1985) after the green revolution in Malaysia. As for the *invisible hand*, Japanese businesses must compete in the same global marketplace as Western firms, but the Meiji government sought to guide and abet its private sector allies with a hand that was quite visible. It was expected within the neo-Confucian ethic, and external military enemies enabled this tendency (see Yergin and Stanislaw 1998).

A pattern of *on* obligations – meaning a sense of indebtedness by a subordinate for favors bestowed by a superior (Cole 1971:202) over multiple generations, stretching both forwards and backwards in time – may be compared with the notion of *strong reciprocity* presented earlier in this article. Please recall that *strong reciprocity* is defined as

> a predisposition to cooperate with others, and to punish (at personal cost, if necessary) those who violate the norms of cooperation, even when it is implausible to expect that these costs will be recovered at a later date (Gintis et al. 2005:8).

It could be argued that *enterprise familism* establishes a moral regime that in operational terms is not dissimilar to that of strong reciprocity. Cooperation amongst actors is encouraged by the need to respect obligations that have been incurred in the past, or are anticipated going forward. Future time scales and the need for repayment are constantly borne in mind, given the long term perspective that is inherent to *on* obligations, and the notion of enterprise continuity over time. Another example drawn from the history of the Toyota Motor Corporation shows how strong reciprocity may be constructed within a Japanese enterprise, and how this construct is related to the institutionalization of the Japanese employment system. See details in Box Two.

The example in Box Two describes the resignation of Toyota's president, Kiichiro Toyoda, from the company as a means of signaling and accepting management's responsibility for the failure of the firm to honor its previous commitment to its employees not to dismiss them in exchange for a wage reduction. In other words, he symbolically punished or sacrificed himself, so that his company would not be further harmed by a difficult financial situation and could move forward. This resignation was not only symbolic. Kiichiro Toyoda never returned to management of Toyota, and he died two years afterwards on March 27, 1952, at the age of 57, following treatment for high blood pressure (Toyota 1988:115). The history of the Toyota Motor Corporation embeds additional illustrations of this pattern. For example, President Risaburo Toyoda resigned from Toyota after World War II to help dissociate the company from its dishonored wartime activities (see Toyota 1988). These are instances in which the head of a polity takes responsibility for a failure of cooperation, either breaking a promise to employees in the case of Kiichiro or collaborating with the wrong side in the case of Risaburo. The head commits an act of *self-punishment* or sacrifice on behalf of the polity to enable the

remainder of the collective to survive. Continuity of the polity is a central value in Japan (Bellah 1985; Kondo 1990), and the head of the polity is the main power figure with decision-making authority. So these acts of self-sacrifice may be viewed as the ultimate form of strong reciprocity—a voluntary "death" enabling continuity of the enterprise under new leadership, and an opportunity for adaptation to changing conditions. The voluntary "death" may be analogous to inclusive fitness where one individual sacrifices herself or himself so that fictive kin survive, and the organizational culture that gave rise to such an unselfish act continues to be propagated. Just as allele-sharing kin would survive in the case of inclusive fitness, this intriguing form of organizational renewal might represent a novel approach to change, but it could be quite difficult to implant within more self-regarding enterprises.

The Moral Economy of Lean Manufacturing

The case study of Toyota Motor Corporation discussed above has implications for anthropological practice in global manufacturing corporations today. Toyota pioneered the production methodology that has become a global standard for low cost, high quality manufacturing, known in the West as *lean manufacturing.* This production regimen has been adapted by companies around the globe, including not only those in the automobile industry, but in office equipment, consumer and industrial electronics, tires, and many service industries as well (Liker et al. 1999; Liker 2004; Swank 2003). The classic Japanese employment system described previously was integral to the development of lean manufacturing at Toyota and its adoption at other Japanese firms, where human capital is engaged in distinctive ways to identify and exploit opportunities for improvements in the manufacturing process (Pil and MacDuffie 1999).

The remainder of this essay will argue that lean manufacturing in its original form is a specific moral-economy phenomenon developed at Toyota, made possible by Toyota's strong reciprocity heritage. The core of this argument rests on the idea that the advantages of the manufacturing methodology developed at Toyota are grounded in a specific articulation of morality and economy that is unique to Toyota. This moral source of competitiveness continues to demand much from individuals, but also offers certain forms of protection to those individuals and confers upon them compensatory benefits that are not available in traditional American manufacturing systems. When the lean manufacturing methodology diffuses across national boundaries into an American-owned company, for example, the moral-economy articulation also is transformed as a result of differences in the history, institutional economics, and power relations found in a foreign manufacturing context. The diffused methodology may remain a powerful manufacturing tool, but there also are unanticipated consequences and divergent results for key groups of stakeholders, especially production workers.

Fundamental Concepts of Lean Manufacturing at Toyota

Interest in lean manufacturing methods in the United States may be traced to the publication of an MIT-based study (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) by the International Motor Vehicle Program (IMVP; Womack et al., 1990) comparing productivity and quality outcomes across automobile manufacturing plants in Europe, Japan, and North America. A key finding was that certain Japanese-owned automobile manufacturing companies, not all, and their international transplants (including those in the United States, employing American workers), were capable of producing significantly more cars per labor hour on average, with substantially fewer quality defects per vehicle, than other plants owned by American or European firms. In a follow-up study by Pil and MacDuffie (1999), the gaps between Japanese-owned plants and transplants on the one hand, and American-owned plants on the other, persisted. The former could produce a vehicle with an average of 16.2 and 17.3 labor hours per vehicle, respectively, while the latter required 21.9 labor hours. With respect to quality, vehicles from Japanese plants and transplants had an average of 52 and 48 defects per 100 vehicles, respectively, while 100 vehicles from American plants averaged 71 defects (Pil and MacDuffie 1999:63-64).

The IMVP (Womack et al. 1990) attributed the performance outcomes of certain Japanese plants and transplants to a suite of manufacturing practices that they defined as *lean production* (also known as *lean manufacturing*) This approach is a complex and multidimensional way of making goods that includes specific shop floor practices, vehicle designs that enhance manufacturability, timely coordination of the supply chain, close working relationships with customers, and highly disciplined management of the entire enterprise. In their description of lean production, the IMVP authors (Womack et. al., 1990) drew upon previously published work detailing the Toyota Production System (see Cusumano 1985), which was the original template for this innovative manufacturing methodology. The Toyota Motor Corporation developed the Toyota Production System, or TPS, over a fifteen year period during the 1950s and 1960s, in efforts led by Taiichi Ohno, an ingenious Toyota engineer without a college education. TPS initially was aimed at eliminating waste, but in the process of achieving this goal, lean methods also discover and eliminate quality defects. Inset Box Three describes the invention of lean production at Toyota, and some of its consequences for production workers. (See Box Three)

In one of the first efforts to describe TPS to the English-speaking world, a group of Toyota employees published a journal article that characterized TPS as a production methodology with two basic concepts:

1) the reduction of cost through the elimination of waste; and
2) making full use of human capability (Sugimori et al. 1977).

Discussion of the first concept indicated that "anything other than the minimum amount of equipment, material, parts, and workers (worker time) which are absolutely essential to production are merely surplus that only raises the cost"; the second concept was elaborated as "treat[ing] the workers as human beings with consideration. Build up a system that will allow the workers to display their full capabilities by themselves" (Sugimori et al. 1977:554).

The two basic concepts noted above provide a concise introduction to what is perhaps the most fundamental moral-economy phenomenon embedded within lean manufacturing. The moral-economy phenomenon in question concerns the way in which the enterprise realizes economic advantage or competitiveness, on the one hand, and relations between the enterprise and production workers that make this competitiveness possible, on the other. The excerpt from Sugimori et al. (1977) suggests that the two basic concepts of TPS, that is, reduce costs by eliminating waste and make full use of human capabilities, have always been linked together in a sort of balanced socio-technical system that works as a whole to create Toyota's results. It is more accurate, however, to regard these two concepts as the result of a lengthy, halting, dialectical process involving political struggles inside Toyota and between Toyota and its domestic rivals, which only produced TPS after a great deal of internal negotiation and structural reordering. Exploring the emergence of these two concepts reveals the way in which the unique features of Toyota's moral economy have been embedded within the Toyota Production System.

We begin from the backdrop of severe resource scarcity in Japan following World War II when the Toyota Motor Corporation found itself in dire straits (see Box Two). Management formulated a five year plan for economic recovery, and Taiichi Ohno became a key actor in this plan by convincing senior executives that he could raise productivity while decreasing costs (Cusumano, 1985). Ohno's initial methods for accomplishing this feat relied upon cost reduction through the elimination of waste, methods we associate with the *standardization of work*. The standardization of work is a means to decrease the non-value added components of time, materials, equipment, parts and workers involved in a manufacturing process – essentially, a process of capitalist rationalization. Because these methods required what were essentially craft workers to operate more than one machine at a time (discussed in Box Three), they provoked resistance from the shop floor (Ohno 1988). Based on Ohno's discussion of this period and his responses, it is reasonable to conclude that workers were asking questions such as the following: How could a craftsman attend multiple machines when he only had the requisite skills to

operate one type of machine? What were the safety implications of these changes? Who would decide how fast the machines should run, and who would control the speed? These questions incorporate a moral component, since they are grounded in local constructions of what is *good* or *bad* and *right* or *wrong* in specific shop floor practices. At Toyota, such questions must have taken on a particular sense of urgency, given what we know of the firm's history. The narrative in Box One reveals that any person may be asked to sacrifice his or her own best prospects for the continuity of the enterprise. Historically, this included members of the Toyoda family. It is plausible to argue that this ethic of sacrifice carried over into the lean manufacturing environment as well.

Ohno's experiments with lean manufacturing were caught up in a period of political and economic turbulence that also had a transformative effect upon Toyota's employment relations system. Between 1947 and 1950, Ohno faced strong resistance from the workforce and a militant union. Yet, it appears that he pushed through his methodological changes despite workforce objections. During this time, however, workers had disincentives to resist his changes to the point where they risked their jobs, given high unemployment and Toyota's isolated rural location. After the 1950 strike, when Toyota agreed to give remaining workers career-long employment guarantees and the union became more cooperative, Ohno began to accommodate workers' concerns by making additional technological modifications to equipment patterned after those he discovered at Sakichi Toyoda's loom factory. These accommodations ensured greater safety and reduced the level of stress caused when workers' operate multiple machines. This approach evolved to become a Toyota signature program with its own hallmark—*jidoka*, or *automation with a human touch* (Ohno 1988).

In 1950, Ohno also originated the stop-line order, whereby a single production worker can stop a moving assembly line, with significant potential costs per stop, if the worker detects a manufacturing problem or a shortage of parts. The stop-line concept has been structured into the technology of every Toyota assembly plant throughout the world through the *andon* system. An electronic bulletin board signals a so-called trouble location. Every worker has access to this system through a button situated at his or her work station, although some managers in overseas plants have not allowed workers to use the system (Fackler 2007). The stop-line concept not only gives workers more authority in the production process, but also recognizes workers' intellectual contributions as they detect and signal manufacturing problems, transforming workers from mere physical appendages of machines to knowledgeable agents.

The stop-line order was a significant development, for it marked the emergence of the second basic concept of the Toyota Production System -- to make full use of human capabilities. This second concept may be thought of as a negotiated response to the first basic concept of reducing costs by eliminating waste. It may be considered a reflection of workers' agency in resistance to Ohno's original conception of lean methods, and his own agency in response to them, based upon his class background and industry experience. Ceding authority to workers came only after the emergence of the core worker concept and the establishment of cooperative labor-management relations, not before. Thus, TPS should not be thought of strictly as a *hegemonic* system that represents only managerial or corporate interests (Babson 1995; Burawoy 1979) because it also embeds important elements that may be traced to the moral reasoning of the Japanese working class. Involved, for example, are safety and security in the conduct of work and application of local knowledge and responsibility to improve the way work is done. From this historical perspective, it is possible to see that TPS began to encode within its technological framework the structural elements of a class accord or consensual agreement after the watershed events of 1950, during which Toyota adopted the Japanese employment system.

A later development at Toyota intensified the *conceptual engagement* of the workforce in manufacturing process improvements. Conceptual engagement is made possible by the division of labor in Japanese industry, which reflects the resource scarcity of the post-war period. Due to resource scarcity, many firms consciously embedded within the production workforce the knowl-

edge and skills of industrial engineering and skilled trades, rather than relying upon separate departments for these capabilities (Nakamura et al. 1999). Based upon this foundation, Toyota initiated its *Quality Control* (QC) circle program in 1963, the first of its kind in the industry, as part of an effort to overtake Nissan, its domestic arch-rival, which had won the Deming Prize for quality in 1960. Post-World War II Japan was the venue for development of what later became known as the *Total Quality Control* movement. This philosophy and methodology of business management infuses the entire enterprise with an integrated emphasis on customer satisfaction and quality processes and practices in distinction to the traditional American approach to quality of focusing more narrowly on post-manufacturing inspections and statistical sampling of lots (Cusumano 1985). W. Edwards Deming (1900-1993) was an American statistician who had helped to found the Total Quality Control movement in Japan, and the Deming Prize recognized Japanese companies that made exceptional advances in the implementation of Total Quality practices. In a QC circle, a small group of production workers and a supervisor tackle specific manufacturing problems, using some basic tools of quality control, and other methods of industrial engineering. While management provides the overall goals or themes for the QC circles, the workers and supervisors do the conceptual and technical problem solving themselves. QC circles have been credited with many small but significant improvements in Japanese manufacturing processes that together account for an innovative approach to technological change known as *kaizen* or *continuous improvement* (Winter 1990; Cole and Mogab 1995).

Later on, Toyota merged its suggestion system with the QC circles, and invigorated the former by setting quotas for suggestions, keeping records of who submitted suggestions, and using these records to determine bonuses. Awards were given for suggestions, and supervisors criticized those who failed to contribute. During one press by Toyota management in the early 1980s, workers responded favorably and doubled the number of suggestions submitted between 1980 and 1982 from 850,000 to 1,900,000. The percentage of suggestions accepted by management at this time was 94-95%. The material in this paragraph is drawn from Cusumano (1985:351-359).

Although Toyota's moral system historically requested sacrifices from individuals for the *good* of the enterprise, the enterprise itself in its corporate sense came to realize that production workers had more to offer than physical assets; they had intellectual assets as well. There was nothing sentimental about this realization or the way it was implemented. The objective was not to *treat workers nicely*. Conceptual engagement of production workers was found to be in the best interests of the enterprise, which means that it was deemed to be *good* for Toyota in locally constructed terms. Importantly, the powerful hierarchy that controlled Toyota did not use TPS to crush the workforce, as could have happened if only the first basic concept were implemented, without any so-called humanistic accommodations. Rather, the hierarchy accorded the incorporation of technological and structural mechanisms to support, protect, and intellectually enrich the workforce within a moral framework that defined the *good* as that which promotes the continuity of the enterprise. Such a move was strategic in fulfilling TPS's first basic concept of reducing costs through the elimination of waste. It was recognized that the first goal may be achieved by mechanisms beyond the standardization or rationalization of work, or that this first method has diminishing returns where humans are concerned.

It is hypothesized that conceptual engagement can provide a degree of protection for core workers from the relentless physical onslaught of increasingly rationalized work that often accompanies lean methods, and also can offer some compensatory benefits through mental stimulation and the possibility of creativity. Conceptual engagement can provide a physical break; for example, when a worker activates the *andon* system to stop the moving assembly line and workers engage in trouble-shooting. Opportunities for creativity are provided through technical problem solving in QC circles. Ironically, one piece of evidence that pulling an *andon* cord provides physical relief comes from troubled lean manufacturing plants in the United States. There, disgruntled workers may pull the cords when their teams fell behind in their work or

they want to protest against the rapid pace of production (Graham 1995; Vallas 2006b).

Lean Manufacturing and Strong Reciprocity

The manufacturing methodology and labor relations regime developed at Toyota is resonant in several important respects with the strong reciprocity construct described earlier in this essay. At the heart of this manufacturing method is a governance system that reflects non-antagonistic principles, and a propensity to cooperate and/or consent, which is a class "accord" in the words of Price (1995:102), among the management representatives of the enterprise, the core workforce, and the union. At the base of this governance model is the unique Japanese employment system discussed earlier in this article. Since 1950, Toyota Motor Corporation has offered its core workers career-long employment, not based on a legal contract, but rather on trust. This employment assurance has lasted through many economic downturns, including the most recent severe recession in Japan. As a reciprocal obligation, the workers offer Toyota their commitment, or at least their consent, to do whatever needs to be done to support the continuity of the enterprise over the long term. We may not know what each individual employee is feeling while he or she is consenting, perhaps happy, indifferent, or hostile. But we do know that the performance of Toyota has been sufficient to put that company on track to become the number one automobile manufacturer in the world within the near future, with more of its vehicles recommended by *Consumer Reports* than any other carmaker (this despite some recent recalls due to over-extension of new products and production outside Japan; *The Economist* 2007).

The *sine qua non* of strong reciprocity is punishment for failure to cooperate, and in an organization, perhaps the reverse of un-punishment or positive incentives for those who choose to cooperate well. Both are in evidence. The most dissident unionists were expelled, while those less strident were brought into management. Temporary workers who do not show sufficient cooperation and/or consent are not brought into the core. Those brought into the core receive career-long employment. When the suggestion system was merged with the QC circles, supervisors criticized those who failed to contribute suggestions, while contributors received bonuses. People also self-sacrifice on a more or less voluntary basis; nearly everyone is expected to make sacrifices for the enterprise. The specifics are contingent upon one's position in the hierarchy. Ironically, a president may need to resign, while a temporary worker has to soldier on so to speak, and most do not quit when the going gets tough (see Box Three). This moral milieu provides the historical context in which lean manufacturing originated and has been sustained over many decades.

Lean Manufacturing in the American Context

On the whole, diffusion of lean manufacturing methodology to North America has met with mixed results. In the automobile industry, there is little doubt that lean manufacturing practices are correlated positively with improvements in productivity and quality. The American Big Three automakers are closing the gap with Japanese competitors, although the gap persists (Pil and MacDuffie 1999; Gettelfinger 2007). Yet, there have been reports of trouble, some of it serious. A number of lean manufacturing plants in the North American automobile and other industries have failed in a human sense. There were unanticipated strikes, and some disaffected work groups openly resisted and contested managements' efforts to build a cooperative or consensual governance model (see Fucini and Fucini 1990; Babson 1995; Graham1995; Rinehart et al. 1997; Vallas 2006a).

The mixed economic results and human troubles of lean methods have stimulated an intense debate in the social science literature regarding the long-term implications of lean manufacturing for American industry and its workforce (see Vallas 2006b). Proponents argue that lean manufacturing represents an opportunity for the revitalization of American manufacturing to deliver not only enhanced productivity and quality, but also to offer production workers the chance to develop new knowledge and skills. Workers have the opportunity to play a more engaged role as self-directed managers of their

own work processes with greater autonomy and less alienation and boredom (see Adler 1999; Vallas 2006b). Critics, on the other hand, claim that new human-resource management practices often accompanying lean manufacturing approaches (e.g., teamwork, job rotation, and enhanced training) are managerial constructs cloaked in moral language to disguise a subtle and pernicious regime in which workers monitor and police each other through new lateral structures of coercion (Babson 1995). Meanwhile, the pace of work is intensified through *management by stress*, a process in which the technical core of lean production eliminates all waste, including rest time and extra workers, making work more difficult, arduous, and prone to causing injuries (Parker and Slaughter 1995). This debate seems to have arrived at a stalemate (Vicki Smith 2006). On the one hand, the performance improvements of lean manufacturing are difficult to deny as the hard reality of global competition requires leaner plants. On the other hand, lean manufacturing appears to result in harsher conditions for production workers, a result that leaves many academics in an intellectual and moral quandary. Lean can neither be affirmed nor denied, characterized by a question that remains unspoken: Why cannot American-owned plants implement lean manufacturing in a more humane manner? Or why does *lean* have to be so *mean*?

One partial answer to this question may be found in the processes by which lean manufacturing has diffused to American manufacturing contexts. Re-contextualization (Brannen et al. 1999) of lean methods requires serious attention to the issue of labor-management relationships. The TPS approach to lean manufacturing embeds cooperation, or at least consent, between management and production workers such as involvement in decision-making and stop-line authority. Yet, antagonistic governance models often characterize American manufacturing environments, creating persistent challenges for the diffusion of lean methodology (Babson 1995). Thus, many American firms interested in implementing lean manufacturing have devised *participatory* management structures in the hope of increasing the commitment or at least gaining the consent of production workers as lean methodology is introduced. There is a modest consensus across the literature that workers are more enthusiastic and committed when management focuses serious attention on them, and recognizes them as agents with their own interests (Hodson 2001). Yet, the nature of pre-existing worker-manager relationships in a firm is highly salient with respect to such participation, and it can be difficult to change these relationships in a "brown-field" site, meaning an older manufacturing site with pre-existing management and workforce. Therefore, when an American firm is committed to worker participation, the firm is quite likely to implement the project in a "green-field" site, that is, a new plant with all new personnel or as a joint venture with a Japanese partner.

Now, nearly two decades after publication of the IMVP study, it is possible to examine the results of several natural experiments in which many American firms appear to have successfully embraced at least the first basic concept of TPS. That is, they have implemented methods associated with the standardization of work, thereby *reducing costs through the elimination of waste*, with the emphasis on cost reduction. As Ron Gettelfinger, president of the United Automobile Workers, noted recently in the Harbour Report, American automobile manufacturing plants are performing well. This report measures manufacturing efficiency (Gettelfinger 2007). Efficiency is the traditional standard of performance for American manufacturing—how much output in terms of vehicles can be produced per unit of input such as labor. Certain lean manufacturing practices, such as those that help to reduce costs by cutting the number of workers or other inputs required to produce a vehicle, improve efficiency measures. But not all of these plants are doing equally well per the J.D. Power and Associates Report, which measures quality (J.D. Power and Associates 2007; to view results from J.D. Power and Associates most recent initial quality study for new automobiles go to http://www.jdpower.com/autos/quality-ratings). To improve on manufacturing quality is not as easy as improving efficiency. Quality is a more difficult performance metric because it is not accomplished only by taking costs out of the process. Quality requires the additional investment of intelligence, knowledge applied to the elimination of

manufacturing defects. Such investment involves the second basic concept of TPS, making full use of human capability. There are several interrelated problems involved in the implementation of the second basic concept of TPS in American-owned plants that may weaken or even eliminate the second basic concept. These problems relate to the legacy institutions of the 20th century manufacturing in the United States.

First, there are the contextual difficulties of the division of labor in American industry. Unlike Japan, the division of labor in American manufacturing is such that production workers, and now even skilled trades, are relegated largely to deskilled roles, with manufacturing knowledge being retained among engineering professionals and quality control specialists. The implication is that foundational knowledge workers need to engage conceptually with manufacturing processes is lacking. As a result, any protective or compensatory benefits such activity might bring to production workers is unavailable, and workers thus are exposed to the full physical demands of work rationalization with little respite.

Second, once a lean plant is up and running at full capacity, there is little or no time for online technical problem solving (Rinehart et al.1997). The American automobile firm's mass production principles of *pushing* as much product through the plant as quickly as possible to achieve economies of scale (Liker et al. 1999:10) appears to be the default principle whenever a plant is under economic stress (e.g., running at full capacity, when other plants have been closed). This factor both creates physical fatigue and mental stress among workers, as well as signaling a lack of serious commitment to the quality components of lean manufacturing.

Third, there is the general problem of small group activity in the American workplace that has plagued the quality movement for decades, and also inhibits the full utilization of human capabilities in lean manufacturing. Work groups often do not respond creatively to activities, such as in QC circles, that are dominated by managers. Yet when work groups are placed in a more autonomous context without sufficient information, it is difficult for them to generate meaningful ideas that have a substantial performance impact (Liker et al. 1999).

Fourth, once a plant reaches a certain level of leanness, workers may be reluctant to provide any further suggestions that will make the plant even leaner. Indeed, workers may withhold these suggestions, since, from their perspective, *kaizen* will only make their work harder (Rinehart et al. 1997). Somewhere along the line, workers come to sense or believe that management is more committed to leanness or productivity than it is to quality. Once workers repeatedly receive what they believe are contradictory or, some say, hypocritical signals from managers in a so-called participatory program, then management loses its credibility, and workers shut down their participation in anything other than physical compliance (Vallas 2006a).

Together, the foregoing difficulties combine to make an unbalanced implementation of lean manufacturing over the long term, with an emphasis on reducing costs through the elimination of waste, and a de-emphasis on making full use of human capabilities. The technological rigidity and work standardization of lean manufacturing, and the economic pressures of American society, have combined to enforce physical discipline on a workforce that, in some plants at least, is decidedly not participatory (see for example Babson 1995). Yet, the United States still has failed to close the quality gap with Japan in industries where it competes head-to-head as in automobiles. It is my argument that this gap may be accounted for by the actions of workers who are discriminating between legitimate and illegitimate practices in participatory projects, with an illegitimate practice being one that does not genuinely accord workers authority in the manufacturing process, or value their intellectual contributions. Implicitly or explicitly, workers are saying *no* to these practices. Their discrimination is a moral judgment that reflects a reciprocal *punishment* for the lack of regard that they have been shown by the agents of the owners of their enterprises.

Conclusion

If we are to transcend our legacy and begin to make fuller use of human capabilities, it is important that anyone practicing anthropology, or a cognate craft in or around an American or other non-Japanese manufacturing firm be aware

of the issues I discuss. Relevant stakeholders should be informed about the risks involved in the implementation of lean manufacturing projects, and about the moral language and structures that are attached to these, such as teamwork, empowerment, continuous improvement. Anthropologists and others need to understand the historical contexts of such language and structure, and the ways in which they are re-contextualized when they travel across national and organizational boundaries (Brannen et al. 1999). Many of the terms associated with lean manufacturing have a moral economy that originated at the Toyota Motor Company, or elsewhere in Japan, a place very different from any American manufacturing firm. Promising outcomes that parallel those of Toyota or other Japanese companies without recognizing the profound re-formation that would be required to accomplish this goal is a high risk proposition that is not recommended. On the other hand, it is worthwhile to explain the nature of the Toyota Production System and the historic processes by which it has come to be so powerful. Then it is worthwhile to work with managers, workers, unions and other stakeholders to find pathways by which American enterprise also can compete by eliminating waste and making full use of human capabilities in appropriately contextualized and sustainable ways. ❍

Box One: **Enterprise Familism and the Origins of the Toyota Motor Corporation**

Much of the institutional architecture of the Toyota Motor Company—its innovative workplace routines and techniques, shared norms and values, and even some of its technical jargon—can be traced to Sakichi Toyoda (1867-1930), the father of Toyota's founder, Kiichiro Toyoda (1894-1952). It was Sakichi, now known as one of Japan's most important inventors, who had the initial idea for beginning Toyota Motor Corporation, and he who provided the initial financing. Sakichi was the son of a carpenter, descended from a long line of farmers, who was born in a small village of Yamaguchi, now part of the city of Kosai, Shizuoka Prefecture, the year before the Meiji government came to power in 1868 (Toyota 1988). The area around Sakichi's home had been active in producing cotton; indeed, his mother wove cloth to supplement the family income. However, inexpensive goods flooding in from the West overwhelmed the Japanese cotton industry, and many others. The people of his region had become impoverished. Sakichi learned of the Meiji government's interest in modernizing Japanese industry, and catching up with the West. As he gained knowledge of the Japanese patent law, promulgated in 1885, he became determined to contribute to the government's mission, and eventually set himself the goal of improving the functioning of weaving looms. Beginning in 1887, he began what turned into many years of slow, painstaking experiments with small technical changes in the hand manufacture of wooden looms, patenting the inventions as he developed them. These activities were not in general accord with the wishes of his father and co-villagers (Cusumano 1985), who thought him eccentric or even a bit mad.

Sakichi patented his first loom in 1891, which improved the quality of cloth and productivity of the loom by 40-50%. He moved to Tokyo and set up a small business that struggled to break even. When this effort drew little interest, Sakichi set about making a power loom using steam engines (Liker 2004), but such work proved difficult, as Sakichi was not technically trained as an engineer, and was working in wood. After many years of hardship, including bankruptcy, a forced return to his village, and eventual break-up of his first marriage, Sakichi invented a yarn reeling machine that finally provided a means to fund his inventions. Sakichi went into business with a customer, opening a textile mill. Productivity was up four fold, and costs decreased by 50%; a single mill hand could operate two or three power looms versus one hand loom (Toyota 1988). It was at this point that Matsui, one of

Japan's largest trading groups, took notice of Sakichi's inventions, and offered an agreement to produce and sell the looms, freeing Sakichi for the technical work that ultimately led to the invention of Japan's first automatic loom, which produced high quality cloth at very low cost. It was the sale of patent rights to this loom that financed Sakichi's son's (Kiichiro) first experiments with motor vehicles.

The foregoing events had consequences for Sakichi's family, as they meant that he was not able to make his eldest son Kiichiro the president of his spinning and weaving business, nor bequeath to him his personal inheritance. Instead, Sakichi's heir would be Kodama Risaburo (1884-1952), an "adopted husband" whom he had allowed to marry his eldest daughter, Aiko, in order to strengthen ties between Sakichi's business and the Mitsui trading group. Risaburo was the younger brother of the head of the Mitsui trading branch in Nagoya, Kodama Kazuo. Sakichi was indebted to Kodama Kazuo for financing his move into cotton spinning using a machine he had invented previously. Since Risaburo was older than Kiichiro, it was Risaburo who became president and heir to Sakichi, and Kiichiro then was a subordinate to his new "elder brother. " Risaburo's marriage to Aiko would strengthen ties between Toyoda and the Mitsui group. It is possible that Sakichi's decision to make Risaburo the president of his business was influenced by Kiichiro's health status. Kiichiro had been a "frail and sickly boy, who many felt did not have the physical capacity to become a leader" (Liker 2004:17). Indeed, after starting college classes at Tokyo Imperial University, Kiichiro fell ill and had to take a year's leave of absence to convalesce (Toyoda 1987:22). Sakichi may have believed that Risaburo had a better chance of leading his company into the future; it was not unusual for family members to be passed over in succession if their capacity to carry on with the enterprise was in doubt.

Sakichi did not forget his son Kiichiro, however. The father had the idea of making Kiichiro the head of a new motor vehicle venture inside his spinning and weaving business, which would be financed through sale of the patent for his automatic loom. Sakichi got the idea for starting an experiment with motor vehicles on a visit to the United States in 1910, where he was impressed with American mass production techniques which he viewed as a means to assemble a conglomeration of parts (Toyota 1988). Financing for the new auto venture consisted of one million yen (100,000 pounds), which were secured when Sakichi sold the patent rights to his loom to the Platt Brothers of Great Britain, the world's largest manufacturer of spinning and weaving machinery (Cusumano 1985). Kiichiro eventually became a mechanical engineer, trained at the elite Tokyo University, and he worked in machine parts manufacturing at his father's spinning and weaving business. According to Cusumano (1985), Kiichiro was not particularly interested in conducting any experiments with motor vehicles, since the Japanese automobile industry at the time was dominated by Ford Japan and General Motors Japan, and no native firms could hope to compete with them. However, Kiichiro wanted to honor his father's wish of starting up a motor vehicle company, and Sakichi repeated this wish before his death. Kiichiro had the authority and funds to open an automobile department within the Toyoda Automatic Loom business, and in 1933 he did so. When he ran short on funds, his brother-in-law Risaburo, president of the firm, refused to provide additional support because he believed the investment was too risky, given the amount of capital required, and domination of the market by American companies (Cusumano 1985). However, Kiichiro's elder sister Aiko (Risaburo's wife) was successful in persuading her husband to honor her father's wish to support Kiichiro's move into the automobile industry, and so Risaburo lowered dividends in the weaving company and increased his firm's capitalization to provide additional funding for automobile experimentation in 1934 and 1935. The first prototype vehicle was produced in May 1935.

Box Two: **Strong Reciprocity and the Japanese Employment System at Toyota**

Conditions immediately following World War II were very harsh for Toyota. While the company had 10,000 employees during the war years, this number plunged to 3,700 by 1945 due to shortages of food supplies and Toyota's inability to pay workers' salaries. The company turned its attention to cultivating crops, building a flourmill, bakery and charcoal plant to supply employees with food and fuel (Toyota 1988). Facilities were used to make household implements. Toyota did not dismiss its employees during this period, but gave everyone the option of voluntarily remaining with the corporation or choosing to leave, even though it did not have the means to pay them regularly.

In the face of raging inflation, Toyota needed to secure bank financing, and in the process accrued huge debts. The firm had a debt of 782 million yen at the end of November 1948, eight times the company's total capital value (Toyota 1988). A Management Rationalization Committee, which included representatives from Toyota Motor Koromo Labor Union was formed, and worked aggressively to boost efficiency and cut material and other costs. Toyota had a *no dismissal* policy, but they withheld workers' payments due to the firm's difficulty collecting payments on vehicles and pressure from creditors (Toyota 1988). In the Management Committee, employee negotiators agreed to a 10% wage reduction, and in return, the corporation sent the union a memorandum promising no dismissals.

Significantly, however, the consortium of banks that was providing financing to Toyota attached conditions to their loan, one of which was the dismissal of *surplus labor*. In 1950, while wages were still being withheld, the labor union formed a *struggle committee* and began collective bargaining talks. During these negotiations, Toyota reneged on its earlier promise and asked for 1600 voluntary resignations. Probably as a result of this action, the workers went on strike for a brief period early in 1950. Underscoring the significance of this departure from the company's past practice and the betrayal of his promise, President Kichiiro Toyoda formally apologized (Toyota 1988:107):

> "I had hoped that we might find a good solution, but things haven't turned out as I thought they would. We have only two ways out of this dilemma: Dissolve the company or ask some of our employees to leave. I really am most sorry. It breaks my heart that we have had to come to this. Thinking of all our many affiliates, it would not be easy to break up the company. We, the management, bear a heavy responsibility for having brought the company to these straits. I ask for your help and cooperation and await your fair judgment."

Meanwhile, the executive vice president stated that Toyota had a moral obligation to avoid dismissals (Toyota 1988:108). The company then shifted its stance and asked employees for voluntary retirements. The union would not agree, however, asking whether retirement payments would be made. Also, the union objected because employees had already made a bargain consisting of a 10% wage reduction in exchange for a no dismissal policy. While Toyota and the union battled in court over an injunction based on their previous agreement, the banks signaled their intent to cut financing and production levels fell. As a crisis loomed, President Kichiiro Toyoda resigned his position as president and also resigned from Toyota, as did Executive Vice President Kumabe and Managing Director Kohachiro Nishimura, who was in charge of financial affairs. As soon as Kichiiro resigned, employees began leaving the company. Soon, 1,760 employees applied for retirement (or were pressured to leave), with the final number reaching 2,146 (Toyota 1988).

Following the 1950 dismissals, or resignations, depending on one's point of view, Toyota treated the remaining workers as *lifetime* or more accurately *career-long* employees, an elite group that was granted higher salaries and benefits than temporary employees (Cusumano 1985). This move tempered worker militancy and encouraged loyalty, cooperation and compliance with management. Workers who remained on the payroll were grateful to have their positions, as the isolated rural location of Toyota in Aichi prefecture meant that there were not many other employment opportunities. Temporary employees also had an incentive to cooperate so that they would have a greater chance of moving into the ranks of the permanently employed. With respect to union leadership, the most militant union activists were among those who left; some of these were not voluntary departures. Certain union leaders were moved into management positions, while a new suggestion system created in 1951, modeled after Ford, started to bring all employees into the management process. Thus, the basic pattern of an enterprise union that favors treatment for a core of elite employees, which is essentially a two tier employment system with cooperative labor-management relationships, already was emergent at Toyota, even while the militant industrial union still was in effect across the automobile industry (Cusumano 1985).

Box Three: **Invention of the Toyota Production System**

It was at Toyota following World War II that the elimination of waste first became an absolute necessity, due to the devastation of the war and the resulting shortages of critical resources needed to make automobiles (Toyota 1988). After World War II, Japanese automobile manufacturers' challenge was to simultaneously enhance manufacturing productivity and product variety, that is, small lots of many diverse goods, since their markets were too small to support mass production. American manufacturing processes were inappropriate, as they assumed high volumes of standardized products that did not allow much variety (Cusumano 1985). Toyota organized a 12-week study tour of the United States in 1950 to learn as much as they could about American automobile manufacturing techniques, and what they found changed the history of making goods worldwide. According to Jeff Liker (2004:21):

"What they saw was lots of equipment making large amounts of products that were stored in inventory, only to be moved to another department where big equipment processed the product, and so on to the next step. They saw how these discreet process steps were based on large volumes, with interruptions between these steps causing large amounts of material to sit in inventory and wait. They saw the high cost of equipment and its so-called efficiency in reducing the cost per piece, with workers keeping busy by keeping equipment busy. They looked at traditional accounting measures that rewarded managers who cranked out lots of parts and kept machines and workers busy, resulting in a lot of overproduction and a very uneven flow, with defects hidden in these large batches that could go undiscovered for weeks."

Toyota far surpassed what might be defined as *catching up*. By the mid-1960s, the company had developed and refined a system of lean-manufacturing practices and techniques that towered over any other comparable manufacturing system in the world, enabling the firm to compete internationally and eventually to dominate the global marketplace for automobiles.

Taichii Ohno developed the Toyota Production System (TPS) or lean manufacturing. He was a Toyota engineer trained in mechanical engineering at the Nagoya Higher Industrial School. Ohno began his experiments in lean manufacturing by reorganizing production in the machine shop of Toyota's Koromo plant to enable small lots to flow more smoothly between

processing steps. To do this, Ohno used the basic approach of American time and motion studies, but applied these much more rigorously, to analyze each operation and job, and then tried to redistribute work to eliminate waste in worker motions and machine idle time. Lines could be sped-up or slowed-down and workers could be added or subtracted, depending upon demand; core workers always had a job, but temporary workers did not. Extra machines or overtime were factored in as needed.

Ohno also asked workers to take responsibility for two or more steps in the process, rather than only a single step associated with a single machine. He rearranged the machines in two parallel lines, or in an L shape, so that each worker could handle more than one machine at a time. While in the United States, American workers were assigned to one particular station and job, Toyota workers might be running five to ten machines in the 1950s. If workers were idle, they were asked to do preventive maintenance on machines, or to help other workers. Universal machine tools were installed that enabled several operations to be performed by one mechanism. Ohno followed the same principles Sakichi Toyoda had built into his automatic looms, using automation and mechanical devices to prevent mistakes and to streamline work. This approach eventually evolved into a broader system known as *jidoka*, or "automation with a human touch" (Liker 2004:16).

The basic idea behind these changes was to eliminate what is known as *buffer stock* and work-in-process inventory. That is, in a mass production plant, extra parts and material are kept on hand to enable machine operators to run their machines at high volume, producing as many parts as possible regardless of potential disruptions in supply (Cusumano 1985; Womack et al., 1985). Under the mass production system, efficiency is maximized when machines run continuously, as the cost per part falls when there are more parts produced (this assumes economies of scale with a mass market). The problem with mass production is that it is wasteful. The *buffer stock* and work-in-process inventory that is kept on hand to ensure continuous production is costly because it represents an investment of the firm's resources that is not being utilized and is expensive to store. And it has quality implications because if there are defects in the piles of parts, no one knows until many hundreds or thousands of the parts have been processed, at which point it may be too late to fix them (Liker 2004).

Ohno envisioned a different manufacturing method in which there would be no *buffer stock* or work-in-process inventory. Each machine would be working on only one part at a time or in small batches, and this would flow smoothly to the next machine *just in time* (JIT) for the next operation. Instead of parts being *pushed* through the manufacturing process by a manager eager to make as many parts or automobiles as possible, the new concept utilized *pull* instead. Each worker would *pull* only as many parts as he needed from the previous station, based on how many were needed at final assembly. Later, Toyota learned how to *pull* the correct number of parts or vehicles based on actual customer orders, and to make changes in these orders up to the last minute. This system eliminated a build-up of inventory, thereby protecting against declines in demand, and also allowed the company to respond flexibly to customer orders, all of which provided enormous competitive advantages globally, forcing other companies to copy them. The *pull* system also is facilitated by *kanban*, another Ohno invention, which are paper or metal signs that control the flow of materials in the production process.

Worker authority increased under Ohno's *just in time* system. In 1955, Ohno gave workers in final assembly the right to stop the assembly line if problems developed (Cusumano 1985). In a mass production factory, such a thing was unheard of before, as it would be hugely expensive. Lights were installed to enhance the stop-line process; a red light meant stop, while yellow

requested supervisory help. Eventually, all workers had access to buttons that allowed them to stop the line to alert others to a problem. Called the *andon* system, it was first implemented at the Motomachi plant. *Stopping the line* provided an opportunity to investigate a problem, determine its origin, and solve the root cause, thereby eliminating costly quality defects. Immediate feedback regarding an error was made to the responsible station through a loudspeaker system, or by a supervisor.

Other aspects of lean manufacturing are more controversial, however. *Just in time* production runs at a fast pace, pushing workers to the maximum of their capacity. One Toyota worker who was critical of the company's manufacturing methods published a book stating that the pace of production leads to a higher rate of accidents than the industry average in Japan (3.6 per million working hours in 1980 compared with 2.19 industry average). This claim was denied by Toyota, whose engineers claimed that in 1977, their accident rate was only half that of American firms, but no alternative data was issued (Sugimori et. al. 1977). A journalist, Satoshi Kamata, who graduated in literature from Waseda University, became a production worker in order to write about the Toyota Production System. His book, published in English in 1982 under the title *Japan in the Passing Lane*, provides a fairly bleak picture of a Toyota worker's day on the production line. In this book, Kamata claims that Toyota workers feel *despair* over highly proscribed working conditions that treat them more like machines than humans, making workers weary and accident-prone (Kamata 1982). At one point in Kamata's diary, for example, a worker lost part of his finger, and many in the shop reportedly felt sorry for the worker's supervisor because his perfect safety record was broken as a result of the accident.

Yet, as Ronald Dore wrote in his introduction to the English version of Kamata's book, (1982:xix-xx):

> "...it is harder for Kamata to keep his sense of antagonism sharp because his fellow workers are not alienated. Their grumbling is real enough, and they are initially angry about, for instance, the apparently unilateral decision to work an extra Saturday shift. But even about that, they are resigned to the likelihood that the union will agree with the company that the shift is necessary, and hardly see themselves as victims of injustice. Their grumblings are a railing against their fate, but a fate which is dictated by the necessity of the company's competitive struggle against Nissan, not by the heartlessness of managers or greed by the owners of capital. Hence the way the grumbles turn into "soldiering on" jokes. And hence it is possible, as Kamata tells us incidentally, for the company to send one of his workmates back to his former regiment to try to recruit some of his friends in full confidence that he will tell a good story of the advantages of working for Toyota. "

Taichii Ohno had to make numerous accommodations to address workers' concerns about his new manufacturing methods before he could proceed. These concerns were addressed in the period between 1950 and 1954. He installed automatic devices on equipment. These enabled workers to more easily tend several pieces of equipment at once. They included failsafe mechanisms that automatically stopped a machine at the end of its run, pneumatic devices that held work in place, or technical devices that took the place of actions that a worker typically would have done (Sugimori et al. 1977). He also granted shop floor personnel more control over the pace of production. Later on, the adoption of automatic conveyance equipment, and later still, robotics, saved workers time and energy moving around the plant or handling heavy pieces of equipment or machinery. By 1955, the lean manufacturing changes were agreed to by the union and eventually became a regularly accepted part of Toyota's work process.

Notes

1. Marietta L. Baba is a full professor in the Department of Anthropology and dean of the College of Social Science at Michigan State University, 203 Berkey Hall, East Lansing, Michigan (MI) 48824-1118 USA. She also is an adjunct professor in the Department of Social Anthropology at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway. Also, she may be reached at 517-355-6675 by telephone and at **mbaba@msu.edu** by e-mail. Her Ph.D. in anthropology is from Wayne State University.

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Health Effects of Pesticide Exposure among Filipino Rice Farmers[1]

Satish K. Kedia[2] and Florencia G. Palis[3]

Abstract

This article discusses the acute and chronic health effects of pesticide exposure among Filipino rice farmers. Data were collected from 50 farmers during 2002 and 2003 using a semi-structured questionnaire to elicit demographic information, various aspects of farming life, types and extent of pesticide use, exposure means, and self-reported acute and chronic illness experiences. Study participants had been farming for 20 years and applying an average of four to six pesticides approximately three times a year. The most common acute health problems reported by farmers were fatigue (52.0%), dizziness (50.0%), and body pain (32.0%). Farmers reported 43 different types of chronic health-related symptoms which were categorized as neurological (noted by 98.0% of farmers), dermal (90.0%), systemic (88.0%), respiratory (88.0%), ophthalmic (82.0%), gastrointestinal/renal (80.0%), and cardiovascular (56.0%). Chronic health problems were significantly lower for farmers who sold emptied pesticide containers (B=-3.479, p=0.01), for those with higher annual household incomes (B=-0.000, p=0.01), and for those who had attained vocational training compared to elementary school alone (B=6.101, p=0.02). Please see six tables of data following the article's text.

Introduction

The indiscriminate use of pesticides over the past half-century has caused extensive damage to the environment and human health. The advent of the Green Revolution in the early 1960s prompted the agricultural sector to dramatically increase pesticide use in order to boost crop production. The first use of dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane

(DDT) was in 1945. This synthetic insecticide is highly toxic as a contact poison because it apparently disorganizes the nervous system. Annual pesticide use has risen an estimated 50-fold to over five billion pounds worldwide (Pimentel et al. 1998; Kiely et al. 2004). In the Philippines, DDT was used in conjunction with the introduction of the hybrid strains of rice, which resulted in bumper crops of rice. While DDT was banned in the Philippines in 1994, the use of other equally potent pesticides continued to increase (Grabe et al. 1995; Pingali and Roger 1994; International Labor Organization 1999). The effects of these pesticides have been devastating to the entire ecosystem, affecting soil and water quality, flora and fauna, and humankind. The biggest impacts among human populations have been on the farmers who face the occupational hazards of working with, and often living in close proximity to, these toxic agents.

An estimated 1.3 billion workers are active in agricultural production worldwide, with 80% of these workers found in Asia (Rice 2000). In the Philippines, 41% of the total labor force is involved in agriculture (Forastieri 2000). Pesticides are widely used in order to increase crop yields and protect against insect infestation. Yet the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that as much as 14% of all occupational injuries are due to exposure to pesticides and other agrochemical constituents, and 10% of these injuries – around 17,000 per year – are fatal (International Labor Organization 2000). In subsequent reports issued between 1990 and 2002, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that from one to five million cases of pesticide poisoning occur among agricultural workers each year, resulting in approximately 20,000 fatalities (World Health Organization 1990). However, the reality of pesticide-related illness could actually be far worse, as no large-scale epidemiological studies have been conducted anywhere in the world.

Most documented studies related to pesticide exposure have included small groups of farmers in a select few countries and have been primarily based on self-reports or extrapolation from vital statistics. This is likely due to the challenges associated with clearly establishing the causal links of the chronic health symptoms with prolonged pesticide exposure. These studies have, however, consistently reported the negative

health impacts of pesticide use. The primary goals of the research reported in this paper are:

(1) to ascertain pesticide exposure risks associated with a particular farming population, Filipino rice farmers;

(2) to discuss self-reported acute and chronic signs and symptoms of pesticide-related illnesses occurring in this population; and

(3) to assess vulnerability factors associated with pesticide-related illnesses among these Filipino rice farmers.

Pesticide Exposure Risks

Modern agriculture has exacerbated some old risks and created several new hazards for the health, safety, and well-being of persons engaged in agriculture and related industries, particularly those in developing nations. In these countries, a lack of adequate manpower and financial resources to advise on and enforce the limited national laws and international regulations fail to safeguard farmers, often rendering them vulnerable to damaging direct exposure to pesticides and agrochemical residues. Some factors responsible for this situation are:

(1) unanswered needs for appropriate pesticide controls and legislation on labor conditions;

(2) a lack of pollutant monitoring for food, drinking water, or the environment; limited or no national procedures for approval or registration of modern pesticides;

(3) a need for information provision and awareness-raising aimed at small enterprises such as frms on proper storage, handling, or use of pesticides and disposal of waste pesticides, residues, and empty containers; and limited access to proper waste management.

To identify pesticides that require stricter controls, the World Health Organization (WHO) developed The WHO Recommended Classification of Pesticides by Hazard and Guidelines to Classification: 2004 (WHO 2005), a scale of acute toxicity that has established hazardous ratings of pesticides. The WHO system is based on LD50, the dose (oral or dermal) in mg of pure chemical per kg of body weight that was found to kill 50.0% of a sample population of rats that were fed the pesticide in laboratory tests. In this system, agrochemicals are classified according to their hazard level: IA–extremely hazardous, IB–Highly hazardous, II–Moderately hazardous, III–Slightly hazardous, U–Unlikely to present an acute hazard with normal use, FM–Fumigant not classified, and O–Obsolete or deleted chemical. In addition, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations created its International Code of Conduct on the Distribution and Use of Pesticides in 1985 (FAO 2002) to reduce the health and environmental risks associated with pesticides. Although the FAO instructs producers and users in appropriate agrochemical handling practices, the FAO has no ability to enforce the codes. Generally, the FAO codes attempt to limit the significant adverse effects of pesticides on people or the environment by requiring quality packaging and market-appropriate labeling and directions on products, and by restricting pesticide use and prohibiting pesticides classified as IA or IB or those that require tropical climate-prohibitive or expensive protective gear.

Over the years, several countries have implemented the WHO and FAO recommendations in order to control pesticide use. The Sri Lankan government, for example, has been implementing WHO and FAO recommendations since the late 1980s to determine which pesticides should be allowed for use in the country. By the mid-1990s, all Class I pesticides were banned there, after which the number of deaths due to metamidaphos and other Class I organophosphorus compounds (OPs) fell dramatically (Roberts et al. 2003). Similarly, the Republic of the Philippines established certain pesticides as restricted or banned through its Fertilizer and Pesticide Authority (FPA), created on May 30, 1977, to manage the registration of pesticides, active ingredients, and formulations by ensuring (through examination of support data submitted from manufacturers and distributors as well as evaluations of biological efficacy and chemical, physical, and technological data) that any pesticide made available to end-users would be considered safe. The FPA has managed to remove the most extreme agrochemicals from common use. But the proper use of pesticides, as dictated by the manufacturers, remains a problem among

end-users. This is because of a lack of knowledge about pesticide safety practices and their inability to comprehend the complex label instructions on agrochemicals, which are often written in foreign languages with no translation in the local language.

Farmers in developing countries like the Philippines are left even more vulnerable due to their poor working conditions, lack of awareness about the dangers of pesticides, mismatched farmers' perceptions and beliefs regarding pesticides and health, inferior protective measures taken during the pesticide sprays, and an absence of adequate medical facilities. The considerable expense required to obtain and renew protective equipment is out of reach for most of the largely-impoverished farmers in developing countries. Interventions or policy recommendations, where existent, do train farmworkers in the so-called safe use of pesticides by suggesting that wearing gloves, aprons, face shields, cotton work clothes, and boots provide adequate protection from most pesticides. However, even such mediocre equipment is overly cumbersome for farmers in the hot and humid tropical climates typical to agricultural communities in developing nations and is therefore rarely used. Without proper equipment or product-handling knowledge, these farmers are exposed to pesticides directly through the skin, the mouth, inhalation, and ingestion, and also indirectly through chemical residues that contaminate their clothes, water, and food. This, in turn, results in the presence of agrochemical residues in their working and living environments, thus leading to unintentional, occupational pesticide poisoning (Warburton et al. 1995). When farmers do manage to use protective equipment or wear minimally protective and absorptive long-sleeved and long-legged work clothes, the resulting excessive perspiration can actually increase dermal exposure to the toxic chemicals handled.

Hazardous chemical substances are not often transported or handled with proper care by farmworkers, and excessive use or misuse is pervasive. Focus group discussions with Indonesian farmers indicated that they believed frequent applications of strong pesticides were necessary to kill all damaging insects and to prevent blemishes on cash crops (Kishi et al. 1995, cited in Murphy et al. 1999). Sales representatives of large agrochemical industries reinforce this message regularly in developing nations, so that feeling ill from exposure and the laborious work is understood by the farmers as a necessary cost of doing business (Kishi et al. 1995, cited in Murphy et al. 1999). Acutely toxic pesticides, used without adequate safety measures or protective clothing, are mostly mixed or otherwise prepared by hand in these farming communities and are often stored in containers or bottles typically used for benign purposes such as holding beverages. Re-use of pesticide containers for food or water storage is an invariable source of contamination and toxic exposure by farmers, farm-workers, and farming households, as is inappropriate use such as using pesticides to catch fish or for other environmentally hazardous tasks. Yet another exposure risk typical to agricultural communities in developing nations is the storage and use of pesticides in or near the home, which also endangers farmworker families.

The work and home environment can easily be further contaminated when pesticide containers are not disposed of properly, whether through dumping remnants on the ground or in surface water during the cleaning process, or through neglecting to clean containers and unsuitably storing or burying them. Though only residual agrochemicals typically remain as a result of these inadvertently negligent practices, "[s]ome such pesticides, says the FAO [Food and Agricultural Organization], are so toxic that a few grams could poison thousands of people or contaminate a large area" (Rice 2000: 62).

Recognized Health Effects of Pesticide Exposure

Although the health risks of pesticide exposure are widely known, many of the manifestations of toxicity resemble the symptoms of other conditions linked to farm-workers' lives. These include infectious disease, unsanitary environments, taxing labor, substance abuse, and overall poor health (Arcury and Quandt 1998; Murphy et al. 1999; Arcury et al. 2000; FPA 2002). Due to this uncertain etiology, pesticide toxicity is generally determined by documenting those symptoms associated with agrochemical expo-

sure in clinical observations and self-reports of persons with a history of likely exposure. Still, problems with this diagnostic approach are shrouded with a number of caveats as reported by Reigart and Roberts,

First, all manifestations of illness have multiple causes, pesticidal and nonpesticidal. Second, there are no specific symptoms that are invariably present in poisonings by particular pesticides. Third, many poisonings are characterized by unexpected manifestations. Finally, neither route of exposure nor dosage of pesticide is taken into account in [signs or symptom listings] (Reigart and Roberts 1999: 210).

Nonetheless, there is extensive literature on an alarming range of specific health impacts tied to pesticide poisoning. For example, a study comprising before-and-after observations of Indonesian shallot farmers established that over one fifth (21.0%) of pesticide sprayings produced "three or more neurobehavioral, gastrointestinal, and respiratory symptoms of pesticide poisoning" (Kishi et al. 1995: 124). Research on farmers in the state of Iowa in the United States exposed to an unusually high amount of pesticides reveals an array of symptoms. These include "headaches, skin irritation, nausea or vomiting, dizziness, and feeling excessively tired . . .chest discomfort, breathing difficulties, nervousness or depression, eye irritation, jerking or involuntary movement of the arm and legs" (Alavanja et al. 2001:560).

Toxicity is simply "the innate capacity of a chemical to be poisonous" (US EPA 1992: 26). And a full understanding of the health problems resulting from pesticide exposure requires additional consideration of the toxicity type, the agrochemical(s) involved, the frequency and pathway(s) of exposure, the quantities used per given parcel, and the physical characteristics of the individual such as size and weight. Health impacts from chronic (prolonged or repeated) pesticide exposure include "tumors and cancer, reproductive problems such as sterility and birth defects, damage to the nervous system, damage or degeneration of internal organs such as the liver, and allergic sensitization to particular chemicals" (FPA 2002:126). In a 2000-2001 study on pesticide poisoning from data of hospitals in such regions of the Philippines as Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, 9.1% of poisoning cases were severe, 33.4% were moderate, 51.9% were minor, and 5.6% were non-cases (Panganiban 2005). In an earlier Sri Lankan research project, 62.0% of farmers reported experiencing acute (rapid onset) health effects from direct pesticide exposure during spray applications, including headaches, dizziness, nausea, and blurred vision (Van der Hoek et al. 1998). Other studies note that chronic toxicity from a history of spraying creates longer-lasting neurological problems, including anxiety, memory loss, mood changes, impaired vision, and delayed neuropathy (Marquez et al. 1990; Arcury and Quandt, 1998). Those who are applying pesticides are not the only ones to experience health problems. Residents living near sprayed sites, who are exposed to pesticide drifts from the fields, have complained of chronic headaches, nausea, vomiting, respiratory distress, fatigue, and tingling in the hands and feet. They evidence a connection between agrochemical exposure and mood change as measured by neuropsychological tests (Marquez et al. 1990; Pingali et al. 1994).

Research Methodology

We conducted fieldwork during 2002 and 2003, with brief follow-up visits in 2004 and 2005, in two villages near Cabanatuan City in the northeast Lagare area of the Nueva Ecija Province in Central Luzon, Philippines, approximately 150 kilometers (93 miles) from Manila, the capital city. The agricultural base of the Nueva Ecija Province consists of rice and vegetable cultivation with an immediate market for produce in neighboring provinces and in Manila. In 1999, the Philippine government began a program called Masagana 99 or Bountiful 99, with the goal of harvesting 99 sacks of rice from each hectare of land. Through this program, farmers of Nueva Ecija were introduced to a modern rice variety that doubled the production but also required heavier agrochemical use and, therefore, a closer examination of potential health impacts of pesticide exposure on the farmers and their work and living environments.

Study participants were men who (1) had been actively involved in farming and pesticide applications continuously for at least five years, who (2) were primarily a rice farmer or farm

worker, and who (3) had no history of major health problem(s) before becoming a farmer or farm worker. We recruited eligible participants using non-probability consecutive sampling. Women were excluded from the study population because, whereas Filipino females participated in some aspects of agricultural activities, they almost never sprayed pesticides in the fields and were not involved in physical labor on the farm. Although the changing cash economy, with diversified livelihoods, is pushing some women in the Philippines to work on farms, most still retain their roles as primary caregivers and managers of the household.

We employed a semi-structured questionnaire following a triangulated research methodology. We used quantitative and qualitative questions to collect data on demographics, various aspects of farming life, types and extent of pesticide use, exposure means, and self-reported acute and chronic illnesss to determine factors associated with higher levels of chronic health symptoms. Three researchers at the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) and a local field assistant from one of the villages reviewed our draft questionnaire, We modified it based on their input. The original English questionnaire was translated into Tagalog, the native language of the study population. We had the help of two local Tagalog-speaking field assistants. One was from the International Rice Research Institute who was also well-versed in English and could effectively navigate between Tagalog and English, and the other was from one of the study villages. Translation into Tagalog was under the supervision of Florencia G. Palis, this paper's co-author, who is proficient in both Tagalog and English. Both research assistants had considerable experience interviewing local farmers for other IRRI projects. And they were specifically trained to conduct interviews using our questionnaire, which was pilot-tested for linguistic nuances and cultural subtleties and modified to eliminate any confusion.

The questionnaire includes demographic items such as age, linguistic group, education, marital status, number of children, and annual household income. There are farming history items such as the age the respondent began farming and the age he began applying pesticides. The agricultural activities include pesticide use, spray, and disposal practices, and acute/chronic manifestations of pesticide exposure. Farmers were asked how they felt during and immediately following pesticide spraying to ascertain acute manifestations and were then probed about their general health condition to gauge the chronic signs and symptoms possibly related to pesticides. The interviews were conducted in Tagalog, and the field assistants took notes and tape-recorded the interviews. All tapes were later transcribed, translated into English, and coded. Quantitative data were entered into Microsoft Excel and analyzed using the statistical package SPSS and SAS. Data analyses comprise descriptive statistics, cross-tabulations for ordinal and categorical dependent variables in relation to independent variables, means for interval variables, and multivariate regression analysis.

Of the lengthy responses elicited from farmers concerning their work and lifestyles, those regarding basic demographics, types and extent of pesticide use, and reported exposure means were examined. Pesticide application frequency and container disposal methods were considered the primary means of exposure, since people in close proximity to spray equipment and pesticide containers were subject to exposure, and unsafe pesticide storage and disposal practices indicated a high probability of accidental exposure. Some additional sources of exposure were also briefly examined, including pesticide preparation, protective gear use, and the handling and washing of work garments. Acute and chronic signs and symptoms reported by the farmers were noted to document the pesticide-related illnesses experienced by the study population. These reported symptoms were then compared to documented health impacts noted in previous studies. In keeping with the literature, particularly Reigart and Roberts (1999), chronic manifestations reported by the study population were grouped into seven categories: neurological, respiratory, ophthalmic, dermal, gastrointestinal/renal, cardiovascular/blood-related, and systemic/generalized.

Finally, we run multivariate regression analysis (Pedhazur 1997) using procedure regression from SAS/Stat Version 9.1 to identify those

factors most likely to be associated with the number of symptoms for chronic illnesses experienced by the farmers related to pesticide exposure. We adjusted for possible alternative contributors such as age and smoking history. Socioeconomic characteristics thought to influence risk were entered as the independent variables for the regression analysis, and the number of chronic signs and symptoms were used as the dependent variables to ascertain factors associated with chronic health symptoms. We looked for other factors such as size of the land, household income, farmer's age, years farming, and years spraying. We took into account variables with a referent category, including educational level such as high school, college, and vocational versus elementary schooling; protective measures such as wearing a gas mask and/or gloves; container disposal (sold to junkshop, washed/reused, buried, and burned versus put in local environment). Smoking history as current smoker and ex-smoker versus nonsmoker were included as independent variables in the regression model.

Results: Study Population Demographics

Of the 50 Filipino rice farmers who met the inclusion criteria, the majority (98.0%, n=49) spoke Tagalog while (36%, n=18) spoke both Tagalog and Ilokano (see Table 1). Most (66.0%) of the farmers were between 31 and 40 years old (37.16 mean, 5.51 SD, 25–48y range). There were about the same number of farmers in the 36–40 age group (26.0%, n=13) as in the 41–50 group (28.0%, n=14). About one third had attained an elementary education (34.0%, n=17), and almost half had a high school education (46.0%, n=23), but few (20.0%) had continued their education in college (n=6) or vocational training (n=4). Almost all farmers (90%, n=45) were married, and most (68.0%, n=34) had one to four children. Study participants had been farming from 6 to 32 years (20.14y mean, 6.43 SD) and applying pesticides from 5 to 33 years (18.76y mean, 7.11 SD), having first farmed between 12 and 25 years old (17.02y mean, 3.39 SD) and first handled agrochemicals between 12 and 29 years old (18.53y mean, 4.18 SD). The mean annual household income, which included rice farming plus other sources of income, in Filipino pesos was P28822.13 (sd = P22661.49), or approximately US$540.15 (sd=US$424.69) annually. Some earned as little as P4000.00/US$74.96 and others as much as P103000.00/US$1930.29, where P53.36=US$1 (Reuters 2006).

Pesticides Used

When asked which pesticides they had used in the past 12 months, the participating Filipino rice farmers provided a rather extensive list of brand names, often with similar or the same chemical base, yielding 29 agrochemicals (separate or combined), nine of which were herbicides, 15 insecticides, three molluscicides, and two rodenticides (see Table 2). The most common pesticides used by the study population contained some of the highly hazardous chemicals, as listed in The WHO Recommended Classification of Pesticides by Hazard (WHO IPCS 2005). Among the 34 individual active ingredients used alone or in combination by the Filipino farmers participating in this study, four (11.8%) are classified as IB or Highly hazardous, nineteen (55.9%) as II or Moderately hazardous, two (5.9%) as III or Slightly hazardous, and nine (26.5%) are classified as U or Unlikely to present acute hazard. Two thirds of the 13 agrochemicals used by the most farmers (26.0% to 50.0%), including three that consist of two active ingredients, are either moderately or highly hazardous; three classified as U, one as III, eight as II, and one as IB.

In terms of chemical family (see Table 3), the majority of the farmworkers used insecticides from the pyrethroid (76.0%), organophosphate (36.0%), or phenyl methylcarbamate (34.0%) families; herbicides from the acetamide-propanamide (50.0%), acetamide (36.0%), and thiocarbamate (34.0%) families; molluscicides from the hydroxybenzamide (56.0%) and aldehyde (28.0%) families; and rodenticides classified as inorganic compounds (38.0%). All other agrochemical families were only used by 2.0% to 14.0% of participating farmers. An examination of spraying frequencies show that four of the six agrochemicals with the highest average number of applications annually (5.00, 4.00, 3.88, and 3.56) were insecticides (two of which were only used by 8.0% or less of the study participants), while the fifth and sixth (3.33 each) most-frequently

applied were two of the least reported chemical families used (Benzene herbicides and Coumarin rodenticides, both used by only 6.0% of the farmers).

Frequency of Application.

The more frequently pesticides were applied, the higher the potential level of toxicity to the farmer handling these agrochemicals (see Tables 2 and 3). Of the ten active ingredients or compounds that were used by more than 26.0% and up to 50% of farmers, eight were also the chemicals applied in the heaviest quantities (18.10-38.73 L/ha and 21.17-122.20 kg/ha). The remaining two, Metaldehyde (1.60L/ha and 9.60kg/ha) and Cyhalothrin, lambda (16.65L/ha), are both WHO Class II chemicals, or moderately hazardous. Carbofuran (IB, highly hazardous) and Niclosamide (U, unlikely hazardous) were less-frequently applied but were nevertheless applied in large quantities (21.17 kg/ha and 23.01 kg/ha, respectively). Of those active ingredients handled by the most farmers and/or applied in the largest quantities, six were sprayed an average of three or more times each year (two were classified as IB, four as II). Among those pesticides applied three to six times annually, one was classified as IB, five as II, and two as U. When examined by chemical family, those used by study participants in largest mass per hectare were liquid pyrethroids (Class II) at 54.3 L/ha, hydroxybenzamides (Class U) at 45.1 L/ha, acetamide-propanamide (Class U and III) compositions at 38.7 L/ha, organophosphates (Class IB and U) at 25.6 L/ha, and thiocarbamates (Class II) at 22.1 L/ha; or dilutable powder acetamides (Class U) at 139.9 kg/ha, phenyl methylcarbamates (Class II) at 29.1 kg/ha, inorganic compound rodenticides (Class IB) at 33.2 kg/ha, and benzofuranyl methylcarbamates (Class IB) at 21.2 kg/ha). All other pesticide amounts fell below 12 kg or 7 L/ha but still contributed an additional 18.2 kg/ha of molluscicides and rodenticides as well as 15.5 L/ha of insecticides and herbicides.

Even the lower chemical doses were not as marginal as they first appear, considering the actual number of times that the dosing occurred (1.64 to 4.00 times annually, an average of 2.90 times). Additionally, 48.0% of the study population used four (n=9), five (n=8), or six (n=7) different brands of pesticides each year. Only 10.0% (n=5) limited usage to one chemical annually, and the remaining farmers (50.0%), besides one that did not give a definitive response to the question, used two brands (n=3), three brands (n=6), seven brands (n=6), eight brands (n=3), and the maximum nine brands (n=2) reported.

Pesticide Exposure

Lack of appropriate information concerning the safe handling of agrochemicals and their possible health and environmental impacts contributed to the participating farmers' chronic pesticide exposure and related illnesses. Most farmers in this study reported receiving information from other farmers/landowners or from pesticide companies, many citing multiple sources for their information. Twenty-five (50.0%) received information on pesticide use from other farmers, one from his landowner, and five from their fathers. Three farmers said they relied on their own prior experiences. Another 23 reported receiving information from pesticide company agents or sales representatives, 13 from presentations and meetings, three from agricultural supply stores, one from meetings expressly given by pesticide company agents, and one from pesticide product labels. While three stated that they had obtained information from technicians at their Department of Agriculture, only three looked to pamphlets or books on pesticides. Another three got information from the radio, one from his local councilman, and one from his own studies.

Most of the pesticide exposure for the rice farmers in this study resulted from five or more years of multiple applications each season, from mishandling agrochemicals, and from a lifetime of environmental exposure through working and inhabiting areas barraged by pesticides. The potential for chronic toxicity is high because of methods of application and pesticide container disposal.

When preparing agrochemicals for an application, the concentrated liquids or powders had to be diluted, and, invariably, the participating farmers would use unprotected hands to do so. Only 30.0% of the participating farmers reported using protective gas masks, and only 16.0% wore gloves or boots during a spraying application.

Spills during the mixing process or while pouring into spraying machinations were additional sources of dermal exposure risk, as were the simple and ineffective use of ordinary pants, long-sleeve shirts, improvised capes, and t-shirt masks meant to stave off unhealthy pesticide exposure. In fact, these local means of protection served to create a greater risk because they were porous and soaked with pesticides by the end of an application, keeping doses of toxins close against the skin. Pores, open and expanded by the heat and sweat of such work, were constantly in contact with the agrochemicals through their soaked clothing and makeshift protection. Habits such as wiping sweat from the face with hands caked in pesticide or with chemical-soaked t-shirt masks also exposed pores.

Few reported bathing (30.6%) or removing or washing clothes (14.3%) immediately following a pesticide application. Many wore the same clothes for days, across applications of varying agrochemicals, without pausing to wash out formerly soaked-in pesticides. Almost all of the farmers (98.0%) only wore rubber slippers, if they wore any foot gear, during spraying, further exposing the skin through constant contact with newly sprayed grounds and plants, leaving sores and cuts on the feet and ankles exposed to toxins. Fine pesticide mists aggregated on the farmers' skin or were inhaled air-borne as farmers often walked behind the sprayers during applications. Furthermore, most farmers reentered recently sprayed fields, where they smoked, ate, and drank throughout the day, with only a quarter (26.5%) washing their hands before doing so.

Container Disposal

Most of the farmers in this study did not have storage units outside their houses for pesticide containers and stored empty containers somewhere in their houses. Additionally, none of the farmers spoke of appropriately cleaning the containers before disposal. Over half of the farmers (58.0%, n=29) reported eventually selling empty containers to junkshops, where they were likely to be reused as water or food containers, thus allowing pesticide residues to be easily reintroduced. The next most common disposal method employed by the study participants was burial, with about half (50.0%, n=25) reporting that they placed the containers at times only a foot deep in soil near their homes or fields. Many farmers had built a storage cabinet under their house flooring or had simply piled empty containers in an unfenced site on their farms. A fifth (20.0%, n=10) stated that they stored them out of reach of their children, but the containers' proximity to the ecosystem or vulnerability to weather or untrained people were not reported except by those who stated that they threw empty containers into the local environment (12.0%, n=6 in bamboo groves or trees; 8.0%, n=4 in the environment or nearby water) or stored them nearby (10.0%), either in animal pens (n=1), a shed behind the house (n=3), or a hut on the farm property (n=1). Another 4.0% said that they accumulated containers in abandoned structures (n=1) or places far from the home (n=1). Four percent (n=2) reported washing and reusing the containers, and one (2.0%) said that he burned empty pesticide containers, though none mentioned following the proper procedures or guidelines to ensure safe disposal.

Health Impacts of Pesticide Exposure, Acute Pesticide Effects

Compared to the number of chronic manifestations, relatively few acute signs or symptoms were reported by the Filipino rice farmers included in this study, though a majority did report fatigue (52.0%, n=26) or dizziness (50.0%, n=25) immediately after spraying (see Table 4). About one-third of the farmers reported generalized body pain (32.0%, n=16) and weakness (26.0%, n=13) as acute signs or symptoms, while nausea was only reported by four farmers (8.0%). All other acute manifestations were reported by only one or two Filipino rice farmers: drowsiness, headache, shortness of breath, coughing or sneezing, abdominal pain, diarrhea, burns, stiffness, numbness, cramps, blurred vision, or achy eyes.

Health Impacts of Pesticide Exposure, Chronic Pesticide Effects

By far, chronic manifestations were recounted in much greater numbers than the acute health problems reported among farmers. All but one of the seven chronic illness categories, cardiovascular, revealed that 80.0% or more

of the study participants experienced a sign or symptom of that classification (see Table 5). By category, neurological symptoms far exceeded all others, with 98.0% (n=49) of farmers reporting one or more neurological symptom compared with dermal (90.0%, n=45), respiratory (88.0%, n=44), systemic or generalized (88.0%, n=44), ophthalmic (82.0%, n=41), gastrointestinal or renal (80.0%, n=40), and cardiovascular or blood-related (56.0%, n=28). Among individual symptoms, systemic pain and dermal excessive sweating were reported by more farmers (each 86.0%, n=43) than any other chronic manifestation. Following pain and excessive sweating in frequency reported were headache (84.0%, n=42), blurred vision (60.0%, n=30), drowsiness (56.0%, n=28), fatigue (54.0%, n=27), sleeplessness (52.0%, n=26), and abdominal cramps (50.0%, n=25). Although cardiovascular health problems were the least-frequently noted as a broad category, chest discomfort was still recorded by almost half of the study population (48.0%, n=24).

Of the remaining manifestations, only ten fell at or below 10.0% of the study participants (loss of appetite, anemia, tremors, kidney disorder, abnormal heart rate, impaired coordination, disorientation, contracted pupils, paralysis, cancer), while four impacted 12.0% to 20.0% (eye problems, sinus, skin rash, abnormal blood pressure). Four were reported by about one quarter (22.0% to 26.0%) of the pesticide-spraying farmers (skin disorders, numbness, nail problems, and vomiting or nausea). An additional seventeen were reported by one third or more (32.0% to 48.0%) of the pesticide-spraying farmers (nasal congestion, chest discomfort, cough with phlegm, frequent sore throat, hearing loss, red eyes, twitching, recurrent cough, runny nose, diarrhea, weakness, watery eyes, fever, dizziness, breathlessness, shaky hands, and irritated eyes).

Comparison with Previous Studies

This study found a number of similarities with, and a few divergences from, previous research documenting the effects of pesticide exposure. Almost all of the most common signs and symptoms recorded in the literature (with the exception of excessive salivation) were also seen to some degree in the chronic health problems reported by the Filipino farmers of this study: excessive sweating 86.0%, headache 84.0%, blurred vision 60.0%, abdominal pain and cramps 50.0%, chest discomfort 48.0%, diarrhea 36.0%, dizziness 34.0%, and vomiting or nausea 22.0%.

Notable is that, three of these manifestations (excessive sweating, headache, and blurred vision) fall among the ten most reported by the Filipino rice farmers in this study (by 60.0% or more). Seven others (generalized pain, drowsiness, fatigue, sleeplessness, abdominal cramps, nasal congestion, and chest discomfort) were reported by at least one fifth of participating farmers (20.0% or more). Similar to previous studies (Gomes et al. 1998; Rojas et al. 1999; FPA 2002; Lu, 2005), this study population reported generalized weakness as a systemic manifestation of pesticide exposure (36.0%), as well as fever (34.0%) and unspecified pains (86.0%). The Filipino rice farmers in this study acknowledged experiences of chest discomfort (48.0%) as well as abnormal blood pressure (12.0%) and/or heart rate (8.0%). Our results echo the cardiovascular and blood-related effects of pesticide exposure. Such is reported by Kishi et al. (1995), Schulze et al. (1997), Beshwari et al. (1999), Murphy et al. (1999), Rojas et al. (1999), Sodavy et al. (2000), Alavanja et al. (2001), FPA (2002), Martin et al. (2002), and Abu Mourad (2005).

Thirteen neurological effects of chronic pesticide exposure were also found in this study, including headaches, tremors, twitching, numbness, dizziness, sleeplessness, drowsiness, fatigue, disorientation, and impaired coordination found in multiple studies (Pingali et al. 1994; Kishi et al. 1995; Arcury and Quandt 1998; Gomes et al. 1998; Beshwari et al. 1999; Murphy et al. 1999; Sodavy et al. 2000; Alavanja et al. 2001; Ngowi et al. 2001; FPA, 2002; Martin et al. 2002; Kunstadter et al. 2003; Lu 2005). Headaches were particularly prevalent at 84.0%, an even higher incidence than the 51.0% rate that Murphy et al. (2002) found among Vietnamese pesticide sprayers. None of the Filipino farmers reported convulsions or fits as previously documented by Kishi et al. 1995, nor were more severe symptoms such as unconsciousness, slurred speech, ataxia, and mood disorders reported by the Filipino farmers (Kishi et al. 1995; Beshwari et al. 1999; FPA 2002).

The dermal manifestations reported by this study's population: excessive sweating, nail problems, skin disorders, and rashes, have also been previously well documented. However, it is uncertain whether the general skin disorders noted in this study would encompass the more specified descriptions found by other researchers: abraded, irritated, burning, cold, flushed or otherwise discolored skin, or dermatitis and integumentary (Pingali et al., 1994; Kishi et al., 1995; Arcury and Quandt, 1998; Beshwari et al., 1999; Murphy et al., 1999; Rojas et al., 1999; Sodavy et al., 2000; Alavanja et al., 2001; Ngowi et al., 2001; FPA, 2002; Martin et al., 2002; Kunstadter et al., 2003; Abu Mourad, 2005; Lu, 2005). On the other hand, the ophthalmic and respiratory problems recorded by the farmers in this study fairly mimic those reported in previous literature (Kishi et al., 1995; Gomes et al., 1998; Beshwari et al., 1999; Murphy et al., 1999; Rojas et al., 1999; Wilkins et al., 1999; Sodavy et al., 2000; Alavanja et al., 2001; Ngowi et al., 2001; FPA, 2002; Martin et al., 2002; Kunstadter et al., 2003; Abu Mourad, 2005; Lu, 2005). Also consistent between this and prior studies of pesticide exposure health impacts were the common gastrointestinal manifestations of nausea, abdominal pain or cramps, vomiting, and diarrhea (Kishi et al., 1995; Gomes et al., 1998; Rola and Widawsky, 1998; Beshwari et al., 1999; Murphy et al., 1999; Rojas et al., 1999; Sodavy et al., 2000; Alavanja et al., 2001; Ngowi et al., 2001; FPA, 2002; Martin et al., 2002; Kunstadter et al., 2003). However, the widely reported excessive salivation, as well as the less common constipation, intestinal problems, and incontinence reported elsewhere (Kishi et al., 1995; Beshwari et al., 1999; Murphy et al.,1999; Sodavy et al., 2000) were not found in this study.

Predictors of Chronic Health Effect

We performed multivariate regression analysis to assess factors related to the number of chronic conditions found among the study participants. The regression model was highly significant ($p=0.019$) with an R-square of 57.3%, indicating a relatively high goodness of fit. Results showed that disposal of emptied pesticide containers in the immediate environment instead of selling them to junkshops, a lower household income, and lower educational level (a lack of vocational training) would increase the number of pesticide-related chronic ailments (see Table VI). Note that container disposal method was used as an indicator for primary means of exposure. Farmers who sold emptied pesticide containers as their disposal method exhibited a significant reduction in the number of chronic disease effects ($B=-3.479$, $p=0.01$), as did those with higher annual household incomes ($B=-0.000$, $p=0.01$) and those with higher educational level with vocational training. All other variables in the model did not exhibit significant effects on the predictability of pesticide associated chronic manifestations (see Table 6).

Discussion

Considering the high estimates reported for illness rates among farmers using agrochemicals in developing countries, it is not surprising to discover that all the Filipino rice farmers included in this study reported experiencing signs or symptoms of at least one chronic illness category. Most cases of pesticide-related illness and poisoning are not reported because victims do not generally consult with a biomedical doctor or hospital or because their illnesses are not accurately diagnosed as related to pesticide exposure. In the Philippines, for example, the number of poisonings is likely underestimated because most cases do not reach the hospital, and in instances when cases do reach the hospital, health officers may not always correctly diagnose pesticide poisoning (Maramba 1995; Mendoza 1995). Although this study is based mainly from farmer interviews and not from evidence drawn from clinical data, the signs and symptoms reported in this study affirm the frequently-noted manifestations related to agrochemical toxins that are found in much of the existing literature.

For example, none of the study participants reported convulsions or fits that have been documented elsewhere (Kishi et al. 1995), but the tremors, twitching, and shaky hands recorded in the present study could be construed as similar. Other health issues anticipated by previous findings that were not documented among the Filipino farmers, including lack of concentration, poor comprehension, and reading prob-

lems, as well as nervousness/depression, increased anxiety, memory loss, and neurotoxic manifestations (Beshwari et al. 1999; Mancini et al., 2005), may have been revealed. That might have been so if clinical tests for such complications had been performed on the study population rather than relying solely on participant self-reports.

Respiratory manifestations related to pesticide exposure have been disputed in the literature as such signs and symptoms may likely be the result of tobacco use, which has been found to be prevalent among farmers; however, there has been some evidence in previous and present research to the contrary. While Pingali et al. (1994) found that farmers who smoke and apply one recommended dose of insecticides and herbicides are 50.0% more likely to have abnormal respiratory problems, such health impacts also increased with more chronic insecticide exposure despite whether or not the farmers were smokers. In fact, respiratory ailments increased by an additional 16.0% when farmers had participated in two doses/applications, and 30.0% with three (Pingali et al. 1994). Similarly, the present study revealed that being a current smoker or ex-smoker, when compared with nonsmokers in the multivariate regression analysis, was not a significant attribute of farmers with chronic health problems.

Though only three of the factors tested with multivariate regression analysis showed significance in predicting chronic illness related to pesticide exposure, several additional conditions collectively increased the risks and vulnerability of the Filipino rice farmers and cannot be ignored. These conditions include contaminated food and drinking water, inadequate nutrition, lack of healthcare, and poor working conditions. Additionally, the local farmers, as represented by the study population, are either not fully informed of or are unable to follow common guidelines for proper storage, handling, and use of pesticides, not to mention the proper disposal of waste pesticides and empty containers. Few used protective equipment or adequately cleaned themselves or their clothes after applying pesticides, even prior to smoking or consuming food or water. These combined vulnerability factors increased the risk of pesticide exposure and subsequent illness to farmers and their families, as they led to excessive and pervasive use or misuse of hazardous chemical substances.

Despite the growing concern over pesticide-related impacts and the increasingly-debated global issue of whether pesticides should even be used, there are few international or national programs and policies being implemented at the ground level. There is a need to raise the awareness of the harmful effects of pesticide exposure for human beings and to the ecosystem and to identify factors that increase the farmers' vulnerability to pesticide related illnesses. Further, the need for more health education programs should tap farmers' belief systems and cognitive categories to stress the need for precautions (Palis et al., 2006). As in the case of Filipino farmers, Palis et al. (2006) found that their perceptions and beliefs about health, illness causation, and pesticides have inevitably led to certain actions that hampered their taking preventive measures to protect themselves from the negative effects of pesticides. These beliefs include: the belief of immunity, that some (particularly the young) are not susceptible to the adverse health effects of pesticides; the dichotomy in the belief that pesticides are both medicine and poison, wherein the medicine concept has been placed above the poison concept; and the belief that using gloves to protect the hands from pesticides spill over and sprinkles might cause other illnesses such as pasma (exposure illness). Thus, health education programs should not only stress the poisonous aspect of pesticides, but also that everyone is at risk for acute or chronic pesticide poisoning, especially those who are exposed to pesticides on a regular basis.

Governments, companies and industries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO) of the United Nations, and the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), should all be involved in an integrated approach for sustainable agriculture with minimal use of toxic chemicals. National governments, whether in developed countries or not, have failed to support FAO guidelines in eliminating significant adverse effects of pesticides on people or environment. These guidelines also call for (1) the use of qual-

ity packaging and market-appropriate labeling and directions and (2) worldwide prohibitions on the sale and import of WHO classified IA or IB chemicals or chemicals requiring tropical climate-prohibitive or expensive protective gear. International efforts by WHO to identify dangerous agrochemicals should be backed by legislative enforcement, adequate access to appropriate healthcare, and globally accepted regulations regarding pesticide use guidelines, Integrated Pest Management (IPM) trainings, and product labeling requirements.

A sustained dialogue is urgently needed to improve communication between various stakeholders, especially in developing countries where marketing efforts by multinational corporations, paired with inadequate health and environmental regulations, have encouraged farmers' reliance on pesticides, even those generally banned elsewhere. Farmers are inundated with ads, incentives, and loans from pesticide corporations, shop keepers, and their own governments. At least half of the farmers in this study received information on pesticides from pesticide companies and an equal amount from other farmers, leaving it likely that prevailing local knowledge on agrochemicals comes directly from those who profit by their use without regard to the farmers' well-being. Moreover, while exposure method varies across pesticide studies, farmer vulnerability often lies in frequent and improper handling of pesticides and pesticide containers because of a lack of proper protective equipment and poor education and training on proper handling of disposal methods. For example, the regression analysis results show a significant reduction in chronic manifestations among farmers who removed emptied pesticide containers from their environment by selling them and among those who had completed agricultural vocational training.

Future Studies

Future studies should continue to expose shortcomings in intervention and prevention methods that could be abated through informing national and international policy. The common body of knowledge on pesticide exposure health impacts should be expanded, including: morbidity, mortality, surveillance and epidemiological data, environmental and biological monitoring of pesticide residues, medical screenings, effective program or education campaigns and individual or community programs. They should also recognize that certain manifestations of pesticide exposure or exposure incidences among specific populations may require more urgent attention because they occur with greater frequency or severity, or are influenced by culture and economy.

Toxic exposure has led to the Filipino farmers' acute and chronic illness experiences, with fatigue and dizziness as the most noted acute signs and headache, excessive sweating, pain, and blurred vision as the most recorded chronic symptoms. Almost every participating farmer in this study was impacted by some neurological or dermal chronic manifestation of exposure to agrochemicals. Even more pressing is the fact that their exposure to pesticides was primarily due to a lack of information combined with misguided local farming practices and was, therefore, avoidable. ❍

Table 1. Study Population Demographics (*N* = 50)

Characteristics **Filipino Rice Farmers**

	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)
Ethnicity/Linguistic group		
Tagalog	31	62.0
Tagalog and Ilokano	18	36.0
Tagalog, Ilokano, and Pangasinense	1	2.0
Age group		
25–30	3	6.0
31–35	20	40.0
36–40	13	26.0
41–50	14	28.0
Education		
Elementary	17	34.0
High school	23	46.0
College	6	12.0
Vocational	4	8.0
Marital status		
Single	5	10.0
Married	45	90.0
Number of children		
0	8	16.0
1–2	15	30.0
3–4	19	38.0
5 or more	8	16.0
	Mean (SD)	**Range**
Age of Farmer (years)	*37.16 (5.51)*	*25–48*
When started farming	17.02 (3.39)	12–25
When started applying pesticides	18.53 (4.18)	12–29
Timespan (years)		
Spent farming	20.14 (6.43)	6–32
Spent applying pesticides	18.76 (7.11)	5–33
*Annual household income**	*FP* 28822.13 (22661.49)	*FP* 4000.00-103000.00
	US$577.25 (453.87)	US$80.11-2062.89

*One of the 50 farmers did not provide an answer to this question
FP = the Filipino peso; *FP* 49.93=US$1 (Reuters 2006).

Table 2. Types and Frequencies of Pesticides Used Annually by Active Ingredient as Reported Among Filipino Rice Farmers (N = 50)

Pesticide Type and Active Ingredient	Chemical Family	WHO Class*	% of Farmers	Quantity Per Ha	Avg Spray Freq
Herbicides					
Butachlor† + Propanil†	Acetamide; Propanamide	U; III	50.0	38.73 L	1.76
Butachlor†	Acetamide	U	36.0	122.2 kg, 17.70L	1.61
Thiobencarb† + 2,4-D IBE‡	Thiocarbamate	II; II	28.0	18.10 L	2.14
Bispyribac sodium	Pyrimidinyloxybenzoic acid	U	12.0	6.19 L	2.33
2,4-D IBE‡	Chlorophenoxy acid or ester	II	6.0	1.40 L	3.00
Cyhalofop Butyl	Aryloxyphenoxypropionic	U	6.0	4.76 L	2.67
Thiobencarb†	Thiocarbamate	II	6.0	4.00 L	2.33
Oxyfluorfen‡	Benzene	U	6.0	0.63 L	3.33
Glyphosate Monoethanolamine Salt	Organophosphorus	U	6.0	6.25 L	1.00
Insecticides					
Cypermethrin‡	Pyrethroid	II	48.0	35.43 L	4.08
MIPC/Isoprocarb†	Phenyl methylcarbamate	II	34.0	29.17 kg	3.88
Chlorpyrifos† + BPMC (Fenobucarb)†	Organophosphate; pyridine organothiophosphate	II; II	26.0	18.63 L	3.00
Cyhalothrin, lambda‡	Pyrethroid ester	II	26.0	16.65 L	2.85
Carbofuran†	Benzofuranyl methylcarbamate	IB	8.0	21.17 kg	5.00
Acephate†	Organophosphorus	III	2.0	0.71 kg	1.00
Diazinon†	Organophosphate	II	2.0	0.67 L	1.00
Cypermethrin, beta‡	Pyrethroid ester	II	2.0	1.00 L	2.00
Deltamethrin‡	Pyrethroid	II	2.0	1.25 L	2.00
Tetradifon‡	OrganoChlorine	U	2.0	3.00 L	4.00
BPMC/Fenobucarb†	Carbamate	II	2.0	2.00 L	5.00
Chlorpyrifos† + Cypermethrin‡	Organophosphate; Pyrethroid	II; II	2.0	1.00 L	1.00
Monocrotophos†	Organophosphate	IB	2.0	0.33 kg	2.00
Carbaryl†	Carbamate	II	2.0	0.50 kg	3.00
Phenthoate† + BPMC/Fenobucarb†	Orghanophosphorus	II; II	2.0	2.00 L	6.00
Molluscicides					
Clonitralid/Niclosamide Ethanolamine Salt‡	Hydroxybenzamide	U	40.0	20.49 L, 1.60 KG	1.80
Metaldehyde‡	Aldehyde	II	28.0	1.60 L, 9.60 kg	1.64
Niclosamide	Hydroxybenzamide	U	16.0	23.01 kg	1.19
Rodenticides					
Zinc phosphide†	Inorganic, compound	IB	38.0	33.17 kg	3.11
Coumatetralyl†	Coumarin	IB	6.0	6.85 kg	3.33

†These active ingredients have been identified at least either as highly acutely toxic, cholinesterase inhibitor, known ground water pollutant, known/probable carcinogen, and/or a known reproductive or developmental toxicant (PAN Pesticides Database, n.d.).

‡These active ingredients have been identified at least as either moderately or slightly acutely toxic, a possible carcinogen, a potential pollutant, or suspected endocrine disruptor (PAN Pesticides Database, n.d.).

*IA = Extremely hazardous; IB = Highly hazardous; II = Moderately hazardous; III = Slightly hazardous; U = Unlikely to present acute hazard in normal use; FM = Fumigant, not classified; O = Obsolete or deleted chemical (WHO IPCS 2005).

Note. The percentages may not add up to exactly 100.0% and the frequencies may be higher than the total number of farmers (50) because of multiple responses among categories.

Table 3. Types and Frequencies of Pesticides Used Annually by Chemical Family as Reported Among Filipino Rice Farmers (N =50)

Chemical Family	Farmers Using *n* (%)	Quantity Used Annually per ha	Avg Freq of Sprays
Insecticide			
Pyrethroid	38 (76.0)	54.3 L	3.56
Organophosphate	18 (36.0)	25.6 L	2.59
Phenyl methylcarbamate	17 (34.0)	29.1 kg	3.88
Benzofuranyl methylcarbamate	4 (8.0)	21.2 kg	5.00
Carbamate	2 (4.0)	2.5 L	4.00
Herbicide			
Acetamide and Propanamide	25 (50.0)	38.7 L	1.76
Acetamide	18 (36.0)	139.9 kg	1.61
Thiocarbamate	17 (34.0)	22.1 L	2.18
Pyrimidinyloxybenzoic acid	6 (12.0)	6.2 L	2.33
Aryloxyphenoxypropionic	3 (6.0)	4.8 L	2.67
Chlorophenoxy acid or ester	3 (6.0)	1.4 L	3.00
Benzene	1 (2.0)	0.6 L	3.33
Molluscicide			
Hydroxybenzamide	28 (56.0)	45.1 L	1.96
Aldehyde	14 (28.0)	11.3 kg	1.64
Rodenticide			
Inorganic, compound	19 (38.0)	33.2 kg	3.11
Coumarin	3 (6.0)	6.9 kg	3.33

Note. The percentages may not add up to exactly 100.0% and the frequencies may be higher than the total number of farmers (50) because of multiple responses among categories.

Table 4. Pesticide-Related Acute Health Problems Reported by Filipino Rice Farmers (N =50)

Health Problem	Frequency *n* (%)	Health Problem	Frequency *n* (%)
Fatigue	26 (52.0)	Abdominal Pain	1 (2.0)
Dizziness	25 (50.0)	Diarrhea	1 (2.0)
Body pain	16 (32.0)	Burns	1 (2.0)
Weakness	13 (26.0)	Stiffness	1 (2.0)
Nausea	4 (8.0)	Numbness	1 (2.0)
Drowsiness	2 (4.0)	Cramps	1 (2.0)
Headache	2 (4.0)	Blurred vision	1 (2.0)
Shortness of breath	2 (4.0)	Achy eyes	1 (2.0)
Cough/sneeze	1 (2.0)	Abdominal Pain	1 (2.0)

Note. The percentages may not add up to exactly 100.0% and the frequencies may be higher than the total number of farmers (50) because of multiple responses among categories.

Table 5. Pesticide-Related Chronic Health Problems Reported by Filipino Rice Farmers (N = 50)

Health Problem	Frequency *n* (%)	Health Problem	Frequency *n* (%)
Neurological	***49 (98.0)***	*Systemic/Generalized*	***44 (88.0)***
Headache	42 (84.0)	Pain	43 (86.0)
Drowsiness	28 (56.0)	Weakness	18 (36.0)
Fatigue	27 (54.0)	Fever	17 (34.0)
Sleeplessness	26 (52.0)	Cancer	1 (2.0)
Hearing Loss	21 (42.0)		
Twitching	20 (40.0)	*Ophthalmic*	***41 (82.0)***
Dizziness	17 (34.0)	Blurred Vision	30 (60.0)
Shaky Hand	16 (32.0)	Red Eyes	20 (40.0)
Numbness	12 (24.0)	Watery Eyes	18 (36.0)
Tremors	4 (8.0)	Irritated Eyes	16 (32.0)
Impaired Co-ordination	3 (6.0)	Eye Problems	10 (20.0)
Disorientation	3 (6.0)	Contracted Pupil	3 (6.0)
Paralysis	1 (2.0)		
		Gastrointestinal/Renal	***40 (80.0)***
Dermal	***45 (90.0)***	Abdominal Cramps	25 (50.0)
Excessive Sweating	43 (86.0)	Diarrhea	18 (36.0)
Skin Disorders	13 (26.0)	Vomiting/Nausea	11 (22.0)
Nail Problems	12 (24.0)	Loss of Appetite	5 (10.0)
Skin Rash	8 (16.0)	Kidney Disorder	4 (8.0)
Respiratory	***44 (88.0)***	*Cardiovascular/Blood*	***28 (56.0)***
Nasal Congestion	24 (48.0)	Chest discomfort	24 (48.0)
Cough with Phlegm	23 (46.0)	Abnormal blood pressure	6 (12.0)
Frequent Sore Throat	22 (44.0)	Anemia	5 (10.0)
Recurrent Cough	19 (38.0)	Abnormal heart rate	4 (8.0)
Runny Nose	19 (38.0)		
Breathlessness	17 (34.0)		
Sinus	9 (18.0)		

Note. The percentages may not add up to exactly 100.0% and the frequencies may be higher than the total number of farmers (50) because of multiple responses among categories.

Table 6. Multivariate Regression Analysis of Risk Factors Associated with Chronic Illnesses Due to Pesticide Exposure Reported by Filipino Rice Farmers (N = 50)

Risk/Vulnerability Factors	Regression Coefficient *B*	Standard Error of *B*	*p*-value
Ordinal Scale Variables			
Size of the land	-0.710	0.490	0.158†
Household income	-0.000	0.000	0.010*
Farmer's age	-0.2557	0.210	0.232†
Years farming	0.300	0.204	0.151†
Years spraying	-0.140	0.162	0.393†
Referent Variables			
Educational level vs. elementary			
High school	0.552	1.358	0.688†
College	2.777	1.867	0.147†
Vocational	6.101	2.476	0.020*
Protective measures vs. other			
Gas mask	-1.711	1.230	0.174†
Gloves	-0.272	1.441	0.852†
Container disposal vs. local environment			
Sold to junkshop	-3.479	1.260	0.010*
Washed/reused for other pesticides	-2.728	2.948	0.362†
Buried	0.064	1.393	0.964†
Burned	1.175	3.574	0.745†
Smoking history vs. nonsmoker			
Current smoker	1.117	1.290	0.393†
Ex-smoker	0.659	1.916	0.733†

†Nonsignificant; *significant $p \leq 0.02$

Notes

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2. Satish Kedia received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Kentucky. He is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Memphis. 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 901-678-1433 by telephone and at **skkedia@memphis.edu** by email.

3. Florencia Palis's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of the Philippines. She is a social scientist at the International Rice Research Institute in Manila, Philippines. She may be reached at the Social Sciences Division of the International Rice Research Institute, DAPO 7777, Metro Manila, Philippines, as well as at 63-2-845-0563, x 713 by telephone and at **f.palis@cgiar.org** by email.

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Food Service and College Operations: A Business Anthropological Case Study, USA

Robert G. Tian[1], Lela Gramling, Robin Byrd, Linwood Epps, Danielle Keith, and Ryan Lick[2]

Abstract

Business anthropologists have attempted to solve various problems within particular firms using ethnographic techniques, which have become increasingly popular in business industries worldwide. Consumer behavior and marketing strategies in the food industry have been studied extensively. The goal of this study is to use anthropological methods to analyze the effectiveness and efficiency of food-service management on one college campus. The authors hope this research will provide a comprehensive overview of managerial methods and highlight areas for improvement within the structure of the food service at an educational institution. Please note that the questionnaires employed in this study are not reprinted here but are available upon request from the principal author.

Introduction

Since campus food services provide food to consumers, understanding the social and cultural aspects of food consumption is important to food-service efficiency. Customers are not only consuming tangible food and drink, but also practicing intangible customs and values associated with the institution of which the food service is a part (Tian 2001). The efficiency with which these intangible services are provided can significantly vastly affect the culture of both the consumer and the food-service organization. Additionally, food of course carries cultural meanings (De Mooij 2004) that vary among cultural and sub-cultural groups as in food choices and eating habits (Fathauer 1960). This study describes the dining needs of students on a particular college campus, examines the food services provided, and analyzes the managerial effectiveness of the dining hall of the college. The subject of our research is Coker College, Hartsville, South Carolina.

One defining issue of food service is *food quality*, which can be viewed in terms of factors of the food itself and of factors of the consumer. Herbert Meiselman (2003) uses a tripartite approach in understanding food quality by isolating the product, the person, and the environment as factors affecting one's view of food quality and its acceptability. One case study shows that food acceptability does not necessarily predict food intake. That situation is so because of situational, contextual, or environmental factors (Hirsch and Kramer 1993) that affect food quality, all of which support Meiselman's (2003) three-factor approach.

Monotony is another factor that should be considered. It involves the perceived short interval of time since the last serving of a particular food and is particularly important in institutional settings where the same people eat frequently and repeatedly (Meiselman 2003). Scott Hoffmire, president of Food Insight, says that

> typically in a closed system such as campus dining programs, student fatigue sets in, and perceptions of service and satisfaction normally decrease over the nine academic months (*Food Service Director* Staff 2002:14).

Of course, an individual's food expectations can affect *food quality* and its acceptability as well as dining location (Meiselman 2003). The latter is an important aspect for campus food services to consider when reviewing the factor of *food quality*.

Individuals often select particular types of food to identify with a specific social group such as ethnic background, age, and race (Lawn 2004), leading to an increased need for diversification within food-service organizations. This trend is due to increasing variation in ethnic and cultural groups within their customer base. It is advisable for universities to make changes in the way they operate, including food service departments, to keep up with the demographic revolution sweep-

ing across the United States today (Watkins 2000). Because outside business competitors are willing to cater to students with diverse backgrounds, accommodating campus food-service diversification would be advantageous. That is, in today's world, campus food needs to be as diverse as the cultural backgrounds of the students eating it and their social interactions (Boyce et. al, 2002; Deason and Tian 2003).

> Since commercial restaurants are influencing students more and more and changing their expectations, the challenge for campus dining is to keep meeting this rising demand with offerings that satisfy these contemporary customers (*Food Service Director* Staff 2002:14).

This aspect is part of the emphasis on material culture prevalent in American society. When applied to college students, *food quality* has become an important value in their beliefs about food consumption, or more straightforwardly put, about their food preferences. Food services are affected by two primary changes within student consumer behavior. First, students have higher expectations for meal-plan options, food service options, and campus dining experiences that reflect the increase in the number of non-traditional, non-residential students attending college. Second, students within the traditional context of on-campus residential living are increasing their use of off-campus food services because of the value and convenience they provide. Many traditional students are extremely mobile. This pattern is due in part to the various work, social, or cultural functions that take them off campus. Both trends require campus food services to re-evaluate what they offer in order to accommodate the changing consumer market. Enough cannot be said about the importance to a food service of understanding the cultural context of their customers. In the environment of colleges and universities, these customers are of course primarily students with plenty of food diversity based upon ethnicity, as mentioned. But there are other cultural and social aspects of student consumers that affect their dining needs and choices as discussed below.

To fully understand the magnitude of food-service management within a college campus and its impact on operations, we need to clearly understand the relationship between the food service and the consumer. In this case, we believe that student satisfaction is the driving force behind managerial effectiveness, as a campus food service is designed to provide students with nourishment and in turn to produce revenue for the college. The degree to which students' satisfaction is impacted by the effectiveness of management affects overall college operations in either a positive or negative way. The influence of effective food-service management can be seen in several key areas of campus operations, such as revenue, reputation, enrollment, recruitment, student health, student learning, and campus life. Providing students with a variety of meal-plan options, a diverse food menu, and enjoyable dining will keep student food dollars on campus as well. Good campus dining services will also effectively market their products to new enrollees.

By taking an anthropological approach related to business, this study analyzes the efficiency of food service at Coker College and its impact on college operations. The focus is on the managerial aspect of the dining hall. Using both qualitative and quantitative methods of ethnographic research, the study draws conclusions and suggests improvements. What affects the efficiency of food-service management on campus? How does food-service management affect other Coker College operations? What innovative ways might improve the dining hall and, subsequently, its relationship to other campus functions?

The Study

This project uses qualitative research methods to analyze the effectiveness of food-service management and its impact on operations at a college campus. It draws upon a representative sample of the student body to elicit preferences and opinions about the dining hall. Today's business people have increased their use of qualitative methods to uncover invisible cultural and social factors within their structures. "Anthropology's qualitative fieldwork techniques are one of its most valuable contributions to business" (Jordan 2003:20). This application applies to the

authors' research on a college food-service organization with the aim of identifying valuable information about managerial behaviors to isolate areas for improving this specific food-service business.

The Food Service and the College

The study's setting is the dining hall of a small college in Hartsville, South Carolina. Coker College is a private liberal arts college established in 1908. At the time of writing, total enrollment was 1153, with 537 students attending as full-time day students coming from 24 states and five foreign countries. Of these, 61 percent would be women and 39 percent men, 25 percent African-American, with 2 percent comprising other minorities. The remaining 73 percent of the day students would be European-Americans. There are 129 faculty members, with 59 of these being full-time professors. These percentages are important because various cultural differences can be found within such demographic groupings as gender, age, ethnicity, and occupational orientation.

The dining hall is located between two major student-residence halls, a prime area for attracting both residential and commuting diners because of its easy accessibility. The dining hall features a large cafeteria with seating for 160 patrons. The hall also includes two separate food bars within the cafeteria space and a separate room with a main entrée bar. The main entrée bar area is situated inside the cafeteria's entrance, off to the right side.

The staff of the dining hall includes two managers with one on duty and in charge on a given day, plus two cashiers, and ten food workers. The managers are both male with respective ancestries from Europe and India. The cashiers, not always on duty at the same time, are both African American and female. The food workers comprise two Caucasian Americans and eight African Americans with a gender distribution of six males and four females.

The Coker College Dining Service Department lists the hours for each meal: breakfast from 7:30 to 9:30 a.m., lunch from 11:30 to 1:15 p.m., and dinner from 5:00 to 6:30 p.m. The price for lunch, for instance, is $4.75 and diners may select from any food bar as often as they like. Take-out meals are not allowed; outside food cannot be brought in. Residential students are required to participate in the meal plan that provides them with three meals a day in the dining hall. Faculty, staff, and commuters may purchase a 30-meal, 10-meal, or declining-balance plan the calculation of which is designed to be placed onto their college identification cards. They also have the option of paying with cash each time they eat in the dining hall.

Methodology

This study measures the level of effectiveness of food-service management within the *Dining Service Department* and determines the extent to which it affects other campus operations by way of the following research methods: direct and systematic observation, interviewing, requesting a self-administered survey, and conducting a focus-group discussion. To measure effectiveness, we concentrated our observations on the staff's behavior and examined consumer behavior to record cultural aspects and social impacts. The interviews elicited factors about the students' use and enjoyment of the dining hall. We used the questionnaires to collect more extensive information about dining attitudes toward food-service management and other campus operations. The focus group provided a more detailed and specific record of individual dining hall patrons' thoughts or feelings towards food-service management and other campus operations.

Direct systematic observation of behavior is one of most used ethnographic field methods and is of course known as participant observation. Seriously attentive to problems of sampling and measurement (Baksh 1989, Johnson and Sackett 1998), the observations took place in the dining hall over a two-month period. For example, we scanned the entire dining hall every five minutes paying particular attention to the physical aspects of the cafeteria and the behaviors of different types of diners and workers.

The building is very large with adequate seating and many windows. The patrons constitute students and faculty members. The workers are recognized by the functions they perform. More in-depth observation relates to the topic of managerial capabilities. In a consumption-based

study, observational research can make an organized record of customers' behavior to find out what they like and what they do not like from the moment they walk in until the moment they dump their trays into the waste bin, so to speak (Abrams 2000). To collect accurate data, each observation had its date, time, and location recorded.

Specific observations range from student-worker interactions to the flow rate of diners and to further observations about the physical characteristics of the dining hall. First, we saw that students were, for various reasons, not being made to swipe their cards and pay for the meals they were eating. Second, we saw that staffers often used slow time as free time to socialize with each other. Third, we saw long lines for food and students waiting several minutes for food items. But, fourth, we saw many students socializing while eating together.

A copy of the 27-item questionnaire is available on request from the principal author. For example, three of the questions collect demographic information from the respondents, two questions ask about their particular use of the dining hall, two questions ask about the role of food service as a factor in college selection, and one question concerns meal plans. Certain questions pertain to the impact of the food service on various dimensions of other campus operations; seven questions address the magnitude of its impact, six ask if there was no effect, and six ask if the effect was positive. A Likert scale, pioneered by Rensis Likert (1903-1981), collects attitude data with a continuum of possible responses ranging from *Strongly Agree* to *Strongly Disagree*.

Students from a business anthropology class (*BA 391, Business Anthropology*) distributed the questionnaire at the dining hall by randomly selecting 15 dining tables at lunch time and 10 dining tables at dinner time on a typical weekday for a total of 128 questionnaires validly and seriously filled out.

We interviewed 37 diners. The interview protocol consists of six questions available upon request from the principal author. The focus group consisted of ten individuals from the college who basically represented the diversity of the full-time day student body on campus via ethnicity, residential status, student status, age, and gender. The group answered a total of five questions prepared in advance, with the facilitator prompting as needed with additional questions. The formal questions were: (1) It is suggested that the effectiveness of food service on campus has many direct and indirect impacts on the overall operations of the college. Do you agree or disagree with this statement and why? (2) Based on your own experience and your observations, what are possible positive and negative impacts that food service can have on operations of the college? (3) What are direct and indirect impacts that food service quality can have on the students' opinions of and behaviors in a college? (4) How will you comment on the food service and its influence on the reputation of the college, student recruitment, student retention, student morale, and motivation in terms of learning? (5) What would you suggest the college do in terms of food-service management? (See Table 1)

Findings and Discussion

In order to gain valid data about managerial efficiency, we isolated several specific areas for observation. It is important to note that anthropological qualitative research should never ignore valid observations that might fall outside the specific guidelines for a certain study. Moreover an observation that might initially seem irrelevant to the subject of a study may have an underlying cultural impact on that study. It has been said that anthropologists working on issues surrounding consumer behavior find that we as consumers both direct and are directed by others (Jordan 2003:68). Essentially, we as observers assumed that dining-hall staffers and diners affect each other's actions. Consequently, several of the study's observations focused on the interactions between these two groups. (See Table 2)

As seen in Table 2, two frequent observations were made. First, students were, for various reasons, not being made to swipe their cards and pay for the meals they were eating. Second, was that the staff often used slow time as free time to socialize with each other. Both of these observations directly affect the efficiency of the dining hall plus long lines with students waiting several minutes for food items once the food is reached.

We categorized the patrons into ten demographic groups, the majority being students, and observed them throughout two lunch days with the totals shown below in Table 3. As a rule, these students eat in groups of two to six people. While many of the students eat with others of the same race and/or gender, the majority of groups viewed were of mixed gender and ethnicity. Table 4 documents observed food-service habits / behaviors of both students and workers. One clear generalization is that the salad bar is a popular area and food source among diners. (See Tables 3 and 4)

Many students pursued the option of using the food lines as often as they wanted for more food. Pizza was the food diners ate most often, followed closely by salads and tacos. Many individuals were observed to be eating in a leisurely manner, indicating they were not in a hurry to finish their meals. These findings can help to determine the right foods to serve to maximize the effectiveness of the food service menu.

Issues of food quality and quantity and of health practices can drastically affect the effectiveness of a food service. Table 4 also shows that, in reference to the quantity of food, many students returned to lines for the same foods because small food portions. Patrons are only allowed one piece of pizza at a time, resulting in many return trips for another piece. Then there is the speed at which the salad bar is replenished. Several students were observed scraping the bottom of containers for various salad ingredients.

Concerning food-service quality and dinnerware, on multiple occasions students were observed wiping off wet plates before they could take any food. A few other health issues were observed as well. No employees were ever observed wiping off food bars or tables to clean them. Only one employee was witnessed wearing a head visor and no employees were ever seen wearing hair nets. We saw only one trash bin be provided for the students to dump food remains and other garbage/trash, and this receptacle was not emptied and replaced in time and thus is often full. (See Table 5)

We conducted interviews with thirty-seven diners to help verify the efficiency issues observed in the college dining hall. Demographic data for the interviewees are listed in Table 5 above, showing that the demographics were fairly even in each category.

Typical responses to positive things about the food service center around the various specialty bars in the dining hall. Pizza is the most popular answer of a good offering to be found in the dining hall (12 responses) followed by desserts (10), sandwiches (9), and salads (7). The breakfast meal also ranked high (6 responses), and the factor of dining hall being a good place to socialize also ranked high (7 responses). The overwhelming bad thing about the food service amounts to lack of variety (26 responses). Students are very unhappy with eating the same meals week-to-week and day-to-day and would like to see a more varied menu. There was some unhappiness with the cleanliness of the dining ware as several students complained about unclean dishes, silverware, and glasses (7 responses). (See Table 6)

Also, the lack of food quality was a very popular answer (14), as well as complaints about the poor service from staff in the dining hall (9). The answers referring to good experiences in the dining hall were varied, but good socialization with friends ranked number one (35) and a midnight breakfast event came in second (24). The responses to the question of bad experiences were fairly similar. The main answers students gave were getting sick from food (8) and that the taste of food was poor (8). Student's responses to changes they would make as manager showed that many would listen more to input from students (15 responses). Other strong changes include food quality (6), food variety (6), and changes to staff attitudes and behavior (7). The last interview question saw several popular answers, and it pertained to what students would do about food service if they were the president of the college. The top three answers were to search for new contractors (10), to have monthly meetings with food-service management (10), and to send out student surveys to make changes according to student needs (6).

Survey results provide quantitative information that can help validate more qualitative data of this study. The demographic portions of the questionnaire that proved relevant to this study are categorized in Table 6. Fifty-six percent of the

diners at the college's cafeteria are males and 44 percent are females. The sample gender ratio does not fit exactly with the overall college population. The sample mainly consists of full- time students whose gender ratio, according to the college database, is almost balanced. One possible explanation for this could be simply sampling error as the respondents were not specifically randomly selected but selected by randomly picked dining tables. (See Table 7)

The ethnicity of the dining hall patrons is 52 percent Caucasian, and African-Americans make up another large sector with 26 percent. The questionnaires also highlighted the fact that almost all of the people eating at the dining hall are students. With 89 percent of diners being students, and with nearly half of all diners using the hall three times a day and on weekends, it is apparent that the majority of the diners are residential students. As mentioned, the residential students are required to partake in the meal-plan offered by the college. These two facts taken together bring to light an important finding. Since the majority of diners are residential students who frequently use the dining hall, the fact that 59 percent of all diners dislike the meal-plan shows an area for concern with regards to food-service quality. This study shows that students do not like to be forced to use the dining hall, but that since they are already paying for the meals, they will use them. This can have a major impact on the relationship between the college and the students, as well on the students' attitude towards the dining hall. (See Table 8)

Diners feel that the quality of food service affects the relationship between a student and the college; 77 percent of diners are in agreement. Thus patrons' food experiences influence how they view the college, which is a major development for the administration showing the need for managerial efficiency to be as high as possible.

Another key finding from the data in Table 8 is that the majority of those surveyed (56 percent) do not feel that the quality of food service is the most important factor in college selection. Since 45 percent also disagreed with the idea that food service was not a factor at all in college selection, it can conclusively be stated that although food service quality is not the most important factor when deciding upon a college, it is a factor that affects students' decisions. Administrators need to be aware of the structure of their food-service management because it impacts the reputation of the college itself. (See Table 9)

Several demographic categories were singled out for further analysis: gender, diners who used the hall three times per day, and ethnicity groups. The role of gender can have an impact on the views of student diners in relation to the effectiveness of the management at the campus-dining hall. In turn, this can influence their ideas about the campus as a whole and various aspects of campus operations. Table 9 shows some of the most relevant questions posed to both male and female diners. The table shows that while male and females alike agreed that food service quality can greatly affect both student morale for learning and learning outcomes, they disagreed about the positive impact seen at the college. Also, 49 percent of males surveyed believe that learning outcomes are negatively affected by the quality of food service at the college, while only 38 percent of females felt this way as well. A previous study by Tian and his students found that males and females tend to have different eating habits and patterns due to differing components of culture (Boyce et. al. 2002). In addition, the data collected in this study indicate that gender can create a difference in attitudes surrounding food and food service as well. Another finding in the category of gender was that over ten percent more males than females felt that food service quality was not the most important factor in college selection.

The researchers felt that looking further into the data collected about diners who used the hall three times per day was imperative for a full analysis of this subject. The diners who use the cafeteria most frequently are mostly residential students who also use the hall on the weekends. From the data already discussed, it is apparent that these diners are not happy with the meal-plan currently in place. It is important from a managerial effectiveness standpoint to see if there are other issues that the most frequent users of the facility are not satisfied with and try to correct them. Therefore, the researchers isolated several key ideas shown in the questionnaire in relation to 3 time/day diners. This infor-

mation is shown in Table 10. (See Table 10)

One of the main findings within the three-per-day dining hall users is that they feel that the food service quality negatively impacts the college's reputation. Compared to all the other usages within this category, the three-per-day diners make up 55 percent of all the diners who feel this way. In comparison, other users of the dining hall tend to think that the food service is a better influence on the college's reputation. Of all those in agreement, 64 percent were people who did not use the dining hall three times per day. Additionally, the three-per-day diners voiced stronger disagreement for the positive impact on learning morale and outcomes than any other usage group. This data points to the fact that the more frequently a diner uses the food service at the college, the less positive they are about their experience. This shows a decrease in student attitudes over time with regards to the effectiveness of the management. Furthermore, it can be assumed that diners will regard not only food-service management, but also the totality of campus operations, in a less positive light over time, which is an issue for management to consider for effectiveness.

Focus Group

Focus-group findings reveal that college is essentially a product. The efficiency of the food service can impact the recruitment of new students and the satisfaction of existing students, and, in turn, the college as a whole. Students realize that a portion of their tuition goes into food service, and if this service lacks effectiveness, then they may feel that their money is being wasted, which may negatively affect the student/college relationship.

The focus group discussion also showed how bad food service can negatively affect aspects around campus, such as retention rate and college revenue. The students voiced concerns over the quality and variety of food served at the dining hall, supporting observations made throughout the study. The final issue brought up in the focus group had to do with campus meal plans. Many students felt that they would have more success on campus and in the classroom if they were provided with more healthful and appealing food choices. The focus group reinforced the issues raised in the other sources of data and showed the importance of food service to a student's culture and social structure.

Conclusion and Managerial Implementations

Managerial efficiency and effectiveness are both important aspects in any business. When applied to a strong consumer-based business such as food service, these issues take on an even more important role. If consumers are not happy with their service or dining experience they will not happily return. It is important for management to grasp the relationship between efficiency and customer satisfaction. In the case of this college dining hall, there are areas of operation needing improvement. (See Table 11)

Customers seem to view a business as being there to provide for and service their needs. This means that the way food tastes and is experienced can be impacted by the level of service (Waters 1998:50). A suggestion for management is to increase the emphasis placed upon customer satisfaction by implementing the changes students have suggested, including the variety, quality, and sophistication of the food being served. New items could be added to the menu on a rotating schedule. It could be seen which new items customers preferred to bring them in on a more regular basis.

All in all, effective management of college dining services can greatly impact many aspects of the college organization. It is essential for managers to utilize their resources and improve campus-dining effectiveness. The wave of undergraduate enrollment that has been sweeping across college and university campuses for the last five years has opened up structural fissures in many campus life programs, often with significant implications for dining services (Lawn 2003:8). Therefore, it is imperative that management be as effective as possible to promote and increase revenue that can be used for dining service upgrades. These upgrades are mandatory in order to keep up with the expectations and demands of student consumers; consumers that can be seen in a whole new light thanks to the perspective of business anthropology. Effective promotion of revenue could be implemented by scheduling monthly meetings to review issues

within the food-service sector.

By listening attentively to the ideas of students, improvements in food service have been made and proven to work at Duke University in North Carolina (Alexis 2005). On Duke's campus, the director of dining services has increased revenues by nearly 100 percent in less than ten years, and he attributes most of this success to a rigorous system of surveys. They cover everything from the student's menu needs to the appearance of the food-service staff. Once the surveys are collected, they are put to use in a complex metrics model that shows areas needing improvements in the context of the performance levels of all aspects of the food service. Listening and responding are the key strategies.

The cultural contexts of food-service organizations and student consumers shape the culture of the college institution. Food is vital to all areas of campus culture and life. "It teaches us to understand each other's cultural and taste differences as a vital part of social behavior" (Jaynes-Stanes 2004:18). Campus food services are greatly influenced by the student/consumer behavior with regard to food consumption. And student diners are influenced by their cultural groups, their own expectations, and by organizational structure. The issue of customer service addresses the relationship between student consumer behavior and effective management of campus food services. The positive or negative attitude about managerial efficiency that stems from this relationship ultimately determines the overall impact on the college. This means that the first step to improving efficiency within food-service management on campus is to change its relationship with the students. Whether by implementing recommendations of a student survey, expanding the menu, or running a goodwill promotion on improvements, food-service management must booster its image with students in order to become more efficient. In short, good management is about caring for people (Walkup 1997:70); it is always possible to satisfy the customer if the business is sufficiently committed to that goal (Firnstahl 1989:31). If campus food-service organization can successfully combine these two concepts, along with an understanding of cultural concerns, then effective management will prevail. This situation leads to an increase in the overall productivity of campus dining services, and college operations will reap benefits as positive impacts.

Future Research

What role does socialization play in a student's attitude toward food service and its influence on the college campus? Data for this future research question might be gathered through our prime method of direct systematic observation and analyzed through inferential statistics, such as correlations among key variables. We would want to look at correlations among year in college, frequency of meals, gender, and ethnicity and level of satisfaction with the food service. That is, to what extent do these variables correlate? ❍

Table 1. Key Areas Influenced by College Foodservice Management

Area	Content and Comment
Revenue	Initially, the biggest impact of effective management can be seen in overall campus revenue, illustrated by an industry census taken by the Food Service Director. This census showed that even though total meals served decreased by 5%, due to decreasing enrollment , total revenues from food serve still increased by one-half million dollars. This increased revenue was due to increased emphasis on retail operations (Anon., 1998). This shows how diversification and efficient management can increase revenue even with decreased number of student consumers.
Reputation	Effective management of campus dining programs can also affect a college's reputation. For example, an overhaul to the University of Northern Iowa's campus dining facility has helped improve the reputation of the college. It has also given them national exposure in magazines like Food Service Director and Food Management (Watkins 2004).
Enrollment	Effective management can affect the current enrollment of a college by providing them with a variety of meal-plan options, a diverse food menu, enjoyable dining experiences, and a plethora of eating establishments. All this can be achieved on-campus, thereby keeping student food dollars on campus. Good campus dining services will also effectively market their products to new enrollees. The University of Connecticut showed how to use effective management skills to spread the word about campus dining. When students were moving into the dorms, Dining Services provide them with a "goodie bag." This bag contained a meal-plan brochure, the dining hall menu for the first week of school, information about the campus debit-card program, and a job application for the dining service of the school (King 2000). This is an excellent example of how effective management and creativity can increase the current enrollment of a college.
Recruitment	Not only can effective management of campus food services affect college enrollment, but the recruitment of potential students can be influenced as well. As colleges and universities around the country lure students with the promise of excellent academic opportunities and an attractive quality of life, dining services have become a major part of the recruitment package. One example of this can be found at the College of Wooster in Ohio. After completing a 26-day, one million dollar renovation project to the college's dining hall, the hospitality director noted an added benefit of the renovation. The added benefit is that "the dining hall has become a focal point for prospective student tours and [it's] a great selling point for the total college experience" (Sheehan 2002:31).
Student Health	Another issue affected by efficient management is the issue of student health. In a campus dining setting, effective management is concerned with the nutritional value of the food they are serving. Unlike off-campus eateries, campus-dining halls are held to institutional nutrition guidelines. The goal of effective management in a campus atmosphere is to provide tasty, nutritionally sound meals to customers. Therefore, effective management can increase the health of the student body.
Student Learning	Effective management can also influence student learning, and the influence can be seen in two separate ways. One way is through the role campus dining services can play in learning about food. For a variety of well-documented reasons, the past few generations have not had the opportunity to learn about food and cooking. Schools can play a vital role in reversing this trend. Learning about food and cooking opens up a whole new way of thinking, of understanding where food comes from, how it shapes us, and our future, and the world around us (Jayne-Stanes 2004:18). Effective management on college campuses can help enhance learning by utilizing made-to-order food stations and exhibition-style cooking methods. Another way that management of campus dining services can affect student learning is by answering the demand for more portable meals. The emerging interactive pattern of learning-- outreach classes, service components to courses, and field trips are all helping to increase the demand for pre-packaged, portable meals (Parker 2000:65). Campus food services with effective managers will see the unmet student need and fill it. The rewards of this venture would be two-fold: consumer needs would be met, and campus food managers would increase their effectiveness and their revenues.
Campus Community	The last issue surrounding effective management and college operations is its impact on the campus community. Food Service is an integral part of bringing a sense of community together" (Pond 2002:26) and food contributes to holding communities together (Jayne-Stanes 2004:18). Food service managers can effectively increase the popularity of the campus community through their dining services. On a larger scale, there is also a trend that campuses are becoming more and more the center of community culture as a whole (Parker 2000). If this trend continues and effective management tactics are implemented, then the revenue and potential customer base would drastically increase for the entire campus. Another effective management tool for campus community promotion is the provision of more campus centers where students can enjoy multiple services including food and dining. In addition to utilizing services, campus centers are becoming great places to enhance the social structure of the campus community.

Table 2. Eating Habits of Dining Hall Customers

Date and Time of Event	Observation Content	Academic Interpretation
1/27/05 at 11:59 am	Several trays are left with uneaten food.	For an unknown reason, some diners do not finish all of their food.
1/27/05 at 12:30 pm	Observed 4 people visiting salad bar within 8 minutes.	Several students were interested in eating a salad for lunch.
2/3/05 at 11:42 am	People are taking their time while eating.	People are not in a hurry to finish meal and leave.
2/3/05 at 11:50 am	No one is eating stir-fry in main bar area.	Stir-fry was not a popular food item among diners on this particular day.
2/3/05 at 12:00 pm	Several students are observed making more than one trip to food bar.	Students like to eat: a) several portions or b) a variety of foods from bar.
2/3/05 at 12:08 pm	9 female and 2 males have fixed a salad at bar in the last 8 minutes, no one is at pasta bar.	Salad bar is a popular area. that diners eat from.
2/3/05 at 12:10 pm	Salad bar is very busy- now 4 people making salads.	Salad bar is a popular area.
2/3/05 at 12:19 pm	Several students have been eating pizza and tacos today.	Pizza and Tacos popular food item with students.
2/3/05 at 12:30 pm	For 45 min, (12:30-1:15 pm) only 7 new diners entered hall and they all ate from the main bar. No one used salad bar and they all had a variety of different foods.	Main entrees are also a busy area. Variety of foods here can offer something for every diner.
3/2/05 at 12:02 pm	6 students were observed eating at salad bar.	Salad bar is still very popular.
3/2/05 at 12:15 pm	Several students have returned to pizza line for second time.	Pizza bar is area students enjoy.
4/20/05 at 11:45 am	Lines are very long, but several people are on their second trip already.	Students like to eat more than one time- or portions are too small
4/20/05 at 11:50 am	Once again, pizza is very popular item- of 12 people sitting near me, 10 are eating pizza and 2 are eating chicken.	Pizza is a very popular choice for lunch.

Table 3. Observed Diner Structures

Demographic Classification	Number of Occasions Observed Specific Groups	Total Number of Specific Groups Observed during Research Period
Groups of (2-6) Students	5	72
Groups of Faculty	6	12
Students-Alone	5	12
Faculty-Alone	2	4
Student Groups-All Caucasian	7	31
Student Groups-All African-American	4	10
Student Groups- Mixed Ethnicity	5	53
Student Groups- All Males	4	20
Student Groups- All Females	5	23
Student Groups-Mixed Gender	7	46

Table 4. Food and Health Issues Observed in Dining Hall

Observations	Interpretations	Managerial Suggestions
Observed several students "scraping" the bottom of containers for various salad ingredients. Lettuce ran out at 12 pm on 2/3/05.	Customers might not get salad they want because ingredients are not replenished in a timely manner.	Have a check sheet that is required for staff members. Must check and replenish salad bar on set time schedule.
No employees were observed wiping off tables between groups of students or at any other times. Also, bars were not kept wiped off.	Unsanitary to not clean tables between groups of diners. Bars were not wiped off either and this is a major health concern. Also, dirty tables and bars are a deterrent to diners who are coming to eat.	Nominate one staff member to be solely responsible for cleaning the tables after diners. Also can be responsible for wiping off bars in spare time.
Observed several students returning to lines for the same foods either.	Certain foods are popular and students enjoy eating more of these foods. Also, due to smaller portion sizes many students return for second servings.	Consider giving larger portions of foods that food service management knows are popular. If students consistently return for seconds, then increase portions.
Observed students wiping wet plates off before they could take any food. Also, overheard students discussing problems with wet plates.	Wet plates cause diners to have to wipe them off. Also, diners are unhappy with wet plates.	Make sure plates have sufficient time to dry off before placing out for student use.
Observed only one employee wearing a head visor and none of the employees were wearing hair nets at any time during the observations.	Hair nets and/or visors are required in restaurants, therefore, should be required in dining hall. This is a health issue and may affect compliance with public health regulations and standards.	Place more emphasis on health and sanitation procedures. Require all employees to wear hairnets or visors when serving/fixing food. Also require gloves to be wore when handling food.

Table 5. Interviewee Demographic Data (n=37)

Category	Subcategory	Frequency (%)
Gender	Male	22 (59.5)
	Female	15 (40.5)
Student	Freshman	8 (21.6)
	Sophomore	9 (24.3)
	Junior	10 (27.0)
	Senior	9 (24.3)
Faculty	(n/a)	1 (2.7)
Ethnicity	Caucasian	21 (56.8)
	African-American	15 (40.5)
	Other	1 (2.7)

Table 6. Interview Results

Question	Top Results	Frequency
Three (3) good things food service should maintain	Pizza	12
	Dessert	10
	Sandwich Bar	9
	Salad Bar	7
Three (3) bad things food service should improve	Lack of Food Variety	26
	Lack of Food Quality	14
	Poor Service	9
	Dirty Dishes	7
Good experiences with food service	Socialization	10
	Midnight Breakfast	7
Bad experiences with food service	Got sick from food	8
	Food tastes bad	8
Improvements that can be made by management	Listen to students	15
	Staff behavior	7
	Food quality	6
	Food variety	6
Improvements that can be made by the college president	Hire new contractors	10
	Monthly Meeting to discuss problems	10
	Make changes according to student surveys	6

Table 7. Questionnaire Demographic Data

Category	Subcategory	Numbers/Frequency	Percentage
Dining Hall Usage	3x/day	63	49%
	Breakfast	15	12%
	Lunch	17	13%
	Dinner	14	11%
	Lunch and Dinner	14	11%
Use of Hall on Weekends	Yes	69	55%
	No	55	44%
Meal-Plans	Like it	16	13%
	Dislike it	76	59%
	Indifferent	36	28%

Table 8. Frequency of Likert Scale Answers in Questionnaire

Question Grouping	Average Percentage for Majority Answer	No. of People in Majority Percentage Answer	Highest Percentage for Individual Questions within each Grouping
Food service has a great impact on campus operations.	64% Agreed	81	77% agreed for great impact on student/college relationship
Food service quality is most important factor in college selection.	56% Disagreed	72	(N/A)
Food service has no impact on campus operations.	58% Disagreed	77	65% disagreed for no impact on college recruitment.
Food service quality is not a factor in college selection.	45% Disagreed	58	(N/A)
Food service has a positive impact on operations at the college.	43% Disagreed	54	47% disagreed that foodservice had positive impact on the reputation of the college.

Table 9. Attitudes and Opinions of Food Service Quality

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Food Service quality has great impact on learning morale.	25	55	29	14	5
Food Service quality has great impact on learning outcomes.	22	49	27	22	8
Food Service quality has a positive impact on learning morale.	10	28	34	42	14
Food Service quality has a positive impact on learning outcomes.	9	28	40	41	10
Food Service quality is most important factor in college selection.	8	28	20	48	24

Table 10. Attitudes Concerning Food Service

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Positively impacts college's reputation	5	34	29	42	18
Positively impacts student morale for learning	10	28	34	42	14
Positively impacts student learning outcomes	9	18	49	42	10

Table 11. Problem Areas and Managerial Recommendations

Effective Management Issue	Managerial Recommendation for Improvement
Primary customers, students, are not happy with the level of food service quality.	Place more emphasis with food-service staff on identifying and meeting the needs of the customer base.
The food lacks variety and quality.	Serve more sophisticated, diverse foods on a regular basis. The foods that meet with diner approval can be added to the menu.
Need to increase revenue and upgrade dining hall food systems.	Research the cost effectiveness of renovating or expanding the dining hall. Research new and innovative ways to keep diner dollars on campus
Negative Attitude from student customers with regards to food service on campus.	Work on a type of "goodwill" program to help repair relationship with student customers. Have monthly meeting to generate new ideas and solve old problems within the campus food service department.
Negative Impact of Food Service Management on College Operations	Need to work to improve relationship with student diners. Also, need to be creative in keeping up student interest in dining hall. Need to work with college to solve issue of meal-plans and lack of food variety for residential students.

Notes

1. Robert Guang Tian taught business administration at Coker College, Hartsville, South Carolina, USA, when this paper was written in 2005. He is now an associate professor of business administration at Medaille College, 18 Agassiz Circle, Buffalo, New York (NY) 14214-2601 USA. He may also be reached at 716-348-1725 by telephone and at rtian@medaille.edu by e-mail. His Ph.D. in anthropology is from York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Publication of this article based upon a larger study is with the permission of Coker College as the principal author, Robert Guang Tian, assures.

2. Lela Gramling, Robin Byrd, Linwood Epps, Danielle Keith, Ryan Lick were seniors majoring in business administration at Coker College, Hartsville, South Carolina, USA, when this paper was written in 2005. They may be reached through their professor at the time, Robert Guang Tian, via his contact information above.

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Between Science and Life: A Comparison of the Fieldwork Experiences of Bronislaw Malinowski and Kirsten Hastrup

Marta Kolankiewicz-Lundberg[1]

Abstract

Through two cases discussed in this article, I compare the personal experiences of anthropologists doing fieldwork in another culture. The first is that of pioneer Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), transplanted to London, and his journey to Mailu on the island of New Guinea and later the Trobriand Islands. The second is that of contemporary Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup and her fieldwork in Iceland. Material is drawn from Malinowski's A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term, written between 1914 and 1918 and published in 1967. I used the entire text published for the first time in Polish in 2002 to analyze his social interactions in fieldwork settings, as well as to show how his diary has influenced contemporary anthropology. For Hastrup's field experiences, I draw upon published works of hers listed here as well as upon her work with the Odin Theater of Holstebro, Denmark. I have tried to present the being there of these two anthropologists not only as cultural phenomena with phase changes over time, but also to highlight crucial epistemological and ethical dilemmas for anthropology.

Introduction: Bronislaw Malinowski and Kirsten Hastrup

The two anthropologists I focus upon made their field journeys during two different moments of the twentieth century – Bronislaw Malinowski in the initial part and Kirsten Hastrup in the latter part – and are examples of Western anthropologists experiencing *being there*, that is, of journeying to, contacting, and engaging those of another culture. The importance of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) in this context is beyond question as he played an essential role in the foundation of modern anthropology. His long-term influence consisted not only in developing the functionalism that was his theoretical contribution, but also in revolutionizing the very practice of this field of science. He was to European anthropology what Franz Boas (1858-1942) was to American anthropology. Both emphasized the importance of fieldwork for the study of man. And both stressed that different cultures should be understood in their own contexts. Malinowski's studies of the Trobrianders turned out to be as influential as Boas' fieldwork among peoples of the Northwest Coast of North America like the Kwakiutl (Boas 1966). Fieldwork was the distinguishing feature and most significant achievement of Malinowski's school, so to speak. It transformed scientists shut away in libraries and museums into explorers who had to travel and literally enter another culture. It tore them from books and threw them into life. This alteration not only gave birth to anthropology as we know it today, but it also had a very strong influence on these scientists. By confronting them with a new kind of challenge, it helped shape their lives.

Malinowski is both the author and main character of and in *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, hereafter referred to as *A Diary*. It is an exceptional document. We find a record of the anthropologist's expeditions to Mailu and the Mailu people on the island of New Guinea and then to the nearby Trobriand Islands in the period between 1914 and 1918 where he lived in native villages and conducted his famous studies. As such, *A Diary* is for me the basis for analysis of Malinowski's fieldwork experiences. It was first published in 1967, which was about five decades later and two decades after his death in 1942. *A Diary* is important as a text that shook the world of anthropology by providing so-called scandalous data about how Malinowski generally unflatteringly saw those with whom he was working and studying. It also led to a dynamically meaningful shift in the paradigm of

anthropology via self-reflection among anthropologists.

Bronislaw Malinowski completed a doctorate in 1908 with honors in philosophy, physics, and mathematics at Jagiellonian University. Encountering the encyclopedic *Golden Bough* (1951) by Sir James Frazer (1854-1941), which was first published in 1890, Malinowski began his enthusiasm for anthropology. After contact with the newer psychologies and economics in Leipzig, he came in 1910 to the London School of Economics and Political Science, where anthropology had been recently established as a discipline.

The second anthropologist I write about is Kirsten Hastrup, a full professor of anthropology at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark. She earned her D.Phil. degree at the University of Oxford, England, in 1978 and later completed a D.Sc. at the University of Copenhagen. In her two respective dissertations, she focused on Iceland, which became and is her major cultural area of interest reflected not only in her writings, but also in a play performed by the Odin Theater Company. This international Denmark-based group, led by Eugenio Barba, is both a theater and a school of theatrical anthropology. It constitutes a place where actors, performers, dancers, directors, and scholars can meet and share their techniques, knowledge, and experiences. It is a "laboratory for research into the technical basis of the performer in a trans-cultural dimension" (Odin Theater 2008). Hastrup became a de facto prototype of the main character of the Odin Theater's spectacle titled *Talabot* by cooperating closely with the group during the production. This experience gave her an insight into situations of actors as informants and enabled her to understand the work of anthropologists from another perspective. As source material, I use various anthropological texts of hers, as well as her analysis of the Odin Theater, and try to show how the main dilemmas of anthropology, revealed by Malinowski's *A Diary*, are reflected in Hastrup's work and life. Her story serves as a counterpoint to that of Malinowski. The comparison of these two figures helps, I hope, to illustrate not only what has changed within anthropology, but at the same time highlights what is still problematic.

Looking at Bronislaw Malinowski in the Field

> Got up with a bad headache. Lay in euthanasian [euthanasic?] concentration on the ship. Loss of subjectivism and deprivation of the five senses and the body (through impressions) causes direct merging with surroundings. Had the feeling that the rattling of the ship's engine was myself; felt the motions of the ship as my own – it was I who was bumping against the waves and cutting through them (Malinowski 2002: *A Diary*, 2 November 1914).

From *A Diary* we get to know that Malinowski looked forward to the oncoming journey with enthusiasm and excitation. When boarding the boat that was going to carry him to Australia, he was well-prepared and eager to live an adventure. Already during breaks in the trip and short stops in ports he was offered the possibility of first contact with different cultures. Early impressions reached him from all sides, but at the same time they did not seem real to him. The exoticism, so tempting and attractive before the journey, in reality paled.

> First contact with a completely new culture, from which god knows what one was expecting, first impressions of a completely new country, religion, landscape are always full of such disappointments. Sometimes only, very rarely, lucky coincidence: fresh, rested thought, well-disposed sensibility and lucky arrangement of the conditions in a given place make it possible to at once capture the content of a new world, the value of beauty in new surroundings. Then clairvoyance happens, a grasp, sudden and profound, of things unheard and beautiful, since true – one of the happiest kinds of experience. Unfortunately, during this journey I do not have this lucky coincidence, among other things because of a concern about the future, about the acclimatization in the tropics and the big tiredness from the heat (Malinowski 2002: *A Diary*, 4 July 1914).

The biggest problem seemed to be a certain dissonance between his expectations – that which had been imagined and looked forward to

– and reality. Malinowski's interests had been stimulated a long time before he went to Asia and New Guinea. Books, not only scientific but also novels were one of the principal sources of these images. The imaginary world appeared much more attractive than the actual surrounding exoticism. As a result the reality of being in contact with another culture, and experiencing what he had thought would be an enjoyable adventure, turned out to be unbearable. The clash between imagined representation and perceived reality made discovering the charm and authenticity of the world he visited difficult and rare.

Traveling to New Guinea meant moving to the tropics and living among all new and unknown scenery of a different nature, landscape, and climate that provided strong sensations. Sometimes attracted, other times repulsed, Malinowski could not stay indifferent to this environment. It influenced his perception, physical condition, and frame of mind. Many times he felt displaced and alienated.

> Marvelous. It was the first time I had seen this vegetation in the moonlight. Too strange and exotic. The exoticism breaks through lightly, through the veil of familiar things. Mood drawn from everydayness. An exoticism strong enough to spoil normal apperception, but too weak to create a new category of mood. Went to the bush. For a moment I was frightened. Had to compose myself (Malinowski 2002: *A Diary*, 30 October 1914).

Apparently the moments when Malinowski had a sensation of being in harmony and agreement with the surrounding world were not frequent. The positive impressions were instantly romanticized and captured in a poetic description. The practice of transforming sensations into words facilitated their absorption. It is here that *A Diary* played an important role. Many times one has the impression that he felt real pleasure only by this process of creating images. As if Malinowski was not able to be there and enjoy it in a direct way; as if he needed some kind of transformation of the surrounding world to make it possible to feel and immerse himself in reality. "I am going to the jungle; not very exotic; tiredness; I dream of how I will recall these strolls after the return." (*A Diary*, 4 July 1914).

Of course, we find moments of real satisfaction and well being, when Malinowski felt that he was "*in the middle of things*" (*A Diary*, 2 April 1918). He had a "lovely, pleasant and amusing picnic" (*A Diary*, 8 May 1918) and "*good fun*" (Diary, 6 January 1918) camping. Sometimes he apparently experienced "the joy of being with real *Naturmenschen* (men of nature)" (*A Diary*, 20 December 1917). He lived "in harmony with reality, actively, without spells of dejection" (*A Diary*, 1 November 1914) and had "such pleasure to explore, to make contact to the tropics" (*A Diary*, 21 March 1918). These moments, though, were uncommon. In fact *A Diary* is extremely somber and its author seems to go through a deep depression. Instead of harmony we find isolation and estrangement; instead of enthusiasm – apathy and resignation; instead of adaptation – nostalgia and homesickness; and instead of tranquility – irritation and rage. Most of the time Malinowski was "fairly depressed, afraid [he] might not feel equal to the task before [him]" (*A Diary*, 20 September1914). "The work did not interest [him]," and he "thought of civilization with *pang*" (*A Diary*, 14 December1917). He had "moments of frightful longing to get out of this rotten hole" (*A Diary*, 11 February1918).

The most important aspect of Malinowski's new situation was his contact with native peoples. This was the central part of Malinowski's alienation, which shook the foundations of his cultural and social self and threw him into a new world, where all he was familiar with disappeared. Malinowski's first meetings with non-Europeans, during this trip, were made in Egypt and Ceylon. The only sensation noted was that of superiority. "Black monkeys imitating Europeans in the tram give me a feeling of superiority of the white race" (*A Diary*, 4 July 1914), – he wrote in Ceylon. Later, already in New Guinea: "the crew of fuzzy-headed savages in government uniforms gave me very much a 'Sahib' feeling" (*A Diary*, 13 September 1914). He had this strong feeling of superiority, especially towards the Europeanized people. The sensation was somehow related to a kind of disregard towards mixed cultures. He was looking for *noble savages*, pure men of nature as he called them. Isolated tribes

attracted him. These were found in settings where time supposedly had not left its mark and intercultural changes had not much occurred.

During Malinowski's interaction with native groups, their usefulness to his work constituted the most evident criterion to evaluate them. And the main relation he established with them was that of informant–questioner. He liked or disliked people depending on the quality of information they gave and on the degree of difficulty in making them speak. "Collected information which here bubbled out as fast as I could take it in.... Very intelligent natives. They hid nothing from me, no lies." (*A Diary*, 1 November 1914). "At 4, I began to work with Mataora – garden. They lied, concealed, and irritated me. I am always in a world of lies here." (*A Diary*, 25 March 1918).

In these cases, it is difficult to talk about a personal relationship between two human beings; it is rather, a purely technical contact between scientist and subject, a subject who sometimes is difficult to dominate and thus irritating. Getting information did not seem to be an easy task. Normally, Malinowski treated it in terms of exchange: when he wanted a Native to talk about familiar relations, taboos, magic or gardening, he paid with tobacco or other goods. He got furious each time somebody took his gifts and left him without any answers. He seemed conscious about the character of his investigation; he had the impression that it was similar to a battle, a hard process of getting something, of taking it away by force. "Then I went to Towakayse. There I had to do a lot of urging [*gwałcenie* in Polish means not only *urging* but also *rape* or *violation*] before they were willing to talk." (*A Diary*, 13 December 1917).

Extracting information gave Malinowski a sensation of violation and it normally required a lot of patience and energy. It was as well his main, if not the only, form of participation in the life of the village. Observing, talking, or any other kind of interaction with informants was motivated by the wish to pump information out of them. Of course, occasionally, such meetings had effects on Malinowski. In a way, he had to be involved in the situations he was taking part in. Nevertheless, there is only one description in *A Diary*, which shows Malinowski taking the initiative and in a very active way encouraging his informants to act – the only moment, when he really participated.

> In the evening I went to Tukwa'ukwa, were the Negroes refused to *mwasawa* (play).... To encourage them to play (there was no one on the *baku* (main square)), I began to *kasaysuya* (a kind of dancing game) myself. I needed exercise, moreover I could learn more by taking part personally. Much more amusing than the *petits jeux* (little games) organized a few days ago in Nyora. Here at least there is movement, rhythm, and moonlight; also emulation, playing of parts, skill. I like naked human bodies in motion, and at moments, they also excited me (*A Diary*, 24 May 1918).

This fragment reveals a high intensity of personal involvement in the research process. The fact that Malinowski initiated the dance, and that he took pleasure in performing it, indicates that he was able to enter whole-heartedly into an alien culture. We cannot state, though, that any sort of identification with the Trobrianders occurred during the stay on the islands. Most of the time, his *A Diary* was far from being a reflection of empathy. It was rather a vent to great distance, lack of interest, irritation and antipathy. Malinowski fell "into a rage" (*A Diary*, 20 January 1915). He "dislike[d]" Natives (*A Diary*, 18 December 1917), had "general aversion for...[the indigenous people], for the monotony" and felt "imprisoned" (*A Diary*, 23 December 1917). In these moments the object of study seemed to him "utterly devoid of interest or importance, something as remote from [him] as the life of a dog" (*A Diary*, 27 December.1917). At one point he developed an attitude towards the indigenous inhabitants that he termed "exterminate the brutes" (*A Diary*, 21 January 1915). This literal quotation from *Heart of Darkness* shows that Malinowski, in a way, played with a cultural role so well presented in Conrad's story. He used the words of Kurtz to express his own desperation in the deep isolation, and – by identifying with this literary character – tried to find a way to act in this overwhelming situation. Of course, Malinowski did not repeat Kurtz's life story. But he discovered in this character a ready role to play, that of colonizer. And actually, *A*

Diary gives us dozens of examples of situations, where power relationships between Malinowski and his informants corresponded to that of the colonial world.

It was completely natural for him to have his own "boys." They pitched his tent (*A Diary*, 20 March1918) and served him all the time. But most of all they were getting on his nerves by eating too many betel nuts (*A Diary*, 18 January 1918) or just by irritating him, like mosquitoes so to speak (*A Diary*, 27 April 1918). Malinowski could recognize that he needed them, but he could not stand their presence. He even went to the extreme of beating Ginger, one of those who worked for him (*A Diary*, 15 April 1918). He used *Gwadi* (children) who not only helped in gathering information about the inhabitants of the village, but who also carried around the chair on which Malinowski sat as part of his participant observation (*A Diary*, 15 December 1917).

The sense of power and the "delightful feeling that now [he] alone [was] the master of this village with [his] *boy*" (*A Diary*, 25 March 1918) gave Malinowski a lot of satisfaction. It offered him a sensation of enjoyment and corresponded to his ambitions. But it was not only this mere feeling of domination that Malinowski liked; being the lord meant for him much more. It was in fact related to a strong conviction of possessing this tropical village and its people by transferring them into his writing. "Joy: I hear the word 'Kiriwina'. I get ready; little grey, pinkish huts. Photos. Feeling of ownership: It is I who will describe them or create them." (*A Diary*, 1 December 1917).

Anthropological description with its presentation of so-called exotic tribes meant, in a way, bringing them to life. This attitude, so characteristic of early discoverers and explorers, continued in the activity of later scientists. Enlargement of knowledge about the world overlapped at this point with domination (Kieniewicz 1986). A typical colonial split was embedded between a sense of superiority and a sense of responsibility. The relationship in general between Europeans and what some have called *primitive peoples*, and in particular between anthropologists and their informants, bore at that time a resemblance to that of an adult with a child – an asymmetry typical for the world of colonial power (Asad 1973:16-18).

Asymmetrical power was present not only during day-to-day life, but also during anthropological work. On many occasions, scientific interest remained completely detached from a humane way of treating informants. They were above all "specimens." Malinowski would even go to the lengths of carrying out small experiments to collect his data.

> I came back in the dark and once again frightened a little boy whom I call Monkey; he utters strange sounds when frightened; I persuaded him to come a stretch of the way with me, bribing him with tobacco, then I would suddenly disappear in the bushes, and he would begin to squeal (*A Diary*, 13 January 1915).

Malinowski's attitude in the field towards women went beyond their being interesting anthropological subjects. Even as informants capable of irritating him for alleged disobedience, a different feeling applied to them, a kind of attraction. Actually, the only moment, when Malinowski expressed in his diary *A Diary* a wish to be one of those he studied was in relation to a woman.

> At 5, I went to Kaulaka. A pretty, finely built girl walked ahead of me. I watched the muscles of her back, her figure, her legs, and the beauty of the body, so hidden to us whites, fascinated me. Probably even with my own wife, I'll never have the opportunity to observe the play of back muscles for as long as with this little animal. At moments, I was sorry I was not a savage and could not possess this pretty girl (*A Diary*, 19 April 1918).

Malinowski did not surrender completely to nostalgia for familiar life styles and to frustration over strange ways, all provoked by isolation. He did everything to emerge unharmed from the experience. But he had to fight hard to achieve this status. *A Diary* can be read as a record of his ups and downs because it shows clearly how much he had to struggle to persevere against moments of crisis. Not forgetting himself in the surrounding world, sometimes, these ups and downs bore resemblance to a struggle between rational solutions – which would lead to an improvement of character and life – and irratio-

nal escapisms. The whole experience of *being there* was like a hard battle to keep one's head above water. It was a task to remain conscious in a situation where all that was known and usual became distant and substituted by a completely new environment. He needed to secure his own cultural identity and his normal stream of thoughts in conditions that threatened to alter them. Solitude combined with freedom from the control and the restrictions of his culture offered unexpected liberty. And this freedom exposed the self in a dangerous way. Malinowski was, like Marlow in *Heart of Darkness*, passing through a test. Confrontation with apparent *wilderness* was in fact a confrontation with oneself. As Wengle notes, an individual who is removed from his normal surroundings and placed under pressure may eventually get his sense of personal inner continuity destroyed while facing an emotional collapse. The cultural alienation that an anthropologist undergoes during fieldwork may lead to his or her symbolic death (Wengle 1988:6-7).

For Malinowski, the field was a struggle to maintain his cultural integrity. It had much to do with not surrendering to a strange, unreasonable fear. And one could see it as a struggle between giving up to overwhelming cultural alienation and maintaining the interior order, which for him was a familiar, clear and logical grasp of reality. In these moments of crisis, Malinowski's belief in all that was related to the security of rationality offered by his own culture was used as a protective measure to drive away uncontrolled sensations. In fact, during these moments a battle was fought for his cultural integrity, a battle against new instincts and beliefs imposed in an invisible and unconscious way by the new environment. Malinowski was fighting to remain himself.

> At night, a little tired, but not exhausted, I sang, to a Wagner melody, the words "Kiss my ass" to chase away *mulukwausi* (*A Diary*, 19 December 1917)

Mulukwausi is the spiritual equivalent to the *yoyova*. Both names are used by the Trobrianders to describe the flying witches inhabiting the eastern islands famous for eating raw, human meat and for bringing death to sailors. Hence dread (*A Diary*, 19 December 1917).

Publication of Malinowski's *A Diary*

The publication of *A Diary* should be seen in the context of both the immediate scandal it gave rise to and the later reflections and discussions it provoked. It certainly led to great disappointment with Malinowski. The proclaimed father of modern anthropology turned out to be a racist full of disdain for and, on occasion, even hatred towards "his" informants. The criticism *A Diary* met with was significant because it was not limited to the mere condemnation of Malinowski. What may have been much more important was that the text strongly undermined the credibility of anthropologists in general and thereby the science as a whole. With painful sincerity at times, the text clearly showed some of the most difficult, but crucial, problems that anthropology had to face. It exposed anthropologists during their fieldwork, showing the dangers and complexity of the situation they found themselves in. The criticism therefore had a more fundamental importance than the simple dethronement of Malinowski. It was obvious that personal experience inscribed into fieldwork should not merely be treated as such, since it is strongly connected to issues of methodology.

A Diary was a distorting mirror in which anthropology had to look at itself. The first and most obvious reflections the image provoked were of an ethical nature. The colonial context only strengthened the feeling of ambiguity related to the anthropologists' presence in the field. Moreover, the question of problematic inequality within power relationships was not restricted to the political question. It evoked deep discussions about the possibility of cognition of other cultures. *A Diary* also showed the complexity of the fieldwork situation for researchers, bringing the problem of their identity into focus. The experience of *being there* appeared as a walk on a tightrope, a situation in which the anthropologist's cultural self is threatened and in which each step could mean a fall into the surrounding reality. Thus, *A Diary* illustrated above all else a fundamental flaw in current anthropology and, in the long-term, the text would be used as a starting point for discussion in search of better solutions for this branch of knowledge. Kirsten Hastrup offers a solution.

Kirsten Hastrup's Experience

Kirsten Hastrup's experience of *being there* occupies a really special place in her texts. On many occasions she refers to episodes and events from her stay in Iceland. She not only recalls happenings but also reveals her fears and emotions during her fieldwork, trying to present herself unveiled, without a *writer's mask*. Yet, it does not mean that we as readers are given access to all aspects of the experience. The episodes are carefully chosen, serving a specific purpose.

We see Hastrup, for example, when she received letters from home in which her friends say they miss her and want to make preparations for her return; they try to arrange classes for the next semester and ask about her plans. We witness her throwing the letters away, not willing to read or answer them (Hastrup 1995:15). And we follow her in maybe the most significant story she tells:

> Staying for some months during the autumn on an Icelandic farm, I once took part in an expedition to collect stray sheep in a rather rough mountainous region. At a certain point in time I was left on a rock ledge to hold an ewe that had just been recovered from another ledge where it had been entrapped.... I had a beautifully clear view down toward the flat coastal lands were "my" farm was situated.... Suddenly, a dense fog came rolling down from the upper mountains and with an icy cold. In the subarctic area you know never to trust the sun, and I was prepared to meet the cold; but in the long run not even woolen clothes could prevent a degree of fear from creeping in. It was not so much a question of fearing to get lost, even though I knew that I could never descend alone. It was a kind of fear related to the place where I found myself.... In that particular place the fog was a very specific veil over the Icelandic landscape, of which I had become a part. And there, a nebulous human figure appeared in the mist. I knew instantly that it was a man of the "hidden people" (*huldufólk*) who visited me in the small space of vision left to me and my ewe by the fog. Ever since the Middle Ages *huldumenn* have been known to seduce Icelandic womenfolk, and especially shepherdesses in misty mountains. Apparently he did not touch me, but who knows if he did not seduce me in one way or other without my sensing it? When the fog lifted, and I was finally rejoined by my own people, the only thing that remained clear in my mind was the real experience of the materialization of the unreal (Hastrup 1987:52).

Here we get a clear message of what the fieldwork experience means to Hastrup as she helps us to correctly interpret the episodes, giving explicit clues how to decipher their meaning.

We notice that working in the field places her in an unusual position towards both her own culture and that of the other. Hastrup felt that she did not want to belong to her own world. She rejected it abruptly and desired to maintain a double distance – on the one hand, real, physical absence, on the other, emotional detachment and a negation of the interior cultural affiliation. She wanted to cut ties that linked her to her country, her job, and all that she usually was. Not only was she denying her own culture, but at the same time she was rejecting her so-called normal self. She did not want to be Kirsten Hastrup the Danish professor any more, but rather somebody else.

Kirsten Hastrup, The Icelandic Shepherd Girl

As we follow this turnabout, we see how she turned into *Kirsten,* an Icelandic shepherd girl or a peasant working among the fishermen. We see how she entered the culture of *the other* to such a degree that she herself grew to be a part of that she was to describe. The transformation was profound and multifaceted. It was closely related to her physical presence there in the world of *the other*. She not only observed and learned about the reality of *the other*, she entered it; she learned how to act in it and how to be a member of it. Hastrup really participated. She worked in the fish factory and grazed her sheep. This situation had at the outset a lot to do with entering and adapting to local routines and ways of living. She sought to experience the Icelandic world in the same way as she saw her informants and decided

to immerse herself completely.

According to Hastrup, fieldwork does not only involve investigating and researching the other culture. It has to do with a radical experience of estrangement (Hastrup 1995:14-15). Hastrup felt she was not herself in Iceland. When afterwards she wrote about the things that had happened to her, the sensations or the fears she had had, she did it in the third person. This grammatical change in language reflects a shift in identity. The person doing the fieldwork was not the same as the one who wrote down her observations, analyzed them, and tried to offer explanations. There were two different *Kirstens* (Hastrup 1992:116-134).

The Fieldwork Experiences of Malinowski and Hastrup Juxtaposed

If we juxtapose the fieldwork experiences of Bronislaw Malinowski and Kirsten Hastrup, some clear differences stand out. In Malinowski's case, *being there* was important as a condition of his credibility. The validity of his ethnographical writings was based largely on the fact that the author had been on the islands he described and had lived among the people he wrote about (Geertz 1988:1-24). Nevertheless, his personal experience itself remained in the shadows. Fears and frustrations felt in the field were only reflected upon in a hidden, intimate diary not intended for publication. In the same way, the problematic relationship between Malinowski and his informants remains behind curtains. There was never any question of anthropology's validity or ethics. Inequality was so strongly inscribed in the historical and political context that it did not provoke any particularly profound reflections. And actually, the context caused anthropologists to appear in a completely different light to other Westerners. They were the only ones deeply interested in the culture and society of the *other*, and the only ones eager to preserve them, proclaiming the equality of all humans. But it did not mean that in their work they did not practice violence.

In the case of Hastrup, issues of inequality and complexity involving the anthropologist–informant relationship occupy center stage. Anthropology is "a child of Western imperialism" (Gough 1968:403) with its validity in question ethically and epistemologically because anthropologists had worked on behalf of colonial oppressors. Their position in the field turned out to be ambiguous. They could never cease to represent their own culture, which for their so-called primitive informants signified colonizing power (Asad 1973:16-18). And anthropological knowledge connected to the European scientific tradition is seen as accused of being based on an imaginative representation of other cultures created by the scientists (Said 1978) instead of empirical observation, albeit recognizing the complex issue of the frontiers of cognition of other cultural realities.

Under these circumstances, analysis of the very relation between anthropologist and informant gained a particularly important position. The interest in and explanation of the issue by Hastrup should be seen as a part of this trend. From the 1960s on, many texts were produced to create awareness and encourage analysis of the condition and the problems of anthropology. This self-reflection impelled many to include their autobiographies in the scientific discourse. We come across not only isolated episodes from the fieldwork, but also very private, almost confessional, accounts of the author's experience (Ruby 1982). In this context, Hastrup's openness and sincerity when it comes to confessing her feelings during fieldwork, are not so out of the ordinary. They are deeply rooted in the discourse of the time, just as Malinowski's silence and secrecy were earlier.

Basic Questions as Impacts of Fieldwork

In the same way, the importance of the personal experience changed diametrically (Clifford 1986:109). It became a central issue. Contemporary doubts and criticism concerning the methodological basis of anthropology put matters in a new light. The simple fact of anthropologists' *being there* was no longer sufficient to give epistemological foundation to the presentation of an alien reality. The weakening of realism and positivism in the social sciences in the late twentieth century led to the return of such basic questions as *How can we describe reality? How do we learn to know it?*

During the time Malinowski was active, *observation* seemed to be a sufficient tool to

acquire knowledge about studied cultural reality. Vision therefore played a central role in the process of empirical cognition. The aim was to make scientific observation perfect. And that is why methodology and fieldwork techniques where so important as they were supposed to guarantee the most exact *measurements* of cultural reality. Participation in the lives of *others* was merely a way to obtain the best and most faithful data possible, by watching informants constantly in all possible moments of their daily life. To have all elements of the culture within eyeshot was the main aspiration. (Clifford 1986:11)

Hastrup openly expresses her doubts about getting to the essence of a culture solely by means of visual observation. She believes that Western people have a distorted capacity to see things. Cognition can, in her opinion, occur only by fully identifying with the object of study. Anthropologists must then consider themselves a tool in fieldwork. Both mind and body should be involved in the research process to the highest degree possible. Personal experience cannot be eliminated from the scientific investigation; it is its base and foundation. Only by incorporating the other culture, feeling it from the inside and performing it like an actor performs a character, can anthropologists have real insight into it. And in this process of identification the border between object and subject is blurred; the border that Hastrup calls "an artifact of modernism" (Hastrup 1992:117). In this sense, Hastrup's understanding of the reality she lived in during fieldwork provided valuable and precious data.

The field experiences of Malinowski and Hastrup were extremely powerful, especially as each was tested in a very intense way. Both of them balanced dangerously on the edge, so to speak. In a very definite way, they were caught between two different worlds. What was culturally usual and normal suddenly disappeared. Even the aspects of life so deeply rooted in the self that appeared to be an inherent and essential part of it, suddenly turned out to be acquired and relative to the culture one grew in. The examination of *the other* thus led to a discovery that had important consequences for the self. In both cases, we get the impression that the journey to the *exotic* place was not only motivated by science. But also, the attraction to *the other* was somehow provoked by a personal need to experiment with the self. *Being there* is in the case of anthropologists followed by going back home. It is like an adventure that is supposed to shed light on those sides of the self that are normally in the shadows. Playing in the world of *the other* leads to the discovery and definition of the cultural self.

The Old Self of Malinowski and the New Self of Hastrup

Bronislaw Malinowski's and Kirsten Hastrup's experiences took different or even contrary shapes. Malinowski held on to his *old* self like his life depended on it. His routines were basic for him and were supposed to guarantee not only success and persistence in work, but also the cohesion and survival of his identity. He stuck to his gymnastics, defined and redefined the rules of his interior discipline and formulated resolutions in his diary – all this to keep a grip on his own self. He escaped, sometimes to the company of other Westerners, other times to novels, a piece of his world that he brought with him. His success in preserving identity was due to decisive confirmation of his own culture and brutal denial of that of *the other*. Referring to informants by derogatory names in his diary meant in fact refusing to acknowledge them as humans. He had to kill them symbolically and deprive them of their humanity. Only in this way did his cultural self remain untouched and safe. Antipathy seemed to offer the only secure refuge.

Hastrup, in contrast, was brimming over not only with sympathy but also with real and profound empathy towards "her people." Her experience was one of deep identification with them. But in order to do so, she had to deny her own culture. She sterilized herself from all she was used to. She had to forget and reject her past and her cultural being. If we venture to say that Malinowski had to symbolically kill his informants in order to remain himself, we could recognize Hastrup's symbolic suicide. Her profound identification with *the other*, her almost complete immersion in the new world could only be possible at the cost of killing the *old* Kirsten.

Hastrup, Her New Self and the Odin Theater

At the same time, she was ready and willing to experience the fieldwork situation from the side of the informant. Her work with the Odin Theater gave her opportunity to do so. She was chosen by Eugenio Barba to be a prototype for the main character in *Talabot*. Hastrup's encounter with the Odin Theatre was a very tough experience, but it offered her a possibility to switch roles. Suddenly, and not completely intentionally, she found herself in the informant's skin. And, even though she had some kind of consciousness of the nature of fieldwork research, only now could she experience it from the other side. Only now could she fully understand how the anthropologists' presence, observation, and questioning strongly influence or even disrupt the life of those being analyzed. She made herself vulnerable to a kind of experiment that would make her personal identification with *the other* possible. Her empathy was total. She simply became an informant and experienced the fieldwork process that way. This situation is seen from her initial interest in her so-called exotic character she was to play, through the slow and painful process of realizing the character of her character, to finally realizing herself as the dramatic Kirsten – her *new* self. She was simultaneously herself and not herself, if you will (Hastrup 1995).

Hastrup's way of experiencing during her anthropological journey was not only shaped by the search for a more adequate tool of ethnographic methodology. It was also, in a way, a powerful response to the despair of her times. Hastrup's manifesto has indeed double significance. On the one hand, it tries to offer an alternative, to overcome the impasse created by criticisms that led scientists down a blind alley. She insists that cognition of *the other* is possible, that one is not necessarily restricted by one's own culture to the point at which it renders a true dialogue impossible. She believes so strongly in the chance for an encounter of an open-minded nature that she reaches the point of participating in *the other's* (un)reality. Her meeting with the man of the *huldufólk* is thus a good confirmation of the capacity of Western scientists to rise above their own cultural determination.

On the other hand, though, the manifesto is an affirmation and a clear expression of the crisis of Western culture. After all, Hastrup has to abandon her own self to be able to embody her Icelandic alter ego. The very experience of entering the reality of *the other* is a metaphor for her European condition as a wish to obliterate her own identity and a desire to immerse herself in an alternative, which she expresses unequivocally.

The task of anthropologists is for Kirsten Hastrup something more than a simple description and analysis of human culture in all its different variants. Their scientific work resembles a real mission that should help Western culture to find answers to its own failings and so revive *true life* within it. They should become a bridge that joins together two separated worlds. Hastrup compares her anthropological profession, or maybe better, her condition to that of a prophet (Hastrup 1995:24-25). She claims that both figures represent somebody who has access to two different realities: belonging to the old they give voice to the new. The key to the prophetic condition of anthropologists is their ritual presence in the other world (Hastrup 1995:25). Fieldwork is seen here as a *rite de passage* (Hastrup 1995:20). It is a way to mark the anthropologists' place in the world *in between*.

Hastrup as Romantic Poet

I propose another comparison in that Hastrup could be associated with the image of a romantic poet. Similarities are visible in many different features of the figure of the anthropologist created by Hastrup. Her experience of *being there* is presented as an experience of *becoming*. She enters a special state, abandons the rational part of her cultural identity. Her cognition of the other culture – the message of truth so needed by the Western civilization – occurs beyond her normal self. All she comes into contact with is absorbed by her senses and not by rationality.

Romantic poets are also mediators between two worlds. Their capacity to write poetry is attributed not to the mastery of the poetic techniques or the ability to use different metres and poetic images, but to their special condition. This permits them to get to a source of real inspiration and thereby to create a truly genial

work of art (Young 2001:16-18). Romantic poets reach a peak inaccessible to ordinary human beings. Their creation draws more from this ability to transcend realities than from the work of reason. Romanticism values the irrational and supernatural highly.

Romantic poets have a special status among the people with whom they live. Poets, just like prophets, are considered exceptional. They embody geniality. One cannot achieve this state without having been born with it; poets are the chosen ones, special figures that have access to another reality. This ability gives them the unique chance to touch *truth* and to see clearly – abilities others do not have. But at the same time it makes them suffer. Their existence *in between* is exhausting and dangerous and the lack of a clear affiliation provokes anxiety. In a way their messianic condition is a sacrifice.

Similarly, Hastrup's anthropologist runs the danger of exposing herself to risky experimental states. Her mission is difficult; cognition of the other (un)reality requires a special condition. When describing herself to the Odin Theatre, Hastrup later wrote that she created an image of *a lonely rider*, which meant that in her stories she completely omitted her marriage and family. She explained it as a sort of lack of affiliation, which had always been her mark and still was (Hastrup 1995:132). She had to fight for any, even temporary, feeling of belonging. Hastrup sees this feature of her personality as a central element of this special condition. The state of *an internal exile*, as she calls it, is vital to be able to carry out fieldwork, but it also results in loneliness and isolation.

The mission of the anthropologist is accomplished only when the other reality is mediated. Experience must be transformed into writing. Hastrup perceives this part of the work of anthropology as *a state of art* (Hastrup 1992:116-134). The description of *the other* is a creation of text. It does not mean that the ethnographer writes fiction. On the contrary, there is a distinct border between creation and fiction. Hastrup emphasizes that the only way to get close to *LIFE* being studied is to escape from conventionality. Blind reproduction of ethnography is the biggest enemy of the authenticity and of the real value of the text.

We hear again echoes from romantic ideology. The cult of originality and departure from classical literary forms were the strongest features of the romantic condition. Creation had to be freed from these fossilized forms. The only way to express reality was by searching originality and breaking with the conventional. The use of imagination substituted traditional forms (Novalis 2001:27-28).

The introduction of the European romantic ideology is not accidental here. Hastrup herself refers to it in her writings. The mentioning of nineteenth century Romanticism appears in relation to criticism of the positivistic vision of science and the realistic representation of the cultural world. It is deeply embedded in the project to reform anthropology as a science, both on a methodological and theoretical level. Romanticism is treated as a possible counterbalance for the dominant Western scientific vision of reality rooted in the Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

> Anthropology may not be a prototypical member of the category of scholarship, let alone of 'science', yet its import derives from its ability to discover and describe the reality just as much as linguistics and physics. Its potential stems from its power to question the givens of western culture rather than confirming them. As such anthropology continues the Romantic reaction against the Enlightenment reason, and against the sanctification of the natural sciences. The discovery of other worlds is explicitly creative (Hastrup 1995:12).

Hastrup sees the very act of conducting anthropology, that is, of directing one's sight towards another world and a different way of dealing with reality than the Western one, as aiming to undermine all that is usual and taken for granted by a process of estrangement from one's own culture. This approach allows regarding one's own identity and habitual way of thinking, feeling, and experiencing, as a cultural product. The purpose of anthropology is then to criticize Western culture. Yet in the process, it resembles an old struggle within the European tradition between *Enlightenment* and *Romanticism*. In fact, all Hastrup does is to reject and criticize

one part of the European tradition, and refer and rely on another one. She calls out the spirit that has haunted Europe for centuries. She fights for a right to describe and define reality beyond the Enlightenment's scientific model. She wants to experience reality instead of merely observing it – to use her intuition and feeling instead of her reason. She wants to give the anthropologist the status of prophet and messiah instead of that of transparent observer. She insists on creation as part of the anthropologist's role instead of mimetic or imitative representation in writing ethnography.

Doubts

Hastrup explores the most dangerous side of fieldwork. The side that was present in Malinowski's experience, but which he tried to cover or eliminate—that of irrational fears and of sensations that habitual ways of perceiving reality were collapsing. She exposes herself to experiments, but does not do it for mere adventure. Her incorporation of *the other* has scientifically defined aims. It is intended to give a perfect insight. She tries in this way to free herself from the determinism of her own culture and to access the true reality in a direct way by experiencing it. My doubts here concern three basic problems.

My first doubt asks if it is possible to switch from one identity to another? Although I agree that cultural affiliation is something malleable that can be shaped and formed according to one's own will, I cannot imagine a total and unquestioned conversion to another culture. The conscious project of transforming one's identity is in my opinion impossible to achieve. It is not only our consciousness that is involved, but also those parts of the self that are uncontrollable, and that are to the same degree influenced by the culture.

Secondly, we should ask if the choice of *the other* by anthropologists is completely neutral, if it is equally easy to enter and embrace any *culture* or maybe there are those that are just easier to overpower. In this sense, anthropologists will always establish some kind of hierarchy between the worlds they participate in. This would be another place where unequal power relationships are articulated, since it is difficult to imagine one of the Icelandic fishermen playing in Hastrup's academic world with the same ease. And it is here, perhaps, that the most problematic impact of anthropology's colonial heritage lies. Another aspect of this point would be the possible existence of prior attraction to some cultures, a romanticized image, which would render their description even more questionable.

My third objection concerns the method Hastrup uses to embody *the other*. My comparison of the anthropologist with the romantic poet intends to show that simple rejection of positivistic rationality does not necessarily mean liberation from cultural determinism. What Hastrup does is in fact to incorporate another discourse, one as strongly linked to Western culture as the positivistic one. The move she believed was from one culture to another can be seen merely as a switching of discourse. The romantic tradition is given voice. I would argue here that if we think of reason as shaped and determined by our culture, there is no cause not to think the same of intuition. It is probably just as deeply embedded in our cultural formation. We learn how to use it and where to apply it. We know when we are permitted to recall it and what to expect from it. It is a defined concept in our minds just like rationality is.

Conclusion

Hastrup responds to some crucial questions of anthropology revealed by Malinowski's *A Diary*. She certainly succeeds in solving the ethical problem of anthropology. She transforms the oppressive anthropologist, embodied in the main character of Malinowski's *A Diary*, into a compassionate one. She sacrifices her own self to expiate the sins of anthropology. Nevertheless, the epistemological problem was not so simple to solve. Hastrup takes a big step in the debate about what dialogue is possible and appropriate with *the other*, but her proposal, even though it could be treated as an alternative way to achieve knowledge, is not the solution to the epistemological problems of anthropology. ❍

Notes

1. This article by Marta Kolankiewicz-Lundberg is a shorter version based upon her 2003 thesis for a M.S. in cultural studies from the Institute

of Sociology at the University of Lund, Sweden. She is not affiliated with any institution and may be reached by e-mail at **martulapl@yahoo.com** and by regular mail at Ejedervägen 1E, 227 33 Lund, Sweden. No telephone is available. She also holds a M.A. in Iberian studies from the University of Warsaw, Poland, and a M.S. in human rights from the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. For this article, Lundberg translated into English quotations from Bronislaw Malinowski's *A Diary* from the 2002 first edition in Polish.

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Rebuilding the Intergenerational Community in Northeastern Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA

Harley C. Schreck, Jr.[1]

Abstract

Older adults living in central city neighborhoods often find themselves in the midst of a rapidly changing mix of ethnicities and lifestyles. The neighborhoods in which they have aged have changed along with their support networks that are often challenged. This situation, in turn, leads to difficulties in their meeting daily needs. They are not enjoying the benefits of strong social capital that would be essential for them to thrive in their neighborhoods. This study looks at an example of community building in northeastern Minneapolis intended to rebuild inter-generational aspects and thereby enrich social support networks for older adults. Qualitative methods of research show that this effort was successful in many respects, with evidence of increased intergenerational interaction and support. Significant questions remain, however, as to the sustainability of this pattern once the process of intergenerational community building has ceased.

Introduction

Catholic Eldercare, a long-term care institution in northeastern Minneapolis, has attempted to build social capital to support and enhance the lives of older adults in this area of the city. Through extensive intergenerational programming, younger persons, older adults, and other community members are brought together to share stories, work on common projects, and produce interpretations of life in the Northeast. Social capital is linked to the ability of older adults to be active participants in their own neighborhoods and, thereby, be well enmeshed in networks of social support with improved lives. Can intergenerational community building strengthen and sustain social capital in urban neighborhoods?

Review of the Literature

Society is defined by structured relationships and the institutions that are formed thereby. It is informed by a culture that provides a set of rules for behavior and interaction. The cultural rules governing interaction and the values that inform these rules constitute a social contract. A special case of the social contract, the intergenerational contract, links the three generations of children, adults, and older adults in such ways that the flow of goods is from adults downward to children and upward to older adults. The middle generation is the more generous giver of services and goods to the other two. All three generations are affected by these decisions. The intergenerational contract is needed to sustain strong healthy communities and societies in which older persons are valued and supported.

Social scientists have long recognized that a *norm of reciprocity* is a cultural universal, so it is hard to understand why younger persons would use their resources to support older persons with nothing guaranteed to be given in return (Gouldner 1960). It is helpful to understand this situation as a process occurring over a lifetime. Since all persons in a society have the potential to live to old age and will eventually be in need of support, no group of persons would be called on to give resources that they would not expect to see reciprocated. The essential points are that everyone ages and that if the policies dictating the level of support for various ages are consistent, then all persons would be treated equally over a lifetime (Daniels 1988). This form of exchange is known as *delayed reciprocity* where a return of the gift is possible but not necessarily given directly by the person receiving the original gift (Honeycutt 1981; Williams 1995). As such, it is a community building process wherein communities are held together through reciprocal ties that occur over a long period of time and may be generalized so that there is not a direct return by the gift recipient to gift giver.

There are some in society who will be less

productive than others, and some will be more capable to provide services and support than others, but sometimes only for a season. The person may face an acute illness but expect to fully recover. The person may be older and reaching the end stages of a long and productive life. But he or she is now in the new and very uncomfortable role of a dependent finding it difficult to meet the demands of daily life without substantial assistance. Variations can be from small amounts of assistance to heavy demands for help and can for many reasons apply to people of any age. Acknowledging this reality is essential for constructing a just society.

Trust is essential for support that crosses generational lines, both informally where persons and community organizations respond to the needs of those who are facing difficulties, and formally with social policies and programs. Social exchange relies upon deep reservoirs of trust and wells of mercy. The intergenerational contract is built on these intangibles. Yet, today there are two significant challenges to building an intergenerational contract in the United States of America. Both are related to the changing demographic profile of the American population: (1) a growing imbalance of the number of older dependent persons compared to younger working persons and (2) the changing nature of cultural diversity in the United States.

Since the 1930s, this country has accepted a social policy that links working persons with dependents who cannot work because of age or disability. Demographic change is challenging this. While the over-65 population will grow 70 percent between 2010 and 2030, the labor force will only grow four percent. This means that instead of three workers supporting each retired person there will be only two (The Urban Institute 2001).

It is often argued that, since the worker-dependency ratio is challenging the continued acceptance of the intergenerational contract as a social policy, families need to get more involved in the care and support of older adults. Those calling for this often miss the fact that 80 percent to 90 percent of care now given older adults already comes from family and friends. Not only is the number of older persons growing rapidly in American society, but also, due to smaller family sizes and the decision by a greater number of women and couples not to have children, the percent of children and younger persons in the population has declined. The percentage of older adults who are childless is expected to increase over the next few decades. This directly challenges the viability of an intergenerational contract that relies heavily on the contribution of family members to the support of older persons (Johnson and Troll 1996). In addition, changes in women's roles wherein women are more likely to be working out of the home result in fewer potential caregivers who will respond to the needs of older persons (Morrison 1990; Olson 1994)

Thus, family involvement in the support of older persons is being challenged by demographic and lifestyle changes that are affecting the abilities of families to respond to their needs. This, combined with a growing imbalance in the worker dependency ratio, challenges the intergenerational contract as a living, yet unwritten, document. At the present time, there is a structural lag in that the specifics of the intergenerational contract have not kept pace with demographic and cultural changes. An intergenerational contract in which younger generations are required to generously support a large and growing number of older adults can easily be seen to be problematic.

Another challenge is the growing cultural pluralism in the United States. America has always been a diverse nation. In the last decades of the twentieth century, however, there has been a movement toward a pluralistic society, not merely a diverse society. The strengthening voices and actions of minority cultures have challenged the power of the dominant culture. For example, African Americans, new immigrant groups, and subcultures defined by a host of factors, including lifestyle and sexuality, are more visible and active in social and cultural life. There is much to celebrate in terms of the great riches brought to the nation and victories over injustice and domination. However, it means that the intergenerational contract is challenged.

At times, it is hard to find common ground among the various cultures and subcultures in a pluralistic society. Sometimes there is competition exacerbated by the fact that the generational

fault lines are often ethnic fault lines. European Americans are greatly over represented among the ranks of older persons in the United States due to differences in longevity compared to other United States populations. It is increasingly likely that a poorer, younger, ethnically diverse population will be asked to support, through their tax dollars, a richer, older, mostly European American population (Angel and Angel 1997) as already shown in places like Southern California with higher rates of ethnic change. The younger population is predominantly Latino while the growing older population is mostly Anglo, leading to calls for a new social policy focusing on intergenerational and interethnic justice (Hayes-Bautista et al. 1988).

Generous forms of social exchange and trust are the basis for the intergenerational contract. A strong intergenerational contract is likely to exist where there is rich social capital available to a community. Social capital has been defined as social interaction and a common, shared set of cultural values. Social interaction as social networks allows one to gain access to valuable information and resources, providing real, tangible benefits that allow a person to meet his or her own needs more efficiently. Trust leads to the decision to work with another person because there is a possibility that the other person will be reliable and keep his or her end of a bargain. Social capital is important to consider because of its linkages with a variety of positive social and cultural outcomes, including helping the marginalized or vulnerable cope with change more successfully. In communities with rich social capital, it is more likely that support will be available to those in need (Putnam 2000).

The literature suggests that strong social capital helps to ensure that the vulnerable are supported. Activities that increase the extent of social interaction and help build a sense of shared values would likely enhance social capital in a community. Less is known about how it happens. My research focuses on one example in which intergenerational programming was used to try to strengthen social capital.

My Research Methods

My research took place in northeastern Minneapolis, which houses a population of approximately 63,000. *Northeast* was the birthplace of the city of Minneapolis in 1851. Through the 1920s, it saw significant immigration from persons from Europe and, by World War II, took the form of thirteen well-defined neighborhoods largely based on ethnicity. Until recently, residents of *Northeast* were primarily of southern, eastern, and northern European stock with a smaller population of Lebanese. Beginning in the 1960s, many of the children of then current residents began to settle in other, more suburban parts of the city. The population of northeastern Minneapolis declined in number, and the people aged in place. After 1970, changes accelerated. Jobs were lost as factories moved away from the denser urban areas to the outskirts of the city as part of economic decline. *Northeast* was seen as an inexpensive place to live, and the number of renters, rather than homeowners, increased. Mostly, the newer immigrants were now coming from areas other than Europe. These changes have accelerated so that currently northeastern Minneapolis is more ethnically diverse than ever before. During the last decade, *Northeast* has witnessed a rebound concerning its attractiveness as a close-in, interesting place to live. Re-gentrification has been occurring with a new wave of more affluent people moving into *Northeast*. With numerous galleries and studios, it has become a center for artists. There is a growing population of gay men and lesbian women living in *Northeast*. Although signs are apparent of general economic improvement, tensions abound among the various groups of residents with unease about the future development and direction of northeastern Minneapolis.

In the community, Catholic Eldercare offers a full range of services to care for the elderly, including a nursing home. Established in 1980, Catholic Eldercare is well known in the area and has offered many programs designed to break down the walls between the institution and the community. Eldercare's intent is to help strengthen *Northeast* as a community and make it a better environment for aging in place for seniors. Eldercare has invested in programs that reach out, and it has invested in a three year program to help build intergenerational relationships. This paper focuses on one aspect, the

Discovery Cafe project, consisting of structured conversations among a diverse group of community members. The goal is to get to know one another, share life stories, and work toward meeting needs that have been identified in this process.

The research that informs this project is qualitative in nature and relies on content analysis of existing documents and participant observation in the Discovery Cafe process. Eldercare has produced a number of documents that were used for content analysis, including notes and reports of various intergenerational events, self-reports from the participants, and internal memos and reports that are linked to these events. Other documents of interest are materials sent out to advertise this work and guidelines that have been prepared for participants. Lastly, participants have created numerous products, written and in other forms, in various media, including drawings, murals, and so forth. These were analyzed to extract major themes related to intergenerational relationships.

Throughout the project, I was involved in participant observation, including program events, planning meetings, and other gatherings associated with Eldercare's overall program. I looked for statements and activities relating to an understanding of intergenerational relationships and their meanings for both older and younger participants.

Building Community

Catholic Eldercare has worked with a number of churches, community and governmental organizations, and individuals to bring members of different groups together in Discovery Cafes to discuss issues about *Northeast.* Such discussions are to build relationships and work toward commonly designed projects to improve life in northeastern Minneapolis. Such goals were stated in the minutes of one meeting:

> Working together, in a spirit of integrity, hope and honest dialogue, we serve NE [*Northeast*] as a model for moving together into the future for the well being of all. Nurtured and guided by our culturally diverse past and present, we know and use each one's gifts, weaving them together as essential threads in the fabric of the community's life. Needs are recognized and responded to with joy, love, generosity and care. Open to the Spirit, we expect miracles.

A large number of projects resulted. They include art shows, community education events, and intergenerational programming connecting local students with older residents under Catholic Eldercare.

Discovery Cafes

A primary focus of Eldercare's work with its Northeast partners is a series of Discovery Cafes, beginning in 2004 and continuing to this day. They are held in neutral spaces and at times that are thought to be convenient for the invitees. They last around two hours and are led by a facilitator. Food and drinks are provided and some music. The atmosphere is designed to be positive and as informal as possible.

The structured conversations aim to elicit perspectives on life in *Northeast* and then to ask the participants what they would desire in the future. There have been around 80 participants in Discovery Cafes including older persons and youths down to the high school years, professionals, and ordinary citizens. Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and the non-religious are represented. Stated goals and assumptions of Discovery Cafes are:

[1] To create a network that could work through our existing organizations and would get its energy from the groups' clarity of purpose, creative ideas and strong personal relationships.

[2] To create a conversation which provides participants with an opportunity to meet each other on a more personal basis, get to know one another's interests and needs and to plan how we might work together for the well being of the whole. The assumption is that we can do more together than we could ever do alone. Another assumption is that we are here to contribute to one another. As that happens, our knowledge grows. We want this to become a connector culture, which focuses on linking people, perspectives, and world views.

Perceptions of Northeast as a Neighborhood

As northeastern Minneapolis is undergoing rapid change, questions arise: What is a good community? What are desirable directions for future development? Who really lives in *Northeast*? Who really is a *Northeaster*? Who should live in *Northeast*?

The latter question was answered in a number of ways. First, northeastern Minneapolis is a place and to be a real *Northeaster* requires one to be connected to that place. When new persons are getting to know one another, it is common to ask if a person "lives Northeast." The proper response is to give an approximate location of where that might be, done in terms of specific neighborhood or street names. If not actually living there now, one may indicate affiliation by saying that one used to live there but moved away, that one was born there, works there, or attends a church in the area.

Another way to answer the question as to the true identity of a real *Northeaster* is in terms of who should and who should not in live *Northeast*. This area has long been diverse and is often mentioned as a point of pride. It was frequently stated that *Northeast* should be a place that celebrates diversity. Yet, participants spoke of challenges concerning northeastern Minneapolis involving newly arrived immigrants of different ethnic and racial backgrounds.

It was often noted that acceptance and celebration of newer forms of diversity would entail changes in *Northeast*. Participants at Discovery Cafes reported that many "new Americans" felt uncomfortable with the open style of meetings and community forums in *Northeast*. Conversations often led to the question of how *Northeast* as a community can effectively welcome newcomers to the area of different ethnic and racial backgrounds and help them be more successful in their lives in the area.

Yet, these conversations also took another direction. Outsiders were sometimes described as dangerous or likely to be responsible for a perceived rise in crime. Many persons spoke of *Northeast* as a formerly safe neighborhood whose residents were home owners and families. They implied that newer residents, many of whom are culturally different than most of the long-term residents, were more often renters often living in non-traditional family forms, such as cohabiting singles or homosexual couples. This was also the cultural and social profile of persons who were thought to be more likely to be responsible for crime or other community problems.

One way that *Northeasters* described themselves was to say who they were not. At this point, persons from northern Minneapolis, a neighborhood with a much higher percentage of African American residents, were said to be unwelcome in *Northeast*. It was noted that when the Lowry Street bridge, a primary crossing point from northeastern Minneapolis to northern Minneapolis, was closed, crime (as was perceived) went down because, it was argued, it was harder for persons from *North* to come into *Northeast*. This perception of *North* as a dangerous, foreign place has long existed in northeastern Minneapolis. In the early part of the 20th century, the unwelcome outsiders were Jews. Later in the century, they were African Americans.

Racial references in these statements are clear as when participants pointed out persons moving to *Northeast* from other parts of the United States, with Gary, Indiana, and Chicago, Illinois, being mentioned most often. Both of these are seen as places where many poorer, African Americans have lived and do live. Such persons were seen as not "legitimate" residents of northeastern Minneapolis.

Not only do residents of northeastern Minneapolis have images of who should and should not live in *Northeast*, they also have ideas of what *Northeast* should be like in terms of an *ideal community*. Participants spoke of desiring *Northeast* to be family friendly. This place is one where children can safely play outside, where families know other families as neighbors, and where families are involved in community programs and institutions. There was much concern about public safety and crime in *Northeast*. Although, stranger-on-stranger crime was rare, a few well-known muggings and robberies were often cited to indicate existing problems. Participants spoke of wanting a neighborhood where it was safe to walk to stores, restaurants, or other destinations. They stated that the elderly were often victimized and seen as easy targets. They pointed to examples, albeit rare, of stores being robbed. Lastly,

they pointed to graffiti and the presence of persons who seemed dangerous to them.

Public safety implies knowing and trusting one's neighbors. Participants often spoke of what they desired in terms of the quality of relationships among residents. They wanted to know their neighbors and fellow *Northeasters*. Many persons argued that this was hard due to a high rate of turnover of the population. Participants stated that there are more renters in northeastern Minneapolis than previously. They worried about neighbors who seem to have less commitment to *Northeast* and who make less of an effort to get to know other residents. This situation leads to difficulties in finding common ground. Participants also stated that newer arrivals, many of whom were thought to be renters, had less respect for others and were less likely to be as honest or trustworthy as long-term residents. In an apparent contradiction, participants also spoke about desiring a place where all persons are treated equally and where differences in culture are celebrated.

Residents were clear about challenges to this vision. They spoke of a sense of disconnectedness and lack of communication that all too often characterized present day Northeast Minneapolis. One person described Northeast Minneapolis as a place where people did not know, listen to, or notice her. She noted that there seemed to be more public disrespect of others than in the past. Indeed, a major theme apparent at various meetings was a perception that crime had been increasing in *Northeast*. At a meeting held at Northeast Park, which the mayor of Minneapolis attended, participants called for more police, a clearer focus on problem properties, and pressure on absentee landlords to take more responsibility for their renters. Residents also spoke of a need for more citizen awareness of crime and support of citizen attempts to control crime through more active block clubs, the recently formed Northeast Citizen Patrols, and the efforts of Guardian Angels, who were organizing in northeastern Minneapolis.

As can be seen, Discovery Cafe conversations uncovered a common interest in making northeastern Minneapolis a place where there are shared values, respect for one's neighbors, interaction with and awareness of neighbors, and vibrant community and economic life. Yet, challenges meant barriers to interaction with and knowledge of others, sometimes along the lines of ethnicity, age differences, or how long a person had lived in the neighborhood. Participants not only talked about how they saw *Northeast*, but they also talked about what should be done to build a stronger community there. Sometimes they called for institutional action, but a number of the suggestions had to do with what citizens could or should do to effect desired change.

Participants' Suggestions to Create Community

Participants spoke often of diversity and change in northeastern Minneapolis with the need to see persons of all ages and cultural patterns as blessings to the community. They spoke of a *Northeast* where cultural and lifestyle differences were accepted. It should be a mixture of different cultures and lifestyles in which distinctiveness would be appreciated. But there should be a strong foundation as a common core on which to build community. To achieve that end, they spoke of a need for more forums, such as the Discovery Cafes, to bring persons of various ages and cultures together. This effort would be for learning more about each other and to bring children, young adults, those of middle age, elders, and recent immigrants more towards the center of community life. One leader stated that "Youth are the future of the community, [we need to] get them involved."

There were a number of specific suggestions, which pointed to three groups –artists, recent immigrants, and older persons – offering distinct perspectives on building community that needed to be brought forward. Artists are well represented in *Northeast* as exemplified by its designation as an official *Arts District* due to its many commercial art galleries and practicing artists in residence. Artists could help all those living in *Northeast* see things more creatively. Immigrants bring in different views of life and could help all see things in new and interesting ways. Meanwhile, older persons possess long histories and wisdom about *community* that need to be shared with others because *history* is part of *identity*.

To achieve goals of *community*, it was argued that there needed to be places with forum events for residents to meet, interact, and work with each other. Discovery Cafes serve these functions, it was pointed out, so they needed to be extended with more events incorporating food, music, and art to better connect the community. The process needed to begin with celebrating community history through walking tours led by elders to introduce newcomers to the history and human-interest stories of northeastern Minneapolis. And the process needed community-education programs providing basic exposure to the nature of the languages and cultural backgrounds of new arrivals.

Regarding social policies in northeastern Minneapolis, participants argued that there should be more patronage by residents of local businesses and that "Mom and Pop stores" should be encouraged as opposed to chain stores. They wanted Central Avenue, the primary commercial street in *Northeast*, to be a place with more establishments offering safe, family-friendly "nightlife." They talked about the need to provide jobs locally so more residents could work in *Northeast*.

Participants expressed the need for more, better-supported community centers. They lamented the decline in numbers of young persons involved in the Boy and Girl Scouts and other community-service organizations. Schools and churches were often mentioned as crucial to the success of the area. Participants stressed that the schools should be neighborhood schools, with efforts made to connect schools with communities. They argued that all too often churches were exclusively focused on a subpopulation of *Northeast* or on persons with a specific ethnic background. Churches were often unaware of neighborhood dynamics and unconnected to the larger community.

Through Discovery Cafes three concrete projects were identified that could be developed to encourage a process of change. One is an interviewing project to link youth with older adults to capture life histories and to use these to help tell the story of *Northeast*. The second is a sewing project to produce a community quilt to capture many stories and perceptions of *Northeast.* And the third is a *Thanksgiving Celebration* designed to unite the neighborhood of Northeast in a single service of thanksgiving. The first of these has not, but the second two have materialized. Thus, the *Quilting Project* is underway, and two *Interfaith Thanksgiving Celebrations* have been already held in northeastern Minneapolis. The efforts of Catholic Eldercare and of the many partners in the scheduled events of Discovery Cafes have been extensive and have produced concrete results in terms of programs designed to foster unity among the diverse populations of *Northeast*.

Discussion

I investigated an example of intergenerational programming to discover its impact on social capital in northeastern Minneapolis. Clearly, the programming engendered much discussion and stimulated work toward projects proposed through such consensus. However, has it helped to build social capital?

Increased social interaction that leads to sharing information and resources would be one measure of increased social capital. Through the Discovery Cafes many participants met and interacted with persons with whom they had no previous contact. Older persons sat with younger persons. Persons of different ethnicities met together. Many other differences were bridged in the conversations. During the Discovery Cafes, rich and meaningful interactions took place, which participants appreciated. One older person said, "I grow talking to young people, I can be a better person and, therefore, a better part of the community."

Participants found how the Discovery Cafes were arranged and organized to be conducive to interacting with new people. The experience was safe, neutral, and productive. One person so stated:

> I like being part of a community where people are good to each other rather than being rude. I want a better sense of community because it seems more likely to succeed here in *Northeast* than in other communities I've been in.

Participants called for even wider inclusion in the process and voiced a renewed awareness of the need to personally reach out and cross barri-

ers in northeastern Minneapolis. This increased awareness of and actual participation in interaction is a sign of social capital growing in *Northeast* as a result of intergenerational programming.

Similar results were found in the area of trust. The Thanksgiving celebration had the stated goal of building trust through involving a broad array of organizations in northeastern Minneapolis to plan and carry out the celebration, which had never been done before and was a demonstration of a willingness to trust one another.

It was recognized that trust is something that is an action and needs to be built over time. In planning the proposed interview project the recognition of this clearly came through. One person made a distinction between gathering history and having a conversation, saying that, "History is a word that divides, [but] the visit is the thing." In other words, a visit with a conversation is more than an interview. It goes further to have a conversation that is reciprocal and works toward developing mutuality and trust in participants.

Conclusion

Catholic Eldercare's work through Discovery Cafes has had a positive effect on social capital. The key question is sustainability. Will this work be broadly instituted enough so that it surpasses the promise of Discovery Cafes? One promising development comes in the form of projects that have been initiated through conversations by participants in this process. As they take the message back to their own churches, schools, families, and neighbors, they invite others into the process. For example, the *Quilt Project* has grown into a wider community process of conversation and work.

The process could grow, but it will most likely need further investment of energy, time, and money to bring diverse elements of the community closer together to continue these conversations. It will need a reordering on the part of churches and other institutions to support and work toward expanding the conversations that take place within their walls to include others in northeastern Minneapolis. The Discovery Cafes have shown that building social capital is possible with results rich in promise. Building stronger "cafe communities" can indeed help support older persons who are facing new challenges and crises as they age in place. ❍

Notes

1. Harley C. Schreck, Jr., is a full professor of anthropology at Bethel University, 3900 Bethel Drive, Arden Hills, Minnesota (MN) 55112-6999 USA and directs its Graduate Program in Gerontology. By e-mail he may be reached at **h-schreck@bethel.edu** and by telephone at 651-638-6104. His Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Washington, and he is a holder of the Bethel Faculty Excellence in Service Award.

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Cultural Pluralism and Constructed Space: Two Corner Stores in the Lykins Neighborhood of Kansas City, Missouri, USA

Molly DesBaillets[1]

Abstract

This article examines business space in a culturally plural neighborhood of Kansas City, Missouri. Business space is constructed in socially and symbolically meaningful ways to embody both the personal identities of owners and their relationships to the community. Material culture illuminates socially constructed space that bespeaks differences in inclusive and exclusive relations toward customers and the community. Space is also symbolically constructed, material representation of owners' cultural heritage, and that of the historical neighborhood culture, provides insight about the bicultural identity of store owners. Constructed space offers meaningful insight about the structure of everyday interethnic interaction. Analysis of material culture is an important means by which to understand the cultural, economic, and social fiber of diverse urban contexts. Examination of constructed space in culturally diverse neighborhoods is a means to understand differential cultural invocation and the relationship between business owners, their clientele, and the broader community.

Introduction

The neighborhood known as Lykins in the northeastern part of Kansas City, Missouri, was my home from 1998 to 2005. During those seven years, I observed the development of two local corner stores, Las Tres Palmas and Nelson's Island Mart. Differences in the social construction of space were apparent. The inclusive / exclusive continuum, the extent to which cultural heritage is invoked, and economic specialization are used to analyze spatial arrangements. Symbol systems, embodied in material culture at Las Tres Palmas and Nelson's Island Market are important in understanding the social, economic, geographic, and global meanings of each business's relationship to the community. My theoretical basis hails from symbolic archaeology and sociology. Ian Hodder (1992:11-23) says that "material culture is meaningfully constituted...[with] ideas and concepts embedded in social life which influence the way material culture is used, embellished and discarded." Artifacts with meaning are deemed symbolic when their meanings are of particular interest (Halle 1998). Thus, interesting meanings found in the material artifacts and constructed space of Las Tres Palmas and Nelson's Island Mart, places analysis firmly in the theoretical realm of systems of symbols.

Socialization of Space

Socialization of space is a concept that sheds light on human interaction facilitated in these examples by the constructed space of businesses. Spatial archaeology theorizes that space is not passive; rather, it shapes and is shaped by social actions (Ashmore and Sharer 2006). Space thus facilitates different modes of interaction. My analysis links the spatial arrangements of each store – and the broader streetscape – to patterns of social interaction.

As this study focuses on material culture, I shall not discuss the owners or clientele. In many ways this approach encourages you, the reader, to make and examine your own assumptions about the owners and patrons. I deem this approach helpful as assessment of deductive processes can illuminate inherent biases in one's personal logic. Thus, examination based upon the material record in current contexts can highlight new and useful data for understanding social interaction and meaning.

In both stores, the building was constructed well before the opening of the business. Nelson's was built over 80 years ago in the late 1920s, while the Palmas building was constructed half as long ago in the 1970s. Adaptation to existing space differs in each store. Cultural inferences are implied by use and construction of space (Rapoport 1989) facilitating the relationship of each business to its customers. Commercial and

personal use of space will be considered vis-à-vis their impact on social relations. The material record bespeaks an exclusive relationship between Nelson's Island Mart and its customers in contrast to an inclusive relationship between Palmas and its customers. The conclusion links findings to the neighborhood's economics, geography, and finally to global meanings.

The so-called corner stores are two blocks from each other, within walking distance of the same clientele and subject to the same municipal policies. Their proximity, similar merchandise, and corner locations provide a similar context and thus the basis for comparison. Comparison of the material record in both stores highlights the social implications of their respective material culture.

Both stores are on the south side of Ninth Street. Las Tres Palmas is at the bottom of a hill and Nelson's Island Mart is further west. Nelson's Island Mart was built, as many other buildings on Ninth Street were, between 1920 and 1930 when a street car ran outside its door. The building sat vacant and reopened as Nelson's about 10 years ago. Las Tres Palmas was originally a 7-11 convenience store built in the 1970s, which failed. After housing a bread outlet and then several years of vacancy, Las Tres Palmas opened; it has been operational about five years. Architectural age couples with that of the business in articulating symbolic and social space.

These two corner stores provide groceries to customers within walking distance. In each case, exterior signs communicate the store owner's intended image to potential customers. The name, design, and placement of exterior signs at each store invoke culture in different ways. Interior decoration also differs. Social and symbolic meaning affecting the context of the stores is also formulated by the municipally constructed streetscape, shared by both stores. These spatial realities are analyzed herein.

Spatial Realities

The exterior presentation of Nelson's Island Mart is congruent with norms of the historic host culture (Heldstab 2000). *Nelson's* sounds Anglo and representative of the majority of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. *Island* refers to the nature of the building, surrounded on all sides by streets. The sign with the name of the business is placed above the entrance. Flanking it, above the windows on both sides and in the windows, are mass produced beer signs. Sign placement, name choice, and style of advertisements convey the owner's perceptions of neighborhood ethnic, commercial, and spatial norms.

Functioning within a pre-existing built environment, Nelson's Island Mart adapts to space in dramatic ways. Historic architectural features include high ceilings, a full basement, brick construction, picture windows on three sides, street parking and modest size. Nelson's Island invokes norms of the historic host culture via the historical architecture of its constructed space. The current owners reference the historic host culture (Nelson's) and architecture (Island) in the business name.

In contrast, Las Tres Palmas invokes a culture different from the historic host culture of the neighborhood. The name Las Tres Palmas, "the three palms," evokes a Mexican landscape, not that of Kansas City. Signs are raised next to the street, above the door, and on each side of the façade. Utilizing every available space on the building, not just above the door, is a norm for Mexican businesses in America (Arreola 1988). Most signs are produced specifically for this business; there are, however, mass produced cigarette ads placed in the window. The store's signage indicates dual affiliation with Mexican and American culture but is primarily Mexican due to the Spanish language employed in the name and images of palm trees. Secondarily, however, the historic American host culture is represented by mass produced advertisements in English. Therefore, a bicultural nature of the establishment emerges, Mexican by name and icon, American by advertising.

Architecturally, the interior of Las Tres Palmas is intended to draw in automotive passersby. Construction favoring motorists is evident by the large windows across the façade facing the busiest street and by the parking lot in front of the building. Despite the architectural intentions of the original 7-11, Las Tres Palmas communicates, via sign placement, imagery, and language, norms that differ from those of the historic architecture. Emphasis on novel signage is contrasted with a parking lot full of potholes. Evidenced by large

new signage, neglect of presentation in the windows, and neglect of the parking lot, owners chose to invest resources to create a new business identity rather than reinforce the originally intended function of accommodating motorists.

Examining the exteriors of Nelson's and Palmas, differential cultural invocation is discernable. Las Tres Palmas invokes both Anglo and Mexican culture through sign placement, imagery, and bilingual usage. Signs at Nelson's Island Mart adhere to historic host Anglo and Italian American cultural norms through sign placement and name. Differences in the intended clientele, owners' personal invocation of culture, and the implications for social interaction begin to emerge.

The examination of material culture inside the stores reveals that the use and construction of space point to differing manners of relating to customers. Exclusivity is materially communicated at Nelson's Island Mart while Las Tres Palmas communicates inclusivity. Interior arrangement in each business is constructed to facilitate differing social relations with customers, and hence the community. I follow with descriptions and analysis of each store's interior.

The Interiors of Each Store

Counter space is of central importance in a business, the spot where monetary transactions occur and the primary place of customer/employee interaction. The countertop in Nelson's Island Mart is raised; the sales person stands about two feet higher than the customer. The counter's entrance is at the rear of the store, limiting accessibility. Such construction forms a marked distinction between the customer and the sales person, creating an exclusive space for the latter. Social interaction between them is spatially constructed as hierarchical with the sales person being literally above and protected from the customer by way of the long counter with entry at the rear of the store. The constructed space communicates exclusivity via the separation of the sales person from the customer at Nelson's Island Mart.

The countertop at Las Tres Palmas is level with the customer, and the entrance is easily accessible. Spatial distinction between the customer and sales person is deemphasized, creating an inclusive environment. The relationship between the sales person and the customer is constructed to convey equality. The relationship with the customer is inclusive. Separation between sales personnel and customers is spatially deemphasized at Las Tres Palmas, in contrast to Nelson's Island Mart.

The placement of television with associated seating at Las Tres Palmas further illustrates inclusivity. Providing customer seating for television encourages people to linger and stay. A playpen sits alongside certain tables. Business space is familial and even used for child care. This space provides a means by which customers and sales people can interact beyond the purchase point of the register where no divide exists between family and business matters.

Space utilization beyond transactions at the counter also exists at Nelson's Island Mart. There are three chairs placed in a circle around the edges of the store's entry. Individual placement of the chairs means that their use is not intended for customers to sit together. The chairs occupy the entry way, an open space which might be utilized by customers to gather and chat. The chairs go around the area, and anyone using them must speak loudly to communicate with another sitter. Also they face all the foot traffic coming in and going out of the store, which is hardly conducive to a friendly chat. Their placement instead communicates a role of gate keepers. Even unoccupied, the chairs' placement (1) facing the store's foot traffic and (2) surrounding the entrance further emphasizes the exclusivity of space separating customers from those who tend to sales at Nelson's Island Mart.

A television set behind the counter at Nelson's is for the private use of those in sales. It is not for the customers. Social interaction of customers with other customers or with sales people based on shared television consumption is hence precluded. Congruent counter arrangement, private not shared seating, and the location of the television set communicate the exclusive nature of the interior setting of Nelson's Island Mart versus the inclusive ambience of Las Tres Palmas. The organization of interior space

in each business facilitates differing types, depths, and modes of social interaction.

Religious Items

Both stores display religious objects differing, as with the construction and use of space, in their private or public nature. Hanging above the counter of Las Tres Palmas in a cluster, Mexican-made rosaries are for sale. This symbol of Mexican Catholicism invokes the owner's cultural heritage. Availability for purchase of religious items further indicates the inclusive nature of Las Tres Palmas. Public display of religious material culture is also another demonstration of cultural invocation.

Nelson's Island Mart has a shrine facing the entrance, a symbol of the hope for good fortunate for the shop owner. Shrines function to bring good luck and prosperity to their keepers, the owner in this case. The shrine concretely invokes Vietnamese culture in its placement and use (Raulin 1993). This display evidences cultural heritage that is not materially communicated in any other way in the store. The shrine expresses beliefs and practices of the owners to customers inside the store. As the intended benefit is for the owner, the shrine is a further demonstration of the exclusive construction of space in Nelson's Island Mart.

Economic Specialization and Spatial Arrangements

So far, I have discussed only the secondary uses of each of the two stores; they are, of course, primarily retail businesses, each with its own specialized emphasis. Nelson's Island Mart and Las Tres Palmas sell many of the same items such as groceries, toiletries, and cigarettes. But Las Tres Palmas also carries specialty items for a Mexican clientele including snacks labeled in Spanish such as nuts with chili salt and spices. The store is a *taqueria*, the entire menu of which is also displayed in Spanish only. Congruent with the exterior signage, merchandise and interior signage socially construct the space primarily for a Latino clientele.

Nelson's Island Mart offers items congruent with perceived community norms. Frozen pizza, ice cream, cereal, and chips are the same assortment found in larger grocery stores in the neighborhood. All signs are in English, and in keeping with the exterior signage, merchandising reflects the historic English-speaking community. From the types of merchandise, it is clear that Las Tres Palmas targets a culturally specific clientele while Nelson's marketing emphasis is on the owner's presumed norms of the historic community.

The prepared food available at Las Tres Palmas and the alcoholic beverages available at Nelson's are differences in what each store has to offer, analyzed respectively above as inclusive and exclusive, Choices to sell these items contribute to the differential spatial arrangements, of convenient public seating at Las Tres Palmas and the long, raised counter at Nelson's Island Mart symbolizing exclusivity because of the greater spatial separation between those who run the store and their customers. Economic specialization thus contributes to the construction of space and reflects the cultural norms of each shop owner.

Different Cultural Spaces

Each store invokes culture differently. At Nelson's Island Mart, the name, sign placement, merchandise offered, and décor are devoid of reference to the owner's Vietnamese heritage. On the other hand, at Las Tres Palmas the owner's Mexican heritage is invoked in each of these ways. The organization of interior space in each store is, as indicated, reflective of inclusive and exclusive approaches to customer relations.The spatial arrangements in turn influence different types of social interactions in each store.

Each business interacts not only with customers, but also with the community as a whole. The exterior presentation of each business indicates the relationship of each business to the larger community. Nelson's Island Mart appeals to the larger historically Anglo and Italian community. The relationship to the community indicates an inclusive, rather than exclusive, type of relationship. In comparison, Las Tres Palmas' relationship to the larger community is more exclusive. Although the construction of space communicates an open atmosphere between customers and the owner's sales force, the tar-

geted customers of Las Tres Palmas are definitely those whose cultural identity and values of Mexican heritage are shared by the owners. Spatial exclusivity occurs not between the customer and sales person, but between the Mexican clientele and the greater community.

Cultural Pluralism

The fact that each store chooses to emphasize distinctively one of two cultures (Vietnamese or Mexican) in the larger setting of a third (American of the United States of America) bespeaks a culturally plural neighborhood. Both stores indicate acceptance of cultural diversity in the Lykins neighborhood, albeit with different spatial construction. This situation is so even when expression is for private benefit, as with the Vietnamese shrine. A neighborhood norm of meshing historically based community norms with those of different incoming cultural heritages is thus materially communicated. Thus the neighborhood accepts representation of both the Vietnamese and Mexican cultural heritages.

The Streetscape

Many storefronts along Ninth Street have no signs, are not open for business, and are seemingly abandoned. The architecture is of a bygone era. The lack of new buildings communicates neighborhood poverty. Both Nelson's Island Mart and Las Tres Palmas have bars on their windows , an indication of crime in the neighborhood. Such characteristics of the streetscape clearly indicate that this neighborhood is not receiving funds for municipal improvement.

Further, the sidewalk has grass growing through it. The street has been re-paved so many times that it is no longer at a lower level than the sidewalk, a sign of municipal emphasis on people just passing through in vehicles, not on residents or other pedestrians. Power and telephone poles are placed in the sidewalk, not behind buildings, ignoring any ideas of aesthetics. Street lights are on wooden poles, telling of installation years ago when wood was used instead of the more current metal poles. The lights are purely utilitarian, lacking any semblance of aesthetic design.

The streetscape shows a combination of economic depression and lack of municipal upkeep. The stores are in a socio-economically depressed neighborhood. Consequentially, the marginalization of community members is seemingly reflected by the neglect of the streetscape associated with municipal maintenance practices. This is the setting in which the two stores do business. Hence examination of the constructed space of Ninth Street, the street that Las Tres Palmas and Nelson's Island Mart share, illuminates social relations between the Lykins neighborhood and the greater urban area of Kansas City, Missouri.

Global Applications

Business owners around the world construct space within their establishments conveying cultural beliefs that impact social interaction. Lack of capital forces adaptation to existing space, the age of which necessitates high levels of maintenance in poor inner city neighborhoods like Lykins. Added to the problem is municipal neglect (Harvey 1972), which marginalizes businesses and their clientele (Lewis 2002). But constructed space in a culturally plural neighborhood like Lykins shows cultural invocation indicating community acceptance of cultural norms differing from the greater urban area.

Culturally plural neighborhoods are found in urban areas around the world; the concentration of economically marginalized ethnic diversity in neighborhoods is common in North America (Valdes 2000). Settlement patterns of new immigrants in municipally, economically, and geographically marginalized neighborhoods is also common. While marginalization in poor diverse communities is imposed by an urban host culture (Menchaca 1989), a higher degree of cultural acceptance in such marginalized communities allows for the material expression of varied cultures. Cultural maintenance and economic niches are facilitated in such diverse neighborhoods that are perhaps hindered in other, more affluent, neighborhoods. The question follows: What institutional changes are necessary to facilitate equal municipal support of culturally rich communities like Lykins and more affluent neighborhoods?

Conclusion

In conclusion, detailed analysis of constructed space, as with the two stores in Lykins, is an important means by which to understand cultural, economic, and social variables in current urban contexts. Utilizing well formulated archaeological theory, urban scholars including cultural anthropologists can access important and useful information, significantly contributing to the understanding of the human experience within such environs. ❍

Molly DesBaillets

Nelson's Island Mart. Note how exterior signs are placed only above the entrance and windows.

Molly DesBaillets

Las Tres Palmas. Note how exterior signs cover the facade. Bilingual English and Spanish signs contribute to bicultural invocation of both Anglo and Mexican cultural traditions.

Molly DesBaillets

Nelson's Island Mart. Raised countertop creates an exclusive space for sales persons separate from customers.

Molly DesBaillets

Las Tres Palmas. Spatially there is little or no boundary between sales persons and customers. Note the children to the left.

Notes

1. Molly DesBaillets is a teaching assistant and graduate student in anthropology working towards her M.A. at the University of Kansas. Her B.A. in anthropology is from the University of California at Los Angeles. She may be reached through the U. S. Postal Service at 1732 Anna Drive Unit 8, Lawrence, Kansas (KS) 66044-3816 USA, by e-mail at **mollydes@ku.edu,** and by telephone at 785-812-1526.

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Body Mass Image (BMImage): Attractiveness Ideals, Obesity, and Implications for Weight-Control Interventions[1]

David L. Kozak,[2] Susan Kraus,[3] Mary Lomayma,[4] Joy Seumptewa,[5] Carol Massengill[6]

Abstract

Sustainable weight reduction via clinical or community interventions for some Native Americans (and presumably other populations) may be linked to a culture's body image construct, what we call body mass image (BMImage). BMImage is a supplemental concept to the conventional body mass index (BMI) quantitative diagnostic measure, and BMImage is defined as a culturally-specific, historically generated, weight-health-aesthetic and explanatory model. In a study using a nine-point body image scale, 49 Native Americans (26 males and 23 females) responded to 15 questions regarding their perceptions of weight, health and attractiveness ideals in relation to the scale. It was found that the overweight and obese study participants think they have a lower BMI than actually measured; that they are satisfied with their current appearance, and that they think their current weight is not unhealthy. These preliminary findings may indicate a difference in care giver (BMI) and patient (BMImage) notions regarding weight and health. We contend that BMI, as a universal measure, cannot account for culturally specific constructions of body weight and perception that may affect weight control advice and outcomes.

Introduction

While the trite saying that "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" is inarguably true, it is also true that culture plays a powerful role in influencing what individuals find attractive. Just as individuals possess different aesthetic sensibilities, so too are there culture-based differences. In the course of our respective research and care giving experiences over the past decade, this article's authors have heard many Southwest Native Americans say that in Native American communities, the plump, or in the local vernacular, the "cubby" (for children) or "chunky" (for adults) body is the attractive and healthy one. We found this intriguing given the general orientation toward thinness in the United States, and we wanted to examine the significance of these anecdotal asides. The present body image study considers whether the anecdotes on weight and beauty are a reflection of a more widely shared set of body image ideals among a clinical study population of Native Americans and how these aesthetic ideals are linked to health and illness perceptions.

We consider this relationship significant and argue that core cultural values are encoded in body image ideals, what we call body mass image (BMImage), the culturally-specific, historically generated weight-health-aesthetic and explanatory model serving as a medium of *social value* (Turner 1995). If the social value as expressed in a culture's BMImage is one where health and attractiveness are associated with "chunky' bodies, as is found in some Native or indigenous populations around the world (Gittelsohn et al. 1996; Sobo 1994) then this relationship will have consequences for interventions that advocate limiting or reducing body weight. The social value then, to be Indian in the 21st century, may be to have an overweight though not necessarily obese body. Moreover, we contend that BMImage aesthetic perceptions of attractiveness are linked to understandings of health and illness and therefore such perceptions contribute in complex ways to a person's and community's sense of control over health, wellness practices and the efficacy of disease prevention and maintenance. Understanding the Native community's BMImage and health perceptions is germane because Southwest Native Americans suffer a high incidence and prevalence of Type 2 diabetes, from morbid obesity and a myriad of secondary morbidity concerns (Knowler et al. 1990). This exper-

imental BMImage research exhibits potential for informing diet/exercise interventions and informing clinicians who must be aware of and contend with other culture's notions of BMImage to effectively (in a culturally appropriate manner) intervene, especially where body size, diet and exercise are at issue. The use of the BMI measure (Kg/m^2) in the context of clinical and other behavioral interventions, we argue, tells only one part of the weight-health-aesthetic connection. While we do not dispute BMI's value, the formula cannot measure culturally-specific or personal aesthetic values associated with weight. BMImage, on the other hand, could prove useful for clinicians and other public health workers for advocating for their patients weight monitoring or reduction consultations and programs that are attentive to cultural sensibilities and importantly for assisting community members to better understand the role of weight in cultural perceptions of health, illness and beauty ideals.

Underlying our assumption is that BMImage is the combined result of political economic, cultural and acculturative forces that shape the field of behavior in relation to diet, activity levels, and disease loads. BMImage is a historically and contextual product of larger social relations of power whereas BMI is an objective measure of body size. Moreover, the assumption is that effective and sustainable intervention will demand an understanding of both BMI and BMImage.

Study Background

Research reveals that Native Americans, ethnic minorities, and other indigenous populations around the world (Anderson et al. 1997) have a high incidence and prevalence of diabetes (Knowler et al. 1990). Complications of the disease (Seivers et al. 1992) have a tremendous impact and obesity rates are staggering (Pettitt et al. 1993; Ravussin et al. 1994). All told, diabetes and obesity account for a majority of Native American health concerns. Much has been learned about the physiological, genetic (Hanson et al. 1985), cultural (Garro 1984, 1995; Hagey 1984; Kozak 1996; Lang 1989), disempowerment (Ferreira and Lang 2006), political, and economic (Benyshek 2001) aspects of diabetes and its co-morbidity in Native American communities. But much remains to be understood regarding the natural history of the disease, and more importantly, about developing sustainable interventions to halt its increasingly devastating impacts (Smith-Morris 2004, 2006).

The economic and political consequences of policies that affect Native American communities are well documented. Dependency, reservation building, periodic food shortages and famines in the 19th and early 20th centuries and the shift toward wage earning eroded the economic and political autonomy and self-sustainability of many Native American communities. Commodity foods such as surplus cheese, peanut butter, lard, white flour, sugar and coffee supplemented or supplanted their more nutritious diet of corn, wheat, beans, squash, and wild game and plants. Successful Native American adaptations to place and diet and self-sufficiency were eventually replaced with high unemployment, television sets, automobiles, fast food, and social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse and interpersonal violence, which are consequences shared with other dispossessed groups in the United States. Native American traditional diet and food getting strategies were displaced. Currently a sedentary lifestyle, obesity and diabetes are serious health concerns.

Acculturative pressures point to the role of economic dependency and unwelcomed culture change in Native American (Ferreira and Lang 2006) and other minority populations (Scheder 1988; Hunt et al. 1998) diabetes etiology. Indications are that bio-medical acculturation has had an unintended effect on this community. For instance, in the process of teaching one community about the genetic foundation (thrifty genotype hypothesis) of the diabetes epidemic, the explanation has influenced how individuals and the entire culture has constructed their own heritage-based diabetes explanatory model. Kozak (1996) first documented and identified the consequences of the genetic explanation among one Native community as a population that views Type 2 diabetes as inevitable, a product of Indian heritage, and that it is eventually fatal. It is not that this community doesn't understand the basic biomedical explanation of diabetes; it's that, in a way, they understand it

too well. If Native Americans conclude that there is little or nothing to be done to prevent diabetes because they think that the disease is genetic, is an Indian disease, then prevention and glycemic control interventions will be difficult to sustain. Weiner (1999) has independently confirmed this finding in another Native community. Despite this, a recent intervention demonstrated the possibility of making at least short term lifestyle modifications with intensive and personal intervention that assisted participants to lose weight and prevent them from developing diabetes (Diabetes Prevention Program Research Group 2002; Narayan et al. 1998). It is unclear if the positive results obtained in this intervention will be translatable into long term, sustainable modifications without continued intensive intervention.

While body image research is quite common in the psychological literature (Heinberg 1996), much of it focuses on white, middle and upper middle class female subjects. The need for more research on body image notions among non-whites has been noted (Gittlesohn et al. 1996) and some contributions made (Anderson et al. 1997; Cachelin et al. 1998; Ferriera 2006; Lieberman et al. 2003; Roy 2006; Yates et al. 2004). Gittlesohn et al. (1996) research is instructive in that they found significant differences between an Ojibway-Cree community and the published record for whites. The Ojibway-Cree, for instance, preferred larger body shapes, females preferred smaller shapes than did Ojibway-Cree men and that age and sex based differences in the community were evident. Olson (1999) notes the ubiquity of the larger body aesthetic as the ideal body in Native communities throughout the world. Nothing has been published on Southwest Native American body image ideals or on their explanatory model as it pertains to notions of wellness in relation to body shape and size.

Methods

Using a convenience sample, our research employed structured and semi-structured interviews and was conducted at the Phoenix Indian Medical Center, in the National Institutes of Health Clinical Research Unit in Phoenix, Arizona. Study participants were recruited from research volunteers who were already admitted to the Clinical Research Unit for other biomedical-based research protocols and the study has National Institutes of Health approval. During our research, there were approximately 10-12 different protocols being conducted on the Unit. Study participants averaged an in-patient stay of 7 to 14 days. Potential participants were recruited by the three nurse investigators and given a consent form to review and sign if they wished to participate. Recruitment began in October 1998 and by the following January only six participants had agreed to participate. By March 1999 a $50.00 incentive to participate was offered and a total of 49 participants were recruited and completed the study by October 1999. Participants were scheduled for and completed three different interviews on different days (some completed all of them on the same day). The goal of the overall research protocol was to elicit the participant's health and illness model. The data for the present study derives from the use of one quantitative measure embedded in the larger study. The total time for the three interviews ranged from one to ten hours in length with an average of three hours.

Measures

The nine-point Body Image Scale was adapted from Stunkard et al. (1983). A set of nine, graduated male and nine, graduated female body image silhouettes were slightly modified by two researchers of Native descent (Lomayma, Seumptewa) to reflect body shapes they deemed common to Native populations (Figure 1). Notably, the thighs were thinned down on both male and female images, and on the female images the waist lines were made less defined. Our research conforms to the work of Patt et al. (2002), and the Reese scale (Reese Graphics, Incorporated, Baltimore, Maryland. cited in Patt et al. 2002).

A series of 15 questions were asked of each respondent and were gender specific and several questions elicited responses that were hypothetical as to what the respondent thought the opposite sex or a non-Indian person might find attractive, healthy or ill appearing. Questions were designed to determine gender variations in the study respondents' body image ideals, to discern how body size is linked to health perceptions, and evaluate body image ideals with health

concerns (Table 1). Thus, a major research question we wished to answer was whether there is a difference between respondents' BMImage (as established in their responses to the scale) and the clinical BMI measure. Demographic data, including gender, age, marital and educational status, height and weight were also collected.

Data Analysis

Data were entered into Microsoft Excel and analyzed with SPSS 11. Demographic data were summarized with means and standard deviations where possible, or percentages for categorical data. For each participant, BMI was obtained from participant clinical files. Results from the scale-related questions were analyzed based on the 9 silhouettes and compared to the BMI from the clinical file. Differences in perceptions of male and female participants were compared with independent t tests. Differences in perceptions for subjects were compared with independent t tests. Categorical data were compared via Chi Square analyses. Alpha was set at .05 for all statistical tests.

Results

Demographics

Twenty-six male and 23 females completed the scale-related questions. Their ages ranged from 18-49, with an average of 28.5 years (SD= 7.3). The average weight was 99.15Kg (SD=29.9). The average BMI was 35.6 (SD=9.9), in the obesity II range (Table 2). Twelve participants (24.5%) had a high school education or equivalent (GED), the majority (74.5%) had not completed high school. 75.5% had never been married, 22.5% were married, and 2% were divorced.

Self-Perception and Health

When participants were asked "which figure looks like you" they tended to under-estimate their own BMI ($p<.01$). Males chose a figure that corresponded to a BMI average of 28.4, and female's average response was a BMI of 28.6, the calculated BMI for the participants was 35.3 (SD=11.2) for males and 36.0 (SD=8.5) for females. When asked "Which figure do you want to look like" the responses differed significantly from their perceived or actual BMI (all $p<.01$). Male participants wanted to look like the figure corresponding to a BMI of 25.8, and females desired a BMI averaging 22.5. Despite the discrepancy between desired and actual BMI, 53.5% reported being happy with their current appearance. Chi square analyses found that when asked "Are you happy with your current appearance?" participants responses did not depend on actual BMI ($p=.61$).

When asked which figure looked healthy, participants responded with figures that matched the figure they wanted to look like ($p>.05$) (24.3 for male, and 23.1 for female). The NIH guidelines (National Institutes of Health 1998) give a standard for normal (healthy) BMI that ranges between 18.5 and 24.9. Our sample's perception of healthy BMI fell in the upper third of this range, and for males, desired BMI was slightly above the normal range (25.8). When asked which figure looked the most *unhealthy*, an interesting dichotomy was found. While most participants responded as expected, that the heaviest figure was unhealthy (with a BMI of 40), 32% thought the lightest figure was most unhealthy. Clearly a significant proportion of this sample views underweight bodies to be less healthy than overweight bodies.

When asked which figure looked most attractive to the opposite sex, responses corresponded to healthy BMI ratings for men (24.9 for attractive, 24.3 for healthy $p=.90$) but not for women (21.4 for attractive, 23.1 for healthy $p=.01$). Interestingly, the women in this sample indicated that they wanted to look more like the figure they perceived as healthy, and not the figure they rated as most attractive to the opposite sex.

Comparisons of Gender and Ethnicity

As suggested above, there were significant differences in perceptions for male and female subjects. Females tend to want to be lighter than males (22.5 vs. 25.8, $p=.001$). Participants thought that females should be lighter to be considered healthy (22.8 vs. 24.1, $p=.01$) and attractive (21.4 vs. 24.9, $p=.00$).

When asked to speculate, participants also reported that they thought that non-Indian males and females wanted to be lighter than Indian males and females (24.8 vs. 23.4, $p=.006$ for males, 22.8 vs. 20.6, $p=.005$ for females). When comparing the responses for "what do

non- Indian males and females want to look like" to their perception of which figure looks healthy, significant differences were found (23.4 vs. 24.3 $p=.04$ for males, 20.6 vs. 23.1, $p<.001$ for females). These findings suggest that the study respondents believe that non-Indians have different desires in terms of body weight, and that non Indians are seen as wanting to be thinner.

Discussion

The BMImage expressed in these data are compelling with regard to how weight and glycemic control might be approached in these study participants in particular and perhaps in their home community and other Native American communities in general. The preliminary findings of this research indicate that in this sample of respondents BMImage may be a significant component coupled with the standardized BMI measure for developing interventions aimed at lowering a person's and/or presumably a community's BMI.

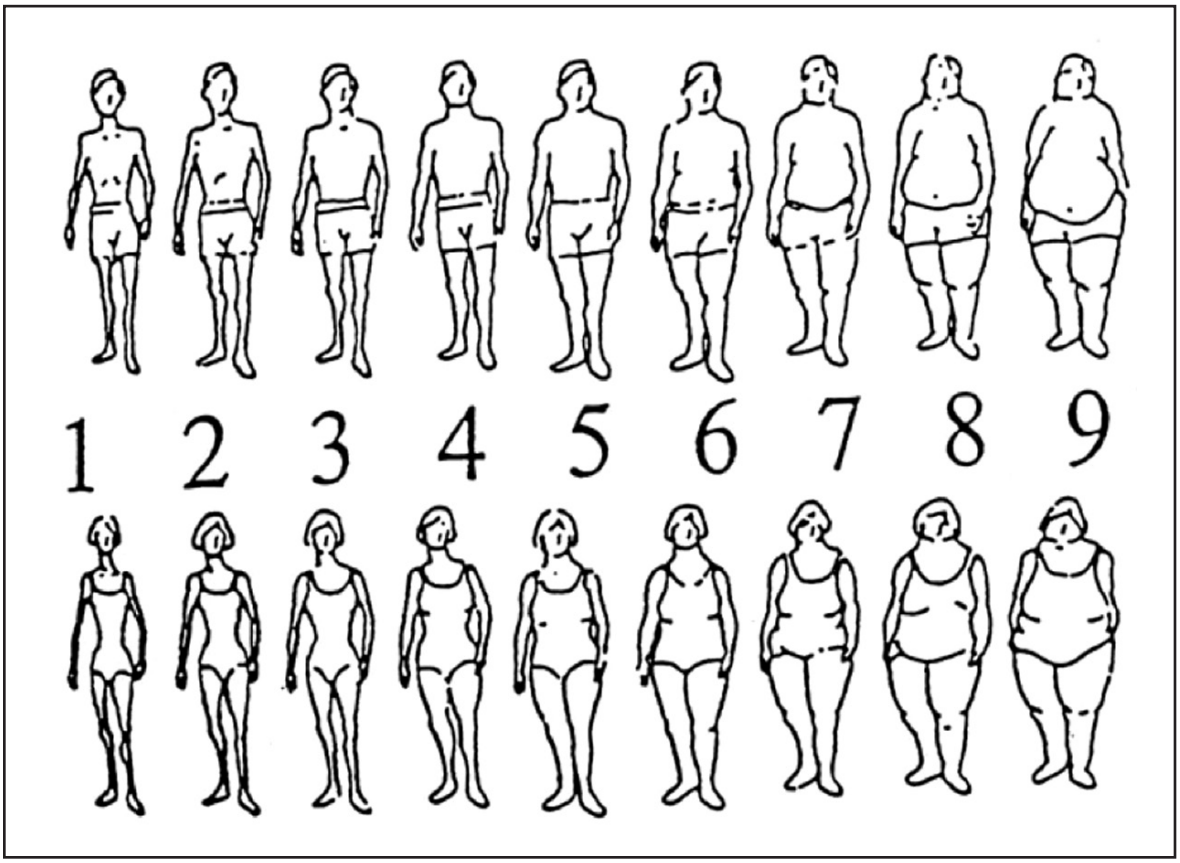
The data suggest that while the majority of the study sample is obese, therefore defined clinically as unhealthy, the participants themselves do not perceive themselves this way. Health or illness in relation to weight is not viewed in clinical diagnostic (BMI) terms. In other words, for these individuals, being overweight is, in general, not thought to be pathological as is found in their response to question 6 and compared to their actual BMI. The participants, significantly, view themselves as lighter than they are, they see their weight as essentially healthy, and they are happy with their current appearance (as defined by their BMImage).

This finding appears to be inversely related to how sufferers of anorexia view their bodies, that is, as much heavier than they are (Cash and Deagle 1997). This situation implies that public health messages and interventions encouraging of weight loss, encouraging the consumption of more healthful foods in the low fat, low sugar categories and increasing exercise levels to improve health may seem to these subjects as an unwarranted imposition on clinician culture. If, as our data suggest, they question that the white (or external) standards are not what is most healthy, rejection of that standard makes sense. If lay people do not pathologize a weight that professional outsiders do, then this may unintentionally fuel a culturally-based conflict of social values between patient community and practitioner community. Therefore, we recommend developing a culturally specific tool to aid practitioner and patient in arriving at realistic strategies, based on mutual understanding of body size, disease risk and cultural influences, for weight reduction.

Conclusion

As Kozak (1996), Weiner (1999) and Smith-Morris (2006) have independently demonstrated in Native American communities that differences between lay and professional disease explanatory models not only exist but can have adverse clinical consequences. And it just might be these points that make it so difficult to produce sustainable weight reduction and activity increasing interventions in this and other communities. Given the implications of this research we think it prudent to establish an individual and/or cultural base line of BMImage to explore the ways that this image is employed in thinking about one's body, health, and attractiveness. Our findings argue that if the social value is one of overweight bodies symbolizing the attractive and healthy body, then clinicians and health educators are urged to develop strategies that incorporate and draw from the patient population's culturally-specific BMImage construct. ❍

Figure 1. Body image scale with approximate BMIs



(adapted from Stunkard et al 1983)

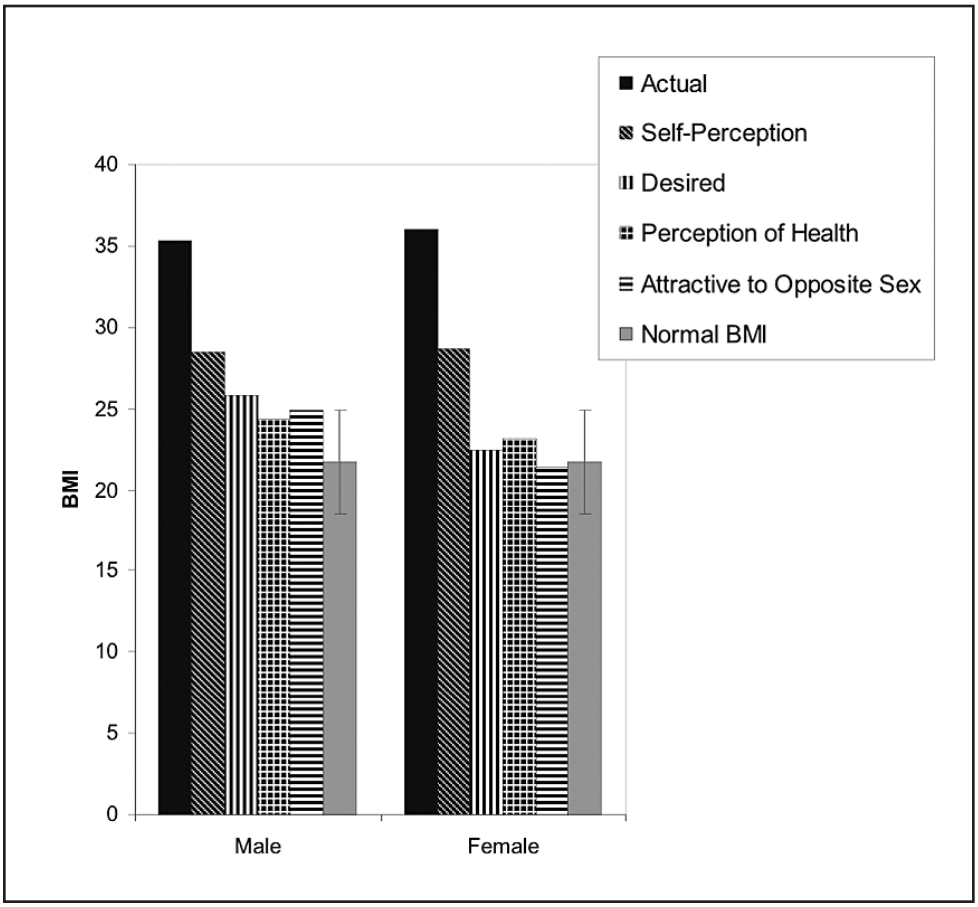
Table 1. Research Questions

1. Which female figure looks most healthy to you?
2. Which female figure looks most unhealthy to you?
3. Which female figure do you think is most attractive to the opposite sex?
4. Which figure do you think that most Indian women want to look like?
5. Which figure do you think that most non-Indian women want to look like?
6. Which figure looks most like you?
7. Which figure do you want to look like?
8. Which male figure looks most healthy to you?
9. Which male figure looks most unhealthy to you?
10. Which male figure do you think is most attractive to the opposite sex?
11. Which figure do you think that most Indian men want to look like?
12. Which figure do you think most non-Indian men want to look like?
13. Which figure (if male) looks most like you?
14. Which figure (if male) do you want to look like?
15. Are you happy with your present appearance?

Table 2. Participant BMI (% of sample)

Classification	Subject Sample Female	Subject Sample Male	Subject Sample Overall
Underweight <18.5	0%	0%	0%
Normal: 18.5 –24.9	12%	9%	10%
Overweight: 25.0 – 29.9	27%	17%	22%
Obesity I: 30.0 – 34.9	19%	30%	24%
Obesity II 35.0 – 39.9	19%	13%	16%
Extreme Obesity III 40+	23%	30%	27%

Figure 2. BMI Actual and Perceived



Notes

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2. David L. Kozak was awarded his Ph.D. in anthropology by Arizona State University. He is a professor in the Department of Anthropology, Fort Lewis College, 1000 Rim Drive, Durango, Colorado (CO) 81301-3999 USA. He may also be reached at 970-247-7498 and at **kozak_d@fortlewis.edu.**

3. Susan Kraus was awarded her Ph.D. in psychology from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She is an assistant professor in the Department of Psychology, Fort Lewis College, 1000 Rim Drive, Durango, Colorado (CO) 81301-3999 USA. She may also be reached at 970-247-7659 and at **kraus_s@fortlewis.edu.**

4. Mary Lomayma, R.N., was awarded her B.S.N. in nursing by Northern Arizona University. She is a research nurse in the Research Ward, National Institutes of Health (NIH), Phoenix Indian Medical Center, 4212 North 16th Street, Phoenix, Arizona (AZ) 85016 USA. She may also be reached at 602-200-5314. No e-mail is available.

5. E. Joy Seumptewa, R.N., was awarded her associate degree in nursing (A.N.) by Northern Arizona University (formerly Arizona State College). She is a research nurse in the Research Ward, National Institutes of Health, Phoenix Indian Medical Center, 4212 North 16th Street, Phoenix, Arizona (AZ) 85016 USA. She may also be reached at 602-200-5314. No e-mail is available.

6. Carol Massengill, R.N., was awarded her B.S.N. in nursing by Louisiana State University. She is a research nurse in the Research Ward, National Institutes of Health, Phoenix Indian Medical Center, 4212 North 16th Street, Phoenix, Arizona (AZ) 85016 USA. She may also be reached at 602-200-5320 and at **cmassengil@phx.niddk.nih.gov.**

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Insight and Imagination: A Study in Knowing and Not-Knowing in Organizational Life[1]

By Howard F. Stein[2]

Reviewed by Darby C. Stapp [3]

Howard Stein's new book, *Insight and Imagination: A Study in Knowing and Not-knowing in Organizational Life*, is an important book. I believe it can have a profound impact on the many practicing anthropologists working with, and more commonly, within organizations. I sense it is going to have a profound impact on my own professional development.

When the editor of *The Applied Anthropologist*, Larry Van Horn, first asked me to review Howard Stein's book, I was torn. My knowledge of Stein was limited to discussion of the governing board of the High Plains Society of Applied Anthropology. Periodically, during one of the many diverse online discussions, a message from Stein would appear. Typically these would be followed by a series of e-mails complimenting him on his insightful contribution. The thought, then, of reviewing the work of a highly respected scholar with whose work I was basically unfamiliar, was rather intimidating.

On the other hand, having been in a science and technology research organization for most of my last 20 years, and having conducted organizational consulting both within the organization and outside the organization, I had an interest in the topic. I wanted to see how this anthropologist believed anthropology could be applied to organizational studies. Still, I was hesitant. Given Howard Stein's well-deserved reputation and my unfamiliarity with his work, I could see nothing good coming from my reviewing his book.

I explained the situation to Larry Van Horn, who told me:

> If, with your broad background in anthropology, you have trouble understanding his prose, saying so is fair game. I submit that Howard Stein, despite his clear poetry, no doubt needs to write prose more straightforwardly to make the book more useful to more anthropologists and more people in general.

So I relented, and added the assignment to my already too-high pile of *pro bono* work commitments.

When the book arrived, I was consumed by other work, but I could not help but take a gander. I began with the introduction and the first chapter. Confusion and frustration set in immediately as I ran across terms like "counter-transference." What in the world is that? I wondered. I read and re-read his explanations. Getting nowhere, I looked up the term on the web, and learned:

In *psychotherapy*, **counter-transference** is a condition where the therapist, as a result of the therapy sessions, begins to transfer the therapist's own unconscious feelings to the patient (*Wikipedia*, "Counter-transference," accessed February 7, 2008).

Virtually all definitions of *transference* or *counter-transference* found on the web related to psychiatry. I was puzzled about how this term related to organizational studies, but since I did not have a background in psychological anthropology, I began to quickly read through the book to learn more. I soon saw that the book is full of poetry! Of poetry I have never been fond. Save the occasional Robert Frost poem, I just do not get it.

Nevertheless, recalling *The Road Not Taken* (Frost 1964), a 1920 poem of Robert Frost (1874–1963), which Stein reprints in the book (p. 136), I continued on, scanning many of the chapters, looking for clues as to what Stein is attempting to convey. While I started to see some light, I was still confused, but saw enough to know that there is indeed some *there* there. I saw enough to sense that it would be worth my time and effort to penetrate the world of Howard Stein.

To fully review the book, however, I felt that I needed help, so I enlisted the aid of a friend and colleague, Richard Badalamente, who recently retired from our company as an organizational consultant. He has degrees in human factors and

behavioral science, and, unlike me, enjoys reading and writing poetry. Richard agreed to review the book, and a week later he sent me his review, which immediately follows mine in this journal.

Soon after receiving the review, my wife and I went to have dinner with the Badalamentes. Following dinner, we retired to the living room where the four of us engaged in a lively discussion about Howard Stein's book, his goals, his methods, his choice of words, his style, and our perceptions of his book. The review and discussion was useful and enjoyable, and I was now ready to take another crack at reviewing.

As I re-read the introduction and first chapter, I realized that while the term counter-transference was new to me, the concept was not. As I now interpret it, Stein uses the term to say that a person, in this case a consultant, goes into an organizational situation. Through experiencing an event, such as a meeting or an interview or an argument, he or she receives a variety of information and messages, which is the transfer. The consultant would then project back what he or she heard and felt, drawing on his/her own experience and emotions; that is, the consultant counters the initial transfer as counter-transference.

Stein asks us to listen to one's inner voice, which formulates the output. He asks us to reflect on the emotions evoked by our inner voice. Why do we feel the way we do? Why are we sad? Why does this, say, remind us of some rough time in our own life? Why does this make us angry? Stein feels there is value in these thoughts and emotions, and he asks us to make use of them in a *disciplined* way.

Stein then asks us to do one more thing. He asks us to draw on the arts as we look for ways to communicate our thoughts and emotions. Stein likes to use poetry as a device. He also uses real-life vignettes as stories along with paintings and music, and he is open to any number of genres that can be used to help us and others uncover and better understand what is going on within the organization.

Reviewing the book, I found that I resonated with Stein's approach. As an anthropologist living and working in an organization of scientists and engineers – practitioners of the so-called hard sciences – I have always been something of an outsider. More often than not, I have had no background in what my colleagues were talking about. I would work with any number of diverse professional groups trying to solve problems of technology transfer, organizational effectiveness, process efficiency– topics to which I had rarely been exposed in my anthropological education. Nonetheless, during my work, thoughts would come to me, and I would share them with those in charge, solicited or not. From the start they were well received – not always, but usually –since my career within the company has been with some success. My take on things was different, and people do seem to appreciate what I had and have to say.

I have always been mystified by my success. All I was doing was listening, letting information flow into the "black box" of my mind, and then reflecting back what I thought I heard and how I felt about it. Formally, my responses might be in white papers, professional reports, e-mails, and presentations. Informally, when with those I knew well, I used irony, anecdotes, and jokes, and at times other less appropriate forms of communication like satire. The truth can be uncomfortable.

I never really understood where my thoughts came from. Was it my *anthropological perspective*? I wanted to think so, but it simply seemed like common sense. All I was doing was sharing what was in my mind. There was no formal analysis here; maybe some organizing, but nothing I would identify as a method. In any event, I did not spend much time thinking about it. I am not one to "contemplate my navel."

I also found that I resonated with Stein's use of the arts as a way to communicate. Not necessarily the poetry, but the vignettes. In recent years, I have started sharing my personal work stories in my professional anthropological writings and presentations. More recently, I started calling the stories vignettes, and have begun using the vignette as a way to document my organizational experiences. I enjoy writing them. I like the way they enhance my memory, and the way they stimulate thought. I have not shared my vignettes with others in work settings as Stein does, but I am headed in that direction.

And so I came to appreciate *Insight and Imagination*. By applying my own *subjective experience,* I

found the chapters easier to read, thought provoking, and instructive. It validated some of my thoughts on organizations, and gave me new perspectives on other aspects of organizational culture.

In writing the book, I wish Stein had been more explicit about his *methodology*. He lays out a framework, and provides examples from his career, but little more. While I agree with him that the examples, largely from the medical world, are applicable across all types of organizations, the over-reliance on medical situations detracts, rather than enhances experiencing the book. I look forward to future methodological elicitations from Stein and others who employ his *subjective* but *disciplined approach* in their work.

One might think it unfair for me to have initially judged the book based only on a distracted, quick and superficial reading; that perhaps I should have waited until I had the time and energy to give it a really professional review. I do not think so. I think my emotions say something about the book that is of value.

For example, Stein says he wrote the book for *managers* and *consultants*. I know a fair number of these people and am pretty sure that they would give the book no longer than about ten minutes. If they could not grasp the book quickly or were confused by the author's jargon, they would quickly toss it aside. Most of the people I know in corporate settings want material that is presented in *executive-summary* brevity in language they know and understand. Except for Richard Badalamente, I doubt I could have found anyone here at my company with the intellectual curiosity to take the time to seriously investigate Stein's work.

This brings me to a final comment. I want Stein's book to be something that it seemingly is not. I want it to be accessible to organizational professionals of all walks of life. I want anthropologists working for organizations in any number of capacities to read the book and use his approach to elucidate organizational culture. I want Stein's book to be up on the charts with books such as *Blink: The Power of Thinking Without Thinking* (Gladwell 2005), *Who Moved My Cheese? An Amazing Way to Deal with Change in Your Work and In Your Life* (Johnson and Blanchard 1998), and *Gung Ho: Turn on the People in Any Organization* (Blanchard 1997), and other best-selling books on similar topics. Unfortunately, it does not appear that *Insight and Imagination* is such a book.

Does the real-life story I recall from my elementary school days apply to Howard Stein? A poet was invited to school to read poetry. As he finished one particular poem, a little girl raised her hand and asked, "Sir, what does your poem mean?" The poet paused, then picked up his poem, and read it again for the class. Later according to our teacher, the poet felt that if he could have made his point any differently, he would have.

Maybe *Insight and Imagination* had to be written in the way Howard Stein wrote it. That is not necessarily bad. The book is a major accomplishment and I am thankful that he took the time to digest a lifetime of learning to share with us. These are not simple points he is trying to make and maybe they cannot be reduced to short, *punchy proverbs* for the pressed-for-time organizational manager. I hope he continues to express his ideas and in doing so, finds ways to make them more accessible to the uninitiated. It has long been frustrating to me that we anthropologists do not take our ideas to others, but rather make others come to us, if they will. If anthropology has a better "mousetrap," but no one knows it, do we really have a better "mousetrap"? More to the point, do we catch any "mice"? ❍

Notes

1. Lanham Maryland: University Press of America, 2007. 218 pages, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, 13 chapters, bibliography, index. Cloth $49.95 U.S.; paperback $33.00 U.S.

2. Howard F. Stein holds a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Pittsburgh. He is a full professor in the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine, University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, and may be reached there at 900 N.E. 10th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (OK) 73104-5420 USA and by telephone at 405-271-8000 extension 32211. At **howard-stein@ouhsc.edu** he may be reached by e-mail. He also coordinates the Behavioral Science Curriculum at the Enid Family Medicine Clinic, Enid, Oklahoma.

3. Darby C. Stapp earned his Ph.D. in the American Civilization Department of the University of Pennsylvania. He works in cultural resource management in the Pacific Northwest, with emphasis on southeastern Washington. He can be reached by e-mail at **dstapp@charternet,** by telephone at 509-373-2894, and at 278 Adair Drive, Richland, Washington (WA) 99352-94S3 USA via the U.S. Postal Service. Please note that the opinions expressed are solely those of the reviewer and do not necessarily represent the viewpoints of his employer. He directs the Hanford Cultural Resources Laboratory for the Battelle Memorial Institute on contract with the U. S. Department of Energy at its Pacific Northwest National Laboratory in Richland, Washington.

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Insight and Imagination: A Study in Knowing and Not-Knowing in Organizational Life[1]

By Howard F. Stein[2]

Reviewed by Richard V. Badalamente[3]

The concluding chapter in Howard Stein's book, *Insight and Imagination*, is made up of "dialogues, stories and poems" that the author asks his reader to think about as a "documentary play" (p. 171). It is a fitting end to a book that defies easy classification in the taxonomy of anthropology. On its surface, Stein's book is a primer for organizational consultants and in this regard, is of interest to business anthropologists. But the book is both more and less than that. It is at once engaging and frustrating, enlightening and dense – a book that demands the reader's full attention, promising to reward it with an insightful and imaginative approach to "understanding the human experience of the workplace, its identity and culture, and its consequences for behavior" (p. xiii). Whether this promise is fulfilled or not may well hinge on who the reader is and with whom he or she is interacting in the organizational setting.

Howard Stein received his B.A. in historical musicology from the University of Pittsburgh in 1967and his Ph.D. in anthropology from the same institution in 1972. His graduate work included training at the Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, which is affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh Schools of the Health Sciences. He currently teaches and coordinates the behavioral sciences curriculum in a large university health sciences center, and a family medicine clinic in the mid-west of the United States. Professionally, he states that he is a "psychoanalytic anthropologist, organizational consultant, and poet" (biography on the book's back cover). His interests are wide-ranging and include (1) the culture of Oklahoma wheat farming families, (2) the psychology of physician-patient-family relationships, (3) organizational downsizing, and (4) the psychoanalytic study of organizations, among other things (Stein 2008). He has an impressive record of scholarly clinical and research papers and books, and is a published poet (Stein 2004a).

Stein's eclectic background and interests are reflected to a large degree in the way he approaches his craft and are without doubt an underpinning of his unique and imaginative methodology for organizational understanding. *Insight and Imagination* makes it very clear that he draws on his own experience and emotions to open himself to the "counter-transference" that permits his application of "disciplined subjectivity" (p. 1) to the problem of psychoanalytically informed organizational consulting. Whereas other researchers and consultants have argued against interjecting subjectivity in the evaluative process, "Stein sees his own feelings, his own reactions to the people, as the barometer to understand organizational behavior" (Jordan 1994:8 introducing Stein 1994).

Counter-transference is a term familiar to the psychoanalytic community, but we would hazard to guess, less so to anthropologists. It refers to a phenomenon recognized by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) as, "the distorting effects of the therapist's feelings towards the patient on the accuracy of the former's perception of the latter's behavior" (Grünbaum 1984:212). The difference here is that Stein believes that counter-transference can and should be used as a tool to assist the observer/consultant in understanding the true culture of the organization and uncovering the etiology of its dysfunction. Thus, in the first chapter, Stein writes about uncovering the real reason for a medical resident's feeling of inadequacy by exploring his own reaction to a racial epithet embedded in a metaphor being used by the resident.

In the second chapter, Stein presents several of his poems that he contends are an "instrument of the subjectivity of the researcher or consultant," and which he finds useful in understanding and working with organizations" (p. 25). Stein refers to this creative approach to *modeling* (my term) an organization through art as "poesis" (p.19). The term may be familiar to

students of philosophy as it was explored in some depth, for example, in Plato's (428-348 B. C.) *The Republic* (1968), but we fear will be less familiar to practitioners of anthropology.

In the third chapter, Stein describes his counter-transference experience in uncovering the "hidden agenda" of a medical case conference, and in the fourth chapter, he discusses his use of counter-transference to uncover "red herrings" and prevent the workgroup/organization from working on the wrong problem (p. 42).

Unquestionably, the issue of red herrings in organizational consulting is important, particularly when it is managers who seem to use the consultant to divert attention from the real problems. The most egregious example of this is the reorganization of the enterprise as a panacea for all problems, a particularly popular "red herring" in government and the military. Stein is absolutely on target when he says, "We spend (and waste) a prodigious amount of time, effort, and money on red herrings ... when we could be identifying and courageously dealing with the real, often frightening, issues for which our red herrings are a symptom and disguise" (p. 51).

In the firth chapter, Stein discusses "the triad of change-loss-grief" (p. 54) in the American workplace. It is an area in which he has spent the better part of his own work life and his feelings about it are reflected in the terminology he uses in describing the results of organizational change involving "downsizing" (one of many euphemisms for people losing their jobs), including: "corporate violence," "dehumanization," and "broken and betrayed trust." Stein attempts in this chapter to illustrate "the virtue of the ethnographic method and consultant counter-transference" in helping workers deal with the change thrust upon them and the "profound personal loss" they experience as a result (p. 61).

Stein revisits in even stronger terms the subject of corporate downsizing in the sixth chapter, and states that "downsizing, RIFing [reduction in force], reengineering, restructuring, outsourcing, de-skilling, and other euphemized forms of 'managed social change' ...are every bit as devastating as are bombs and guns, and biological warfare." He decries our culture's willingness to treat the matter as "just business," and states, "the 'bottom line' has become the final cultural measure of worth in a world of human disposability" (p. 66). Stein believes that ethnographic techniques, such as facilitated story-telling, can help get behind the euphemisms that attempt to disguise the brutality of employee terminations and assist those effected to find their way through the traumatic process of change-loss-grief. He warns, however, that the approach is "labor intensive" for the consultant, and involves, "listening, tolerance for anxiety and ambiguity, a willingness for surprise, and empathy..." (p. 96).

Stein's approach and methods are participative for both the population under study, or more appropriately for Stein's purposes, under "action research." and the consultant as participant observer. There is nothing new in this for cultural anthropologists. Nor is Stein's embrace of participative decision making in organizations (p. 122) a new idea. It has been discussed at length in the organizational theory literature by such luminaries as Kurt Lewin (1890-1947), Rensis Likert (1903-1981), and Douglas McGregor (1906-1964), among others, and had its seeds in the famous Hawthorne Studies of 1927-1933. The *Hawthorne Effect* involves socio-economic experiments conducted by George Elton Mayo (1880-1949) starting in 1927 among employees of the Hawthorne Works factory of the Western Electric Company in Cicero, Illinois (Mayo 1946). See also Lewin (1966), Likert (1961, 1976), and McGregor (1960, 1967, 1968). What is unusual in Stein's approach is his insistence that far from being a detriment to the accuracy and reliability of research results, the consultant's subjectivity is an essential element of the intervention.

For those in the profession who have defended the methods and techniques of anthropology and ethnography against charges that it is at best so-called *soft science*, Stein's unapologetic embrace of his own subjective experience in his work may seem anathema. To understand where Stein is on this matter, one must know from whence he came. As stated earlier in this review, Stein's graduate work included training at a psychiatric institute. Here he was taught that in psychoanalysis, "the analyst cannot simply be the observing subject of this endeavor since his subjective experience *in* this endeavor is the only

possible avenue through which he gains knowledge of the relationship he is attempting to understand" (Ogden 1996).

In his chapter, *The Left Out and the Forgotten,* Howard Stein (2004b) quotes John Donne's famous precept:

> No man is an island, entire of itself;
>
> Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.

This quote from John Donne (1572-1631) appears in *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, Meditation XVII* (Donne 1959):

> All mankind is of one author, and is one volume; when one man dies, one chapter is not torn out of the book, but translated into a better language; and every chapter must be so translated...As therefore the bell that rings to a sermon, calls not upon the preacher only, but upon the congregation to come: so this bell calls us all: but how much more me, who am brought so near the door by this sickness....No man is an island, entire of itself...any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Stein believes that the observer/consultant is never truly detached, and the consultant's subjectivity can be a tool for disciplined engagement. In a sense, Stein is attempting to plume the collective unconscious of the organization by immersing himself and his subjective experience in it.

Recognizing one's own biography is undeniably important for endeavors in psychoanalytic anthropology, as it is in any careful research generally. Acceptable methods and approaches for avoiding/eliminating researcher bias has been the gold standard for scientific research. This may cause some to doubt the validity of Stein's approach, although it is important to realize that Stein is engaged in *action research*, as opposed to evaluative research -- his fieldwork is aimed ultimately at helping the subjects of his endeavor. Accepting this, it is still important to recognize that there are pitfalls in the application of one's subjective experience to deducing the etiology of workplace dysfunction.

The debate extends back to Freud's concept of counter-transference and addresses the analyst's *activist* handling of a patient's associations. Just as researchers have hypotheses, analysts subscribe to theories or schools of thought. As Adolf Grünbaum (1984:212) points out in his book, *The Foundations of Psychoanalysis*, "some analytic patients are being coaxed, if not urged, to fulfill prior theoretical expectations [of their analysts]." Emanuel Peterfreund (1983:35), in his book, *The Process of Psychoanalytic Therapy,* is also critical of analysts that "...imposed on the patient...a belief system into which the patient was subtly indoctrinated." For someone like Stein, whose views on the corporate culture in America are so passionately held, the imposition of the consultant's belief system on the subjects of his interventions is a legitimate concern.

Another issue in the general acceptance by corporate clients of Stein's ideas and approach is the ability of consulting anthropologists who propose to employ it in their work to explain it to their perspective employers. As Nancy Morey and Robert Morey point out (1994:25), anthropologists hoping to find work as business consultants must "be ready and able to explain ...in terms understandable to a layman." That explanation must include "the specific benefits ...to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the organization...." My view is that Stein's use of psychoanalytic techniques and terminology such as *counter-transference*, and his employment of poetry and drama "to open paths to the inner life of workplaces" (p. 127) present challenges to an anthropologist's explanatory process. Stein himself recognizes this challenge when he quotes a personal communication via electronic mail from his colleague Seth Allcorn on June 21, 2004:

> I suppose the longer we look at this work [of psychoanalytically-informed organizational consulting], the more we see and the harder it is to explain how we work and what we find, much less how we fix it (p. 15). ❍

Notes

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introduction, 13 chapters, bibliography, index. Cloth $49.95 U.S.; paperback $33.00 U.S.

2. Howard F. Stein holds a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Pittsburgh. He is a full professor in the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine, University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, and may be reached there at 900 N.E. 10th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (OK) 73104-5420 USA and by telephone at 405-271-8000 extension 32211. At **howard-stein@ouhsc.edu** he may be reached by e-mail. He also coordinates the Behavioral Science Curriculum at the Enid Family Medicine Clinic, Enid, Oklahoma.

3. A retired colleague and continuing friend of co-reviewer Darby Stapp, Richard V. Badalamente is a former technical group leader for Human Factors and Production Analysis at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory (PNNL) of the U. S. Department of Energy. He served as the PNNL systems integrator for its Operations Improvement Program and the special assistant for re-engineering for the Department of Energy's Richland Field Office, leading re-engineering efforts in support of the Hanford Transition and Security Transition Programs. His Ph.D. in human factors and behavioral science is from Texas Tech University. He may be reached at **rbad2@charter.net**, at 3904 South Irby Street, Kennewick, Washington (WA) 99337-2452 USA, and at 509-586-6142.

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Insight and Imagination: A Study in Knowing and Not-Knowing in Organizational Life[1]

By Howard F. Stein[2]

Reviewed by Satish K. Kedia[3]

In *Insight and Imagination: A Study in Knowing and Not-Knowing in Organizational Life*, Howard F. Stein takes an innovative approach, drawing from over thirty years of personal experience as a psychoanalytic anthropologist and organizational consultant. He crafts an engaging, exhilarating, and often depressing narrative of the pitfalls surrounding organizational change. Along the way, Stein also intersects his anthropological explorations with what he calls humanistic and artistic approaches to formulating data and responses. Examples of Stein's own poetry, along with numerous personal vignettes taken from his experiences as an organizational consultant for predominately medical organizations, are interspersed throughout the book and serve to humanize the text, reminding readers that people are the most important component of change. This organizational humanization, however, is almost always contained within the parameters of organizational loss accomplished through layoffs, downsizing, reductions-in-force, rightsizing, or other modes of personnel downward adjustments. These adjustments are overwhelmingly viewed through a traumatic lens, and the responses from the people affected by these organizational changes are expressed through what Stein calls the *organizational triad* of change/loss/grief.

The inevitability of change within an organization and the process of working through such change by expressing loss and grief become the crux of Stein's thesis. How is it possible to know the true happenings within an organization? Moreover, how much of the workings of the life of an organization do its constituents really know? Stein raises these questions in order to present a fascinating and challenging counterpoint to conventional wisdom, which is that constituents' knowledge of an organization can actually hurt them. This is because, in most organizations, the knowledge of some is widely viewed as threatening by others. By acknowledging this dichotomy, Stein does not suggest that workers should willingly blind themselves to their workday surroundings and simply act in a *business-as-usual* manner. Instead, he focuses on the negative ramifications of only that knowledge that may be used to aggressively disempower, exert control over, or humiliate others. In terms of Stein's organizational triad, this knowledge / expertise is expressed through upper-tier executives such as chief executive officers (CEOs), other managers, and consultants who exercise mass layoffs and firings without regard to the human cost to the organization. Costs come about both to those who are laid off and to those who remain or, more appropriately in the context of Stein's book, *survive*. Such practices cause tremendous anxiety within the organization, and this anxiety is often taken advantage of by those *in the know* to inflict further harm. Therefore, Stein posits, learning to let go of certainties and the drive to become *expert*, while also suspending what one thinks or believes and not presuming anything by accepting *not-knowing*, is central to identifying the underlying, more deeply personal, dynamics of an organization.

The easiest way for constituents to effectively implement "not-knowing" is through a surprisingly simplistic methodology: first, there must be a recognition that change *must* come, and second, that an atmosphere must be created in which the "unsayable, even the unthinkable," can be said (p. 108). Only by embracing these two modes of thinking can organizational constituents find purpose. Locating this purpose allows for a process of unburdening, speaking compassionately, burying past histories, acknowledging the inevitability of loss, and ultimately moving forward. Interestingly, Stein defines his "purpose-full" methodology as being distinct from psychotherapy through the use of the arts – specifically poetry, storytelling, and drama – which he acknowledges is far afield from the standard applied anthropological method. He personally writes and recites poems, writes and tells stories, and writes and performs one-actor

plays with multiple roles. And he invokes discussion and realization with all of these art forms. Throughout his organizational consulting narratives, Stein repeatedly invokes his poetry in order to either reinforce the lessons he has learned through the duration of his consultancy or to underscore some of the widely varied emotions raised in these same consulting sessions and workshops. For Stein, the end result is a profoundly raised level of empathy that taps directly into complex group dynamics and reaches the group unconscious, thus opening up "intersubjective spaces" that, in turn, provide data and generate hypotheses that might otherwise be overlooked (p. 130).

For Stein, the notion of inter-subjectivity is inextricably tied to a method with which he, as a psychoanalytic anthropologist, is intimately familiar: counter-transference. Stein repeatedly utilizes counter-transference—the way in which the researcher / consultant increases access to the analysands' interior life, and through it, to the inner experience of the workplace—in order to both understand and help organizations (p. 11). How the arts play a role in this counter-transference approach is refreshingly simple; art draws upon, and readily identifies with, the inner emotions that might be more easily masked in a therapeutic session. Therefore, as Stein writes,

> the writing, reading, and discussion of poems (and other art forms) can help all who are involved to be more alive to their relationships with others and more widely to the intersubjective life of organizations (p. xviii).

Furthermore, this counter-transference is aided through a complicated matrix of visualization that combines both seeing and listening to constituents as they process their experiences with organizational change. Through this analytic methodology, both consultant and constituent can come much closer to working with the *emotional constellation* that comprises the organizational triad in order to reach a clearer understanding of all parties involved in, or connected to, the makeup of an organization.

The only drawback to Stein's work—and it is assuredly a very minor drawback—is that Stein's own expertise is sometimes too pronounced and threatens to overshadow his exploration of the over-arching mechanics of organizational life. This should not, however, be construed as a failing; in fact, it is understandable, given the deeply personal emotional core that Stein injects throughout his work. As a piece of applied anthropology, Stein's book is unique in terms of its composition, rendering it interesting to define. It does not readily fall into the categories of ethnography, theoretical or methodological study, or even an exercise in applied anthropology. However, it is all of these and more. By providing a window into the emotional center of organizational life and culture through the use of artistic means, Stein manages to create an anthropological *set piece* that is at once instructive, challenging, and rewarding. ❍

Notes

1. Lanham Maryland: University Press of America, 2007. 218 pages, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, 13 chapters, bibliography, index. Cloth $49.95 U.S.; paperback $33.00 U.S.

2. Howard F. Stein holds a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Pittsburgh. He is a full professor in the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine, University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, and may be reached there at 900 N.E. 10th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (OK) 73104-5420 USA and by telephone at 405-271-8000 extension 32211. At **howard-stein@ouhsc.edu** he may be reached by e-mail. He also coordinates the Behavioral Science Curriculum at the Enid Family Medicine Clinic, Enid, Oklahoma.

3. Satish K. Kedia's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Kentucky. He is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Memphis where he directs the Institute for Substance Abuse Treatment Evaluation. He may be reached at the Department of Anthropology, 316 Manning Hall, University of Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee (TN) 38152-3390 USA and by telephone at 901-678-1433 or via e-mail **skkedia@memphis.edu**.

Insight and Imagination: A Study in Knowing and Not-Knowing in Organizational Life[1]

By Howard F. Stein[2]

Reviewed by Pennie L. Magee[3]

My friend and colleague, Howard Stein, has spent a lot of time in his career listening to people who are experiencing crises in their workplaces. He has written and published extensively about what he has heard. In his recent book, *Insight and Imagination*, he invites the reader into the conference rooms and private offices of some of the people who have shared their stories with him. We hear stories of loss, grief, confusion, anger, and courage in the face of harsh corporate policies designed to trim the financial bottom line. The impersonal way in which these policies are implemented is experienced as a deeply personal event by those swept up in the net of downsizing, rightsizing, offshoring, and any number of other euphemisms used to describe the processes of getting rid of workers.

All good research and consulting projects need a framework within which the consultant can understand what she or he is seeing and hearing. Howard Stein uses key principles of Freudian psychoanalysis to great advantage (Sigmund Freud 1856-1939). Although I am more of a Jungian myself (Carl Jung 1875-1961), I appreciated the power of such concepts as *counter-transference* and *fantasy* to elucidate insights about both the consultant and the consultee.

The reader might wonder how stories of people who work primarily in medical and/or corporate organizations, described through the lens of Freudian psychoanalysis, can be relevant to a researcher whose specialty resides in a different domain. And more particularly, an anthropologist might wonder how psychoanalytical principles can speak to the traditional assumptions upon which our discipline is based. Stein shows us by example how we can make effective use of the dynamic tension between our very personal responses to the research and consulting process, on the one hand, and the structured theoretical frameworks within which we choose to organize our thinking, on the other hand.

I happened to read *Insight and Imagination* just as I was struggling to understand what was really going on in a consulting project for an information technology (IT) company. The stated task was to provide data that could help improve the design of a massive software package whose customers are members of the Fortune 500. Stein's book was helpful on several levels, two of which I will share in this review. First, Stein reminds us that it is acceptable, even necessary, to approach a consulting situation *not knowing* what is unfolding before us. It is in this state of not-knowing that we can create the space to hear the unsaid, to speak the unspeakable. When we listen deeply in this space, we may be able to touch upon the most fundamental dynamics at play that shape the situation at hand.

I took great comfort in the idea of being given permission to *not know* in the particular consulting situation in which I was engaged while reading this book. In my role as anthropologist-consultant, I approached the project with a deliberately ambiguous presentation of my own expectations for the ultimate outcome of the research. Yet the history of the client IT company is one of radical change in leadership, downsizing, offshoring, acquisition of other companies, and many of the other corporate business strategies so common over the past 15 years. As a result, employees have moved from a model of inquisitiveness and tolerance of ambiguity to one of creating an impression of absolute certainty and predictability – and by implication, of competence. I keenly felt the pressure to appear competent and reliable by agreeing to buy into the already established assumptions about what needed to be known. I knew from past experience that my own strategy of choice would ultimately serve the client well. But it was helpful to read about how someone else had put the concept of *not knowing* to use in a wide variety of situations, and had lived to tell the tale.

Stein also discusses the use of *fantasy* to understand what is truly happening in a group or organization. It is in the odd choice of word by a group participant, an image that flashes into

the consultant's mind, or an apparently unrelated story that emerges in the conversation, that the consultant can find important clues to the situation at hand. We are creatures of imagination, after all, and Stein encourages us to make use of this gift in, well, imaginative ways.

In my own situation, my research colleague and I were stymied by what seemed to be a complete lack of communication and an overwhelming sense of fragmentation as we tried to build a relationship with the members of the client team. The problem was further exacerbated by the fact that all meetings took the form of conference calls, with participants scattered across the globe and in different time zones. There was never an opportunity to establish – in a face-to-face setting – a common understanding of what the client needed and what we could offer. We constantly received conflicting information from various team members, or were told that a particular request for information was irrelevant to the task at hand.

One day my research colleague and I were eating lunch in a little Mexican restaurant near the university campus, discussing our complete lack of understanding about what was really afoot with this project. Out of the blue, my colleague blurted:

> It's just like a giant puzzle that's been thrown up on a wall. There are a bunch of missing puzzle pieces, but we don't know which ones are missing. And someone keeps shining the light on different areas of the puzzle, but the light keeps moving and we can't figure out what we are actually looking at.

In response, I shared with her my recent reading of *Insight and Imagination*. The metaphor of the puzzle became a central organizing principle of our inquiries for a period of time. We realized that we were never going to be able to find all the puzzle pieces. But we could ask:

> Why are the pieces missing? Have they been lost, through downsizing, perhaps? Are survivors hoarding some of the pieces the change in corporate culture? Are we looking at the pieces of more than one puzzle? Who owns the puzzle? And whose hand is shining the light on different areas of the puzzle?

As a side note to this particular experience, upon re-reading sections of this book in order to write this review, I realized that the metaphor of the puzzle comes up for some of Stein's clients as well. I had not consciously remembered this section of the book at the time of my conversation with my colleague. I am sure there is a psychoanalytical explanation for this, but I will leave it to the experts to tell me what it is.

Stein covers a great deal more ground in the thirteen chapters of his book than I can adequately address in this brief review. In addition to applying psychoanalytical principles to the examples cited in his book, he also makes intriguing use of poetry and theater. He often writes poetry in response to an event he has witnessed in a meeting and then shares it with the group. He also encourages the people with whom he is consulting to write their own poetry. In the process, the poems – his and theirs – become mirrors of what is, and doorways leading to what can be.

A subtle yet insistent theme running through this book is the need for people to be truly seen and heard. In the medical world, which provides the context for many of Stein's case studies, patients and medical practitioners alike suffer the side effects of invisibility. Here Stein touches upon the power of labeling in his poem that he titles "Schizophrenic":

> "Schizophrenic"
>
> "Schizophrenic" – the word leapt out
> At us the way a tidal wave washes over
> A ship. A single word on his medical chart
> Took on a life of its own, engulfed us all
> Into the undertow. He disappeared
> Beneath the surface of our own words
> (p. 148, from Stein 2002:529).

Stein also shares deeply personal poetry. Here is a stanza from his poem titled "Radiologist's Report," about his own father:

> Radiologist's Report
>
> The radiologist's report wasn't wrong,
> Just incomplete as seeing goes.
> He just didn't see enough to ask
> What sort of life that back had lived,
> And what it meant for eyes

So used to tree-tops
To take their pleasure now
In gathering buckeyes
From the autumn ground
(p. 151, from Stein 1997:12-13).

The thirteenth and final chapter of this book consists of a play titled "Irv, or the Consultant." It is a dark piece. We are drawn into the painful world of corporate downsizing through the words of George and Joe, both chief executive officers (CEOs), Betty the chief financial officer (CFO), Janet the personnel director, Jack the middle manager, and Jerry the plant division head. Irv, the consultant, serves as a solo Greek chorus, responding to them with poems of his own. The epilogue captures the very real anguish and sense of powerlessness a consultant can feel from the cumulative effects of witnessing human suffering time after time.

For those readers of this review who enjoy listening to Stein's musings at some of the annual meetings of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology, *Insight and Imagination* will provide them with more of his voice and wisdom. For some, that might be enough cause to read the book. But the merits of the book extend far beyond the merely pleasurable. Stein has shown, by example, what it can mean to recognize the deeply personal nature of consulting and offer it up as a way of knowing that can transform lives – and perhaps even organizations. If that isn't applied anthropology, I do not know what is. ❍

Notes

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2. Howard F. Stein holds a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Pittsburgh. He is a full professor in the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine, University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, and may be reached there at 900 N.E. 10th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (OK) 73104-5420 USA and by telephone at 405-271-8000 extension 32211. At **howard-stein@ouhsc.edu** he may be reached by e-mail. He also coordinates the Behavioral Science Curriculum at the Enid Family Medicine Clinic, Enid, Oklahoma.

3. Pennie L. Magee's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Florida. She is a contracting anthropologist and serves as chair of the Publications Policy Committee of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology and as an editor of *The Bloomsbury Review* published in Denver, Colorado. She may be reached at 303-473-9994, at **pmagee@indra.com**, and at 398 Leonards Road, Boulder, Colorado (CO) 80302-9780 USA.

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2002 "Schizophrenic." *The Journal of Family Practice* 51 (6, June): 529.

Insight and Imagination: A Study in Knowing and Not-Knowing in Organizational Life[1]

Counterpointed by Howard F. Stein[2]

It is a writer's dream to see his or her work not only distilled and carefully scrutinized, but also genuinely struggled with, and even taken further and applied to the reviewer's own life circumstances. That is what happened with this quartet of reviews. I wish to thank Richard Badalamente, Satish Kedia, Pennie Magee, and Darby Stapp for their generosity of spirit in their reviews of *Insight and Imagination*. They did not reject outright the odd synthesis I make; instead, they struggled with it and made it their own. Badalamente, Kedia, Magee, and Stapp all offer admirable summaries of the concepts and methods in the book. Magee and Stapp offered concrete examples of how one might practically use some of its ideas. Badalamente and Stapp even pressed me to make the book's ideas even more widely accessible and understandable. They *want* the ideas to succeed.

Throughout my career, on numerous occasions I have had article-length and book-length manuscripts rejected by editors and publishers on the grounds that what I had written was "neither fish nor fowl," that it "falls through the cracks between disciplines." Badalamente, Kedia, Magee, and Stapp persevered with the ideas and did not try to *pigeonhole* them. To be so fully understood is truly a gift. I have long struggled between the desire to be understood and the desire to share what I think I have come to understand. The two do not always seamlessly dovetail.

Badalamente rightly reminds us how psychoanalysis can be appropriated into a coercive, paradigm-confirming clinical ideology rather than become a radical way of knowing self and other. In my work as clinical teacher and consultant, I rarely use anthropological or psychoanalytic concepts as jargon with physicians or other organizational clients. From a linguistic viewpoint, I try to work within the metaphors, images, fantasies, and narratives they bring. In the spirit of play, I sometimes introduce a new metaphor or image that has been inspired by the conversation. For instance, I might say to a client, "If I were writing a *story* about your corporation, here is how it would go...." This tends to engage the imagination, rather than provoke the resistance, of the client. Then, after offering my brief story, I would immediately seek feedback on whether my (etic) story was at all connected to his or her (emic) story. We need to listen to others in order to learn from them, not listen to them *through* our tightly clutched theories.

I want to conclude my commentary with a brief explanation of why I wrote *this* book. It relates to the questions the reviewers raised about my use of some psychoanalytic terms, medical vignettes, poems, and the concluding chapter in the form of a play. Although American biomedical organizations were the *source* of much of my data, they were not its primary *subject*. As a consultant and as a long-time member of the International Society for the Psychoanalytic Study of Organizations and reader of its literature, I came to think that what I was hearing, seeing, sensing, and finding in biomedicine had much in common with what was occurring in countless for-profit and public administration organizations in the United States. In part, I wanted to write the book to argue for this *commonness* and to illustrate it.

There were deeper, and more personal, reasons for writing *Insight and Imagination* in the way that I did. I wrote it so that I could assemble in one space and intellectually integrate the many *parts* of myself as scholar, clinical teacher, organizational consultant, ethnographic researcher, and poet. Until recently, I had segregated my life as a poet from my professional life. I came to realize that for my own sake as a human being at a certain place in his life, and for the sake of those with whom I wished professionally to communicate, I could no longer keep those *domains* apart. I could no longer write identically with the way I did in the past, at least in this book. I trusted myself that I knew something new and different, not as clinical or organizational *content*, but as *a way of knowing* and *helping others to know* as well. Further, I had come to

realize that poetry – and more broadly the arts, or *expressive culture* – could help make the emotional life of organizations more accessible to its members, or at least to some of them.

I told myself, as it were, that I knew I would *lose* or never reach some readers, but that *at least here* I needed to say it this way. I concede that it may be written in the wrong *language(s)*, so to speak, and that it might in many places be clumsy and dense. I also would like to believe that it is incomplete, as am I, and that anthropological practitioners such as Badalamante, Kedia, Magee, and Stapp can take and *apply* some of my ideas in places I would and could never dream of doing. ❍

Notes

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Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology[1]

By Linda L. Klepinger[2]

Reviewed by Jeri DeYoung[3]

As an archeologist and cultural resource manager in the National Park Service, I have participated in a number of cases involving inadvertent discoveries of prehistoric human remains, mostly involving violations of the Archeological Resource Protection Act of 1979, and I have interacted with the concomitant sheriffs, magistrates, and medical examiners. But I have no formal education in physical or forensic anthropology, so I am, a "less specifically prepared reader" (p. 6) as Linda Klepinger defines one of the targeted audiences for her book, *Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology*. Klepinger's primary audience is "advanced undergraduates, graduate students, and post graduates" (p. 7) who have some knowledge of skeletal anatomy and statistics. While her book is focused more towards the practitioner, those of us who dabble on the fringes of forensic anthropology gain, by reading this text, a better understanding of the discipline, where and when it can be useful with its limitations and strengths, as we glimpse into the culture of death, crime, and anthropological forensics.

Klepinger's goal is to present the fundamental information needed for practicing forensic anthropology. She focuses on the identification of skeletal remains, and the anthropologist's role in civil and/or criminal investigations. The author is careful to point out that *Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology* is not a "cookbook" (p. 7) for identifying human remains. More importantly, it is a guide for assessing and employing the methods and techniques of the discipline.

Klepinger uses primary source materials to demonstrate the accuracy and inadequacy of techniques used in forensic anthropology. She evaluates and analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of methods used to assess skeletal remains, assign sex, estimate age from the degree of epiphyseal union of the ends of long bones, decipher ethnic ancestry, estimate stature from long bones, and estimate the post-mortem interval (time elapsed since death). She demonstrates how models and formulas, biased by sample size and population(s) tested, can limit the applicability of a technique. Klepinger notes, too, that personal bias can influence interpretation of remains leading to incorrect analyses and conclusions. And she reminds us of the "inherent variability in human biology" (p. 7) that makes forensic anthropology inexact. She, in effect, issues a caveat to practitioners, which is to be cautious, know and understand the test(s) you are applying, cross test, and evaluate. Klepinger's review of the literature, in these chapters, is not exhaustive, nor is it meant to be. She provides references for additional research and encourages readers to consult and examine other sources.

Klepinger traces the history and context of forensic anthropology from the late nineteenth century to the present day. She credits Dr. George A. Dorsey (1868-1931), who was awarded a Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard in 1894 (p. 8), as "the first *anthropologist* [author's emphasis] to testify in an American criminal trial" (p. 11). Dorsey was called upon as an expert witness to give testimony in the Adolph Luetgert case – a case involving Luetgert's missing wife, Louisa, his sausage factory, and a boiling vat. Klepinger notes that although Dorsey 's conclusions about the scant bone remains recovered during the investigation (p. 12) were highly controversial, a relationship was born between anthropology and the medical-legal world. The work of Dr. Wilton Marion Krogman (1903-1987) in the late 1930s solidified this relationship. Krogman informed law enforcement of the capabilities of physical anthropologists in personal skeletal identification (1939), and he later wrote the first text on forensic anthropology (1962).

The author chronicles the role of physical anthropologists during World War II and the Korean War, and the development of the U.S. Army Central Identification Laboratory. Remains recovered following these, and other, military actions provided researchers an opportunity to develop and test new techniques for identification, albeit, on specific populations, and paved the way for anthropologists to participate in recovery efforts of mass disasters and in investigations of human-rights abuses.

By the 1970s, the ranks of those practicing forensic anthropology was large enough that the Physical Anthropology Section of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences was established, and in 1977, the American Board of Forensic Anthropology (ABFA) was created. The ABFA conducts formal examination and certification of anthropologists and designates qualified practitioners as Forensic Anthropologists. Klepinger concludes this chapter by noting the current, but not impossible, challenges facing the discipline, which are a lack of licensure for practitioners, increased need for forensic anthropologists coupled with shrinking budgets, fewer skeletal collections for hands-on learning, and an overall lack of recognition of case work as an integral component of academia.

Beyond personal identification, forensic anthropologists play an essential role in the courtroom as expert witnesses. Klepinger reviews the qualifications required for experts to testify, and the procedures used in direct or cross examination. She contemplates society's interest in the forensic sciences, and considers how the fanciful impacts the real, that is, how the media, and forensics-focused television shows can create a false reality where identification is always certain. An unfortunate, but actual, consequence can be that a jury's expectations of the discipline, and the expert witness, are impracticable. Klepinger also notes that expert witnesses can present false realities through biased testimony. She provides the example of Dr. Louise Robbins, a professor of anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, whose biased testimony and lapse in ethical behavior (p. 142), led to the convictions for rape and murder of two innocent men. For Klepinger, expert testimony, professional conduct, and ethical behavior are integral to each other; they are the fundamental components for practicing forensic anthropology.

The author concludes with a brief review of genetics and DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid). She tells of their history, applicability, and limitations for purposes of identification, as well as the responsibilities of expert witnesses, when interpreting results of DNA analyses. Klepinger's skill as a writer and her wit make this book and the discipline of forensic anthropology accessible. Quips about scavenging pets and "bugs on drugs" (p. 119), and quotes from Shakespeare highlight Klepinger's sense of humor, offer insight into the world view of forensic anthropologists, and make this book a pleasure to read. The author accomplishes her goals of providing (1) the essential information needed to practice forensic anthropology and (2) the fundamental information needed to be a forensic anthropologist. Along the way, she sets the standard for how textbooks should be engagingly written with clarity and humor. ❍

Notes

1.Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated. 2006. 199 pages, three parts, 12 chapters, illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth $94.95 U.S.

2. Linda L. Klepinger's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Kansas. She is a professor emerita in the Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She may be reached at 109 Davenport Hall, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 607 South Mathews Street, Urbana, Illinois (IL) 61801 USA. She is reachable by e-mail at **klepinger@uiuc.edu** and by telephone at 217-333-1301.

3. Jeri DeYoung's M.A. in anthropology is from Northern Arizona University. She is a cultural resource specialist at the Denver Service Center of the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. She may be contacted via the U. S. Postal Service at the Division of Transportation, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 12795 West Alameda Parkway, Post Office Box 25287, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80225-0287 USA, by e-mail at **jeri_deyoung@nps.gov** and by telephone at 303-969-2576. The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the National Park Service, the Department of the Interior, or the United States Government.

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Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology[1]

By Linda L. Klepinger[2]

Reviewed by Gabrielle Jones[3]

Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology by Linda L. Klepinger first provides a background of forensics as the application of scientific knowledge to legal questions, followed by a history of the evolution of forensic anthropology. An extensive overview of forensic anthropology is summarized in approximately 150 pages. Klepinger discusses methods of personal identification, including initial assessments of skeletal remains, the assignment of sex as gender identification, age estimation, criteria for deciphering ancestral background, stature estimation and skeletal markers of activity and life history. The role anthropologists play in medical and legal investigations is discussed, as is professionalism and ethics. Additionally, there are sections describing aspects of the postmortem period, genetics and deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), which, of course, comprises the organic chemical coding of biological information distinctive to individuals for the manifestation and transmission of inherited traits. It is amazing how many topics are thoroughly summarized in so few pages in this book.

In Klepinger's overview of her book, she describes the emphasis of *Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology* as following two areas of forensic anthropological work: (1) the quest for personal identification from skeletal remains and (2) the role of the anthropologist in broader medical-legal investigation. She accomplishes this juxtaposition beautifully. She also discusses quality control and the importance of specific training in forensic anthropology to do such work. She offers a disclaimer that this book alone will not make one an expert. This caution shows her dedication to the discipline and her commitment to the proper education and training of individuals seeking careers in this field.

Klepinger also describes the target audience as advanced undergraduate and graduate students, as well as post-graduate students who are familiar with skeletal anatomy and have had some introduction to statistics. I agree. In my opinion, this is not a classic textbook. To fully understand this book in its entirety and for it to be truly beneficial readers must have some background in forensics and/or forensic anthropology. An osteology course is a must, as well as some type of forensics laboratory or statistics course applied to criminal investigation. She mentions introductory statistics as well. This is important as she uses a few formulas and utilizes tables and charts in describing data throughout this book. Additionally, because no definitions are provided and this book is really an overview of the above mentioned topics, a background in forensic anthropology is an important prerequisite in appreciating this book. If the desire exists at all in expanding the target audience, perhaps some type of index or glossary could be included.

Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology is very good reference material. For every aspect and method of skeletal identification, Klepinger provides an example including data and its conclusions. She cites research from numerous forensic anthropologists and infamous projects and cases. Despite the plethora of research and case studies documented, she states that the references are far from a comprehensive survey of the published literature in this field. She is also extremely forthright in describing the limitations of forensic anthropology and provides discussions regarding areas of uncertainty and disagreement.

The one drawback that I can see regarding this book is that parts of the first section are difficult to read. Some sentences are long and verbose. I only bring this up because when reading a description of data analysis or regarding any scientific material in general, uncomplicated sentences are more comprehensible. Conversely, short, concise sentences are not necessarily required, as this is not a textbook, nor claims to be so.

In conclusion, I enthusiastically recommend *Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology* as a reading in upper level forensic anthropology courses. It is the only book with which I am familiar in this

subject that is both strongly theoretical and practical. I also recommend it to all forensic-science professionals as a helpful reference to have at hand. ❍

Notes

1.Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 2006. 199 pages, three parts, 12 chapters, illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth $94.95 U.S.

2. Linda L. Klepinger's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Kansas. She is a professor emerita in the Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She may be reached at 109 Davenport Hall, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 607 South Mathews Street, Urbana, Illinois (IL) 61801 USA. She is reachable by e-mail at **klepinger@uiuc.edu** and by telephone at 217-333-1301.

3. The M. A. in anthropology of Gabrielle Jones is from the University of Memphis. She is a graduate student working for her M.P.H. (master's degree in public health) in the School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. Her address via the U. S. Postal Service is 640 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (PA) 19130-3441 USA, 323-326-4833 is her cell telephone number, and her e-mail address is **jonesga@mail.med.upenn.edu.**

Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology[1]

By Linda L. Klepinger[2]

Reviewed by Stephanie Matlock-Cooley[3] and Kimberly Spurr[4]

Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology is a book that is consistent with the times, considering the attention and popularity that *Crime Scene Investigation* (*CSI*) shows have had recently. It is also becoming a popular major for college students, and we even offer a minor in forensics at our college.

Please note that this book is reviewed (1) as a potential textbook for a college class that Stephanie Matlock-Cooley would be teaching and (2) as a reference book that Kimberly Spurr as co-reviewer would use as a consulting field anthropologist who specializes in human-remains identification.

In the introduction, the author does a great job of giving an overview of what the book will try to teach as well as her intent to provide, "the *core knowledge* [author's emphasis] that one needs to know in order to practice anthropological forensics" (p. 6). She also clearly emphasizes what the book will not contain or teach. It gives the reader a clear picture in what they are about to undertake. We also appreciate the sentence that warns the reader that the book will not make them an expert. This is a critical sentence with which Kimberly Spurr agrees, who has spent years in the field and is now quite comfortable identifying human remains, but would not have been, based on one book such as *Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology*.

Chapter 2, "The Role of Forensic Anthropology in Historical Context," succeeds in capturing the audience. Students are often wary of a book that could be too technical or "boring" and will glance over the chapters. This chapter captivates its audience with the historical account of the German-immigrant sausage maker in Chicago and his wife's disappearance and the "first" anthropologist as forensic scientist, George A. Dorsey, who was called upon for his expertise at this murder trial in 1897 (pp. 11-12). This story helps to increase the student's desire to read more.

In Part II, "Towards Personal Identification," the analysis begins and continues in the chapters that follow. Each chapter achieves a goal of clearly focusing on one topic at a time. Different topics essential in identifying human remains are presented with accompanying questions: Are the bones we have found even human? Do we have a female or male? What is their ancestry? As a reference it is quite handy to go to the desired chapter and focus on the specific topic needed. Other information the author imparts includes the important distinction that adult bones often look nothing like juvenile bones, as most field anthropologists can testify.

It is in Chapter 4 "Assignment of Sex," where there lies some difficulty. This chapter may be one of the most important aspects of forensic anthropology, along with the ageing of a skeleton. This chapter was relatively short and should have included more illustrations and photographs. We also noted that the photographs on pages 28 and 29 were not completely labeled. This is crucial for a student who would not necessarily know what the *pre-auricular surface* is, or where. Arrows would help this situation, and be more informative. More detailed photographs of this crucial distinction could have been included. The *pre-auricular sulcus* is a skeletal difference that many field anthropologists use and the details of this should have been addressed more extensively. Figure 4.2 is extremely vague and a student would have to look at other reference material to know what the author is trying to indicate. The next chapter, Chapter 5, "Age Estimation," which again is of great importance in the identification of the age of the skeletal remains, is covered in better detail. However, both reviewers feel more illustrations and or photographs would have been important in identifying some of these traits. As this field is so incredibly visual, certain visual aids are obviously lacking here.

The author is very much self-aware and quick to point out the sensitive issue of cultural identity/ethnicity and labels it "ancestry." Her attention to this potentially sensitive issue is apparent. Again, Chapter 6, "Deciphering Ancestral

Background," lacks detail in the illustrations and captions on the photographs, which would make them more useful. She often relies on the reader to figure out what is being addressed in each photo. The discussion in Chapter 8, on activity is a bit frustrating in two aspects. Here the author's language becomes highly technical and would lose the student. There are no real examples given of activity in life that would be exhibited in the skeleton, such as a mechanic having thickened finger bones. Such anecdotes can again help with the visual nature of this field. In addition, one point we do wish to emphasize is that the language throughout the book switches from easily read, colloquial expressions to technical, more difficult ones. An editor could have helped make this disparity flow better.

Part III, "Principal Anthropological Roles in Medical-Legal Investigation," is a very important synopsis of the field of forensic anthropology today. Again the CSI television show makes the analyzing of evidence look easy and that it is done quickly overnight. I think the author does a good job of showing the complications that arise in this field. She also points out that "experts' in this field need to "interpret this as a warning to forensic anthropologists. Expert testimony based on experience and knowledge may no longer be sufficient." Most experts need to back up their statements with the science and the methodologies used.

Chapter 11, "Professionalism, Ethics, and the Expert Witness," comes back to providing useful anecdotes of court proceedings, again helping to captivate and interest the audience. The next and last chapter ends with DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) analysis. This chapter appears rushed and, honestly, has a dizzying effect. To adequately embark on this topic would require more introducing. A student would need to have taken a solid genetics course to fully understand much of what the author is trying to impart. A more general synopsis with references to other illustrative materials would likely be more effective. Overall, we think the book serves as an appropriate textbook for an advanced student; however, other reference materials would need to be close at hand to maximize the book's effectiveness. ❍

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2. Linda L. Klepinger's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Kansas. She is a professor emerita in the Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She may be reached at 109 Davenport Hall, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 607 South Mathews Street, Urbana, Illinois (IL) 61801 USA. She is reachable by e-mail at **klepinger@uiuc.edu** and by telephone at 217-333-1301.

3. Stephanie Matlock-Cooley obtained her M.S. in biology from the Department of Biological Sciences at Montana State University at Bozeman with specialties in wildlife biology and anatomy. She has two B.A. degrees, one in anthropology and the other in biology, and was a faunal analyst in archaeology for several years before deciding to chase live animals instead. She teaches biology, including human anatomy, at Mesa State College in Colorado and can be reached there at 1100 North Avenue, Grand Junction, Colorado (CO) 81501-3122 USA. Her telephone number is 970-248-1941, and her e-mail address is **smatlock@mesastate.edu**.

4. Kimberly Spurr received her M.A. from the Department of Anthropology at Northern Arizona University, specializing in physical / biological anthropology, and has worked in the field of identifying human remains for some years. She is currently self employed and can be reached at **kimberly.spurr@nau.edu**, at 928-607-4619, and at 175 North Pawnee Street, Flagstaff, Arizona (AZ) 81601-9532 USA.

Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology[1]

By Linda L. Klepinger[2]

Counterpointed by Linda L. Klepinger

This is a response to an invitation to counterpoint three reviews, written by Gabrielle Jones, Stephanie Matlock-Cooley and Kimberly Spurr, and Jeri DeYoung of my book, *Fundamentals of Forensic Anthropology*. These reviewers have accurately and succinctly presented not only the content overview of the book, but have also captured its intended spirit. The book is an attempt to present the basics of the field while also serving as a caution that all techniques are not created with equal reliability, nor have many been properly evaluated. Moreover, it seeks to exemplify how to recognize and evaluate the lack of proper evaluation. None of the reviewers bemoan the absence of multitudinous published specialized tables and formulae into one handy reference volume—an approach that would have induced narcolepsy in both author and readers.

Nevertheless, as Jones and Matlock-Cooley and Spurr point out, inclusion of a glossary and more specifically labeled skeletal photographs pertaining to the personal identification section would have been helpful to many students. I confess that in describing the target audience I was inadvertently somewhat misleading. Familiarity with skeletal anatomy would include students with a good anatomical background, but in actuality I wrote the book addressing those with a specific anthropological osteology class under their belt. There is a difference, illustrated very well by the case of the pre-auricular sulcus. Although the pre-auricular sulcus is a major anatomical landmark in the anthropology literature, it is likely not even mentioned in anatomy class. My recommendation is that serious readers without the osteology course invest in one of several handbooks or textbooks on human osteology from an anthropology perspective.

I do not deny that the writing may be uneven in style and technicality; this is due to both author idiosyncrasy and the level of technical detail demanded by the topic. I would hope that the non-technical sections would provide respite between heavier-going subjects. A more presumptuous wish would be that the lighter passages seduce the interested student into actually reading and cogitating on the parts that guide critical thinking.

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Rance Hood: Mystic Painter[1]

By James J. Hester[2] and Rance Hood[3]

Reviewed by L. Charles Pettit[4]

Please note that in reading and reviewing this book, I approached it as a Native American raised as a non-Indian. I am belatedly discovering my American Indian cultural heritage through genealogy and other sources.

The layout of the book's seven chapters is organizationally smooth. While reading from the foreword on throughout the book, I felt as though I was being spoken to by a single voice even though there are four different authors involving different sections. James J. Hester is mainly responsible for the whole book. However, the foreword is by John J. Rohner. The preface is by James J. Hester. There is a personal statement by Rance Hood, and the introduction is by Joan Frederick. Seven chapters constitute the body of the book. Many color plates brilliantly depict Hood's paintings and sculptures. The latter part of the book provides a career resume of the artist, including entries on paintings owned by museums, commissions, gallery exhibits, and awards. The authors, including the artist, complement one another very well as they honor Rance Hood's work and place it in a larger context involving aspects of other Native American art and tribal cultures. It is worth noting that Rance Hood's style includes both traditional and abstract approaches. According to art critic Gary Lantz, quoted in the book, Rance Hood himself says that " 'abstract art has been a part of Indian culture from the time medicine men translated personal visions into shield paintings to serve as protection and power for that individual'" (p. 49).

John Rohner provides an overview in the foreword about how various indigenous peoples in this country have been mistreated under such dubious mentalities of education as "Kill the Indian to save the man." For example, practices of the dominant society historically have been forced on Indian students, as at the Indian boarding schools in Phoenix, Arizona, and Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Rohner shares how he and Rance Hood initially met in Boulder, Colorado, at an art show, which I think adds a nice personal touch to storytelling.

The story is relayed of how two Pueblo women were banned from dancing in tribal ceremonies when it was so much a part of their tribal culture. There are of course many other examples. Sad but true! The similarities are uncanny regarding the treatment by nuns of a Lakota medicine man in the mid-west and that rendered to Indian students at the Carlisle Institute in the east where there were prohibitions against students wearing their hair in traditional ways and speaking in their native tongues. I particularly appreciated the compare-and-contrast method of imparting events of historical and cultural significance in the foreword. We should all be thankful that John Rohner "prodded" James Hester into preparing this long overdue book about Rance Hood and his art.

The chapter titles reveal the book's historical, cultural, and artistic scope – Chapter One: The Beginning; Chapter Two: Native American Painting in Oklahoma; Chapter Three: Warriors on Horseback; Chapter Four: The Peyote Road; Chapter Five: Hood's Individual Style; Chapter Six: I Am Comanche; Chapter Seven: In the Eye of the Beholder. Prior to reading this book, I was fairly uninformed about the work of Rance Hood and the details of the Sacred Peyote Ceremony. I certainly gleaned much from reading James Hester's description of the ceremony and its influence on Rance Hood. Previously, I thought that the details were secretive and only known to participants. I was a little uncomfortable about reading about the details of the Peyote ceremony. That was until I got to the part where Hester explains that he feels that it is necessary to better interpret and appreciate the work in Native American art of Rance Hood by showing the background and inspiration of it all. Hester's justification put my mind and spirit at ease.

I agree with Joan Frederick that Rance Hood can compete and hold his own with the "Big Boys" as she says in the introduction. One of the

established Indian artists she mentions is Allan Hauser (also known as *Haozous*). I had the privilege of meeting and getting to know him during the last five years of his life. A Chiricahua Apache (1914-1994), he was an *Uncle* through marriage to one of my *Brothers-In-Law*, and he considered us part of his extended family. I think that Rance Hood and Allan Hauser share some of the same values about American Indian art. It is interesting to note that Rance Hood received some instruction in art from Allan Houser (p. 54). Their work honors not only traditional American Indian lifeways, but also the manifestation of such lifeways as an integral part of the social identity of modern American Indians who incorporate the past into the present for the future. The reader may wish to compare the Rance Hood book under review here with one about Allan Hauser by W. Jackson Rushing III (2004).

What is important is that individuals like Rance Hood and Allan Houser have followed their own sources of inspiration and understanding to be the culture-bearing artists they became. As Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) states, "If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away" (Thoreau 1960: 216). Because of extraordinary artistic ability, it would seem that Rance Hood, like the late Allan Houser, steps to the beat of a different drummer, for which we all should be grateful.

The book would be a welcome addition to any personal library on American Indian art, history, and culture in particular and American art in general. Thanks to all who had a part in putting this book together to see it in print. Beautifully produced, it is a book of which to be proud. The price set for this book is a fair one given its many plates in full color.

In my quest for knowledge through genealogical and other research on a Native American ancestry that was hidden from me most of my life, this book most definitely contributes to my growing knowledge base of tribal cultures. It broadens my appreciation by introducing me to Rance Hood as a most gifted and expressive contemporary Native American artist. I consider it an honor to be a reviewer, and I highly recommend it to anyone interested in Native American art and the ongoing culture it represents of the first peoples of North America. The end product is well worth reading and savoring. ❍

Notes

1. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. 176 pages, foreword by John R. Rohner, preface by James J. Hester, artist's personal statement by Rance hood, acknowledgements, introduction by Joan Frederick, seven chapters, color plates, catalog of the artist's selected works, two appendices, bibliography. Cloth, $39.95 U.S.

2. James J. Hester's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Arizona. He is a professor emeritus, Department of Anthropology, Campus Box 233, University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, Colorado 80309-0233 USA. By telephone, he may be reached at 303-492-7419 or at 303-939-9095. By e-mail, **james.hester@colorado.edu** is his address.

3. Rance Hood is a Comanche artist whose studio is in Denison, Texas. He may be reached at Post Office Box 72, Denison, Texas (TX) 75021-0072 USA, at 903-463-6020, or at **Rance@RanceHoodStudio.com.**

4. L. Charles Pettit is a support services specialist at the Denver Service Center / Intermountain Regional Office, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 12795 West Alameda Parkway, Post Office Box 25287, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80225-0287 USA. His e-mail address is **charlie_pettit@nps.gov** and the telephone number there is 303-969-2719. His B.S. degree is in business administration from Columbia College, Aurora Campus, Denver, Colorado, USA.

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Rushing III, W. Jackson
2004 *Allan Houser: An American Master (Chiricahua Apache, 1914-1994)*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Publisher.

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1960 *Walden or Life in the Woods*. New York: New American Library. First published in 1854.

Rance Hood: Mystic Painter[1]

By James J. Hester[2] and Rance Hood[3]

Reviewed by Edward M. Chamberlin[4]

Color! Artist Rance Hood's paintings are filled with color! The book, *Rance Hood, Mystic Painter* is filled with the colors of his life, his dreams, his enjoyment of painting and his faith in the Native American Church. The illustrations are produced spectacularly, capturing the intricate beadwork, feathers, ribbons, multi-colored shields of the people and the colors of the painted ponies. *Mystic Painter* successfully illustrates Mr. Hood's colorful life.

Organized chronologically, the book presents Comanche Indian Rance Hood's work from childhood to adult taking side steps to expand on his personal interests and inspirations. Many of his paintings are used to illustrate points being made throughout the story. The author, James Hester, did an excellent job telling this story in a readable manner for all to enjoy.

The paintings are reproduced vibrantly. Rich colors jump from the pages and the pure whites add exciting energy to every piece. I wish all 221 illustrations could have been printed full page. The stories told in these works are often found in the details. We are fortunate that the book includes nearly a complete set of his work by including 148 thumbnail images. My favorite pieces include, "Owl Medicine," "Government Abandonment," and "Winter Song." Each of these compositions offer mesmerizing stories, are profound in their purpose, and powerful in their presentation.

Collectors of Native American wall art will find *Mystic Painter* enticing, teaching them how Indian artists gain their inspiration, how they see the world, and what matters most to them. The reader will find in the appendix a detailed timeline of the history of Native American painters in Oklahoma. Collectors of Hood's art will embrace the book for its comprehensive approach to his story. It thoroughly covers his life and offers 195 of his paintings, 14 of his sketches, and 12 of his sculptures for study. Anyone interested in the Native American Church will discover the book to be an enriching way to learn about this complex and often misunderstood religion. Hood's stories, open the teepee door for all to enter.

This artist's biography gave me an introduction to the Native American Church. Rance's boyhood experiences following the Peyote Road is brilliantly remembered and shared. The memory allows us to enter a Native American Church ceremony and see what he sees. The use of peyote in the ceremony helps the follower reach a state of connection with the world. Rance says, "When you use peyote, everything is clear: All the colors are strong, and when you look at the earth, every particle of sand, every blade of grass is distinct" (p. 27). Re-visiting his paintings after listening to his remembrance, you discover the sacred paraphernalia included in his paintings; the staff, fan, and drum. And then you understand the emotional and spiritual significance of his paintings.

At 67, Mr. Hood's story is long overdue. The Native American art world was recognized and encouraged to grow and bloom during Hood's life. *Rance Hood, Mystic Painter* is a beautiful book that enriches our world with strong colorful paintings and respectfully takes us into the realm of the Peyote Road. ❍

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4. Edward M. Chamberlin is the museum curator at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Post Office Box 150, Ganado, Arizona (AZ) 86505-0150 USA. His e-mail address is **e_chamberlin@nps.gov** and the telephone number there is 928-755-3475. His B. S. degree is from Northern Michigan University with additional studies in anthropology from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and Dine College, Navajo Nation. His knowledge of Native American Art has been obtained over the past 27 years while living and working in Arizona and New Mexico.

Rance Hood: Mystic Painter[1]

By James J. Hester[2] and Rance Hood[3]

Counterpointed by By James J. Hester

It has been an honor to have had the opportunity to write the story of Rance Hood's life and to attempt to explain the origins of his art. Further, it is a privilege to receive the kind remarks of the two reviewers, Charles Pettit and Edward Chamberlin. From their comments it is apparent that we – John Rohner, Joan Frederick, Luther Wilson, Rance and I – have achieved our goal of making Rance's art understandable to the general reader. I am grateful to them for their inspiration and their contributions.

I would like to explain how I conducted the research on Rance's work as this is not fully explained in the text. My initial research was in the library of the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, which maintains clipping files on Native American artists that include newspaper articles, magazine articles, gallery flyers, and exhibit catalogs. From that initial research, I was able to reconstruct a history of Rance's life and work. Rance did not have such a record so the Heard information was critical. With that outline available, I then contacted other museums by e-mail for additional information. Without exception, the curators at those museums responded promptly; either providing more data or stating that they had nothing in their files.

One major positive response was from the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center in Oklahoma City, so I went there to copy their file on Rance. On the same trip my wife, Adrienne, and I visited Rance in his studio in Denison, Texas. There I interviewed Rance while Adrienne took photos. After that, we visited the Comanche Tribal Visitor Center in Lawton, Oklahoma, where more of his work was on exhibit. In subsequent years I interviewed Rance in Santa Fe at the annual Indian Market where his work was on exhibit in Jeff Tabor's gallery.

In writing about Rance's work, it was necessary to place it in broader contexts of (1) the history of Native American painting in Oklahoma and (2) the adaptation and acculturation of Native Americans exposed to European American culture. The latter has been discussed by the reviewers among a number of topics such as differing world views, subjugation, discrimination, and finally revitalization.

Given the history of those constraints over several generations it is remarkable that so much of Comanche traditions has been preserved for Rance to draw upon. In large part that is due to his having been raised by his grandparents. Even with that advantage, there is still a deep gulf between the European American and Native American world views. That is the reason that I included the chapter on the Peyote Road. The average general reader knows little or nothing about the Peyote religion. So it was necessary to describe it first before discussing its importance in Rance's art.

Today after passage of the Native American Religious Freedom Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), Native Americans are free to practice their religion and to discover their cultural roots. They can again perform ceremonies previously banned such as the potlatch and the sun dance. Unfortunately, due to generations of suppression, much has been lost.That is one reason why Rance's work is so important. It gives us a window into the past. At the same time, Rance's vision is what we have in lieu of history. So in the future, Rance's vision of Comanche traditions will become the history we remember. ❍

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COMMENTARY

For 2007, The 15th Annual Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award: Three Rules of Straight Talk[1]

Lawrence F. Van Horn[2]

Abstract

Talk is an important category of culture in general and of our culture of anthropology in particular. By sharing three parting participant-observations as the outgoing editor in chief of The Applied Anthropologist, I offer practices about written talk to bear in mind. My remarks here are pertinent to my grateful acceptance of the Fifteenth Annual Omer Call Stewart Memorial Award of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology presented to me talk-wise by fellow anthropologists Lenora Bohren and Peter Van Arsdale. I talked about the need for clear and simple talk, not jargon, however useful as specialized vocabulary jargon might be. That talk took place on the Auraria Campus shared by the University of Colorado at Denver, the Metropolitan State College of Denver, and the Community College of Denver on April 28, 2007, at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology.

Introduction

As the third and sixth editor of this journal, I believe in *talk stories*. I believe in aiming to publish in each instance a talk story, meaning one about which "people can't stop talking ...because it has so many interesting dimensions" (Temple 2008:2). However on reflection, perhaps we have published few talk stories, and perhaps even the term *few* is too high in quantity. Nevertheless, I submit that Robert Hackenberg's last paper "Applied and Practicing Anthropology: The Fifth Sub-discipline at the University of Colorado at Boulder" (Hackenberg 2007:209-216) and Deward Walker's *In Memoriam* in honor of Robert Hackenberg (1928-2007) (Walker 2007:207-208) fit this category. Both contribute to the history and content of anthropology by providing definite examples of concepts and applications. Above all, they are clear and unburdened by jargon. Clarity, devoid of jargon, should be our goal.

Our multi-review treatment of the book *On Bullshit* by Princeton philosophy professor emeritus Harry Frankfurt (Frankfurt 2005; Van Horn 2006:82-83; Magee 2006:84-85; Scott 2006:86-87) also shows the importance of writing clearly and straightforwardly. It is interesting to note that one of the characteristics of *bullshit*, and of *cowshit*, too, for that matter, is employing more words than needed to accurately express ideas (Frankfurt 2005:6).

What do these examples have in common? They (1) deal with facts in description and analysis; they (2) try to avoid putting words and phrases in unnecessary quotation marks for emphasis, and they (3) embrace, with regard to the word count, the *less-is-more* philosophy of writing. These findings, while perhaps mundane, are what I have internalized as editor in chief and what I leave with you as a farewell commentary in this issue, my last as editor. If mundane, they nonetheless are seemingly all too rare.

Be Accurate

Recently in the mail I received a booklet with a compact disc and written synopses of a 60-second lecture series, the location of which is outside on Locust Walk on the campus of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia:

> Each semester since 2003, a handful of School of Arts and Sciences faculty have taken on the unusual challenge of delivering a minute-long presentation [ranging from the "Nature of Nature" by Rebecca Bushnell, dean and professor of English to" Language Change in Philadelphia" by William Labov, professor of linguistics] to students gathered on Locust Walk. Mark Twain [Samuel Lang-

horne Clemens, 1835-1910] summed up the paradox of this challenge when he famously noted, "I didn't have time to write a short letter, so I wrote a long one instead." As Twain recognized, it's not easy for a writer – or a Penn professor – to distill a thought into an eloquent and brief message (School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania 2008).

The idea is intriguing and the practice well taken. But to only attribute the no-time-to-write-a short-letter comment to Mark Twain is to miss the fact that the French scientist and theologian Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) said it earlier in a 1657 letter:

> I have made this letter longer than usual because I lack the time to make it short (*The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* 1966:374).

By definition, facts are true, or they would not be facts. Did Mark Twain independently make a no-time-to-write-a short-letter comment? Did he borrow it from Blaise Pascal? Did he say it al all? *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (1966:550) makes no mention of it, if he did, in its section on Mark Twain. And the University of Pennsylvania booklet above contains no citation concerning its attribution to Mark Twain. We need more information, more facts. As the Penn paragraph stands, it is incomplete and hints at inaccuracy, if not smacks of it. Thus, the first rule I leave with you is to be accurate.

Avoid the Abusive Use of Quotation Marks

Some might say that it is stylistically fine to sprinkle freely one's prose with quotation marks. Confusion then reigns because the editor does not absolutely know if the author intends a double meaning, even a contrary one, or is just emphasizing a precept. The reader would not know for certain either.

As a rule, quotation marks should not be used for emphasis. Rather, it is preferable to use italic font for emphasis. As editor in chief, I have tried to follow this practice. Thus, the second rule I leave with you is to use quotation marks only when pointing to a double meaning. That applies, of course, to situations when not actually signifying a quote with an attributed citation, which do take quotation marks.

In this regard, I am in complete agreement with Bethany Keeley, a communications graduate student specializing in rhetoric at the University of Georgia in Athens (Noveck 2007:31). She rightfully says that if one employs quotation marks unnecessarily, one is in danger of calling the *meaning* of a word or phrase into question, leading to the confusion of ambiguity. Online, she offers examples and accepts observations by e-mail. See **http://www.quotation-marks.blogspot.com**, and **bethanykeeley@gmail.com** respectively. A reported example:

> There's the security guard [station] at a [highway] rest area in Mississippi [with] a "SECURITY GUARD" sign beneath...that [with quotation marks] unwittingly casts doubt on the whole enterprise (Noveck 2007:31).

Less Is More

Are too many words often used? Do too many words obscure meaning? Yes, they are, and they do. As noted above, Harry Frankfurt certainly thinks so. The anthropologist Carleton Coon (1904-1981) would seem to think so, too:

> 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).

That is unfortunate because too many words culminate in *complications* in Coon's terms (1980). Thus, the third rule I leave with you is to write sparsely and succinctly. Keep poetry in mind for its economy of precision and dare to write clearly. And yes, in Carleton Coon's terms, do not be afraid to be understood *simply and clearly* by your colleagues despite their possible awe for something more complicated. Be bold and follow the adage of President Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826):

> The most valuable of all talents is never using two words when one will do (Jefferson 2003:17). ❍

Notes

1. Lawrence F. Van Horn's remarks here stem from his acceptance of the Fifteenth Annual Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology in Denver, Colorado on April 28, 2007.

2. The Ph.D. in anthropology of Lawrence F. Van Horn is from the Graduate School of the City University of New York. He is a cultural resource specialist in the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior and may be reached at the Planning Division, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 12795 West Alameda Parkway, Post Office Box 25287, Denver, Colorado CO 80225-0287 USA. His address as editor of *The Applied Anthropologist* is 4777 South Oak Court, Littleton CO 80127-1217 USA. The telephone number is 303-978-0784, and the e-mail address is **julavaho1@mindspring.com**. The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the National Park Service, the Department of the Interior, or the United States Government.

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COMMENTARY

...One Man and One (?) Woman

Edgar A. Gregersen[1]

In 1540, Philip the Magnanimous (1504-1567), Landgrave of Hesse, married Margarete von der Saale with the blessing of Martin Luther (1483-1546). On the face of it, this event meant nothing particularly extraordinary. But exceptional it was. Philip was still married. His marriage to his first wife, the Duchess Christina of Saxony, had taken place in 1523. So here we find Luther, the great Protestant reformer, tolerating a bigamous marriage, which had to be kept secret because of popular disapproval (Faulkner 1913).

Bigamy is the minimum form of polygamy, which of course is having two (bigamy) or more (polygamy) spouses at the same time. It is one of the so-called evils that the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), written by former congressman Bob Barr (McGhee 2008:1A, 6A) and sponsored by conservative Christians, is intended to protect us from (Public Law Number 104-199, U. S. Statutes at Large 110 Stat. 2419, September 21, 1996). It is as though custom were not enough, so that, as some champions of monogamy proclaim, *God's plan: one man and one woman* will not be thwarted.

Apparently Luther didn't think it was God's plan. And others, such as the pre-Reformation Anabaptists and 19th Century Mormons, would have agreed. Joseph Smith (1805-1844), the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1830, with his writing and publishing *The Book of Mormon,* may have had as many as 50 wives (he publicly acknowledged only the first, however). His murder in 1844 was in large part prompted by moral outrage over his plural marriages. In 1890, mainstream Mormons gave up polygamy, permitting Utah, where they had settled, to join the Union in 1896, although they continue to believe it will be practiced in the hereafter.

But some breakaway Mormon groups in the 21st century still agree monogamy is not God's plan. Warren Jeffs for one, prophet of a religious group in Utah, Arizona, and Texas called the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, is said to have about 40 wives. Having been on the ten-most wanted list for four months of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.), he was recently arrested, prosecuted, and convicted on the charge of arranging marriages with under-age girls. However, the underlying motivation for his arrest seems to be a general attack on the practice of polygamy in the southwestern United States, which has not been dealt with directly in the courts.

Why the condemnation of polygamy? The *Bible* nowhere insists on monogamy and indeed biblical justification for polygamy––actually, only marriage of a man to more than one woman, polygyny–– is not difficult to find. The first plural marriage is reported there as occurring just six generations after Adam, with Lamech and his wives Adah and Zillah (*Genesis* 4:19). Esau had three wives (*Genesis* 36) and the story of his brother Jacob and his two wives Leah and Rachel (*Genesis* 29) involves the most famous biblical love story. More troubling perhaps for the Christian and general Western case law against polygamy is the example of King Solomon, said to be the wisest man on earth, who had 700 wives and 300 concubines! (I *Kings* 11)

The *Bible* not only names names, but gives rules about who can enter into plural marriages. In *Leviticus* 18:17-18, for example, a man is forbidden to be married to a woman and her sister at the same time. The case of Leah and Rachel, who were sisters, represents a custom before the giving of the Law to Moses. Nor may a man be married to a woman and her daughter. But a man –– married or not –– is commanded to marry the childless widow of a dead brother (*Deuteronomy* 25:5), a custom known as the levirate. The *Bible* even considers the problems of inheritance "if a man have two wives, one beloved and the other hated" (*Deuteronomy* 21:1).

Some modern commentators assume that the commandment against adultery is the basis for monogamy. This clearly is not the case. David is sinful not because he has several wives, but because he commits adultery with Bathsheba, and even plans to get her husband Uriah killed in battle.

In the *New Testament*, Jesus never discusses the subject of multiple wives, although he seems to condemn multiple husbands for women (polyandry) when he confronts the woman of Samaria, said to have five husbands (*John* 4:17-18). In one epistle, Paul advises that a bishop should have one wife only. He says the same thing about deacons and elders (I *Timothy* 3:12, *Titus* 1:6). This suggests that monogamy was not obligatory for other men.

So, given all the biblical justification for polygamy, why do Christians and Westerners in general observe monogamy? The answer: they are simply continuing an ancient *pagan* lifestyle. Of all the major groups in the Roman Empire at the beginning of the Christian era, only the Jews practiced polygamy. Monogamy had in fact had a fairly long history in the Mediterranean world. The fifth century B.C. traveler and writer known as the father of history Herodotus (circa 484 B.C-430/420 B.C.) described the ancient Egyptians as monogamous like the Greeks in his *History* of the Greco-Persian Wars.

There is some dispute among Egyptologists as to whether the depictions of several wives in art is an indication of sequential marriages or polygamous ones: According to James Brundage (1990:12):

> Egyptian marriage was apparently monogamous, at least under the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The Egyptian language at that period has no terms for "concubine" or "harem," which suggests these concepts were not a familiar part of life.

It is of course possible that such a word existed but simply has not yet been found or identified.

Under the Roman emperor Diocletian (A.D. 245-316), bigamy was made a punishable crime. About a hundred years later, the church father / bishop of Hippo Augustine (A.D. 354-430), reared in the monogamous Roman world, found it necessary to justify why the good men in the Bible often had more than one wife. And he insisted that it was not out of lust but the need for population growth.

When pagans converted to Christianity, they simply continued with their traditional marriage customs. There was, after all, no commandment: *Thou shalt have multiple wives.* Monogamy was part of that social structure. Eventually, it was assumed to be divinely sanctioned, a development reported by anthropologists in other contexts.

Why then do modern Jews practice monogamy? In point of fact, not all do. Sephardic Jews living in predominantly Muslim countries have sometimes observed polygamy in recent times, particularly because of the levirate command. But in Europe among the Ashkenazi, largely owing to Christian intolerance on this point, the Grand Rabbi of the Western World, Gershom ben Juda, issued a decree in A.D. 1030 prohibiting polygamy among all Jews under his jurisdiction, the prohibition to last 1000 years. Israel follows the Ashkenazi rule here. Interestingly, some Sephardic Jews in Israel have recently petitioned the government to permit polygamy as part of their cultural heritage.

Acknowledging the pagan underpinnings of Western monogamy, one has to concede the following. No matter how obnoxious one might find it — perhaps particularly because of the current but not ancient perception of the marriages as forced and the disparity in the ages of the participants, an issue raised by Paul Foy (2008) but not considered here — it is Warren Jeffs and his ilk who are following the biblical model, for which they are hounded as criminals. And when this is done, the slogan *God's plan: one man, one woman*, may be found less compelling.

Notes

1. Edgar A. Gregersen's Ph.D. in anthropological linguistics is from Yale University. He is a professor emeritus, Department of Anthropology, Queens College of the City University of New York and may be reached at 302 West 12th Street, New York, New York (NY) USA 10014-6025, at **egregrsn@sol.com,** and at 212-924-1532. His specialties are linguistics, cultural anthropology, sexology, and Egyptology with an emphasis on Africa as a cultural area.

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