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The Applied Anthropologist publishes peer-reviewed articles, commentaries, brief communications, field reports, and book reviews on a wide range of topics. The journal's focus is on cultural change and adaptation in the modern world. It explores how humans approach, analyze, and develop solutions to cultural, ecological, economic, and technological problems. The journal is supported and underwritten by the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. Guidelines for authors, electronic access to back issues, and further information about the society is available on the website at www.HPSfAA.org.

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POINT-TO-POINT
KATHLEEN VAN VLACK

Greetings readers and supporters of *The Applied Anthropologist*,

On behalf of the Editorial Board, I am pleased to present to you the latest issue of *The Applied Anthropologist*. For this issue we have opted to do something unique for our readers. Over the years, our journal has published numerous cutting-edge research pieces on a range of important anthropological issues ranging from environmental and cultural sustainability, to impacts on tourism, education, anthropology and development, to Native American nation building, and many others. Since the first issue of this journal, we have published essays in our journal by scholars who range from experts in their areas of study to up and coming emerging scholars and leaders in anthropology. We as an Editorial Board wanted to pay homage to those scholars and provide our current readership with a “best of” series for *The Applied Anthropologist*. The Board selected pieces spanning the decade of 2007—2017.

We chose essays written by past presidents and past board members of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology such as Drs. Rebecca Forgash, Kathleen Pickering Sherman, Richard Stoffle, and Peter Van Arsdale. Dr. Forgash’s essay focuses on the 2011 earthquake and subsequent tsunami in northeast Japan and how the tourism industry responded post-disaster. Dr. Pickering Sherman’s work on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation has led the way for community-based development projects on the reservation which help promote tribal sovereignty and sustainable development. Dr. Stoffle’s work relating to Risk Society demonstrates how Native Nations like the Hopi and Southern Paiute respond to events that could have devastating long term cultural and environmental consequences. Dr. Van Arsdale’s piece provides an analysis of the factors that contribute to genocide and ethnic cleansing. These pieces remain very timely and are of great interest to anthropologists today given the current political climate around the world.

Among the other articles included in this issue is a piece co-authored by Betsy Chapoose, Sally McBeth, Sally Crum, and Aline LaForge on collaborative research and Ute ethnobotany. This essay demonstrates how anthropologists and their tribal partners can work together to co-create documents that help inform management decisions and aid in the cultural preservation arena.

I hope everyone enjoys this “best of” issue of our journal and I hope these pieces spark new research questions and ideas for our readers.

Sincerely,

Kathleen Van Vlack
Editor-in-Chief

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PLANTING A SEED: UTE ETHNOBOTANY, A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH IN APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

BETSY CHAPOOSE, SALLY MCBETH,
SALLY CRUM, AND ALINE LAFORGE

ABSTRACT

This article provides a collaborative model for participatory research, here defined as seeking new ways to “explore methodologies that more accurately legitimize the expertise of the cultures being investigated. This effort to share-out authority and to acknowledge who the authorities and sources of our data really are, is part of the broader questioning of the motives and objectivity of the anthropological endeavor” (McBeth 1998: xi). We examine how anthropologists (including archaeologists) and tribal members can collaborate on issues regarding traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and cultural property rights; participation by indigenous peoples in advancing the directions and goals of a variety of projects is critical to this inquiry. Centrally, this article explores tribal cultural self-determination through an exploration of the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray (known as the Northern Ute) ethnobotanical experiences and research.

KEY WORDS: ethnobotany, traditional ecological knowledge, collaborative research, Northern Ute

INTRODUCTION¹

Stories and narrative play central roles in Native American and anthropological traditions; pursuing a collaborative discourse is therefore the goal of this article.

The story begins in 2002 on a clear cold November day in Greeley, Colorado. Chapoose (after consultation with long-time friend and associate Crum, who suggested an academic affiliation) approached McBeth and other anthropologists at the University of Northern Colorado about beginning discussions on a Ute Ethnobotany Project that she had been pondering for a number of years. The project, as conceived by Chapoose, would be based on inclusive and respectful collaboration between cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, and Native people of the Northern Ute tribe. In discussions among the four of us over many years, we have continually recognized that Native people and anthropologists were going to have to work together to protect cultural resources. This type of collaboration was already central to our combined philosophies.

In December of 2002 (and in consultation with Crum and LaForge) Chapoose and McBeth sat down in the Northern Ute tribal offices in Ft. Duchesne and crafted the following introduction.

The Ute Ethnobotany Project is designed to document and transmit plant identification skills between living Ute generations. The method by which this will be accomplished is through fieldtrips to eastern Utah and western Colorado (traditional Ute Territory) to record (on audio and videotape) Ute perspectives on cognitive ethnobotany (how humans view and classify plants) as well as economic ethnobotany (how humans utilize plants). The tribal members of a variety of ages will participate; males and females will make separate trips to the same areas since it has been our experience that plant collecting and plant use are gender-specific activities. The lasting benefit to the tribe will be the creation of a bilingual herbarium and project report which will be used for educational purposes.

Chapoose articulated numerous objectives that she was interested in exploring in the context of what has become a ten-year endeavor. The main concern was the use of the ethnobotanical data as a management tool for the many requests that her office handles for

input on managing archeological sites on federal lands. Chapoose takes issue with the compartmentalized approach utilized by federal agencies. Native Americans view the world holistically; but a comprehensive approach is not currently employed by federal agencies when administering the lands under their tenure. Their approach is to identify the archeology as Native American and consult with tribes who were believed to have inhabited the area; this results in limited and partial data pertaining to both the boundaries of the archeological site as well as the cultural landscape that the archeological site is part of.

Also included in her concerns, were using the ethnobotanical data as a management tool for natural and cultural resources, re-establishing connection with Ute ancestral homelands, and making initial steps toward revitalizing the Ute language. These emerging and evolving themes are elaborated later on.²

Our intention was to submit a grant to the National Park Service Tribal Preservation Programs which states:

Over the last 500 years, Indian cultures have experienced massive destruction, but the tide is changing. Indian tribes are using their resources to halt the loss of language, tradition, religion, objects, and sites. Fundamentally different in character from other components of American society, Indian tribes are living cultures that can continue and be strengthened only through the perpetuation of their traditions (National Park Service Tribal Preservation Grant <http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/tribal/>)

While our dream of submitting a \$50,000 grant was never realized due to time constraints, tribal politics, and the like, the seed planted that December afternoon has led to the five projects described below. These projects are collaborative, with a number of federal agencies including the National Park Service, US Forest Service, and Bureau of Land Management providing much of the necessary funding. As anthropologists, McBeth, Crum, and LaForge were privileged to record and synthesize our experiences into written reports for the funding agencies as well as the tribe. In working with tribal members we witnessed emotional connections among the generations. The preservation of plant-use traditions has, according to tribal members, sparked a concrete interest in preserving not only

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plant lore, but also the intimate and profound connections among a people, ancestral landscape, and the voices of the elders. Most importantly, we learned that Native beliefs concerning stewardship of the land carry important lessons for the modern world.

Additionally, we hope that undergraduate and graduate students and professional anthropologists reading this article will understand that they can develop the problem-solving skills to address real-world problems and needs, and that "anthropology often works best when it works with others—when its tools and insights are integrated into broader interdisciplinary projects" (Borofsky 2011: 78-79). Indeed, we hope that the reader will discover the cross-cultural values of the authors reflected herein.

UTE SUBSISTENCE PRACTICES

The five projects described below emerged and blossomed as the seed began to germinate. The following description of Ute subsistence practices is relevant to all of the five projects. The Utes practiced a flexible subsistence system sometimes called the seasonal round. Extended family groups (from 20-100 people) moved through known hunting and gathering grounds (several hundred square miles) on a seasonal basis, taking advantage of the plant and animal species available. The image of a group of Indians randomly and endlessly searching for foodstuffs in a semi-desert clime is far from the truth. Rather, the seasonal round is a regular circuit in which the group moves from eco-zone to eco-zone, harvesting and hunting the periodic abundance of flora and fauna (cf. Buckles 1971; Callaway et al. 1986:337; Fowler and Fowler 1971:38-49 [Powell 1868-1880]; Goss 1972, 2000; Greubel 2002; Jorgensen 1964:186-187; Lewis 1994, n.d.; Opler 1940:124-125; Steward 1974; Stewart 1942).

This elegant adaptation required a profound and systematic knowledge of the territory, the plant and animal life, seasonal and annual fluctuations, as well as preservation and storage techniques. It was a "vertical buffet, limited only by the seasons" (Simmons 2000:3). Cooperation and communication among and between bands was also indispensable. The speakers of the Ute language did not necessarily think of themselves as a tribe. Folks from different bands intermarried, recognized each other, and traded, but did not otherwise maintain a larger tribal organization. Bands seasonally congregated for communal rabbit or antelope hunts or pine nut harvests, and the annual spring Bear Dance.

The Utes (and other Great Basin tribes) were, essentially, sophisticated naturalists and dieticians, exploiting their environment through intelligent planning. Moving across the landscape kept the Ute in touch with their land base both materially and spiritually (Fowler 2000:91). Today this awareness is called Traditional Ecological Knowledge (or TEK). "The term *traditional ecological knowledge* came into widespread use only in the 1980s, but the practice of traditional ecological knowledge is as old as ancient hunter-gatherer cultures" (Berkes 1999:2; cf. e.g. Ford and Martinez 2000; Inglis 1993; Kawagley 2006; Nazarea 1999). Traditional ecological knowledge will be discussed later on.³

FIVE ETHNOBOTANICAL PROJECTS

The first project is the Rocky Mountain National Park (RMNP) Oral History and Cultural Interpretation Project. Begun in 2000 and completed in 2007, the project's original (flawed) purpose was revised. Originally intended to be a collection of oral histories from the Ute and Arapaho about the area in and around RMNP (an impossibility since all Native people had been forced out of their mountain hunting grounds over 125 years ago), the project was amended so that knowledgeable members of the Ute and Arapaho tribes could be invited into the park

to visit archaeological sites, reflect on possible meanings, and revisit ancestral homelands (cf. McBeth 2007).

The portion of the fieldwork relevant to this publication was the invitation of Northern Ute (mostly women) into the park, accompanied by the park botanist Leanne Benton, to visit archaeological sites at various altitudes of the park's landscape. The purpose of bringing a group of Northern Ute women into RMNP was to try to learn a little more about the Utes' use of plants in high altitude landscapes. Not surprisingly (given that their ancestors were displaced more than 125 years ago), Benton was more familiar with the uses of plants in the Park than the Ute women were. However, the emotions evoked by these visits were palpable as the women reflected on memory, place, and loss.

A statement made by Mariah Cuch, Northern Ute tribal member, during an August 2004 visit to RMNP, is significant to this line of inquiry. She said,

I have this thing that place has memory. Sometimes people think that things are lost, you know, they're gone. But it is just there, waiting. It's just waiting to be remembered. I don't myself believe in past lives, but I believe that this all belongs to all of us. Like a moment—just a tiny moment—and the land recognizes our presence here (Cuch as quoted in McBeth 2007: 3)

Geneva Accawanna, Uncompahgre Ute, said,

I feel so humbled that I'm here. And I can feel them; I can feel the spirits; it makes me cry to feel that I'm home—being on the Ute Trail, and being on the mountains—seeing the medicine wheel and praying there, I knew that my ancestors heard me (Accawanna as quoted in McBeth 2007:177).

After walking a portion of the Ute Trail in RMNP, Northern Ute Loya Arrum was in tears when she said,

But it's just the thought that you're walking on the same footsteps as your ancestors walked. Your feet [are] touching the same ground where they walked. I wanted to just lay on the ground. I just wanted to think about them. In one way it breaks my heart [loss of homelands], in another way I'm so glad. My heart is just overfilled with joy that I could make the connection, to be able to touch the stones that they touched. I'm seeing the same mountains that they saw (Arrum as quoted in McBeth 2007: 176).

Cuch, although younger than most of the Ute women who visited RMNP during the ethnobotany project, exhibited a detailed knowledge of traditional plant use. While inspecting a mountain mahogany plant in the Park, she related how she knew so much about mountain vegetation. She shared with Crum that when she was a child, the circus often came to Vernal, Utah, just east of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. But Mariah's parents could not afford to take her and her siblings to the circus. Instead, so the children would not feel left out, Mariah's mother took them camping in the nearby Uintah Mountains. They camped with several women elders who were gathering plants for food and medicine. These childhood trips provided Mariah with treasured memories as well as a background in traditional gathering methods and uses of mountain plants (Crum 2004, personal communication).

The above are just a sample of emotive affirmations made by Northern Ute women expressing reflections on ancestral landscape.

Elusive as they were, the more elders we worked with, the more we appreciated their stories about emotional connections to the landscape. It seemed that when we were in a location, surrounded by the cultural and natural landscape, including but not limited to plants, that

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stories and remembered traditions emerged. Elders Duncan, Taveapont, Wash, Arrum, and others reminded us that nature has an inherent ability to renew itself as long as we humans not only allow, but encourage, that revitalization to occur.



Fig. 1: Northern Ute in Rocky Mountain National Park (back: TJ Ridley; middle: Mariah Cuch, Loya Arrum, Leanne Benton (botanist), Demoi Chimbura, Venita Taveapont, Sally McBeth, Helen Wash; seated: Kathleen Chegup, Alloin Myore, Betsy Chapoose, Geneva Acawanna (2004)

On plant gathering walks, we learned about the principle of reciprocity, of thanking the earth with prayer and tobacco offerings as we harvested a medicinal root, osha (a.k.a. bear root, also known as osha' or Porter's lovage [*Ligusticum porteri*]), berries, rose hips, and other plants. For the Ute, the world is sacramental and it is a world thoroughly impregnated with energy, purpose, and sense of creative natural forces; the Ute give gifts or offerings in and to locations where they believe their ancestors prayed or where plants were collected. We learned about respect for nature by the judicious use and harvesting of plants. The Ute seem to have tended the plant (including prescribed burning) and animal populations on which they relied. Ute knowledge of what may have been sophisticated and complex harvesting and management practices has been all but lost.



Fig. 2: Helen Wash and Loya Arrum collecting osha, offering tobacco (2004)

Nonetheless, there is much to be recorded and perhaps relearned (cf. e.g. Anderson 2005: 1-10). Significantly, like many others, we began to comprehend that as custodians of the land, we all are responsible for educating 21st century global citizens and that there is much that can be learned from indigenous peoples.

The second project, an outgrowth of the first, is the Ute Ethnobotany Project (2005-2008). A Centennial Service Challenge Grant based on the initial NPS grant proposal was awarded to the Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, and Gunnison National Forest for the Ute Ethnobotany Project in 2005. The "project was designed to document and transmit plant identification skills between living Ute generations" (LaForge 2006: i) and was designed to accomplish four goals: first, to bring Ute youth and elders together in a field setting at recorded archaeological sites to identify and discuss plant use and associated practices; second, to create an herbarium catalogue with the assistance of the Mesa State College (now Colorado Mesa University) Biology Department to be housed at the Northern Ute tribal offices; third, to begin to identify plant communities that are associated with specific kinds of archaeological sites; and lastly, to compile a final report (not elaborated herein) of the accomplishments of this project, including an ethnographic overview of Ute plant use. Two field trips were conducted annually with the Northern Ute from 2006 to 2009 which brought youth and elders together in a field setting. Archaeologists and botanists or ethnobotanists were present at all site visitations to assist in the identification of cultural resources and species in specific plant communities; elder Utes discussed Ute names and plant use and associated practices among themselves and with the younger tribal members who were present. Also, Crum and LaForge, as archaeologists, believed that it was important to connect the "dead past" with the "living culture of the Utes," and that plants were a good way to make that connection.

The second goal was to create an herbarium catalogue with the assistance of Walter Kelley of the Mesa State College Biology Department that would be housed at the Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection Office. An herbarium is not just a collection of dried and pressed plants; the first step in creating an herbarium is to identify and photograph plants in their natural setting. For example, Cletis Mart (Northern Ute) and Lynn Albers (ethnobotanist) identified the scientific and common names for manzanita (*Arctostaphylos patula* ssp. *platyphylloides*). In Colorado, this species is only found on the Uncompahgre and the Blue Mountain Plateaus.

The students were taught the methods of science: they took field notes, learned how to use GPS units, took photographs of the plants, learned to read maps to document the collection location (including elevation), learned about plant zones to describe habitat, and documented the date of the collection (since seasonality is critical), and each plant then was assigned a collection number. The plants then were carefully removed from the ground so that the roots, leaves, flower and/or fruit were intact. For example, Helen Wash (Cultural Rights and Protection, Northern Ute, retired) collected a sage specimen on the Uncompahgre Plateau while Kerry Cesspooch (Ute Bulletin, Northern Ute, staff) photographed the process.

From removal, to pressing, to drying, to long-term mounting and preservation – with appropriate labels – the process unfolded systematically. (Airtight cabinets were used.) Specimen labels including the collection number, the scientific name, common name, Ute name (if known), date collected, person who identified the plant, person who collected the plant, detailed location (including elevation), soil description, habitat, harvest period, and Ute usage were added. The back of the herbarium sheet was designed so that references to Ute traditions of the harvest, ceremonial uses, and the like could be added as new information is forthcoming.

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It is the intention of this Ute Ethnobotany Project that the herbarium collection will be an on-going endeavor of the Ute Cultural Rights and Protection Office and that additional information on Ute uses and other cultural information will be added as they surface. The herbarium will provide a platform for elders and youth to continue to explore Ute traditions and language about plant use into the twenty-first century (cf. McBeth 2008).

The third goal, to identify plant communities that are associated with specific kinds of archaeological sites, is a bit more complex, but was also partially accomplished. The majority of field site visits were to plant communities that are associated with archaeological sites managed by the US Forest Service (USFS) Grand Mesa and Uncompahgre Ranger Districts, and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Grand Junction Field Office and BLM McInnis Canyons and Dominguez-Escalante National Conservation Areas. The field visits on the USFS and BLM lands focused on known Ute sites in Mesa County, Colorado. These locations provided an opportunity to look for plants in lower elevation desert scrub and river riparian plant communities, through mid-elevation oak-brush, piñon-juniper woodland, and mountain shrub plant communities with associated seeps, springs, and creek riparian, to higher elevation ponderosa pine, aspen forest, and sub-alpine plant communities.

Without additional research it is difficult to offer conclusions here about the association of specific archaeological site types with specific plant communities. The environment surrounding the Grand Valley in western Colorado provides a diversity of species and seasonality, both of which were undoubtedly factors in site location, especially if the site was associated with plant exploitation. To date, archaeological evidence of plant manipulation in the study area, either for horticultural or potential domestication purposes, is limited. Although seed manipulation may be inferred by the presence of larger pollen (Conner and Langdon 1987), much work is yet to be done to make definitive conclusions about these associations that could then be extrapolated to similar sites.

A third project that integrates Ute ethnobotany was the Ethnographic Overview of Colorado National Monument. Located in western Colorado near the town of Grand Junction, the research for this project was carried on between 2006 and 2010 (McBeth 2010). Since there is such a sparse historical record of Native American presence in this area, Utes were invited into the monument to visit archaeological sites and examine plant communities. The reason for the dearth of information is that the Ute were pushed out of this part of Colorado in 1881, and only a few ethnographic observations were recorded prior to this time. No ethnographic research was done in the area before the Northern Ute were removed and relocated to what eventually became known as the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in Utah.

What this means is that there was a tremendous loss of Ute cultural knowledge that would likely have been associated with this area. Twenty-first century analysts must concede that the memories of any traditions related to the Grand Valley and Uncompahgre Plateau are elusive and fragmentary. Tattered memories and mostly-erased histories were at the center of this investigation. The Ute Ethnobotany Project was expanded to include the area around Colorado National Monument; this also meant that the funding provided by the National Park Service for original research was used to include paid consultants and collaborators. These included author Betsy Chapoose and Venita Taveapont (Coordinator, Ute Language Program, Northern Ute Tribe).

The fourth project is the Ute Learning Garden. This project started in 2007 when Laurie Reiser, an archaeologist and local Colorado State University (CSU) Master Gardener, became acquainted with Crum and LaForge's work on the Ute Ethnobotany Project. Reiser's long-time inter-

est in native plant use prompted the three archaeologists to take the Ute Ethnobotany Project in a new direction—to create a garden for interpreting plants utilized by the indigenous people of Western Colorado.

In 2008 Curtis Swift, Director of the CSU Tri-River Extension Agency, received permission from Mesa County to use roughly three acres of bare land adjacent to the CSU facility's cactus garden and office. The partnership grew. With the critical help of Chapoose and Northern Ute Traditional leader Clifford Duncan, the partners planned a garden that would represent riparian, desert shrub, piñon-juniper, transitional, and alpine eco-zones. In 2009 Chelsea Nursery generously donated many of the native plants and the Ute students with Master Gardener guidance planted most of the plants. The BLM through an Assistance Agreement partnership with Tri-River Extension Agency paid for irrigation pipes, interpretive signs, landscaping, and ramada posts, while both partners donated hours of employee and volunteer time. A small garden of corn, beans and squash is grown to show how indigenous farmers, neighbors to the Utes, planted, harvested, and prepared their food. (The Utes occasionally grew small plots of corn, but were mainly hunters and gatherers). Manos and metates lie near the garden and are used by students as they learn how to grind their own corn flour and wild seeds.

In 2009 and 2010 Chapoose and Duncan brought students from the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in Utah to participate in "mini-pow-wows" (they even persuaded the local public to dance). Duncan gave the Ute students their first experiences in how to erect a tipi, and in how to build a wickiup, sweat lodge, and associated cobble hearth. Archaeologists from Dominguez Archaeological Research Group gathered poles for the wickiup project and discussed Ute archaeology at the public events, with a focus on wickiups and Ute sites that are found in Western Colorado. Master Gardeners served as garden docents. They were instructed by Northern Utes, archaeologists, and a local native corn farmer and gave tours to Mesa County school groups. At public events, the gardeners interpreted Ute culture and plant use.

Master Gardeners continue to maintain the garden but funding to bring Utes to participate in activities will be a future challenge. The garden may become primarily a learning opportunity for local school groups as they study Colorado history.

The Ute Learning Garden was the result of cooperation among many agencies and organizations. Ute students learned from their own elders more about their culture and it provided them with the opportunity to share specifics about it, imparting a sense of stewardship to the people now living in the heart of what was once their homeland.

The fifth project is the 2011-initiated consultation by the Northern Ute on the Denver Botanic Garden exhibit entitled "Native Roots, Modern Form: Plants, Peoples, and the Art of Allan Houser." The art of Houser (1914-1994), a Chiricahua Apache modernist sculptor, was the centerpiece of this exhibit. Advertised as a "multidisciplinary appreciation of American Indian cultural and botanical heritage" (Denver Botanic Garden web site 2012), it is described by Carol Berry, correspondent for *Indian Country*, in this way:

The core of the Native Exhibition will be "elders who can talk to us about the ethnobotanical uses of plants and their knowledge of cultural preservation" [citing an expert], stressing that although the presentation is of arts and horticulture, "driving them is cultural preservation" to retain Native knowledge that is being lost, particularly in urban areas (Berry 2010).

Native American media (especially *Indian Country*) has covered numerous examples of Indian focus on plants, health, and related legal issues (cf. Allen 2011; Valencia, et al. 2011).



In early April, 2011, Chapoose and Clifford Duncan, tribal elder, toured the gardens that were going to be utilized for the exhibit, "Native Roots/Modern Form: Plants, People and Art of Allen Houser," which opened on April 29th. Chapoose and Duncan discussed which sacred plants were appropriate to exhibit and interpret as well as those plants which would be inappropriate to reveal in a public setting such as the Denver Botanic Garden. Chapoose and Duncan discussed with the staff how the traditional use of the plants should be incorporated into the displays; the idea of possible trips to the garden with tribal elders, who might be willing to assist in identification and Ute interpretation of specific plants, was also broached.

THEMES IN CULTURAL RESOURCE PROTECTION AND APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

Four themes have emerged from the above projects that are relevant to the concerns of both tribal cultural resource protection and applied anthropology.

The first theme is cultural resource management (CRM) which is intended to protect and enhance Native cultural and natural resources. Not surprisingly, there seems to be little agreement about what cultural resources include. A broad definition states that cultural resources include "all elements of the physical and social environment that are thought by anybody—a community, a tribe, an interest group—to have cultural value" (King 2003: 11).⁴

Chapoose believes that the responsibility of cultural resource managers lies in not only documenting and recording the historic and pre-historic "meanings" of the landscape for her tribe, but also protecting and conserving the resources through stewardship. Through a Ute lens, the continuum between the natural and the cultural worlds is seamless. Chapoose asserts that anthropologists must employ increased transparency (to the public) as we address key (to the tribal worlds) social concerns and that our accountability (to the tribes which have entrusted us with their traditional ecological knowledge) should be framed according to their concerns, not those of the academy.

Landscapes are a complex of interrelated and essential places of religious and cultural significance to the Ute. All the lands and elements of the environment within the landscape are related. Chapoose believes that the tribe has tried to communicate this to the federal agencies and is concerned that the issues are neither understood nor taken into account in decision-making processes. It is clear that the governmental analysis employed in this context focused merely on specific locations, which are but a fraction of the landscape. Chapoose asserts that this analysis is flawed. Current procedures and policies do not consider that these landscapes are alive and interconnected; the current problematical approach fractures the landscape into segmented pieces and therefore will endanger its continued use by future generations of practitioners of Native American religions.

Additionally, Chapoose believes that cultural resources create the foundation for Ute cultural landscapes; she is a strong advocate of re-establishing connections with ancestral homelands. Ute still collect plants and roots for weaving, construction, food, and medicine⁵ (e.g., willow for baskets, spring beauty a.k.a. wild potatoes and pine nuts to eat, and osha for medicine). The challenges of protecting the plant communities and advocating for a Ute reconnection are very real.

A second theme is that of re-establishing connections with ancestral homelands which originally comprised a vast territory of over one-third of what is now the state of Colorado. Whenever a tribal community is dispossessed of their territory and removed to a distant location, much traditional knowledge is lost. In 1881 the Northern Ute bands were removed from their western Colorado homelands to a reservation in Utah. Subsequently assimilationist institutions such as boarding schools

and missions, and simply accommodation to the demands of the twentieth and now twenty-first century, generated tremendous cultural erasure.

The authors have long believed that we are capable of initiating, creating, and funding successful projects to work with the Native peoples to reclaim not only knowledge about our/their heritage land base, but also to establish reconnections to these ancestral homelands. Whenever a people are disenfranchised of their heritage, their sacred landscape, all of their reflections must be interpreted in light of this removal.⁶ While we strongly believe that we must maintain ethnographic integrity, we also believe that it is essential to work with tribes to develop culturally sensitive and honest ways to recoup lost traditions.

A third theme is language revitalization. While perhaps the most elusive, it is decidedly a worthwhile endeavor. We have created a physical connection to the sacred landscape by working with elders, whose recollections, reminiscences, and stories of plant use might be used to promote a linguistic resurgence. The Ute Ethnobotany Projects described herein have connected youth to ancestral Ute homelands with knowledgeable Ute tribal members. This has renewed an interest in recording these traditions, and learning plant names, vocabulary, and traditional practices in their Native language. Additionally, the preservation of plant-use traditions has, according to tribal members, sparked a concrete interest in preserving not only plant lore, but also the intimate and profound connections between a people, the ancestral landscape, and the voices of the elders.

At this point we can synthesize the above three themes as a rediscovery of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). Chapoose expresses the belief that the environment is more than a collection of resources—and as such is a comprehensive landscape that includes natural, cultural, and spiritual components. She is interested in exploring the relationships between the culturally created environments (archaeological sites such as game drives, wickiup and camp sites, vision quest sites) and physical environments (water sources, plants, available game). Additionally, she is curious about the possible existence of unique Ute cultural perspectives of the landscape that would include the botanical resources and their connection to distinctive cultural and/or historical experiences.

Related to this is the complex and sometimes elusive process of the social construction of sense of place, a topic which has generated a lot of discussion and publications as of late. Anthropologists Stewart and Strathern (2003: 1) note that "Ethnographers have realised from their field experiences how perceptions and values attached to landscape encode values and fix memories to places that become sites of historical identity." The authors learned that the stories of the elders were not only expressions of ethnic identification and tribal sovereignty, but also of personal connectedness to the land. While their memories are fragmentary and elusive, stories emerge that serve to remind all of us that plants have the capacity to reveal secrets of the landscape.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute elder, discusses the importance of showing the proper respect for plants.

When we are looking for this spring beauty, Indian potato, my mother would tell us that when we get there that maybe they [spring beauty] won't be there. We ask, 'Why not?' And she replied, 'They move away.' And the reason why they moved away was because we abused it. Maybe we didn't do right, and they moved out of the area, and then we have to go look for it again. But those that abused it—they're not going to find it because it moved away to another area.

We have to treat a flower or a plant, even a tree, in that they have same spirit that we have. All things are connected with the spiritual. Offerings differ with tribes. When you

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take the northern tribes, they use tobacco; most of them use tobacco. In between there's sometimes a mix too; or you could use any plant really which you consider to be sacred like fruit, like dried buffaloberries. 'Here's a sweets for the spirit.' Or eagle feathers can be used as spiritual gifts. Give something that you cherish and put that there. So offerings remain that way, even to a plant. Those are earlier ways of doing things (Duncan as quoted in McBeth 2008: 2010).

The spiritual life of plants is also discussed by Helen Wash, Northern Ute tribal member. Wash reflects on her experience on Grand Mesa in an area near a Ute trail:

I was thinking about that [Ute] trail up to the mountains. And just then, I saw this big aspen—I mean it was wide; I don't know if my arms could have gone around it completely, but it was huge, it was just wide, and I could see it from where I was sitting. So, I went up the hill to go see it, and when I was standing there, I just happened to look south. Ohh, that hill side was just full of bear root. I thought, 'Wow, this is so beautiful!' Before I came back down, I prayed, and I thanked the Creator for letting me see that, and to let me know that our ancestors came through here long ago and to show me that sight of bear root—it was so beautiful. It reminded me of when I was little. My mother knew a lot about plants. She knew it from her relatives, her cousins, her mom, and her sisters. They all shared their knowledge of what plants do this and that for you. One day, she said, "Let's go up to the mountains, and let's get some plants for the winter, in case someone comes and asks for some medicine." So, we're up in the mountains, and I'm looking around like, "Gosh mom, there's nothing growing around here." She said, "You see that plant over there?" And I thought, "Well, there's just that one, so why don't we just go?" She says, "No, no, just wait here."

She stood facing east and prayed. I didn't know all of what she was saying, but when she got through she said, "Okay, this plant right here. See it? We'll go over there and pick some." And, when I went over there, I just saw so many, I couldn't believe it. She said, "Don't take a lot of it," she reminded me, "just take as much as we'll need, and some to share with people we'll want to give it to."

She made me a believer of what plants can do for you, and that it adds beauty to the mountains, to the deserts—everything adds beauty. It's God's creation for us to enjoy, for us to take and share and to use as medicine or as food. For that I'm thankful, for my mother sharing that with me, and I'll probably always share that with people. We thank the Creator for all of that and we thank our ancestors for showing us the way. Even though they are no longer with us, their knowledge is passed down from generation to generation, to this generation—the now generation, the young people who came with us on this trip" (Wash as quoted in McBeth 2008: 14-15).

What the above stories demonstrate are Ute narrative traditions which include the land itself. Anthropologist Basso, Lakota activist Deloria, Kiowa poet and philosopher Momaday and others offer clues as to why and how the landscape can be read as a sacred text. Perhaps more of us in and out of the academy should seriously take up the recording of these stories instead of bemoaning the loss of tradition (cf. Basso 1996; Deloria 1994; Momaday 1969).

SOPHISTICATED NATURALISTS

While we can posit that cultural resource managers should be indebted to Ute traditional ecological knowledge, as far as our research has gone, we have learned that many plant collecting and plant management traditions of the Ute are lost. We are, however, optimistic that pharmaceuticals, utilitarian, and food collection techniques may still be retrieved, revived, and re-taught. Ecological restoration and wildland management, including those of historic and prehistoric landscapes, the control and eradication of invasive species, and the reintroduction of plant and animal species known to have inhabited a particular locale are part of the rich, largely untold, indigenous histories, which in turn are at the root of traditional ecological knowledge.

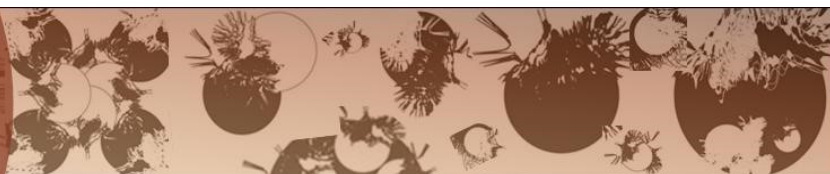
We have learned anew as Native Americans and applied anthropologists that lasting bonds are created through sharing stories. Storytelling is an essential part of being human, as it ignites the imaginative possibilities and awakens our cross-cultural understandings.

Betsy Chapoose is Director of Cultural Rights and Protection for the Northern Ute Tribe. She is the 2012 recipient of the U.S. Department of the Interior's Partners in Conservation Award, for her work on the Ute Learning Garden project referenced in this article. Sally McBeth, Ph.D., is Professor of Anthropology and department chair at the University of Northern Colorado. Sally Crum, whose B.A. is in anthropology, is a United States Forest Service archaeologist. Aline LaForge, whose B.S. is in geography, is a recently-retired United States Bureau of Land Management archaeologist. Contact regarding this article can be made via McBeth, at: Sally.McBeth@unco.edu.

NOTES

1. Portions of this manuscript have been vetted previously by federal agencies in reports written by McBeth (McBeth 2007; 2008; 2010).
2. *Ethnobotany: Evolution of a Discipline* (1995), edited by Richard Evans Schultes and Siri von Reis, provides an important introduction to the discipline.
3. A "Google scholar" search on traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) yielded 1,040,000 citations. We are aware that Krech (1999; 2005; 2007) does not necessarily eschew the concept of the "environmental" Indian, but he does take it to task, citing Pleistocene extinction, bison and beaver overkill, and some burning practices as case studies to make his point (1999). Krech carefully selects examples that indicate negative impacts on the natural environment. Not surprisingly he "proves" that Native people were responsible for overharvest, deforestation, and extinction of particular species. We do not necessarily assume that a respect for living things "translates automatically into conservation" (2007: 346), but we do argue that it does reflect a philosophy of respect, irrespective of some wasteful resource users.
4. As CRM archaeologists Stapp and Burney admit, "Cultural resources are many things to many people" (Stapp and Burney 2002: 5; cf. e.g. Harkin and Lewis 2007: 275-342). One significant component of cultural resource management is traditional cultural properties (TCP). The term TCP was originally defined as a property "that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (Parker and King 1990: 381). The anthropological and related disciplinary literature includes numerous books and articles on CRM and TCP. We include the definition here in order to assist the reader in understanding the ways that our other definitions and concepts are negotiated across cultural, religious, and social boundaries. A note to the reader: a "Google scholar" search of cultural resource management (CRM) yielded about 2,120,000 books and articles. Traditional cultural property (TCP) yielded 1,230,000 and when pluralized to "properties" the yield was 1,460,000.
5. "Eighty percent of the world's population relies on traditional medicine to maintain its health" (Alcorn 1995: 27).
6. The reader interested in learning more about the ignominious removal of the Ute should consult Becker 2004 and McBeth 2010.

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HOLISTIC COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATORY CONNECTIONS ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

KATHLEEN PICKERING SHERMAN, ANDREA AKERS, ASHLEY COBB, HEATHER LAUSCH, MICHAEL BRYDGE, PATRICK DORION, AND MARK ST. PIERRE

ABSTRACT

This article argues that when applied anthropology is conducted as genuinely participatory, community-based research, it is not just a method but a theory that challenges the epistemological paradigm of traditional research. Five community-based projects on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota are discussed, including: 1) a tourism initiative of the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce with regional National Park Service interpretive staff; 2) the Oglala Sioux Parks and Recreation Authority's efforts to create the first Tribal National Park out of the South Unit of Badlands National Park; 3) The Lakota Funds' new Child Development Accounts and the financial literacy curriculum designed for kindergarten through eighth grade; 4) the Wounded Knee Community Development Corporation's summer youth construction project; and 5) First Peoples Fund's research on the opportunities and constraints for Native artists on the Northern Plains. Colorado State University graduate students and a Pine Ridge community development practitioner critically assess the participatory processes they practiced and the outcomes that could not have been accomplished without integrating the theory and methods of participatory, community-based research.

KEY WORDS: Participatory research, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, interactive development

INTRODUCTION, by Kathleen Pickering Sherman

Since the heyday of "action anthropology" in the 1960s (Ablon 2012), researchers and graduate students have been presented with what is characterized as a choice between traditional, theoretically-driven research or applied, and by extension, atheoretical research that, while potentially useful on the ground, lacks the same intellectual rigor and contribution of traditional research. Applied anthropologists have often conceded this characterization of their work, willingly sacrificing the accolades of the ivory tower for their commitment to helping make a difference in the "real world" (Stapp 2012).

By way of illustration, this article argues that: 1) when applied anthropology is conducted as genuinely participatory, community-based research, it is not just a method but is theoretical; and 2) it is not possible to claim participatory methods alone while retaining the epistemological paradigm of traditional research that fails to integrate this theory of participation.

The illustration that follows is drawn from participatory research conducted on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota by five graduate students in the master's and/or doctoral programs at Colorado State University (CSU). These students were trained to understand a participatory approach not as a methodological choice but as a theoretically-driven outcome of indigenous peoples' forced incorporation into global capitalism over the last five hundred years, and their culturally-defined responses to that colonial and neo-colonial history. A development practitioner and scholar local to Pine Ridge (St. Pierre 1992, 2003; with Long Soldier 1995) then provides an interpretation of these research results to initiate further refinements to the theory of participation.

THE THEORY OF PARTICIPATION, by Kathleen Pickering Sherman

The theory of participation embodies post-colonial theory in a practice that attempts to decolonize research and higher education (Smith 2012; Brydger 2012). This theoretical understanding is reflected in movements toward more collaborative approaches where, rather than having one epistemological paradigm dominate, multiple paradigms of knowledge construction are accepted on an equal footing (Ross et al. 2011). For anthropology in particular, the culture-

bound nature of knowing must be acknowledged and understood before any integration of knowledge systems is possible. When traditional research is conducted without this acknowledgement, the arbitrary assertion of Western European cultural dominance is ideologically masked as "objectivity", the selection of agendas of power as a neutral "selection of methodology", and the structural barriers to indigenous inclusion as "institutional integrity" (Smith 2012). Furthermore, the efforts of traditional academic researchers to use their results to implement policy change and institute programs of reform end up disempowering the communities they are attempting to "help" with the oppressive message that local experiences and insights have no value in solving local problems (Freire 2000). Thus, traditional academic research presents a paradox to academics who want to support ameliorations or even transformations of capitalism to alleviate poverty, injustice, and violence, and yet are part of the academic structure that is itself a product of the historical trajectory of capitalism (Wallerstein 2003, 1991). Academics cannot empower oppressed communities to transform the current political economy until they acknowledge and respond to the power relations that the current academic system implies.

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the difference, both in method and in theory construction, between traditional academic research and participatory or community-based academic research. Because the colonial power relations underlying Western institutional forms of knowledge construction are atheoretically ignored, traditional academic research retains control over theory selection, relevant literature, hypothesis formation, research conclusions, and theory refinement. The integration of local or indigenous knowledge is limited to the appropriational experience of providing information to external researchers (see Figure 1). Because there is no community buy-in with respect to the focus, purposes, or applications of traditional academic research, the quality and accuracy of the information provided is automatically suspect (Smith 2012). This significant shortcoming to traditional academic research has been easily glossed over, since the conclusions, peer reviews, and funding of future research proposals all rest safely within the hands of those who share the epistemological perspectives of the West.

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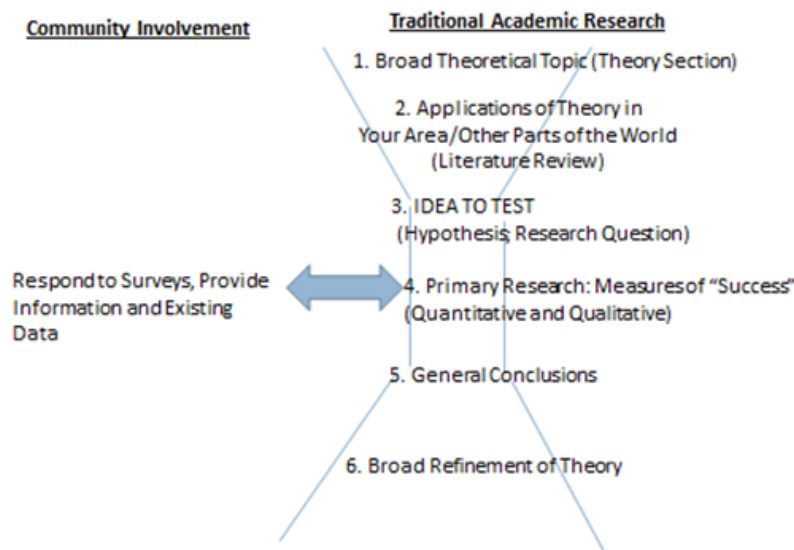


Figure 1: Community Involvement in Traditional Academic Research

In contrast, a genuine integration of the theory and practice of participatory academic research demands community involvement in every stage of planning, implementing, and understanding research about that community (see Figure 2). The product of genuine participatory research is accurate, useful and collaborative. Without the buy-in of community members, the accuracy of the data being provided will remain suspect. Reflexively, unless the results of the research will be useful to the community, it is difficult to achieve true community buy-in. Without collaboration among researchers and community members, the usefulness of the research to the community itself may be illusory. Without this ongoing collaboration, the deeper culturally-based meanings and understandings that give significance to what otherwise is superfi-

cially observed can be lost or misconstrued (Bopp and Bopp 2006). Furthermore, participatory research has the potential to support transformative movements that increase well-being, especially for poor and marginalized communities, by honoring their experiences and insights (Chambers 2007).

The case studies that follow illustrate what is gained by adopting a theory of participation. Graduate students enter into a community process that defines their research goals, and places their participation into a timeframe that extends well beyond their personal goal of obtaining a degree. The students' research is encompassed by the immediate interest of community members and organizations in relevant questions and accurate results. The students' limited knowledge is mitigated by the framing and interpretations of community members engaged in the research process they themselves own. The final academic products are simply milestones in the self-determined community and economic development that the students have had the privilege to experience.

COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS: THE PINE RIDGE PROJECTS The Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce, by Andrea Akers

In 2009 the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce (PRACC), located in Kyle, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, received a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) for a proposed project entitled "Oglala Lakota Voices." This project sought to accomplish many goals, but they were all under the guise of tourism development. One major goal was to change perceptions about the Lakota and the Reservation. PRACC developed an innovative approach to this problem in solidifying partnerships with regional tourism entities. These partnerships were facilitated by Memorandums of Agreement (MOAs) with Badlands National Park (BADL), Mount Rushmore National Memorial (MORU), and Crazy Horse Memorial (CHM). The MOAs arranged for the exchange of printed materials as well as small displays among PRACC and the three parks. In addition, a Lakota cultural sensitivity training was developed and provided to these and other partners (including Wind Cave National Park, Jewel Cave National Park, Black Hills National Forest, Custer State Park, and the South Dakota Department of Tourism).

The ANA required an external evaluator and due to Professor Kathleen Pickering Sherman's long-term relationship with the Tribe, and more specifically with PRACC, she was hired to evaluate the three-year project. Three months before the "Oglala Lakota Voices" Project was initiated I participated in my first ethnographic field school for eight weeks with Sherman on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. After this life-changing experience I not only dedicated my class projects and my senior honor's thesis to topics concerning Pine Ridge, but I also took every opportunity to travel to the Reservation to participate in Sherman's projects. In April of 2011, one month before I would graduate with my B.A. in anthropology, Sherman came to me with a proposition. She asked me to take her place in assisting PRACC in their first cultural sensitivity training for the employees of tourism providers in South Dakota because she would be away for the summer as a guest lecturer in Indonesia. She offered me the opportunity to work with PRACC and their hired consultants to carry out the training and more specifically to implement evaluative surveys before and after. I eagerly accepted, hoping my two years of experience working with the Lakota would give me guidance.

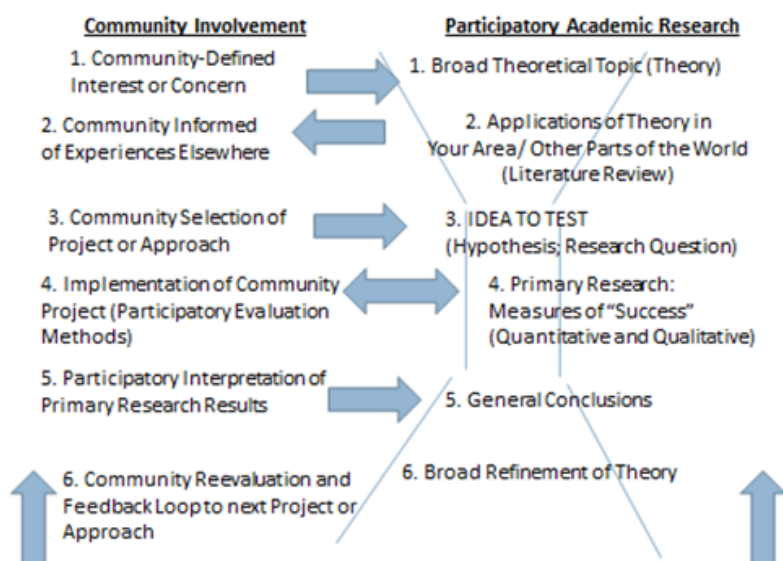


Figure 2: Community Involvement in Participatory Academic Research

After a fairly successful training in May, 2011, I became more involved in the "Oglala Lakota Voices" Project, including the later May, 2012, training (which was now entitled "Destination Pine Ridge"), but also in helping to collect and analyze tourism data (visitor surveys and locational data from guest books and information requests). By August, 2011, it was becoming clear that this project would become the core of my master's thesis. Over the next nine months I attended two partner meetings which brought together representatives from PRACC, several NPS parks, Crazy Horse Memorial, and the state Tourism Department. In early spring I worked closely with the hired consultant for the training to integrate the information we had gathered from the partner meetings and to improve the format of the training and presentation. An important addition was a second day bus tour of the Reservation. During this time the consultant and I solicited and trained four Lakota facilitators to make presentations as part of the training. Finally, at the end of May, with the help of ten of my colleagues from Colorado State University, the training of over 100 participants and tour with 40 participants both were accomplished (with only minor complications).

However, my involvement did not end here. We urgently reconvened with more partner meetings; the ANA grant and the MOAs were ending and we needed to secure funding for future trainings. Another need to address was the upcoming "Impact Visit" from the ANA scheduled for early August, 2012, where PRACC was to present in detail what had been accomplished over the past three years of the "Oglala Lakota Voices" Grant Project. Again I helped to facilitate the partner meetings and brought together three years of evaluative data for the ANA Impact Visit and Final Report. Not surprisingly, even after the end of the initial grant cycle, I am continuing to assist PRACC in maintaining its partnerships and in further developing the "Destination Pine Ridge" training.

The above narrative describes a participatory research initiative. As an anthropologist I am dedicated to the Lakota people, and instead of proposing my own research agendas for the community, I respond to solicitations for my expertise on a range of research projects as well as other services (like strategic planning, conference planning, and facilitation). Another integral piece of participatory research is capacity building, which this project achieved, especially in the usability of evaluative data and in the partnerships built. In the end this project was deemed useful, accurate, and collaborative, for the role it plays in tourism development (including attracting outside funds); in the rigorous methods of evaluation; and in the participation of all stakeholders throughout the process.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

My wife and I operate a small inn on the Reservation. If tourism is ever going to be meaningful in terms of the Reservation economy (i.e., jobs creation), beyond selling dream catchers at Wounded Knee, we will need to generate more traffic. If existing tourism businesses are to survive and grow, and more are to be born and succeed, then the inflow of tourism dollars will have to rise. The Chamber's board and executive director received a \$1.2 million ANA grant to achieve this goal. A strategy to create a relationship between PRACC and the regional National Parks was jointly evolved, with Colorado State University input and a viable visitor center, developed on the Reservation.

As a former PRACC Director, for me this provides an instructional moment. Just because PRACC has a board does not mean that the board is representative of the community, knows much about tourism, or knows how to drive up tourism numbers. Some folks who have invested their resources and time into these businesses do not belong to PRACC. Thus, working with them, soliciting their ideas in the strategizing, planning, pre-writing, and writing of the grant (an absolute ANA require-

ment) is essential. As for the ANA grant monies, while the Pine Ridge Visitor Center, housed at PRACC, was well achieved (but initially invisible due to lack of signage), an exponential growth in tourism numbers was not. However, the "Destination Pine Ridge" trainings marked the first time many stakeholders from both on and off the Reservation met in an effort to enhance Reservation tourism. With continual connection and collaboration, hopefully tourism numbers will noticeably increase and enhance the Reservation economy

The First Tribal National Park, by Ashley Cobb

As a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology at Colorado State University, I am working with Kathleen Pickering Sherman, members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, and representatives of Badlands National Park to document and evaluate the creation of the nation's first Tribal National Park. Participatory methods are essential in this case, as the land and the people working to preserve it have a long and contentious history. I begin with a discussion of the history of the site and move into how participatory research has been applied in this case study.

The site of the proposed park is the South Unit of Badlands National Park, which is owned by the Oglala Sioux Tribe and currently managed by the National Park Service (NPS). The South Unit lies entirely within Pine Ridge Reservation and encompasses 133,000 acres of mixed grass prairie and badland formations. This area has a wealth of paleontological, ecological and cultural resources and is historically and spiritually significant to the Oglala Sioux People (OSP).

A brief history of the area provides the context for the current collaborative effort between the Tribe and the NPS. The South Unit contains the Stronghold District, which is the area where the survivors of Wounded Knee fled and held off the US army after the massacre in 1890. In 1942 Congress removed the South Unit from the Reservation for use as an aerial bombing range. One hundred and twenty-five families living in the area were relocated before bombing began. In 1963 the bombing range was declared excess to the needs of the federal government and returned to the Tribe with the provision that the lands be part of the expanded Badlands National Park and managed by the National Park Service. The collaboration between the Park and the Tribe began in earnest in 1976 under a Memorandum of Agreement which requires that the Park Service consult with the Tribe on management of the land. The MOA is still the primary management document for the South Unit.

In 2006 Badlands National Park began the General Management Plan (GMP) process for the South Unit with the goal of establishing a unified vision between the Park Service and the Tribe for the future management of the land. The preferred alternative for the GMP is to create a Tribal National Park. The scope of the GMP does not include the logistical necessities of this collaborative effort. These logistics will be negotiated through legislation and a new MOA between the Park and the Tribe.

While the creation of the GMP for the South Unit has been hailed as an example of positive collaboration between the Park Service and the Tribe, to date, members of the Tribe have been largely denigrated to the role of observers and participants instead of active decision-makers in the collaborative effort.

The goal of this research project is to promote sustainable action on joint conservation by engaging stakeholders in the evaluation of the Tribal National Park process. Participatory evaluation is the ideal tool to promote stakeholder ownership and community-level change, because it emphasizes capacity building and commitment of all stakeholders to reflect, analyze, and take responsibility for implementing any changes they recommend (Suarez-Balascar and Harper 2003). In the

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context of this project, the stakeholder groups are primarily Oglala Sioux Parks and Recreation Authority (OSPRA) employees and employees of Badlands National Park.

There are four components of participatory evaluation: 1) qualitative observation; 2) systematic surveying; 3) data analysis; and 4) contextualizing, which involves comparing this case study to macro-level data on similar collaborative efforts. To date, I have engaged in three years of participatory observation with the Tribe and the Park Service, attending joint meetings and interning with both organizations. During the summer of 2012 I conducted 28 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders to gain a deeper understanding of their personal and professional goals and concerns about the project. While the majority of this research focuses on organizational dynamics, the perspective of the Tribal community must not be ignored. To create a comprehensive case study, I also will explore longitudinal data regarding Lakota stewardship values gathered by Sherman as well as public comments from the GMP process. Furthermore, Badlands National Park representatives, as part of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) process, conducted public scoping with Tribal members. This information addresses tribal perspectives on the preferred management alternative and could offer valuable insight related to the larger community's perspective on the Tribal National Park process.

The potential impacts of this project are nested within three sociopolitical scales: 1) participatory evaluation can promote local stakeholder ownership of the process and enable a functional process through which OSPRA and Badlands National Park can work collaboratively; 2) the publication of this research in cooperation with the stakeholders can help inform other efforts that seek to integrate tribal knowledge and stewardship with federal management practices in the United States; and 3) the knowledge gained from this case study can help inform collaborative efforts among indigenous peoples and national protected area management efforts at the global level. The tool of participatory evaluation has been under-utilized in collaborative conservation to this point, and its application and facilitation in the Tribal National Park process will expand our understanding of its strengths and weaknesses.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

Since 1976 the dream of the return of nearly one-quarter of the Pine Ridge Reservation has grown into the dream of Lakota National Park, the first Native American National Park in the U.S. There have been a number of significant players in the last 47 years. Many people involved in the process have not recorded the history of the various movements, stalemates, and personalities that have created the present situation. OSPRA has a board of tribal members elected in each district of the Reservation. The return of this land represents a dream, not only of its return but of respect. Equally important, the Lakota Park represents a financial engine in a land where jobs are desperately needed. If the Tribe has had a shared dream over the years—something every stakeholder/tourism business owner is involved in—it is this, and Ashley's work with the board (recording the history and documenting the long struggle), therefore, became possible.

Lakota Funds: Leading an Economic Resurgence through Youth Empowerment, by Heather Lausch

Lakota Funds is a community development financial institution (CDFI) leading an economic resurgence of the Oglala Lakota Oyate on the Pine Ridge Reservation through culturally appropriate strategies reigniting the traditional Lakota spirit of productivity, commerce, and trade. Lakota Funds' goals are not only to help develop the economy, but also to combat poverty and build the family core around the bene-

fits of employment, education, and financial literacy. Without a vibrant economy, concepts of savings, budgeting, and lending are insignificant. Therefore, a holistic approach must be taken to create a more sustainable economy on the Reservation.

While continuing to work with adults, Lakota Funds wanted to initiate a new program focused on educating youth about financial literacy, the economy and community on the Reservation, as well as the traditional economic ways of the Lakota. The novel idea was to create a Child Development Account (CDA) program geared towards first through eighth grade students that connects a matched savings program and financial literacy.

Lakota Funds "seeds" each account opened through the CDA program with a \$50 deposit. Families that participate in the CDA program deposit \$100 throughout the year in their child's savings account, which will then be matched by Lakota Funds 3:1. Thus at the end of the school year the child will have \$400 in his or her savings account. This pattern of savings continues for eight years, thus the savings account grows throughout childhood. One annual withdraw is allowed for school supplies or medical expenses for the child.

In addition to the matched savings program, children and their families take part in training and education to provide a solid foundation that helps the children understand the benefits of savings and how to be responsible for their accounts. Starting in the 1st grade, children attend monthly lessons featuring financial literacy education and child development, including foci on leadership and the taking of responsibility for the natural environment. To bring together the whole family, each family attends quarterly meetings where they participate in financial literacy education and family building activities, personalizing each topic to the importance of their particular family history and traditions.

I was grateful to be brought on board by Tawney Brunsch, Executive Director of the Lakota Funds, and Kathleen Pickering Sherman, Chair of the Department of Anthropology at Colorado State University, to help create the curriculum and evaluation tools for the CDA program. I first researched "best practices" of similar CDA program and learned that the Lakota Funds program was truly one-of-a-kind. In similar programs, governments funded the accounts, not the families, so there was little family involvement or investment. Most programs were not connected to financial literacy training, so the youth would have the money but may or may not know how to deal with it. Other times there were good programs for financial literacy training in schools for youth, but they were expensive and therefore not accessible to everybody.

After my initial research, I worked with Lakota Funds to create a CDA program that fit the cultural norms of the Reservation. We had to take into consideration ideas like enhanced transportation, socioeconomic incentives, and how to get parents initially involved. Since the Reservation is such a rural and spread-out place, where to hold these meetings and how to get the children and families to attend was one of our biggest obstacles. It was finally decided that the children's portion of the lessons would be taught at their school during school hours, while the family meetings would be held in the evenings at the Lakota Funds office. We also made sure to include culturally appropriate artwork from a local artist, stories that related to the children's lives on the Reservation, lessons that discussed local natural resources, and historical traditions of the Lakota people. Ideally, we would have immediate feedback after every lesson from the teachers, children, and their families to change and improve upon the curriculum in order to ensure each lesson's cultural relativity and appropriateness.

While the CDA program is still in its first year, some preliminary results from a discussion and survey of parents at the first family meeting are available. The initial parents stated they already had an understanding of the importance of savings, which likely correlates with

their motivation to enroll their children in the program. However, we still are looking for more participants and two of our main questions are: 1) Why are families not jumping at this opportunity? and 2) How do we get more people motivated? Based on several informal interviews done on the Reservation, parents state that many families do not have a "culture of saving" so they do not understand the importance of this program. There is a difficult self-reinforcing cycle, where children grow up without financial understandings, and then later when opportunities arise for their own children they do not see the importance of such a program. Children may grow up without any real understanding of financial literacy. Will the CDA program be able to break this cycle?

Response from Mark St. Pierre

Economic victimization, consumer fraud, usury loans, bad checks, and ruined credit are constants in the lives of all economically marginalized people, no less for the people of Pine Ridge. In the 30 years of the Lakota Fund's evolution one of the biggest obstacles to an individual getting a business loan has been bad credit. As a founding member of the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce, I know that anyone involved in local business development understands that high energy, independent problem solvers/doors are rare in any society. When these ideal candidates for small business and job creation surface on the Reservation, there is a desire to let them have a shot, no matter their financial histories. The Lakota Funds board and staff have, with the help of Heather, evolved a method to address equity and credit-building issues in a multi-generational way with this unusual CDA program. In a tribal society where there are no age-segregated activities, the idea of generations creating savings accounts, learning home budgeting, and studying consumer education to stabilize and improve their credit ratings, is the result of pursuing another shared tribal dream: to impact poverty and envision more opportunity within Reservation boundaries. Heather used her energy and talent to help the Lakota Funds create, institute, and evaluate this effort.

The Wounded Knee Community Development Corporation Youth Building Initiative, by Michael Brydge

Participation is the active engagement of the minds, hearts and energy of people in the process of their own healing and development. Because of the nature of what development really is, unless there is meaningful and effective participation, there is no development (Bopp and Bopp 2006: 85).

Keeping this philosophy in mind, I acted as an engaged participant of community development in the Wounded Knee District. Participating in previous projects initiated by local organizations, such as Lakota Funds and the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce, and working with Kathleen Pickering Sherman prepared me to engage with Lakota community members in participatory development. In 2009 three CSU students, four locals from the American Horse Creek in Kyle, South Dakota, and I constructed a tool shed from blue prints that were scribbled onto a piece of junk mail. These actions, coupled with continual reflection on the Reservation economy and its communities, eventually led to an invitation by the Wounded Knee Community Development Corporation (WKCDC)—a Lakota initiated and directed organization—to participate in its first Youth Building Initiative. The WKCDC anticipated two outcomes: 1) youth with adequate carpentry skills; and 2) a new community building. In fact, the processes engaged throughout the initiative led to so much more.

From its 2009 beginning, WKCDC recognized Lakota youth as an important voice for defining community needs and as an overall asset to community development. The board realized on the Reservation, as

did McGee and Greenhalf (2011: 28) in Africa: "Children and young people, despite their demographic weight [i.e., large population], are traditionally, culturally, legally and structurally marginalized from decision-making processes." In a conversation with Mark St. Pierre, the CEO of the WKCDC, he stated emphatically: "When these kids realize they can do something with their hands, that is the beginning of a personal transformation of self-perception" (St. Pierre, personal communication, 2012). This transformation of perception is necessary in a time when "...the communities' perception of themselves is helpless" (St. Pierre, personal communication, 2012). Although their self-perceptions, more accurately described as self-deceptions, are by-and-large created by abuses and neglect, both historical and derived from the outside, transforming such self-deceptions must come from within. Beck and Purcell (2010: 49, italics added) purport:

The work starts from where young people are in relation to their own values, views and principles, as well as their own personal and social spaces. It seeks to go beyond where young people start, to widen their horizons, promote participation and invite social commitment, in particular by encouraging them to be critical and creative in their response to their experience and world around them.

The youth, age 14 to 19, worked approximately 20 hours per week, but no more than eight hours a day (aside from those who worked voluntary, unpaid overtime). Of the 13 who started the job, three males did not complete the program due to various circumstances, while the two females—aside from painting—concentrated on indoor office tasks. Days were long and occasionally I would end the day with a 90 mile, one-way trip to Rapid City for building materials. During the four weeks, the youth: 1) created friendships within communities and between insiders and outsiders; 2) embodied a spirit of volunteerism, giving to their district; 3) learned job training skills; 4) felt self-empowered; and 5) created an economic and community asset. They learned how to function on a job site as a construction team—to work together even though some of them were from communities that are historically antagonistic toward one another. In addition, they came to respect me, a human who, through skin tone and university status, is symbolic of the colonizer.

Some of the youth began volunteering. Others were zealous to the point of working in situations prohibited by the government program that was paying them. Once, when we were told they had to come down off a ladder, because federal regulations prohibit them from ascending above four feet, several of them scoffed and said, "just check us off the clock, then, and we'll work for free."

During the program, youth cleaned out the entire building and premises; tore out, replaced and finished drywall; installed floor tile at two entry ways; replaced doors and windows; repaired and trimmed out windows; reframed an exterior wall; tore out and replaced damaged cedar siding; and primed and painted the exterior. After that, two young men joined construction crews during the remainder of the summer in Rapid City, South Dakota, and Greeley, Colorado. Additionally, one youth patched drywall in the basement of his *unci* (grandmother), a skill which we had learned together. One of the main goals of the initiative was to provide job skills to the youth to enhance future career opportunities, but in parallel, the youth could make changes in the households and communities they were living in at the time.

These youth joined their talents and energies to create an economic and community asset. As a non-profit, the WKCDC is continually strapped for funding. Remodeling the building, however, increased the organization's net worth by \$30,000. Having been on the verge of demolition a year earlier, the building now serves as a reminder of the

beauty within the district, as well as the outcomes associated with validating youthful voices and assets. They can be depended upon to assess community needs and build a better future for their people.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

The WKCDC, a three year old 501-c-3 non-profit, has a board comprised of tribal members from across the Wounded Knee District. I serve as CEO. Sustainable jobs creation is the mission of the CDC. It is the wisdom of the board that young people need to be involved in thinking about, problem solving on, and investing in improving their own communities. Numerous (and constantly growing) NGOs populate the summer landscape on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation with service learners. These are non-Indian youth and adults who come here "to help" by fixing up public facilities, homes, and gardens, running church schools, and distributing clothing and other collected items. I have seen this process grow over my lifetime. Adding to dependency, eroding self-respect, and diminishing internal human capacity are the sad results. With the full approval and support of the WKCDC board, Michael worked with 13 Wounded Knee District youth to salvage and remodel an abandoned one-room school house. The young male and female community members learned how to plan, dismantle, and restore the outside of the building while also learning how to install doors, windows, tile flooring, and sheet rock. A community liability was turned into an asset which now includes an after-school activity center as a dream fulfilled. Everyone benefited and Michael participated in hands-on organization and development work that was the foundation of his master's thesis.

Artists of the Northern Plains Research Study, by Patrick Dorion

The Artists of the Northern Plains Research Study (ANPRS) is an example of how participation may occur at several levels. The project began as a partnership between First Peoples Fund (FPF), a non-profit located in Rapid City and working with Native artists; Artspace, a non-profit specializing in creating affordable space for artists; and Colorado State University. The purpose of the study was to understand the infrastructural barriers and general limitations that Native artists contend with in the Northern Plains region. Participation occurred at a basic organizational level in the creation of a survey tool, where each group brought its own perspectives and set of knowledge to the project. Discussions took place over several months, in person and through conference calls, where team members were able to bring up concerns, offer ideas, and make revisions to the content of the initial survey. By creating the necessary space for various perspectives to be heard, as a group we managed to avoid the power struggles that can defeat a development project before it begins. Organizational learning was a personal priority for me. As a student I had come to be involved with the project academically through my connection with Kathleen Pickering Sherman.

A vital aspect to ANPRS was the connection FPF had with the Native artist community. As a local institution (situated in the closest South Dakota city to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation), FPF has ten years' of experience working with Native artists, and also has developed relationships with other local institutions in reservation communities. Although we wanted to understand the needs of Native artists, we did not work from a "needs-based approach" (Phillips and Pittman 2009: 39-40). FPF was able to provide the project with local knowledge to create more meaningful survey questions (appropriate to Native artists), but within this local context questions were not overly defined. At its heart ANPRS was an asset-based mapping exercise (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993: 5-8), focused on representing the wide array of perceptions artists had of their community. By entering the community humbly, viewing artists as assets, and allowing community concerns to be

internally-driven, the data from this project will allow FPF to leverage outside resources more effectively.

An entirely different level of participation occurred on the ground with the implementation of the survey. As fieldworker for the project, I was responsible for conducting the interviews, along with the help of an outstanding fieldwork team. Contacts at Red Cloud Heritage Center, Lakota Funds, and the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce served as helpful starting points to identify local artists. The hope was that through building community relationships, the artist population on Pine Ridge would start to emerge. In total, 102 surveys were completed in six weeks over June and July, 2011, on the Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River Reservations. It is at the local level that ANPRS truly transformed into a participatory project, as the artists themselves became active agents in the process of understanding the kinds of infrastructural barriers that exist on the Reservation. Two important factors helped facilitate their participation. One was the strength of the survey, which balanced both quantitative and qualitative questions. Creating the space for artists to talk about what mattered most to them was a critical step towards understanding the challenges they face. A second factor was the choice to approach reservation art communities informally at the local level to gather data through face-to-face interviews. "Research" is often bureaucratic and dehumanizing (Smith 2012: 42-52), and as a result is resisted by many communities. Giving a human face to the project and letting go of the need to control the interview process added a level of credibility to data which we would not have been able to gather otherwise. This process was supported by the large number of respondents, all of whom were referred by other artists through snow-ball sampling. Unlike "research," I found that artists invited me into their homes to sit down and talk for an hour or two, taking time away from their family responsibilities and their work. Additionally, the fieldwork team allowed the interview process to evolve. At first, conversations were labored by the inexperience of the interviewers. After gaining some confidence, we were able to let survey protocols act as guides for generating informal conversations, which in turn created a comfortable atmosphere where artists' voices could be heard.

In general, ANPRS found artists had significant barriers of access to materials, transportation, and markets to sell their artwork. For instance, 68 percent of all artists do not have access to the materials they need for creating their artwork, or, must travel over 30 miles to get them (Northern Plains Artist Market Study 2012: 10). This process is conflated by distance, time, and available financial capital. Making it easier for artists to get what they need would allow them to create more at lower cost, and thus could have a positive financial impact on Reservation communities. Insights also were gained into the ways that knowledge is transmitted among artists, which is fundamental information for any community outreach. Artists communicate and learn about their art business through informal networks, which makes traditional marketing efforts inappropriate. FPF can use their community contacts to market their programs more effectively and educate artists about their options for assistance. But, the lasting effect of the study will be its use as a starting point for engagement with the Native art community. Lakota people are the ones who stand to gain or lose the most from any future project, and whose voices must drive the choices being made. Sixty-one percent of all interviewed artists have an annual household income of less than \$10,000, and 30 percent receive more than half their income solely from their art business (Northern Plains Artist Market Study 2012: 14). Yet, there seems to be great potential to grow the economy at Pine Ridge, as long as the statistics are not disconnected from the context in which they were derived.

ANPRS illustrates that the importance of building community connections and personal relationships in any research undertaking cannot

be overstated. I am thankful for the relationships I have built with FPF, Artspace, Kathleen Pickering Sherman, and the 102 artists whom I spoke with. It has been through these relationships that my own learning was facilitated, and through local participation that ANPRS will have a chance to address issues that are meaningful to local artists.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

In alignment with the First Peoples Fund's desire to improve the lives and incomes of the regions' Traditional and Contemporary Artists, Kathleen Pickering Sherman and the CSU Department of Anthropology graduate program were approached. As someone who owned the first Native Art gallery in South Dakota, these issues have been of lifetime interest to me. Inexperienced idealists often zero in on folks' art as a way to stimulate more income for Reservation-based families. It is as if the artists themselves do not have a community and do not understand the very real resource and market issues (reflected in a fair return on time and material invested) that exist. Qualitative experience must be converted to quantitative research so that grants can be written to try and ameliorate the condition of poverty experienced by these artists. Patrick, through the help and involvement of 102 individual producers, was able to quantify the poverty and the related issues of distance, access to raw materials, and access to good-paying markets. Although a stranger here before his research began, Patrick was very successful in first finding, and then soliciting, information on experiences and problems which may result in the First Peoples Fund adjusting its mission plan and programming. If so, this will become more useful and relevant to Native American artists in South Dakota.

A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONER'S RESPONSE, by Mark St. Pierre

For over forty years, while working on economic and community development in Indian Country, I have noticed that research projects on reservations are funded more regularly than grants that try to address or improve the actual problem being researched. The latter are much harder to come by. This can be maddening if you are a results-oriented professional. Academic institutions, their faculty, and their army of graduate students have all the credentials funders are looking for, with the proper caché including (but not limited to) stability, non-profit status, proven research ability, academic credentials, a solid accounting structure, and a culturally admired institution to receive the funding.

The granting agency or foundation, while requiring that the information be disseminated, does not usually insist that it "come home" in any useful way, or at all. It generally belongs to the researcher, hence all the citations and footnotes in academic writing. The grant recipients/researchers are also from the same "trusted" cultural and experience set as the funders so that makes life, communication, and mutual admiration (respect and comfort between funder and recipient) easier as well. Benefits to the university department are money, income, career and reputation enhancement, publishing, and promotion. The department gets masters and doctoral papers which, of course, create graduates (critical numbers) and in turn validates careers, departments, and the foundations—and the grant dollars expended. Does the research ever affect those being researched? Generally not. There are those that question the morality of this approach, especially in working with impoverished tribal communities, often existing 180 degrees in hardship and privilege from the world of the researchers.

In the case of the Department of Anthropology at Colorado State University, all of the Reservation-based student efforts (exemplified by those reported in this commentary) must be planned with and must directly benefit the organizations that provide the research opportunities (a requirement pioneered by Kathleen Pickering Sherman). In this mod-

el, goals and objectives to be accomplished, along with the kind of participation and research methodology, are developed in collaboration with tribal entities. Since I live and work on the Pine Ridge Reservation I am keenly aware of the historic context of all of the organizations involved in this article, the collaborative effort's etiology, and in some cases have observed all or part of the collaborative process.

From 1968 to 1972, I was trained in the classical community problem-solving model. My undergraduate educational program utilized a broad range of applied disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, and economics, where a practitioner works directly with and often for community people to address a problem, need or want, very much in the vein of Paulo Freire's or Sol Tax's approaches. I have worked within the community's understanding of what would improve their quality. As a result I have been an enabler on a broad range of quality-of-life issues/solutions like public safety, the arts, education, and economic development in Lakota Country. It is in this context that my comments should be viewed.

The CSU students come here, a place known for poverty and hardship reflecting a non-Western culture, with a trust in Professor Sherman. In every real sense they come also as economic and cultural transplants, similar to myself 40 years ago—as nervous strangers. Thus, some level of courage and commitment must have been encouraged and developed invisibly before most of them arrive. Most have chosen CSU because of the reputation Sherman and her past students have earned. Some have been here for shorter periods in previous years, but are now working directly with the people here on long-term projects.

This cultural stretch is critical to them as professionals, but also useful to their Pine Ridge collaborators, since the students are also emissaries from the educated—and often privileged—class of the dominant Western society. They bring in new or unfamiliar ideas, approaches, or theories. They also provide an interesting distraction as they are new faces from "the outside world," just as studied as are their Reservation informants and at times also as entertaining, knowingly and unknowingly.

There are some adaptations on both sides that must take place for Sherman's participatory vision to be realized. On the Reservation people behave toward elders with a high level of formality, respect and deprecation. A young man might listen to some elders visiting but would never participate, whereas Western young people are expected to be able and—more important—culturally often more than willing, to state their opinions. Left to themselves, American graduate students often do not desire the companionship or ideas (acquired wisdom) of older people outside of academia, so the very social place of a tribal 25-year-old is "suspended" for these "young" CSU students once here. Conversely for Lakota, this occurs out of deep, culturally-based politeness. Lakota people are generally polite listeners and do not want to offend, even if they deeply disagree with what they are hearing. There also can be gender issues such as a young white woman asking private information of an older Lakota woman, or worse, of an older Lakota man.

All of these cultural differences aside, most of these students return again and again, deepening their understandings, and in some cases, deepening their real friendships with each visit. The "world taken for granted" that these students live in and construct through their social contacts in Fort Collins and abroad generally has no meaningful place or use for anyone but young people aged 18 to 30. The degree to which this is true is not perceived or understood by them. They exhibit little existential insight about their own existence or their own quality of life beyond convenience. Coming to the Reservation and realizing that their way of seeing the world and their relative privilege is not held by

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everyone, alters their core perceptions. This benefits these graduate students in ways too vast to go into here, their maturation being the least.

These students have, in most cases, become involved with Pine Ridge organizations that have developed over a long period of time as a result of a shared understanding of problems by tribal people. A large amount of human energy has already been invested into addressing Reservation problems. This energy has helped begin to pave the way to very real and shared tribal dreams of sovereignty and economic independence. One of these shared, larger dreams is a good quality of life with opportunity for those who want it.

The graduate students whose work is reflected in this article learned of and internalized a Lakota Vision, and thus contributed to activities and future dreams that have evolved on the Reservation over long periods of time. The origins of these dreams are here. Their research and organizational skills are contributing to promoting Lakota objectives by *participating* with Lakota organizations, often at their direction.

The principle purpose of a university like CSU perceiving and using Pine Ridge as a human laboratory should be to prepare social science graduates to involve themselves in communities, other than their own, over a career and therefore to become effective researchers and/or change agents. The purpose should be to help build these communities based on their internal dreams and visions. While the vast majority of graduate students studying here will not become change agents, many will become teachers whose time here will become a critical reference point and bring authenticity to their classes—and even to their degrees—as now-papered “experts” on Indians in the eyes of Euro-American academia.

Personally I would hope their time here prepares them for making a difference given their youthful energy and education. I hope it helps them discover their purpose, their passion. Studying poverty on the Reservation is important only if it results in improving the quality of life of those studied, and in understanding that they—the people of Pine Ridge—in turn stand for economically oppressed tribal people worldwide. In the spirit of participatory academic research, those who participate in these studies and related activities deserve to see these students go on to improve the quality of human life wherever their destinies takes them. It is my dream that they will all go on to lead lives filled with efforts that improve the quality of life for others, using their time here as inspiration and guidance.

Kathleen Pickering Sherman, Ph.D., J.D., is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at Colorado State University (CSU), and has been working with Lakota communities since 1987. Andrea Akers is currently in the anthropology master's degree program at CSU, and began working with Lakota communities as an undergraduate at CSU. Ashley Cobb is in the Ph.D. program in sociology at CSU, and has a master's degree in Human Dimensions of Natural Resources from CSU. Heather Lausch completed her M.A. in anthropology at CSU and is now working with refugees and at-risk youth in San Diego, California. Michael Brydger completed his M.A. in anthropology at CSU and is now engaged in participatory research on five Northern Plains reservations, as well as teaching participatory methods and anthropology. Patrick Dorion is in the M.A. program at CSU, focusing on Native artists and entrepreneurship. Mark St. Pierre has worked in Indian Country for more than 40 years in all aspects of community and economic development, and has published several books and articles about Lakota life and the challenges facing marginalized Native communities. For more information or questions contact Kathleen Pickering Sherman at Kathleen.Sherman@colostate.edu.

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THE CIVIL WARS IN SOUTH SUDAN: AN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL COMMENTARY

PA'GAN AMUM OKIECH

ABSTRACT

South Sudan gained its independence on July 9th, 2011. The world's newest nation was born out of conflict. By the time Sudan gained its independence from Britain in January, 1956, it was already mired in a brutal civil war waged by a south Sudanese insurgency. The causes of the Sudanese civil war(s) which pitted the northern Sudanese elites/governments against the people of southern Sudan, and led to the later separation of South Sudan, are rooted in conflicts of identities. The Sudanese ruling elites adopted a narrow and limited vision for the nation state they were determined to build. This was reflected in policies of exclusion and marginalization of south Sudanese by the north Sudanese elites who inherited the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium State in Sudan (Deng 1995). They defined their mission as that of building an Arab Islamic nation-state. This was viciously pursued against the glaring contradictory backdrop which was and still is a "country with extraordinary ethnic and cultural diversity and 'a microcosm of Africa'" (Akolawin 1973). This commentary concludes with specific suggestions to ameliorate the crisis.

The Historical Context

South Sudanese are neither Arabs nor Muslims. Most are ethnic Africans, and mostly Christians and followers of African traditional beliefs. Hence, they were automatically excluded and marginalized from the original Sudanese process of state and nation-building. When they demanded their rights to be included as equal citizens, they were denied and violently suppressed. This resulted in two long, devastating civil wars. These wars were brutal and led to the killing and uprooting of millions of South Sudanese over several decades. The Sudanese state miserably failed to rise to the challenge of harnessing the Sudanese diversity as a source of strength to build a multicultural non-racist and non-sexist society (Aldehaib 2010).

In addition to exclusion and violent suppression, South Sudanese were subjected to forced assimilation in the form of Arabization and Islamization. Most northern Sudanese elites and political parties were from the school of thought purporting that Arabism and Islam were to be the only bases of building the Sudanese nation state to the exclusion of other elements of the Sudanese cultural mosaic (El-Affendi 1990).

The struggle of the people of South Sudan was, therefore, primarily aimed at self-determination as the goal. They employed strategies and political platforms expressed in different demands and goals which would lead to one of two outcomes. The first was to force their inclusion as equal stakeholders in Sudan. This was to be achieved by dictating to the northern elites the redefinition of the Sudanese nation-state project, to make it inclusive of all Sudanese, based on acceptance and respect of their diversity. If this objective was not to be achieved, the second goal was for southerners to break away from the Islamic Arabized Sudan model and form their own independent state.

The first war started in 1955 and ended with the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 (*Addis Ababa Agreement on the Problem of South Sudan* | UN Peacemaker 1972). It was waged by a southern Sudanese insurgent army called the

Anyanya Movement. The agreement granted South Sudan regional autonomy. Although the Anyanya Movement fought for separation and total independence from Sudan, the Addis Ababa Agreement was a compromise made by both parties. It granted the southerners an autonomous self-rule within a united Sudan. This arrangement lasted for a decade but was abrogated by the government of Sudan. The result was the immediate outbreak of the second war which started in earnest in 1983.

A movement and an army were established under the name: Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/SPLA). It was led by Dr. John Garang de Mabior as the Chairman and Commander-In-Chief. The SPLM under Garang put forward the New Sudan Vision to fundamentally transform Sudan. Garang proposed that the solution of the problem of Sudan did not end with mere separation of the South but in effecting a paradigm shift in the center of power in Khartoum. With this vision, Garang united the struggle of the people of the South with the struggle of the people of other marginalized areas of the North, as well as with the democratic forces in the center of power (El-Affendi 1990). The most compelling attribute of Garang was his ability to unite various southern Sudanese ethnic groups and tribes around a common goal. "By 1994 a new 'nation within a nation' called New Sudan was declared within the war zone of the South; this new administrative structure introduced a democratic apparatus into the Southern Sudan and while the North/South war continues, intra- Southern Sudan strife virulent since the 1970s has begun to decline" (Beswick 1998). Harkening back to 1990, to reflect, with this struggle "the conditions for the establishment of a modern state [in South Sudan] may have been created, and the task of state builders made that much easier, albeit at a monstrously high cost in human terms" (El-Affendi 1990).

After arduous negotiations, which were mediated by regional and international partners, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the

Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) was signed in Naivasha, Kenya, on January 9th, 2005. The CPA recognized the right of self-determination for the people of South Sudan, to be exercised in a referendum vote after a six-year interim period (Government of Sudan and Sudan's People Liberation Movement/Army 2005).

Yet barely six months after the signing of the CPA, South Sudan was facing a tragedy of historic proportions. John Garang died in a helicopter crash on his return from Kampala on July 30th, 2005. Garang was a unifying, charismatic, and larger-than-life character who drew admiration from leaders across the globe. He had earned his doctorate at Iowa State University and was well known in American circles. His sudden death dealt a blow to the Sudanese in general and South Sudanese in particular. The only potential beneficiary of his death was the Sudanese state under Omar al-Bashir, who could have easily exploited the vacuum. The SPLM, on the other hand, accurately surveyed its strategically weak position and decided to immediately replace him. The SPLM nominated Garang's deputy, Salva Kiir Mayardit, to be the new Chairman and thus leader of the movement.

A New Nation

Despite the obstruction and machinations of the National Congress Party of Sudan, on January 9th, 2011, the southern Sudanese people exercised their right in a referendum and voted overwhelmingly (98.9%) to secede from Sudan. On July 9th, 2011, South Sudan was declared an independent state. South Sudanese, others in the region, and indeed the entire world seemed jubilant and hopeful. The vision of "One Nation, One People" was going to be pursued and hopefully achieved within this new independent polity. Yet, to the chagrin of South Sudanese and their friends and allies, the new leader of the SPLM, General Kiir, exhibited a uniquely tribal and sectarian outlook with an accompanying myopic governing philosophy. Regional, tribalist, and sectarian policies came to be vigorously pursued by Kiir and his tribal/sectarian inner circle. The unity of all tribes of South Sudan, suggested by the CPA, was at risk and "as a result, a divisive and polluted environment at independence has rekindled the South - South divisions, rivalries and animosities which led to weaken the high spirit of oneness, leading to cast doubts on the assumed unity and solidarity of the people of South Sudan, making a number of scholars and observers to speculate that the unity and oneness of South Sudanese shown in the overwhelming vote to secede will unravel dangerous internal divisions with the loss of the North as the common enemy" (Laudati 2011). This early, post-independence statement proved to be a spot-on prediction.

Sustainable peace and progress in building a free and prosperous South Sudan were not only predicated on having an independent state for South Sudanese to call their own but was "also a matter of addressing the causes of the fracture lines in Southern Sudan. Overlooking these intra-South Sudan divisions and its ongoing latent conflicts, promises to undermine the cur-

rent [post-CPA] peace process. It also threatens to usurp the South's sovereignty and disrupt its socio-economic recovery" (Laudati 2011). To astute analysts, fracture lines and divisive strategies clearly were apparent as early as 2011.

Renewed Struggles

President Kiir abandoned the use of the party organs to solve policy differences and the power struggle, and instead decided to rely heavily on a council of his elder tribesmen called the Jieng Council of Elders (JCE). He tribalized the political struggle within the SPLM by recruiting a private army from his own tribe, the Dinka, also known as Jieng. These militia came to be known as Mathiang Anyor and Dutku Beny, and were recruited from Northern Bahr El Ghazal and Warab states in 2012. On December 15th, 2013, Kiir launched the war against his opponents in the SPLM leadership. South Sudan was plunged into a devastating civil war barely two years after independence. The war was an attempt to stifle dissent within the party, and to change the direction of both party and country away from building a democratically inclusive nation state, into a dictatorial, tribally dominated state. Kiir deliberately decided to turn the political dispute and power struggle within the SPLM into an inter-tribal war, initially between the Dinka and the Nuer, the tribe of Dr. Riek Machar, his then Vice President-*cum*-opponent. He decided to disarm the Nuer soldiers and began ethnically targeted killings against Nuer civilians in Juba, the nation's capital, by his militia (AU Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan 2014). In turn, Riek Machar did the same, by exploiting Nuer anger and rage in reaction to the massacre of "his (Nuer) citizens." Riek Machar therefore had launched a massive Nuer-based rebellion (Waal et al. 2014).

In sum, the idealized trans-ethnic leadership of the new nation never materialized. The abandonment of the inclusive vision by the top leadership of the SPLM led to an ominous internal power struggle, causing a rapid disintegration of both the SPLM, the ruling party in South Sudan, and the SPLA, the supposedly-aligned national army. The SPLM splintered into three factions (IG, IO, and FD) and the SPLA broke up into several warring tribal factions and militias (King 2014).

Regional representatives and the international community intervened, mediating an agreement among the South Sudanese warring parties. In August 2015, the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (ARCSS) was signed. President Kiir was initially resistant to signing it, citing certain technical and political reservations (Government of Sudan and Sudan's People Liberation Movement/Army 2005). In my opinion, Kiir and his cohorts were – and still are – resistant to all forms of political settlement. Kiir and his chief of general staff were – and still are – adamant in pursuing a military solution whereby their opponents will be either annihilated or subjugated. However, the regional representatives and other international partners pressured him and he signed the agreement in Juba.

After the agreement was signed, by spring 2016 the government had stalled and begun employing delay tactics, so that

the agreement would remain "a document on paper," never to be implemented. After a lot of push and pull, Riek Machar arrived in Juba and was sworn in (again) as the Vice President. With the implementation of the agreement clearly in jeopardy, tensions again started to rise among the previously warring parties. True to their intentions, Kiir and his tribal circle were still on course to destroy the agreement from within (Pinaud 2016). By July, 2016, the agreement had, for all practical purposes, collapsed. Fighting broke out in the Presidential Palace while both leaders were in a meeting inside. Within days, Riek Machar's headquarters were reduced to rubble, and he was running for his life in the Equatorial region. He was pursued by the Kiir government for forty days, until he eventually entered the Democratic Republic of the Congo where he was rescued by the United Nations Mission.

The Role of Anthropologists

The civil war which has quickly engulfed South Sudan and caused a national existential crisis has become a subject of study by various scholars seeking to understand its root causes. South Sudanese, in their disillusionment and despair, are themselves asking questions while trying to understand the nature and causes of this devastating war. The international media came to categorize it as an ethnic civil war or a civil war with ethnic overtones. It became clear to certain scholars that the causes of this crisis are rooted in the historical legacies of the long civil war that seemed to have been ended with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in January, 2005. According to John Akec (2014), "not only history, but anthropology matters also in understanding the root causes and parameters of ethnic conflict." Even mediators and foreign governments interested in helping South Sudanese to end the conflict started to seek the advice of anthropologists. This is what Sharon Hutchinson and Naomi Pendle reported in *Anthropology News*: "...when violence erupted in South Sudan in December 2013, the UN and the Obama administration reached out to regional experts, including anthropologists, to gain a better understanding of the crisis" (Reuss 2015). Noted anthropologist Gunner Sørbo (2014): "...while there has never been a complete divide along ethnic lines, the power struggle between leaders from Dinka and Nuer ethnicities has also involved a component of ethnicity when mobilizing a support base, or as the unintended consequence or a by-product of such a power struggle."

Conclusions and Solutions

This war started as a political dispute and a power struggle within the SPLM. The SPLM leadership had abandoned the state - and nation-building project based on the original vision of John Garang. President Kiir reduced himself from the status of a true national leader and first president of the new nation, into a tribal chieftain turning the conflict into an ethnic war. He, in a cynical way, revived the traditional animosities between the Dinka and the Nuer, as the two largest nationalities-cum-ethnicities in South Sudan. Riek Machar unfortunately exploited

and reciprocated in counter-tribalist fashion. As a result of this myopic tribal and sectarian insurgency and counter-insurgency, the civil war in South Sudan continues developing strong tribal overtones which cannot be ignored.

The government in Juba destroyed the chance for peace when it reluctantly signed the peace agreement and then proceeded to obstruct its implementation, ending with the fighting discussed above. The government has expanded the war, antagonizing literally all the rest of the tribes such as the Shilluk, the Murle, the Fertit, the Azande and the Kakwua. Hate speech and ethnically targeted killings and rapes are on the rise. South Sudan is in danger of descending into genocide and all-out ethnic war. Adama Dieng, the United Nations Secretary General's Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, reported with dismay that there is a strong risk of violence escalating along ethnic lines into genocide (United Nations News Service Section 2016). Areas of the country which were previously peaceful are no longer safe (Lynch 2016). Neighboring countries and the international community also must bear some responsibility for the latest developments. When Kiir pursued Riek Machar in an attempt to eliminate him, no one in the region or elsewhere in the world condemned that or intervened. Instead, the United States Special Envoy to Sudan and South Sudan clearly stated that the U.S. was in favor of the exclusion of Riek Machar (Reuters 2016). The message to other oppressed people is that the only solution to this kind of predicament is to bear arms and use military force against a government. As a direct result, there is an increase in the number of armed groups, with new ones popping up every few weeks in South Sudan (Reuters 2016). On the other hand, Kiir is emboldened to continue oppressing his people, violently suppressing dissent and dishonoring agreements. He can clearly see that he is not paying any price for this glaring obstruction of peace. Instead, he continues to consolidate power.

My colleagues and I believe that solutions lie in the following steps:

1. Implementation of UN Security Council resolutions 2304 and 2206 (United Nations 2016), (United Nations 2015).
2. The United Nations, together with the African Union, takes the initiative to organize an inclusive roundtable conference. All stakeholders must take South Sudan back to the drawing board to agree on a new transition, as well as a new social and political contract to serve as a framework for building a peaceful, free, and prosperous nation (Wel 2016).
3. The proposed South Sudan Hybrid Court must be established as soon as possible per ARCSS (Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission 2015). Accountability must be at the center of hoped-for departures from the perpetual impunity exhibited by the warring factions. Accountability will also bring about human rights-related retributive justice to the many victims and survivors of this war.

4. An effort to harmonize the world's stance on the issue of South Sudan is important.
5. Dissolution of the current sectarian kleptocratic government is necessary. The wrangling and the dysfunctionality of the current system cannot be solved through copy-and-paste but rather through a total reboot and restart (Johnson 2016).
6. South Sudan should be put under a neo-trusteeship system of governance. In conjunction, a government of South Sudanese technocrats should be installed and supervised by the UN/AU Trustee. Beside supervising the technocrats, the Trustee should be the custodian of the oil revenues in a secured escrow account. The government must build the necessary infrastructure to build a functioning state. It must also work to create an environment conducive for a free and fair election at the end of the Trusteeship (South Sudan Reborn 2016).

This war brought forth a culture of terror never known to South Sudanese. The government militia raped women, broke into shops, looted homes, and ransacked with an impunity of shocking proportions. The once-disciplined SPLA has been turned into a tribalist, barbaric killing machine. It uses tactics similar and at times worse than those used by the oppressors in Khartoum.

The ultimate solution to the conflict in South Sudan lies with building an inclusive nation. South Sudan must return to the vision of Dr. John Garang: A vision of a harmonious multi-cultural and multiethnic society based on South Sudanese commonalities. Celebrating the diversity and uniqueness of all 64 tribes of South Sudan is the only bridge to a free, peaceful, and prosperous nation.

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REMEMBERING MARGARET MEAD FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

EDITH W. KING

Remembering Margaret Mead for the 21st Century

Today Planet Earth is experiencing one of its most trying eras. Extremism and fanatic actions like the current vehicular terrorism, are witnessed in major cities of the affluent nations. Across the globe there is a rise of populism and nationalism, as widely differing groups of ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic heritage are demanding recognition. Human-created destruction and environmental devastation are experienced worldwide. To add to this turmoil a new threat is lurking of nuclear war and a worldwide nuclear holocaust. In troubled times applied anthropologists may turn to the wisdom and practical advice from social scientists of the recent past. One of these, a familiar public figure of the 1970s and 1980s, is the often-quoted anthropologist, Margaret Mead.

Margaret Mead was among the most memorable and outstanding of cultural anthropologists of the 20th century. She is still recognized by people who might not be able to name even one other major figure in the social sciences of the 20th century. She was born in 1901, just at the turn of the 20th century, and died in 1978 at age 77. Margaret Mead challenged the accepted theories and pronouncements about adolescence in developed countries. She advocated empowering women and strove for women's rights early in the 20th century. Furthermore, Mead was a creative theorist advancing a theory of the cultural evolution of societies.



Margaret Mead

That we are more aware of our own culture through the study of other cultures is an idiom found throughout Margaret Mead's books. One of her most famous works is the research on adolescent girls in Samoa during the 1920s at the inception of her career in anthropology. In her autobiography, *Black-berry Winter*, she wrote:

When I sailed for Samoa, I realized only very vaguely what a commitment to field work and writing about field work meant. My decision to become an anthropologist was based in part on my belief that a scientist, even one who had no great and special gift, such as a great artist must have, could make a useful contribution to knowledge. Even in remote parts of the world ways of life about which nothing was known were vanishing before the onslaught of modern civilization. The work of recording these unknown ways of life had to be done now—NOW—or they would be lost forever. (Mead, 1972, p. 137)

Mead was just twenty-three years old when she set out for Samoa and her first attempt at studying another culture. In the initial weeks, she worked hard to become conversant with the language. On one of the Samoan islands, T'au, she was provided a home with an American medical officer, within the environs of a village and in easy reach of her subjects. For the rest of that year on the small Samoan island, Mead moved and lived among the people and observed the life of adolescent girls.

From Samoa, she returned to the United States to take up the post of assistant curator that had been offered her at the American Museum of Natural History. It was here that she wrote the report that later was published as her first book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*. No other anthropologist had written such a book before about a seemingly exotic culture; it read like a novel, not like a scientific tome. Moreover, until Mead went to Samoa and wrote about young girls, focusing on their lives, their thoughts, their habits, and their folkways, children and women had largely been ignored by anthropologists. Although she chose never to study Samoan culture again, the themes of this study—the rearing of children, the shaping of personality, and the role of women in society—came to be the themes that inspired Mead's studies for the rest of her career.

Coming of Age in Samoa was a tradition-breaker. It appeared in 1928 and quickly became a bestseller inside and

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outside of anthropology. The book thrust Mead into prominence in the United States at a time when people were already caught up in a growing revolt against Victorian attitudes about child rearing and sexuality. What was particularly astonishing, however, for readers of the time, was the revelation that adolescence is not a fixed pattern. The young women and young men of Samoa did not, Mead observed, experience adolescence as we do. Rather than thinking of adolescence as a purely biological determined aspect of the maturation process, social scientists were becoming aware that it was more complex. Adolescence was a matter of cultural as well as biological aging.



An Early Advocate for the Women's Movement

During the 1930s and into the beginning of the 1940s, before the outbreak of World War II, Mead continued her studies of childhood and child rearing in other exotic and "primitive" cultures of the Pacific—the Manus of New Guinea and the Balinese. She now had partners—Leo Fortune, her second husband, with whom she studied the Manus, and later Gregory Bateson, her third and last husband, who made trips with her to Bali and back to New Guinea. In working with the Manus people, she chose to study the mental processes of children and pioneered the use of psychological tests to examine the thinking of her subjects. This is detailed in the book *Growing Up in New Guinea*. Margaret Mead's fame grew in the United States following World War II. One of her most important and most strongly felt causes was the Women's Movement. She was recorded as remarking that "I've never been an imitation man. I've done things in my work only a woman can do. I've studied and observed children in areas where no man would be tolerated" (quoted in Cassidy, 1982, p. 14). Only a few years before her death, she wrote:

Today, the discussions that bring women together from every level of technical development all over the world reveal what women—and the world—have lost. Increasingly centralized, industrialized planning and production steadily reduce women to choosing be-

tween the role of housekeeper with mild supplementary activities—in the performance of which she is unprotected and ill paid in the marketplace—or that of educated but subordinate and unmarried competitor in all the other spheres of life. (Mead, 1975, p. 130)

She then went on to question a social order that no longer meets the newly aroused hopes of the people who live within it. Mead believed that the voices of women were combining with voices all over the world against a worldwide system of political and economic exploitation of the land, the sea, and the air, and the endangered populations that depend upon them. Mead saw a new strength in women's empowerment. She asserted that when women speak and exert their influence and power not only women gain, but society gains too. In 1975, she wrote:

Where once half of the best minds were consumed in the performance of small domestic tasks, society can now draw on them. Where women's experiences—inevitably different from men's because women all had mothers with whom they could identify—have been fenced off from contributing to the high-level planning of the world, they can now be used in the attack on such problems as chaotic abuse of food, resources, human settlement and the total environment. When women are once more able to participate in decisions and are free to be persons as well as parents, they should be able to contribute basic understandings that are presently lacking in the world. These basic new understandings include the fact that food is meant to be used to feed human beings, not to serve as a weapon or commodity; that towns were meant for generations to live in together, not only as barracks or bedrooms; that education can be used to make life meaningful; that we do live in a world community that is here but is unrecognized, in all its interdependence and need for shared responsibility. (Mead, 1975, p. 131)

Exemplifying her proselytizing for women's places and positions in world affairs, Margaret Mead served on many civic boards and influential state, national and international committees during her lifetime. Furthermore, she was elected president of the American Anthropological Association, the Society for Applied Anthropology, as well as the prestigious American Association for the Advancement of Science. Among her awards was a gold medal from the Society of Women Geographers and the Kalinga Prize for the Popularization of Science by UNESCO for interpreting science to the public. Her views and opinions appeared in newspapers and magazines, such as *Time*, *Life* and *Newsweek*, for several decades during the mid-20th century.



Time Magazine once named her the “Mother of the Year,” and the United States Post Office placed her picture on a stamp in 1998 (see p. 10, herein).

Margaret Mead wrote extensively about the attributes and peculiarities of those she labeled “Americans.” Writing during the 1930s and 1940s, she contended that because people were upwardly mobile, often changing geographic and socioeconomic situations (in contrast to older, more settled, and more rigidly class-structured societies), they have a longing and need to find specific roots. Therefore, she contended, citizens of the U.S. attach much more importance to their “home towns” than do citizens of other nations. Mead described how one American will meet another traveling abroad, and as soon as they establish that they both grew up in the same town, they become close friends for the remainder of the journey. She noted that this may possibly explain the penchant for joining clubs, groups, and associations, so that membership in an organization somehow fills a gap in one’s life. For Mead, these were national character traits of being extremely independent and extroverted, while masking an inner longing for deep roots and a defined family lineage. In addition, she deemed that many Americans are overly success-oriented. This can be demonstrated by the urgency some parents feel to have their children do better in their careers than they themselves have done, both financially and socially.

Margaret Mead and the Continuity of Cultures

The strongest legacy of Margaret Mead as an outstanding social analyst and critic, however, is to be found in her contributions to the development of a global culture and a world view of humanity. In her 1970 publication *Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap*, she wrote:

We have the means of reaching all of earth’s diverse peoples and we have the concepts that make it possible for us to understand them, and they now share in a world-wide, technologically propagated culture, within which they are able to listen as well as to talk to us.
(Mead, 1970, p. xvi)

Mead pointed out that in the technology of the mid-20th century there was available to us for the first time on the “spaceship Earth,” examples of the ways people have lived at every period over the last fifty thousand years. With eloquent style she pointed out that a New Guinea native looks at a pile of yams and pronounces them “a lot” because he cannot count them, while teams at Cape Kennedy calculate the precise second when an Apollo mission must change its course if it is to orbit around the moon (Mead, 1970).

Beginning with the book *Continuities in Cultural Evolution* and culminating in a series of lectures for the American Museum

of Natural History (published in the volume titled *Culture and Commitment*), Mead set forth her theory about cultural learning and the evolution of human culture on the planet. She stated that it was her goal to explore and compare existing cultures with differing levels of technological development, all existing in the present time but exhibiting essential differences and discontinuities. Mead differentiated them as historic, contemporary, or future oriented. She emphasized that in the presentation of this paradigm of cultural development or continuities, she would deal with cultures that had been observed and documented. Mead then set out to describe three major types of cultures. She labeled them as follows:

1. Post-figurative cultures, or cultures living with the past
2. Co-figurative cultures, or cultures living with the present
3. Pre-figurative cultures, or cultures living with the future

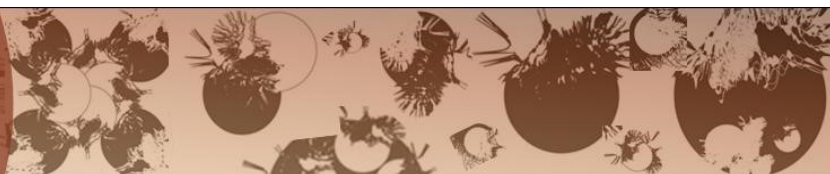
She noted, we have before us examples of people who represent successive phases in the history of humankind from hunting and gathering societies to the present. Our contemporary technologies give us the means to study and record the actions of these people for later analysis. We can even put a camera in their hands to record and help us see what we, because of our upbringing, cannot ascertain or know to record and document. After a millennium of post-figurative and then co-figurative cultures, Mead asserted, we have arrived at a new pre-figurative stage in the evolution of human cultures.

Taking up the “co-figurative” culture, Mead characterized it as one in which the prevailing model for members of the society is the actions of their contemporaries. Why should a society change from a past orientation to living in a present type of culture? Explaining the change, Mead said that there is a break in the post-figurative system. Such a break may come about in many ways. She listed the following possibilities:

- ...through a catastrophe in which a total population, but particularly the old who were essential to leadership, is decimated;
- ...as the result of the development of new forms of technology in which the old are not expert;
- ...following migration to a new land where the elders are, and always will be, regarded as immigrants and strangers;
- ...in the aftermath of a conquest in which subject populations are required to learn the language and the ways of the conqueror;
- ...due to a religious conversion, when adult converts try to bring up children to embody new ideals they themselves never experienced as children and adolescents;



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Remembering Margaret Mead...

...as a purposeful step in a revolution that establishes itself through the introduction of new and different life styles for the young. (Mead, 1970, p. 33)

The forces that contributed to the change from post-figuration to co-figuration were set in motion by modernization and the aggressive colonization of developed nations of the world during the close of the 19th and into the early-20th century. Searching for material resources, for their ever-expanding production of goods and later services, the industrialized, technologized nations of the world—Britain, France, Germany, and the United States—expanded around the globe, annexing, subjugating, and controlling the natural and human resources of other countries and groups of people.

As Mead pointed out, the situation in which moving into the present culture occurs is one in which the experience of the younger generation is radically different from that of their parents, grandparents, and other older members of their immediate community. Furthermore, she stressed, the transition to a new way of life in which new skills and modes of behavior must be acquired appears to be much easier when there are not grandparents present who remember the past, shape the experience of the growing child, and reinforce all the unspoken values of the old culture. Mead reiterated that the past once represented by living people becomes shadowy and easier to abandon—and to falsify, in retrospect.

The anthropologist writes:

Suddenly, because all the peoples of the world are part of one electronically based, intercommunicating network, young people everywhere share a kind of experience that none of the elders ever have had or will have. Conversely, the older generation will never see repeated in the lives of young people their own unprecedented experience of sequentially emerging change. This break between generations is wholly new; it is planetary and universal. Today's children have grown up in a world their elders never knew, but few adults knew that this would be so. (Mead, 1970, p. 64)

Mead said that this was the third stage of her theory of cultural continuities—the future culture was a totally new conception of living, in which adults learn from their children. Because change has occurred so rapidly within one person's lifetime, the older generations can no longer teach the young. Specifically, this pointed to the entrance of all humanity into the nuclear era. In the past, no matter how terrible the war, humankind did survive, but today a nuclear conflagration likely would mean there will be no survivors, no humanity. However, Mead contended, we continue to think that a war fought with more lethal weapons would just be a worse war. We still do not grasp the implications of scientific weapons of extinction. She emphasized that in having moved into a present for which none

of us is prepared by our understanding of the past, our expectations about the future are clouded. We have left behind our familiar worlds to live in a new age under conditions that are different from any we have ever known, but our thinking still binds us to the past.

With the unbridled optimism that characterized Margaret Mead all her life, she challenged the younger generation to lash out against the controls to which they are subjected. She told the young that they have never known a time when war did not threaten the annihilation of humankind. They should realize there is continuing pollution of the air, the water, and the sod. Soon it will be impossible to feed an indefinitely expanding world population. We must find a feasible and humane means of population control. In short, the young must now insist on some form of world order or our planet is doomed. Mead summed up her theory of cultural continuities as follows:

For I believe we are on the verge of developing a new kind of culture..... I call this new style, *pre-figurative*, because in this new culture it will be the child—and not the parent and grandparent—that represents what is to come. Instead of the erect, white-haired elder who, in post-figurative cultures, stood for the past and the future in all their grandeur and continuity, the unborn child, already conceived but still in the womb, must become the symbol of what life will be like. (Mead, 1970, p. 88)

In his thorough biography of Margaret Mead, Robert Cassidy concludes with the observation that her most important contribution as a social thinker of the 20th century was her ability to assimilate and apply information from a wide range of fields. She then processed the facts, created a whole new viewpoint, and communicated her findings in plain English to the American public (Cassidy, 1982). And she will always be remembered for her optimism. Her colleagues, friends, and family are quick to respond at the mention of her name. They would say that Margaret Mead believed human beings can rid the world of hunger, spread the benefits of technology to developing nations, and achieve world peace. She stands as a social thinker, a prophetess, and America's unforgettable anthropological grandmother.

Mead is an example of the applied social thinker *par excellence*. She revealed the power of social science concepts and their relevance to the personal lives of the public. Recognizing a little-known contribution by Margaret Mead, Harry Wolcott, the late anthropologist and educator, noted that Mead defined and described a unique example of "anthropological sampling." This is the category of sampling in research that builds the case on only one or a few known examples. Wolcott describes this type of "anthropological sampling" quoting from A. L. Kroeber's 1953 volume:

Anthropological sampling ... is simply a different kind of sampling, in which the validity of the sample de-

pendes not so much upon the number of cases as upon the proper specification of the informant in terms of a number of variables...Within this very extensive degree of specification, each informant is studied as a perfect example, an organic representation of the complete cultural experience. (Margaret Mead, 1953: 654-655 in Wolcott, 2010, p.34)

Furthermore, Wolcott explains that this kind of sampling allowed anthropologists to depict a society when only a few survivors of a possibly dying or vanished culture remained (p.34).

Margaret Mead for the 21st Century

The purpose of this article is to provide selected coverage and renewed attention to Margaret Mead's contributions to anthropology and the social sciences in the 20th century. Now I am suggesting just a few of the challenges facing our nation in the 21st century that Mead might advocate. Fondly known as America's "anthropological grandmother" because of her emphasis on the family in international contexts, Margaret Mead recognized that a new global culture would present new challenges. This now includes the world wide web, the wide spread use of technology, and post-modern "cultural artifacts" such as cell phones and the laptop or tablet personal computers that Mead never dealt with during her time. In this digital age the possession of a cell phone can be crucial when unforeseen disasters or acts of terrorism strike.

Another pressing concern in American society Mead might explore is that of the "Dreamers", young people brought illegally to the U.S. as children. There are as many as 690,000 undocumented youth with their legal status in question as of Fall, 2017 (*Wall Street Journal*, November 9, 2017). The plight of the "Dreamers" is a contemporary dilemma that would quickly capture Mead's attention because of her research into child rearing and socialization in various cultures including America's social order. Her voice would join others seeking to resolve these unjust conditions (King, 2013).

Mead, as a cultural anthropologist, was deeply concerned with rectifying the injustices and follies of the human scene. Her philosophy stressed that we had a moral duty to recognize when there was much human suffering and act to rectify the situation. Today in the 21st century, Margaret Mead would surely reinforce Peter Van Arsdale's emphasis on one's moral duty to prevent hatred and genocide, to fight extremism and promote the wellbeing of humanity. In his latest book, *Global Human Rights* (Waveland Press, 2017), Van Arsdale asserts that moral actions are our obligation. "When our skills are sufficient, ...when we are confronted with assisting those under duress whose rights have been abused, we must act. We have an obligation" (p.95).

Indeed, these words are echoes of Margaret Mead's legacy in the 21st century; a legacy for the perpetual sanctity of human life.



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Margaret Mead's writings are wide ranging and extensive. Some of her best-known works are:

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All photos from the Public Domain

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GENOCIDE, ETHNOCIDE, AND ETHNIC CLEANSING: AN EXPLORATORY REVIEW

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HAWTHORNE, KELLIE RAMIREZ, AND CATHY SMITH

ABSTRACT

This article is exploratory in nature. It takes a cross-cultural, case-based approach in outlining factors associated with the processes of genocide, ethnocide, and ethnic cleansing. The works of anthropologists, sociologists, historians, political scientists, human rights analysts, and others are cited. Within the category of genocide, the Iraq/Kurdistan and Rwanda cases are featured. Within the category of ethnocide, the Cambodian case is presented. Within the category of ethnic cleansing, the cases of Palestine/Israel and Bosnia are covered. Processes of particular interest to anthropologists, both cultural and applied, include intrusion, denial, bystanding, victimization, expulsion, intervention, and reconciliation. That of perpetration remains the most obvious. One assertion is that definitive theories of genocide are lacking; on the other hand, helpful analytic frameworks are shown to exist. "Warning signs," "touchstones," and "lessons learned" are highlighted. The role of the state is discussed. This article is not a "how to stop genocide" or "how to redefine genocide" treatise, but is intended to highlight five of the most important cases of the twentieth century and also to provide suggestions – explicit or implicit – as to how anthropologists can continue to contribute to the field. [genocide, ethnocide, ethnic cleansing, human rights, humanitarian assistance, Kurdistan, Rwanda, Palestine, Bosnia, Cambodia]

I. Introduction

Genocide, ethnocide, and ethnic cleansing are perhaps the most horrific activities practiced by humans. Although the mass slaughter of neighboring groups also has been documented among chimpanzees (Judson 2007), no other advanced species systematically attempts to destroy complete groups of its own kind. It is the paradox of destruction envisioned within the broader scheme of survival that makes this issue so difficult to analyze.

This document is intended to summarize recent work on the topic, drawing attention to issues of special interest to anthropologists (especially those working in the area of human rights). As noted in the "Preface," it was inspired by comments made by members of the AAA's Committee for Human Rights (CfHR) nearly a decade ago. The literature review for the present article was initiated in 2006. Some of the authors' own on-site work during the past decade also is incorporated.

A cross-cultural, case-based approach is employed, framed by an introduction that features some of the latest multidisciplinary thinking in the field and by a concluding section that features themes of particular interest to cultural anthropologists. Both intellectual and emotive points are raised. The literature reviewed leads to the assertion that deeper understandings of the processes of intrusion, denial, bystanding, victimization, expulsion, intervention, and reconciliation – in addition to perpetration – all can benefit substantially from anthropological insights. These processes are cross-referenced as the five primary cases are presented herein. However, although some suggestions are provided, this is not a "how to stop genocide" document. It also is not a "how to redefine the term genocide" document, despite the complementary analyses of the terms ethnocide and ethnic cleansing which are included.

As will be inferred, as the article's conclusions are drawn, key opportunities present themselves regarding how better to advocate on behalf of those whose rights have been abused. Anthropologists are generally well-placed to engage an array of applied research skills and contact networks, including those involving non-governmental organizations (NGOs), although generally less well-placed to engage transnationally important policy change mecha-

nisms. Further contributions can be made by anthropologists in the context of genocide regarding, e.g., the secondary impacts on families of victims; in the context of ethnocide regarding, e.g., cultural and religious disappearance; and in the context of ethnic cleansing regarding, e.g., bystanding as atrocities unfold. Basic ethnographic insights remain essential.

A number of resources have been consulted as this research has proceeded. Of particular importance have been Ben Kiernan's new masterwork, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extinction from Sparta to Darfur* (2007), Samantha Power's *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide* (2002), and Dinah Shelton's edited work, *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity* (three volumes, 2005). This document is intended to complement and expand upon the recent article by the present authors, "Death and Denial," which appeared in the October 2007 edition of *Anthropology News*.

Laying the Groundwork

In this document, cases selected for inclusion involve Rwanda, Cambodia, Iraq/Kurdistan, Bosnia, and Palestine/Israel. These case studies allow consideration of genocide, ethnocide, and ethnic cleansing, while recognizing the overlap among these concepts. The authors wrestled with which cases to include and which to exclude. Consideration was given to the atrocities in Ukraine under Stalin, spanning over two decades, when several million people died through forcible displacement, starvation, and murder. The total number of persons who were sent to concentration camps and other arms of the Gulag numbered nearly 18 million, with some 4.5 million never returning. The decade of the 1930s was the pinnacle in terms of ominous activity, but 1952 the pinnacle in terms of numbers in camps (Applebaum 2003:92-93). Consideration also was given to the scorched earth campaigns in Guatemala. From 1960 to 1996, the country was engaged in a civil conflict involving the military and a disparate group of guerrilla fighters that killed as many as 200,000 people and resulted in the disappearances of as many as 45,000 more (Sanford 2003:34). The current situation in Darfur, termed by Gérard Prunier (2005) an "ambiguous genocide," inspired much of the thought be-

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hind the current document, but the genocide there is not a focus of this article. (The senior author, who has worked there, still is analyzing data.) Ultimately, the reasons for including cases were based upon a combination of the authors' previous secondary research, visits to, or first-hand work in, some of the areas, and the diversity of factors the cases represent.

The term genocide emerged in the 1940s as the Nazi regime proceeded with its war campaign. As Ben Kiernan (2007:10) notes, the Polish Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin coined the term, putting in into print in 1944 in his *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. The purposeful, planned nature of mass killings for political purposes was addressed. Other scholars and respondents have offered complementary definitions:

- a. **Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn:** Genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator (1990:4).
- b. **Allison Des Forges:** At the start of genocide, there is a cause, a reason, and people who find it worthwhile. The cause does not drift around there by accident; it's even fine-tuned by the intimidators: The desire to win the game for good [transcribed from a respondent in Rwanda] (1999:1).
- c. **Article 2 of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide:** In 1948 (as entered into force in 1951), genocide was defined as action with the intent to "destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group." The actions specified:
 1. Killing members of the group;
 2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
 3. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
 4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
 5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Ishay 2007:492).

This is noteworthy timing-wise, as Robert Albro (2008) points out, in that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights also was created in 1948. The two documents were drafted simultaneously and, to some extent, interactively. Members of each drafting committee were attuned to discussions being held by the other. While consideration was given to "national, ethnic, racial, or religious" groups by both committees, Lemkin's original construct - which could well have accommodated "cultural genocide" - was weakened. Even today, "cultural disappearance" through forced assimilation, as likely has occurred among certain tribal groups, e.g., in Ethiopia, Burma, and Brazil, is not central to the discussion of genocide.

From these definitions, useful adaptations have evolved. For example, U.N. Security Council resolutions, such as No. 955 (adopted November 8 1994, with regard to the Rwandan crisis) built directly on Article 2. While reiterating points (a) through (e) and promulgating the decision to establish an international tribunal, it went on to note that punishable activities include genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, attempts to commit genocide, and complicity in genocide (Shelton 2005:1271).

Useful variations also have evolved from these definitions. For example, sociologist Leo Kuper refers to "genocidal massacres." These comprise "shorter, limited episodes of killing directed at a specific local or regional community, targeted because of its membership in a larger group. Genocidal massacres often serve as object lessons for

other members of the group" (Kiernan 2007:13), while for some perpetrators they serve as a kind of "test" to see how much they can get away with. Under the 1948 Convention, genocide itself may be partial, and usually is. The 1995 Srebrenica massacre in Bosnia would be an example. The Gujarat attacks of 2002 in India would be another.

As Albro (2008) stresses, the term "genocide" seemingly expands and contracts. Yet, the diverse definitions are useful as "platforms" for further analyses. Of particular importance are the analytic frameworks that subsequently have arisen. Although the term "theory" is used by some authors to encompass one or more of these, the opinion expressed herein is that definitive theories still are lacking. Four differing analytic frameworks have been selected; all are useful. None are contradictory, one to another.

1. Ben Kiernan (2007) integrates his expertise in history, politics, and sociology as he develops an eclectic yet useful analytic framework. He covers a remarkable number of events in space and time. For him, it is less about "event" and more about "process." For example, he stresses that as many as twelve million indigenous people may have been killed, died of imported diseases, or been forcibly enslaved by the Spanish in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central America in the brief half-century following the arrival of Columbus (2007:77). Less well known, in Southeast Asia in 1470 as many as 60,000 Chams were killed by the Vietnamese (Dai Viet) army. Some 30,000 prisoners subsequently were taken. Other campaigns in the region included forced starvation (2007:109-110). In the 1580s, the English army in Ireland may have reduced the Irish population by as much as 30 percent, while laying waste to the land and destroying a number of towns. Much of the indigenous culture, in a process of ethnocide, was destroyed (2007:203). Reflecting certain patterns of the ancient world, Kiernan sees modern genocide demonstrating "four telltale characteristics...that regularly [have] occurred from the fifteenth century to the twenty-first: the preoccupation of perpetrators with race, antiquity, agriculture, and expansion" (2007:605). Utopianism, complemented by fetishes of purity and contamination, underpin many of the cases he illustrates.
2. Jane Springer (2006:41-43) suggests that, to the extent to which theories of genocide exist or tentatively can be identified, they fall under three broad headings. All attempt to address the question "Why?" The first type is resource-related. A government or other influential group wants its members, usually represented by settlers, to take over the land of the (usually indigenous) people already living there. This was seen in the "villagization" scheme of the Derg regime in Ethiopia during the 1980s. The second type is threat-related. As in the case of Rwanda, an ethnic threat was perceived by the Hutu population as they considered the Tutsi population. The threat often peaks as central control diminishes. The third type is utopian-related, a theme also prominent in Kiernan's work. As under Pol Pot in Cambodia, a "cleansing" is seen as necessary to bring about a desired future. Although leaders like Pol Pot and his colleague Nuon Chea indeed might be perceived as evil, Springer stresses that an "evil man" theory is not useful. Demonization yields few substantive results, on-site, for a population in turmoil. In contrast, perspectives involving the interplay of sociological, political, and economic conditions are useful. Her analytic framework for understanding genocide encompasses an operational definition, background and history, anatomy of the event, response to the event, and, based on a comparative synthesis, suggestions for preventing future events.

3. Samantha Power (2002) believes that the twentieth-century genocides that stand out most ominously are the Serbs' eradication of non-Serbs, the Ottoman slaughter of Armenians, the Nazi holocaust, the "killing fields" of Cambodia, Saddam Hussein's reign of terror against northern Iraq's Kurds, and the Hutu extermination of Tutsis. Her framework analyzes each event point/counterpoint to what outside actors, especially the U.S., did or (most often) did not do. In a sense, she presents a "knowledge - blame - inaction" paradigm, emphasizing the roles and responsibilities of external actors with power. "[All major] U.S. policy responses to genocide were astonishingly similar across time, geography, ideology, and geopolitical balance" (2002:xvi). Key actors in a genocidal situation are victims, perpetrators, and bystanders. While not referring to an "evil man" theory Power does use the term evil in relation to genocide. She stresses that it takes imagination to wrestle with evil (2002:xvii).
4. Zach Dubinsky (2005), incorporating the work of Linda Melvern (2004), presents an analytic framework that suggests "lessons to be learned." Relying particularly upon Rwanda, he summarizes five. First, the world can ignore genocide. Second, sometimes there are no heroes. Third, the worst orgies are planned. Fourth, the hardest targets are soft targets. In Rwanda, much of the genocidal coordination was carried out over public radio. As many as 100,000 people, mostly civilians, conducted the killings using only machetes and other simple tools. Fifth, inhumane actions reflect the perpetrators' stereotyping of the targeted group (e.g., Tutsi as "cockroaches") and the bystanders' ideological rigidity (e.g., the U.S. awaiting "further confirming information").

Warning Signs

Three of the four authors just cited emphasize warning signs as they consider impending genocides, ethnocides, or ethnic cleansings. This is one of the most important and straight-forward analytic approaches, because it portends a chance to intervene and assist those at-risk. As John Heidenrich (2001) notes, one of the first to propose genocide--specific early warning systems -- in the early 1980s -- was Israel Charny. Although frequently ignored by outsiders, early warning signs can be obvious, as in the case of Rwanda, where NGO personnel had clear clues through public address announcements days before the killing began.

The U.N. Office of the Special Advisor is among those attempting to obtain information on warning signs. The office's "responsibility to protect" protocol indicates that efforts to obtain within-system signs must be complemented by extraordinary efforts to obtain warning signs of impending genocide from farther afield. Therefore, it is helpful when civil society organizations transmit to the office warning signs of growing ethnic unrest, displays of group hatred, discrimination, or the ethnic, racial, national or religious dimension of human rights violations. Although it is difficult to provide an exhaustive list of warning signs indicating the impending development of genocide, the elements listed are indicative of situations requiring careful monitoring. This list is drawn from, and inspired by, the existing literature on genocide activities and prevention, as well as from the practices of the Office of the Special Adviser in recent years.

The existence of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group(s) at risk: Warning signs can be (a) a pattern of discrimination with the purpose or effect of impairing the enjoyment of certain human rights; (b) exclusionary ideologies that purport to justify discrimination; (c) specific identification of groups and their association with a specific political identity or opinion (including possible compulsory

identification or registering of group membership in a way that could potentially lead to the group being targeted in the future); and (d) demonization of groups in political or social discourse.

Violations of human rights and humanitarian law, which may become massive or serious: These violations can include (a) armed conflict in which violations of international humanitarian law disproportionately affect a specific group (e.g., intentional massacre of unarmed civilians, civilian targeting during military campaigns, one-sided physical brutality); (b) violations of civil and political rights affecting a specific group (e.g., murder, particularly directed against community leaders; torture, mutilation, rape and sexual violence; abduction; forcible population movement/ethnic cleansing; expropriation, destruction of property, and looting; lack of freedom of speech/ press/ assembly/religious expression); (c) violations of economic, social and cultural rights (e.g., destruction of subsistence food supply, denial of water or medical attention, human-made famine, redirection of aid supplies); (d) instances of discrimination (e.g., access to work and resources, political marginalization, restricted movement, education); and (e) a climate of impunity in which these events unfold.

Additional warning signs: Also to be considered are (a) a lack of institutional framework for citizens to seek justice, redress and demand accountability; (b) concentration of power (economic/political) in one or a few groups to the detriment of others; (c) existence of and support to militias that could carry out attacks against groups by proxy; (d) perceived or real external support to groups that could become targets due to being seen as "collaborators" with external enemies; (e) withdrawal of rights associated with citizenship from specific groups; (f) hate speech, incitement to violence, or humiliation of a group in the media; and (g) forced relocations, segregation, isolation, or concentration of a group. Certain of these warning signs "overlap" with those listed earlier.

A history of genocide or discrimination: A history of violence against a group may presage renewed episodes of repression or counter-movements against prior oppressors. Important elements that may indicate the weight of past experience are (a) a history of vilification or dehumanization of a group; (b) the use of symbols, flags or markings to conjure previous abuse; (c) denial of past atrocities and genocides; and (d) celebration of instances of perceived or actual abuse of a group.

This list of warning signs is by no means exhaustive. Taken independently, each of the warning signs noted above may be of concern, but not necessarily indicative of a genocidal situation. The predictive value of these factors is most often a function of their interplay and aggregate in a given situation. Nonetheless, when a number of these warning signs are present, the Special Adviser is alerted so as to monitor the situation and give consideration to specific preventive measures.

II. Genocide: Case Studies

Iraq/Kurdistan. Synthesizing from among the definitions and analytic frameworks presented in the preceding section, the atrocities that impacted the Kurds can best be termed genocide. The Kurdish genocide generally refers to the murderous campaigns, including chemical attacks, known as Anfal ("The Spoils of War") that took place in Iraq between February 23 and September 6 1988, although the Ba'athist government targeted Kurdish villages long before this time (Jones 2004). Approximately 3,000 villages were destroyed and 180,000 persons killed, including a large proportion of civilians. Nearly 1.5 million Kurds became refugees (Yildiz 2004: 25). Much of this horror stemmed from a policy of "Arabization." "Ethnic cleansing [also] was a central aspect of Saddam's Anfal campaigns

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against the Kurds. Moving the Kurdish population out of the area around the oil fields and repopulating those areas with Sunni Arabs occurred relentlessly during this time frame" (Kelly 2007: 241). As will be detailed below, the genocide of the Kurds included chemical attacks against entire villages, killing mostly civilians, the concentration of men, women and children in concentration camps and mass, execution-style killings of mostly men but also women, children, and the elderly. All of these constitute acts of genocide, as previously defined – they aimed to destroy the Kurds as a people. Among the processes of special interest to anthropologists, following comments in the introduction to this article, are denial and victimization.

Power describes what happened to the Kurds as an ethnic-based genocide under the cover of a counter-insurgency campaign (2002:172). Thus, it might also be termed an ethnocide. However, scholars like Shaw refute this differentiation, calling it "superfluous to use a special term for the destruction of ethnic groups, when these are one of the principal types understood as targets of genocide" (Shaw 2007:65). Human Rights Watch/Middle East Watch reports show how at times only military-aged men and boys were targeted for mass executions, leaning towards the term "gendercide;" however, during other parts of the Anfal campaigns women and children were also targeted (Jones 2002). For this term, Shaw also has a sharp response: "That genocide is gendered...is an important insight. However, through this violence, the perpetrators usually intend to destroy not gender groups, but ethnic, national, and other groups that they have defined as enemies" (Shaw 2007:69). It is clear that many "-cides" are relevant to the Kurdish case, but few dispute that the aim was to destroy any semblance of Kurdish life from the northern, Kurdish region of Iraq. Hussein was in fact ultimately charged with crimes of genocide for what happened to the Kurds. Research on the Kurdish genocide stresses the intertwining relationship between genocide and the backdrop of war, as in many other instances of ethnic cleansing and ethnocide. During the Iran-Iraq War, the Iranians "informally allied with Iraqi Kurds in the north - handily providing Hussein the excuse he needed to eradicate the Kurds as traitors" (Kelly 2007:236). By labeling them traitors and saboteurs, Hussein tried to legitimate their killing. In order to prove genocide, intent must be weighed thoroughly, and the Kurds had to have been targeted as Kurds, not simply as political traitors (Yildiz 2004:236).

Unfortunately, as in most genocides, the rest of the world did little to help the Kurds while they were being attacked with poison gas and shot dead by the thousands. Nobody documents this tragic and dangerous silence as extensively as Power (2002). Because of the war between Iran and Iraq, sides were chosen and most of the Western world, most notably the United States, sided with Iraq, leaving little room for criticism. In fact, the U.S. was aiding Iraq in many ways, including economically. The late Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island tried to speak up and intervene, creating a sanctions package against Hussein's government, but most of the administration saw the matter as an "internal affair" (p. 173) and denied its importance. Power stresses that the U.S. government was anything but ignorant of the situation. Quoting a State Department office director for Iran and Iraq: "We knew that something dreadful was going on. We knew [Ali Hassan] al-Majid was running the show. We had the satellite overhead that showed the villages razed...widespread destruction and bulldozing of Kurdish villages, mass forced displacement of Kurds ..." (p. 186).

Not only did the United States know, it chose to do nothing, seemingly putting its political and economic interests above the lives of innocents. "[It] appears that U.S. and British intelligence agencies did indeed have a fairly clear idea of what was happening [but] clearly realized that forthright public condemnation would be bad

for business and kept silent" (Yildiz 2004:32). Power comments extensively on the silence of the U.S. when reports – received via refugees in Turkey and other surrounding areas – concluded that Iraq was using chemical weapons on the Kurds. This inaction provided a *carte blanche* to those in power, knowing they could proceed with relative impunity, facing few consequences. Finally, when a refugee crisis began to unfold, with hundreds of thousands of Kurds fleeing across the borders to Turkey and other surrounding countries, the United States and its allies took initiative. On August 16, 1991, "Operation Provide Comfort" was launched. This was four years after the Anfal campaign, which opened up a "safe haven" for Kurds in northern Iraq (Power 2002:241). More a response to the refugee problem than to genocide, it did allow many Kurds to regain some semblance of hope.

Recently, forensic anthropologists and archaeologists – building on the helpful work of Human Rights Watch and other investigative teams – have more systematically surveyed and begun excavating some of the mass graves associated with the Anfal campaigns. Susan Malin-Boyce and Sonny Trimble are but two of many dedicated analysts who have worked on this, in their case since 2005 in the Hajara Desert in Iraq's Muthanna Province (Pringle 2009).

Before his execution, Saddam Hussein was on trial for genocide, among other war crimes and crimes against humanity, along with al-Majid, or "Chemical Ali," under the Statute of the Iraqi Special Tribunal (Yildiz 2004:131). Many other members of the Ba'athist regime in charge during the Anfal campaign remain to be tried, but al-Majid and Hussein were the only two to be specifically targeted for crimes of genocide (Kelly 2007:237). Considering the current security situation in Iraq, coupled with an uneven judicial structure, the success of the trials remains questionable.

Rwanda. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 led to the deaths of over 800,000, primarily Tutsi, people. The killing was systematic and state-sponsored, or, state-condoned. Among the processes of special interest to anthropologists are denial and reconciliation. The former is illustrated in the initial inaction of the international community, including the United States; the latter (discussed in the accompanying commentary by Josiah Marineau) is illustrated in the community-based *gacaca* courts, which still are processing cases.

The Hutu powerbase established themselves as the most efficient genocidal killers in history while primarily using simple weapons. The main means of warfare involved the use of grenades, bows and arrows, and machetes. The government compiled lists of Tutsis to kill by taking advantage of their highly structured government system; radio broadcasts compelled people to act. Administratively, the country was divided into five provinces, which were in turn divided into thirty districts, which were in turn divided into *secteurs*, which were in turn divided into cellules, which were in turn divided into *Nyumbakumi*. In Swahili, *Nyumbakumi* translates literally to mean "ten houses," the smallest level to which governmental oversight pertains. This provided the government with a well established and straightforward means of documenting the location of every Tutsi.

As one respondent said, "The message from the top was passed down to the local village chiefs, the *conseillers*. The *conseillers* had lists of Tutsis who should be killed. They simply organized their constituents....The leaders of the party and the leaders of the militia rounded up all the men in the village. We were told that we had a mission. We were given a list of people to kill. If we met someone on the list, they would be killed" (Berkeley 2001:3).

Genocides can be characterized - abstracted in a sense - by "touchstones." These are events, often relatively small in scale but long remembered, indicative of the broader array of ominous happenings.

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In Rwanda, such a touchstone "unfolded" in Ntarama, a small village within the Nyamata district of Kigali province. In Ntarama there is a small church where roughly five thousand Tutsis gathered for protection. On April 15th 1994, the *interahamwe* (i.e., *genocidaires*) gathered around the church building, smashed holes through the walls, and then launched grenades into the building, killing the majority of those inside. It is assumed, as was common, that the *interahamwe* then went through the church building with machetes making sure that no one was able to survive. Later, in order to mark the devastation, Rwandans decided to leave the bodies of all those who died in this church. Today, the skeletal remains have been rearranged, but the memorial remains, a site that one of the present authors visited. For the tenth anniversary of the massacre, in 2004, banners were hung which read, in Kinyarwanda (in rough translation), "If you had known me, and had truly known yourselves, you wouldn't have killed me."

Lessons and Outcomes

Many Rwandans thought that there was no one to help. The lesson of the bystander became painfully obvious.

It sometimes touched us painfully that they awaited death in silence. Evenings, we would ask over and over, "Why no protest from these people who are about to leave? Why do they not beg for mercy?" The organizers claimed that the Tutsis felt guilty for the sin of being Tutsi. Some *interahamwe* kept saying they felt responsible for the misfortunes they had brought upon us. Well, I knew that was not true. The Tutsis were not asking for anything in those fatal moments because they no longer believed in words. They had no more faith in crying out, like frightened animals, for example, howling to be heard above the mortal blows. An overpowering sorrow was carrying those people away. They felt so abandoned they did not even open their mouths (John Léopold quoted in Hatzfeld 2005:234).

Lessons learned, on the one hand, seem profound. Gripping books like that by Philip Gourevitch (1998) and Roméo Dallaire (2003) detail "process" as events transpired and "product" as the massacre concluded, respectively. On the other hand, the lessons seem to exist only in the abstract when the current situation in Darfur is considered. That Rwandan President Paul Kagame demonstrates subtle yet persuasive abilities to effect change, aided by former U.S. President Bill Clinton and other leaders, offers a positive outcome. A wide-ranging process of reconciliation (although yielding mixed results) is occurring through the community--run *gacaca* courts, and for some has enabled another positive outcome: reconciliation among perpetrators and their victims' families.

III. Ethnic Cleansing: Case Studies

As Kiernan (2007:16) stresses, ethnic cleansing is a concept that overlaps with the concepts of genocide and genocidal massacre. Its applicability to particular settings and events is more widely debated, and more widely disputed, than is the concept of genocide. To view particular events as ethnic cleansing it is important to examine several definitions of the term. The term originated in the Balkans, likely Croatia or Bosnia (*ciscenje*, cleansing), as early as the immediate post--World War II period, and was couched in the language of the perpetrators directed against their perceived enemies - who needed to be cleansed from the territory (Van Arsdale 2006:72; Shaw 2007:49). In response to the events in the Balkans U.N. Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki suggested

ethnic cleansing to be "the elimination by the ethnic group exerting control over a given territory of members of other ethnic groups" (Shaw 2007:50). A 1993 Committee of Experts described it as "rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force and intimidation to remove persons of a given group from the area" (Shaw 2007:50). The AAAs Committee for Human Rights (2001) noted that ethnic cleansing likely is *not* what happens during the course of "normal" warfare where the conflict is not primarily ethnic or where enslavement (as opposed to elimination of the ethnic group or its culture) predominates. Forcible economic removal of a group also does not constitute ethnic cleansing. Ilan Pappé, an outspoken Israeli "new historian," cites Drazen's definition as "a well defined policy of a particular group of persons to systematically eliminate another group from a given territory on the basis of religious, ethnic or national origin.... [It] involves violence and is very often connected with military operations...from discrimination to extermination, and entails violations of human rights and international humanitarian law...." (2006:1).

Palestine/Israel. Cases involving ethnic cleansing are among the most contentious being analyzed by academics and activists alike. None is more controversial than that involving Palestine and Israel. This is one reason this situation is included here. Processes of expulsion and intrusion, of special interest to anthropologists owing to their understandings of migration and forcible displacement, are identified briefly.

"Very little is said about what Zionism entailed for non-Jews who happened to have encountered it..." (Said 2000:15). While the embers continue to spark in the Middle East and the modern state of Israel remains undeniably at continuous risk, the question of ethnic cleansing here refers to the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948, the resultant war, and the creation of a huge number of Palestinian refugees. Israeli historian Benny Morris, part of a growing cadre in Israel called the "new historians," encapsulates the issue in very simple terms: How did hundreds of thousands of people become refugees in 1948 (Morris 2004:2)? From the Jewish perspective, a homeland was needed, especially after experiencing the worst form of anti-Semitism to take place in history during the Holocaust. But, as recognized by Said and many other Palestinians, "What we will discover is that everything positive from the Zionist standpoint looked absolutely negative from the perspective of the native Arab Palestinians" (Said 2000:31). One way of understanding the events that led to a Jewish state but a major Palestinian exodus is to view them, according to Pappé, within a paradigm of ethnic cleansing beyond just war. In fact, the Hebrew word for exodus, *tihur*, actually translates more closely to cleaning or purifying (Shaw 2007:59).

Evidence of ethnic cleansing in Palestine/Israel is suggested by the fact that within just a few months, in the benchmark year of 1948, after the State of Israel was proclaimed, the demographic profile of the land changed from being majority-dominated Palestinian to Jewish. In order to create a Jewish homeland, ruled by and populated by Jews, it was necessary in the eyes of early Zionist leaders to de-Arabize the land. Generations-old Palestinian villages were destroyed or re-named and re-populated by Jewish immigrants and refugees. Expulsions impacted thousands. What some have described as a genocidal massacre, aimed at ethnic cleansing, took place at Deir Yassin. Jewish forces killed several hundred men, women and children, most of whom were innocent civilians and non-combatants (Shipler 2002:20). It should be stressed that many historians claim it was an aberration of Jewish policy, committed by Jewish terrorist groups without the sanction of the Yishuv or Haganah, and thus was not indicative of policy. After an initial bout of random, indiscriminate shootings, several villagers

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were rounded up and shot execution style (Pappe 2006: 90). While Deir Yassin was not the only massacre by Jewish forces, including the Haganah, it was not the sole cause of Palestinian flight. As word got around many other villages evacuated in fear of similar atrocities (Morris 2004:125). In recent years, some official responsibility has been admitted by the Israeli government. The Palestinian narrative indicates a number of other "Deir Yassins" also occurred.

Beyond the expulsion and exodus of the Palestinians, there remained a second part to the possible ethnic cleansing within Palestine/Israel. Even before the war came to an end, many Palestinian refugees wished to return to their lands and homes, and thus, Israel began a strenuous effort to prevent this from happening. The homogenous Jewish state envisioned by Jewish leaders would not be undermined by the acceptance of refugee returns (Morris 2004:312). U.N. Resolution 194, which allowed Palestinian refugees the right of return or just compensation, was not adhered to by the Jewish state (Pappe 2006:188). At that time, while many Israeli Jews strongly emphasized that the cause of the refugee crisis was rooted in the war and Arab propaganda, they saw part of the solution to their unease in the existence of a large "pacified Arab minority," implicitly countering substantial refugee returns. Certain guidelines were laid out to ensure this. These included destruction of property formerly inhabited by Arabs, prevention of land cultivation, large-scale Jewish settlement in the "empty" areas, and legislation explicitly prohibiting return (Morris 2004:313). These are forms of intrusion.

During the period November 1947 through July 1949, the main exodus of the Palestinians took place (Morris 2004:6). It was not just for reasons of war and generalized insecurity that many of these people fled, but rather for reasons also questioned by Said and Pappe: "How was the Zionist movement to turn Palestine into a 'Jewish' state if the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants were Arabs?" (Morris 2004:40). Morris argues that "the logic of a transfer solution to the 'Arab problem' remained ineluctable; without some sort of massive displacement of Arabs from the area of the Jewish state-to-be, there could be no viable Jewish state" (Shaw 2007:58-59). Over 500 Arab villages were depopulated of Arabs and two-thirds of the Palestinian population (approximately 800,000) had been driven out by late 1948, a benchmark year as previously noted (Said 2004:345). Most "new historians" refer to *Tichot Dalet* or Plan D, which evolved from a Haganah military strategy linked to a decision effecting the fate of the Palestinians. The rapid creation of hundreds of thousands of refugees and IDPs means, to some analysts, that ethnic cleansing was clearly underway.

Bosnia. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia involved more than the extermination of a group of people (a form of genocide); it was an effort to eradicate members of a sub-culture through mass murder, forcible displacement, and subjugation. For example, a "touchstone" occurred as Serbs conquered the Muslim majority-populated town of Zvornik during the 1992-1995 war. Besides "cleansing" the area of Muslims, Serbs spoke of renaming the town "Zvonik," the proper Serb name. Besides their renaming campaign, Serb forces managed to destroy hundreds of mosques, here and elsewhere. In the Krajina region alone, roughly nine hundred mosques had been demolished by the winter of 1994 (Rieff 1995:97). In the summer of 1992, Serb forces attempted to deport the entire Muslim community of Kozluk to Hungary. Eighteen hundred Muslims spent four days on an eighteen-car train, but were denied entrance into Hungary upon arrival at the border. They were later sent to Palic, a camp for Muslims.

According to a spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Serb forces commonly utilized deportation tactics against

Muslim communities (Gutman 1993:20). Many Muslims, also known as Bosniacs, were deported from northwest Bosnia to the central part of the state. It is suggested that the Muslim population in northwest Bosnia - where they had comprised 90 percent of the population - temporarily ceased to exist (Gutman 1993:36). One victim from Prijedor recalls being crammed into a bus for transfer: "We had to lie down on top of each other. We were forbidden to sit on the seats.... Some detainees were ill and unable either to go to the toilets or to control their bowels. Then the guards turned on the heating in the bus and closed the doors and windows. As you can imagine, the heat in early August was unbearable" (Wesselingh and Vaulerin 2005:25).

Victimization is a process of special interest to anthropologists; since World War II numerous ethnographic studies have been made of victims and survivors of civil wars, natural disasters, and terrorist attacks. Concentration camps were the destination for many Bosnians. There, soldiers carried out their gruesome orders because of the effective infiltration of propaganda. For example, it is estimated that during a six-week period during May and June 1992, Serb forces killed some 3,000 civilians in the Brcko concentration camp and surrounding villages. Those killed often faced brutal atrocities before their death such as bodily mutilation, rape, and castration (Gutman 1993:50-51; Van Arsdale 2006:73-77). Impregnation by rape was a systematic tactic of the Bosnian war. As a form of psychological warfare, some women were forced to carry the offspring of their enemy. When a raped woman conceived a "Serbian" child, she lost a part of her ethnic and cultural identity. The woman was left to deal with the shame, and in many cases her husband or family had to deal with the guilt of being unable to seek retribution. In addition, during house raids and in detention camps, troops forced family members to sexually abuse each other. Between 1992-1995, it is estimated that 20,000 women were sexually assaulted or raped (Farr 2005:174). "To have been raped as part of the policy of genocidal rape, and to be allowed to survive, is meant to represent a destiny scarcely referable to that of being killed after the rapes; it is tantamount to having been marked so thoroughly - on body and mind - by one's victimization" (Vetlesen 2005:197).

The conditions at concentration camps were unbearable and inhumane. People were allotted one meal a day, which was often infested with worms. Many suffered from dysentery because of the lack of potable water. It is recorded that some detainees lost up to 50 kilograms during their detainment. In the Omarska camp, southeast of Prijedor, prisoners were divided into three groups: the elite, which included doctors, businessmen, teachers, lawyers, clergy, et al.; prisoners of war; and prisoners classified as harmless to the Serb population. There were two torture and execution chambers at Omarska, the white house and the red house. Torture methods including flogging with pick-handles and iron bars, often aiming at the head, spine, kidneys, and genitals (Wesselingh 2005:53). Torture is ubiquitous to the experiences of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and ethnocide.

Raphael Lemkin, the scholar whose work was noted earlier, indicated that genocide has two distinctive phases. The first phase includes the "destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group" and the second phase, "the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor" (Vetlesen 2005:155). By the summer of 1992, many areas throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina were under siege by the Yugoslav/Serbian army (Lovrenovic 2001:196). Their forces bombarded cities and towns throughout Bosnia, terrorizing the population. The occupying army controlled civilian life: Food was scarce; people had little, if any, money to buy necessities; and if fortunate enough, electricity, water and gas were rationed. In cities such as Sarajevo and Mostar, innocent

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civilians were confined to their apartments by daily shelling and patrolling snipers. Degrading captivity and imprisonment became widespread warfare tactics until the occupying soldiers mandated measures for the disposal and exile of some members of opposing ethnic groups.

During a typical siege, those who remained in bombarded towns were left with scarce and meager supplies, which eventually ran out. As one survivor recalls: "We were at the edge of our endurance, pushing back limits that the day before we had considered as final. We woke up miserable, in cold rooms with window-panes made out of plastic bags in windows covered by split logs protecting us against shell shrapnel. We woke up exhausted and lice-ridden, without the desire and most often without even the strength to move, without families, alone and abandoned, humiliated, our past violated and our future slaughtered, our present defeated and defeating" (Suljagic 2005: 87).

Intervention is a process of more recent interest to anthropologists, especially in light of post-1990 instances of military-civilian cooperation as aid is being delivered to displaced populations. The case of Bosnia suggests that intervention sometimes best can be understood as its obverse, non-intervention, is considered. The July 1995 massacre of Muslims at Srebrenica correlates with the non-intervention of U.N.-sponsored Dutch peacekeepers who were based in this so-called "safe haven." Some analysts believe that a forceful response to early Serb provocations might have averted the tragedy. Useful discussions of humanitarian intervention subsequently ensued (Van Arsdale 2006), helping shape present considerations of military roles in such crises.

Lessons and Outcomes

Palestine/Israel. One lesson of the Palestine/Israeli case is the importance of narrative considered in the context of denial. There is the Palestinian narrative and the Israeli narrative (each with variations). As more military documents are unveiled it is becoming apparent that, perhaps, the Palestinian narrative is relatively accurate. From an administrative viewpoint, Israel functions in part through denial. The "new historians," like Benny Morris, have introduced a shift in the traditional Israeli creation narrative. This shift ranges from acceptance that the creation of Israel caused a great deal of suffering for the Palestinians, to a view illuminated by Ilan Pappé, that there was a designed plan of ethnic cleansing on the part of some early Israeli leaders. Until the mid-1990s this topic was considered taboo - off limits - for re-evaluation. Now that additional military documents are available for public scrutiny, however, academics have taken the opportunity to "go back to 1948" and deconstruct certain claims. Some have advocated for the insertion of the term "Al Nakhba" ("The Catastrophe") into Israeli secondary school text books. Although their viewpoints and theses vary, the "new historians" all share one perspective in common: Israel is responsible for much of the Palestinian suffering and the refugee problem.

Bosnia. As bystanders to the atrocities in Bosnia, the international community accepted the genocidal notion of "collective identity counts for everything and individual identity for nothing," as outlined by Arne Johan Vetlesen, author of *Evil and Human Agency* (2005:155). Despite limited economic interest, the United States had no immediate *casus belli*. Furthermore, the U.S. was hesitant to intervene in what was seemingly an ethnic war, particularly in light of the Rwandan failure. A failure to examine the root causes of the conflict led Western powers to respond with ineffective solutions. For example, an arms embargo mandated by the United Nations in September of 1991 was never lifted, which restricted the Bosnian Croat defense. This left the well-equipped Serbian forces to easily overwhelm the country (Malcolm 1994:242-243). The rising concerns over genocide prompted the West to send in

United Nations peacekeeping officers; however, due to their limited mandate, U.N. forces were powerless to prevent the genocide, serving merely as witnesses to the continuing violence. In fact, some were eventually taken as hostages by the Serb army to ward off air strikes (Soeters 2005).

Regardless of the Western governments' increased role during the concluding months of combat, their intervention strategies lacked substance. The tactics developed by the West to halt further carnage were inadequate. Furthermore, several policies actually exacerbated the situation for the participating republics. In order to control the genocidal violence, international representatives moved Bosnian refugees to camps outside of Bosnia and created safe havens for Muslim communities remaining in the country.

As noted above for Srebrenica, U.N. peacekeeping forces were charged with guarding the designated areas. However, their rules of engagement strictly mandated counterforce only when the U.N. forces themselves were attacked, not those under their protection. These ineffective steps did little to mitigate the ongoing violence and, in fact, the situation escalated. The strategic placement of U.N. peacekeepers did not impede the Serb military agenda. The majority of peacekeepers were placed in areas designated and controlled by Croats and Bosniacs. Consequently, heavily armed conflict was elevated to high levels of brutality (Malcolm 1994:241-247).

When international communities acknowledged the emergence of separate sovereign states, particularly Croatia and Slovenia, the intra-state conflict escalated into interstate war. Moreover, the recognition of new states and the open discussion of ethnic groups' needs by the international community contributed to a divisive discourse. During the final stages of the war, international forces did intervene effectively, but only after violence again had peaked (Lobell and Mauceri 2004).

IV. Ethnocide: Case Study

According to the Northwest Center for Holocaust, Genocide, and Ethnocide Education at Western Washington University, the term ethnocide was first used by Raphael Lemkin in the book noted earlier, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944), as an alternative to the term genocide to "refer to the physical, biological, and cultural dimensions of genocide." However, it was the French ethnographer Pierre Clastres who defined ethnocide as "the systematic destruction of the thought and way of life of people different from those which carry out the destruction" (Northwest Center 2007:1). According to Clastres' definition, ethnocide can occur without the intent to completely destroy a specific group of people. Ethnocide and genocide can take place concurrently. Although the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide does not mention the term ethnocide, two genocidal measures - imposing practices intended to prevent births within the group and forcibly transferring children to another group - can also be present in ethnocide, since both contribute to the destruction of a particular way of life by severing the bonds of family.

Cambodia. Events in Cambodia at the hands of the communist Khmer Rouge regime serve as an example of planned ethnocide being implemented along with genocide. Expulsion, intrusion, and reconciliation are three processes of importance to anthropologists that briefly are illustrated.

In April of 1975 the Khmer Rouge invaded the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh after defeating the Lon Nol government (backed by the United States) in a protracted five-year civil war. After years of violence stemming from the civil war and the presence of U.S. military (due to its war with Vietnam), the new Communist regime was welcome. One Cambodian survivor, Teeda Butt Mam, who was fifteen when the Khmer Rouge came to power remembers that she was "overwhelmed with joy" that the war had finally ended and that it did not matter who

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the victor was (between the Khmer Rouge revolutionaries and the Lon Nol government) just so long as peace was reinstituted in her homeland (Pran 1997). Little did she know, that what was to follow would prove to be a horrific and terrifying reign of genocide and ethnocide. During the course of the Khmer Rouge reign, an estimated 1.7 million Cambodians would die by execution, malnutrition, or overwork (Tully 2005). Post 1979, the name Cambodia would become synonymous with mass death as evidence of the infamous "killing fields" (so named by the late Dith Pran) and "re-education" centers were uncovered.

Pol Pot's vision for Cambodia was to create a "utopian" society with one culture. In order to create this utopia, those cultural values and traditions which threatened his vision were to be eradicated. The shift to a new society began immediately upon his takeover. Among the actions with "ethnocidal intent" were expulsion and evacuation of most people from all larger towns; abolition of markets; defrocking all Buddhist monks; and establishing high-level cooperatives throughout the country, with communal eating featured (Tully 2005; Kiernan 2007). Each one of these actions contributed to ethnocide as the perpetrators forcibly shifted the Cambodian population from one way of life to another.

Details on the systematic murder and re-education of the educated and artistic population further exemplify ethnocide. (It should be noted that re-education is a type of intrusion.) These individuals serve as culture bearers in a given community. Teachers share the collective history; artists share the collective cultural aesthetic. Sophiline Cheam Shapiro, a child survivor of the Cambodian horror who was forced into labor, recalls being taught special songs of the Khmer Rouge. Filled with propaganda favoring the communist regime, these songs were to replace any others previously celebrated by the Cambodian community. Shapiro remembers that the music sung by the Khmer Rouge celebrated the countryside and hard labor while denigrating the value of passion. One song, *Angka Dar Qotdam* (The Great Angka; Angka is the name given to the Khmer Rouge politburo) demonstrated how the Khmer Rouge regime intruded a new way of life in which a child's family was no longer their mother and father, but rather, the Great Angka. Lyrics included, "We children love Angka limitlessly.... Before the revolution, children were poor and lived like animals.... Now Angka brings us good health, strength." However, a true survivor, Sophiline returned to Phnom Penh in 1979 and enrolled in the reopened School of Fine Arts, where she later joined the faculty. In this way, she contributed to reconciliation. She moved to the United States and continued to teach Cambodian classical dance (Pran 1997).

Members of the opposition as well as the academic community were rounded up and either sent to prisons for "reeducation" or killed on the spot. Children were separated from their families and instructed to now consider Angka their family while forced into hard labor (Pran 1997). One survivor, Ouk Villa, tells of how his father was sent to be "reeducated," his mother was sent to dig canals, and his sisters were sent to the mobile youth group. Ouk Villa was forced into a child group center where he was made to carry manure to the rice fields. He noted that children were kicked and pulled by the unit leaders, never receiving a substantive education (Pran 1997).

Lessons and Outcomes

Since the Holocaust and the births of the terms genocide, ethnocide, and ethnic cleansing, the world has had a track record of being slow to react. The genocide and ethnocide in Cambodia is no exception. In her book, *A Problem from Hell* (2002), Samantha Power addresses the lack of action by the United States when faced with the tragedies of Cambodians. Preliminary information was available to the Western world as early as June 1973, when Kenneth Quinn, a U.S.

Foreign Service officer, reported on the systematic burning of Cambodian villages. Quinn then conducted further firsthand research into the situation. In February 1974 he submitted a report to Washington comparing the mounting Khmer Rouge programs with the Nazi regime (Power 2002). This type of comparison would prove to be a common tactic by American activists who sought intervention in Cambodia. The U.S. chose not to become involved until President Jimmy Carter finally made a plea to Amnesty International to conduct an investigation of human rights abuses there. Many scholars and activists believed the American government had a responsibility to respond to the atrocities in Cambodia, especially in light of the role it had played in creating an environment conducive to the rise of the totalitarian Khmer Rouge regime.

Through 2007, surviving Khmer Rouge, including Nuon Chea ("brother number two"), continued to deny any wrongdoing in the mass murder and ethnocide in Cambodia (Van Arsdale et al. 2007). While this comes as no surprise, the long-term denial of the existence of genocide in Cambodia by western superpowers presented a particular problem to those promoting long-term assistance in post-genocide healing. It was not until July, 1990, that the United States implemented a new policy to vote against the Khmer Rouge coalition at the United Nations (Power 2002). Despite the scale of regime-perpetrated death, the U.S. opposed the use of the term genocide in describing the situation in Cambodia during the 1991 Paris peace accords negotiation (which had the intention of bringing peace between Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge coalition). At the time of the accords, Cambodia was no longer isolated to the international community, and in fact many visitors had already seen the aftermath of the genocide at places like the brutal Tuol Sleng (S-21) prison and in the "killing fields" directly.

V. The State's Role

The highest authorities corrupted a war based on grudges piled up since the Tutsi kings and turned it into a genocide. We were overwhelmed. We found ourselves faced with a done deal we had to get done, if I may put it that way. When the [Rwandan] genocide came from Kigali, taking us by surprise, I never flinched. I thought, If the authorities opted for this choice, there's no reason to sidestep the issue. (Joseph-Désiré Bitero quoted in Hatzfeld 2005: 177).

State actors played significant roles in the implementation of genocide, ethnocide and ethnic cleansing as illustrated in these five cases. One major theme that encompasses each case is the overwhelming power and control of totalitarian (and often corrupt) regimes to ignite and execute plans that forced thousands to flee, suffer in their homelands, or become victims of massive atrocities.

"New People" vs. "Old People" and Forced Migration. A strategy of the Khmer Rouge in eradicating a specific way of life was to "reorganize" the Cambodian population into categories of "new" and "old" people. New people were those not living in Khmer Rouge-controlled areas prior to April 1975. Old people were those who had been living in Khmer Rouge-controlled areas during the civil war. Others who were defined as new were those who were regarded as the enemy: members of the old regime, the educated, Vietnamese, Muslim, Cham, Buddhist monks, and other "bourgeois elements" (Hinton 2005). Many new people were living in the urban areas of Cambodia, which were considered hotbeds of counterrevolutionary forces (Tully 2005). Thus the forced migration of city dwellers from Phnom Penh was seen as necessary to preventing resistance as well as part of the process for changing Cambodian lifeways.

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The "new" people had fewer rights than the "old" people and were stripped of their humanity. Survivor Teeda Butt Mam stresses that after being subjected to horrid conditions of forced labor and inadequate food, clothing, and medical care, as well as the constant fear of being disappeared or sent to be "re-educated," she lost her sense of self. She recalls, "We not only lost our identities, but we lost our pride, our senses, our religion, our loved ones, our souls, ourselves" (Pran, 1997). This same sentiment is echoed by Hinton in his book, *Why Did They Kill?* He notes that new people were considered less than human and were treated as such. Long work hours, starvation rations, and lack of freedom erased their humanity (Hinton 2005). The dehumanization of a specific group by the state is a typical tactic in genocide to lessen the perceived moral implications of mass murder for the perpetrators. In the case of Cambodia, the dehumanization tactic was also useful in forcing the eradication of particular cultural practices, contributing to ethnocide.

The Ram Plan. The so-called 1991 Ram Plan reflected a strategy utilized by Serbian authorities to carry out an ethnic cleansing of Bosnians in Yugoslavia. Created under General Blagoje Adzic and executed by President Slobodan Milosevic, the Ram Plan stated:

Our analysis of the behavior of the Muslim communities demonstrates that the morale, will and bellicose nature of their groups can be undermined only if we aim our action at the point where the religious and social structure is most fragile. We refer to the women, especially adolescents, and to the children... we have determined that the coordination between decisive interventions and a well-planned information campaign can provoke the spontaneous flight of many communities (Vetlesen 2005:189).

In addition to the Ram Plan, that same year Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman met in Karadordevo to discuss the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They concluded that Bosnia needed to be divided in order to prevent further warfare in the region (Glenny 1992:149).

State-sponsored propaganda played a vital role in supporting ethnic bigotry. Incentives were offered to solicit national support. Those who did not comply with national authority were threatened with the possibility of a draft. During the early stages of the war, propaganda promoted economic nationalism; however, within months, this was transformed into political nationalism, and in turn, ethnic cleansing. The Serbian media propagated the term ethnic cleansing during the Bosnian war to enhance the development of "Greater Serbia." The term "had militaristic connotations that were expedient for nationalist efforts to claim territory within a society made increasingly paranoid by propaganda that equated ethnic difference with potential violence" (Flint 2005:182). According to Michael Sells, author of *The Bridge Betrayed*, "the charge of genocide became a signal to begin genocide" (Vetlesen 2005:151). Concurrent with an imminent Serbian-led massacre, the media would broadcast new accusations of anti-Serbian activities by Muslims and Croats. This justified the premeditated aggression of Serbian forces as retaliatory self-defense.

The struggle for power following the fall of nationalism in the Balkans exacerbated ethnic cleansing in the region. Serbian elites sought to demobilize the population and expel those who were calling for reform in government. In addition, Serbia sought ultimate supremacy with a new state centralized around Belgrade, the capital. Milosevic convinced the general public they were fighting evil enemies: Muslim fundamentalists and Croatian Ustasha fighters, the latter of whom "had served under Hider." This tactic fostered fear as well as utilized "Serbophobia" in order to depict Serbs as victims, not aggressors

(Vetlesen 2005:178).

In the case of Croatia, the ruling elite wanted to maintain autonomy and avoid any radical movement toward democracy. As a result, a gruesome attempt to maintain absolute power in the hands of the extremists and conservative elites in Croatia and Serbia began. Franjo Tudjman ordered attacks on regions of ethnically diverse Croats and Muslims in order to clear areas for "homogenous Croats" in Herzegovina. The ultimate goal was to separate Bosnia and Herzegovina. Similarly, Serbian guerrillas were sent into multi-ethnic areas to execute massive killings for the creation of a homogenous Serbian republic in Bosnia.

Decree No. 160 - Revolutionary Command Council. Unlike Cambodia, Rwanda, or Bosnia, the genocide of the Kurds was not characterized by a "neighbor-against-neighbor" scenario. The attempt to destroy Kurdish life and culture was directed from the very top echelons of the Iraqi government. It was Ali Hassan al-Majid who was given free reign by his cousin Saddam Hussein over the Northern Bureau administrative region (which included Iraqi Kurdistan) by Decree No. 160 of the "Revolutionary Command Council" in 1987 (Yildiz 2004:25). The primary goal was to "solve the Kurdish problem and slaughter the saboteurs" (Power 2002:171). The Iraqi army, under the command of Hussein and al-Majid, was responsible for the major destruction of the Kurdish areas. Middle East Watch does note that the government had received cooperation from many regional and local units, including pro-Iraq Kurdish forces (Gendercide Watch 1988). There was little public incitement against the Kurds and few average, unarmed Iraqis played a role in the killings.

Middle East Watch notes the clear path to destruction by the state by using an illustration of ethnic cleansing/genocide produced by Hilberg, in which the following steps are taken: Definition, concentration and annihilation (Middle East Watch 1993:8). The Ba'athist regime carried out each step in perfect sequence. The Kurds were first defined as traitors and then prohibited from remaining in their villages. "[All] those who still lived and farmed in the Kurdish mountains would be considered as active enemies of the state by virtue of nothing more than their ethnicity and physical presence in their ancestral homeland" (1993:50). The next step-concentration-was soon to follow. The presence of concentration camps such as Topwaza and the conditions described inside, dispel any notion that Anfal was just a counter-insurgency campaign (1993:209). Middle East Watch describes the brutal imagery:

Men and women were segregated on the spot as soon as the trucks had rolled to a halt in the base's large central courtyard or parade ground. The process was brutal ... A little later, the men were further divided by age, small children were kept with their mothers, and the elderly and infirm were shunted off to separate quarters. Men and teenage boys considered to be of an age to use a weapon were herded together (1993:209).

Other camps, such as Tikrit, Dibs (the women's camp), and Nugra Salman (for the elderly), manifested similar horrors:

In all camps, prisoners of both sexes and all ages were regularly beaten and rations were pitiful to the extent that some, especially the elderly and the young, died of starvation. Mothers were separated from children. Many were taken away, blindfolded and handcuffed, never to be seen by their relatives again (Yildiz 2004:29).

The final step, destruction, included mass murders and chemical attacks. Recent forensic investigations both before and after the 2003

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U.S. invasion of Iraq have unearthed several mass graves containing the bodies of victims demonstrating "firing squad-type" killing (Kelly 2007:240). Middle East Watch has several documented cases of mass executions, not only of men and boys but of women and children too, particularly in the area of German, a portion of Iraqi Kurdistan (Yildiz 2004:29; Jones 2004). Estimates from mass grave discoveries made in 2003 suggest about 300,000 victims from 263 mass graves, with one grave alone containing approximately 2,000 bodies (Yildiz 2004:131).

Most notable about the Kurdish genocide, a point often cited, is the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi government on its own citizens. Although Hussein also targeted other groups, the Kurds were particularly targeted. The most infamous case (out of at least 40), itself often viewed as separate from the Anfal campaigns, is the attack on the town of Halabja, known as the Kurdish Hiroshima (Power 2002:189). Eye-witness reports mention unspeakable horrors of bodies being incinerated, eyes changing color, people dropping dead in hysterical fits. An estimated 4,000 to 7,000 people were killed (Yildiz 2004:28). All of the chemical attacks on Kurdish villages were committed under the command and support of Hussein and al-Majid, who (as previously noted) became known as "Chemical Ali" (Human Rights Watch 2006).

Plan D. The main bodies that oversaw the military and political activities of Israel early on were the Yishuv (Jewish government or "agency") and the Haganah (Israeli army branch). There is ongoing debate over whether the Yishuv pre-planned the massive depopulation of Arabs from the new state. Most of the research on the major evacuations and expulsions of the Palestinians focuses on Plan D. Referring to this plan, Pappé describes the clear guidelines for Haganah military operations, which went beyond mere defensive strategies:

These operations can be carried out in the following manner: either by destroying villages (by setting fire to them, by blowing them up, and by planting mines in their debris) and especially of those population centers which are difficult to control continuously; or by mounting combing and control operations according to the following guidelines: encirclement of the villages, conducting a search inside them. In the case of resistance, the armed forces must be wiped out and the population expelled outside the borders of the state (Pappé 2006:39).

Morris (2004) concludes in his research on the Palestinian refugee crisis that there was no clear-cut consensus on expulsion or "ethnic cleansing," and that even Plan D did not outline a strategy for this. Rather, "transfer was inevitable and inbuilt into Zionism - because it sought to transform a land which was 'Arab' into a 'Jewish' state and a Jewish state could not have arisen without a major displacement of the Arab population" (Shaw 2007:59). From this perspective, threats by the surrounding Arab countries and the outbreak of war proved the "perfect alibi" for clearing space for more Jews.

Pappé is more critical of the actions of the Haganah and the various results of the war, arguing:

There may well be a master plan, but most of the troops engaged in ethnic cleansing do not need direct orders: they know beforehand what is expected of them. Massacres accompany the operations, but where they occur they are not part of a genocidal plan: they are a key tactic to accelerate the flight of the population earmarked for expulsion. Later on, the expelled are then erased from the country's official and popular history and excised from its collective memory (Pappé 2006:3).

Pappé explicitly lays the responsibility at the feet of David Ben-Gurion and Yosef Weitz, a member of the settlement committee (Pappé 2006:23). In behind-the-scenes meetings and discussions, many Jewish leaders supported - in some manifestation - the expulsion or transfer of the Palestinians. Ben-Gurion stated, "I support compulsory transfer. I don't see in it anything immoral" (Morris 2004:50). It was not until after key battles in April, according to Morris, that he then "explicitly sanctioned the expulsion of Arabs from a whole area of Palestine..." (Morris 2004:240).

Avraham Ussishkin, who spoke at the Twentieth Zionist Congress, argued that: "We cannot start the Jewish state with...half the population being Arab.... Such a state cannot survive even half an hour. It [i.e., transfer] is the most moral thing to do.... I am ready to come and defend...it before the Almighty" (Morris 2004:50). Many leaders supported the idea that Arabs should move voluntarily and be assisted by the Yishuv in doing so, but if resistance arose, they should be compelled or even forced to leave (Morris 2004:47). Transfer was seen by many as a humane response and participants in the Peel Commission, which established guidelines for a Jewish state, referred to the precedent of the Greco-Turkish transfers during the 1920s, which they deemed successful (Morris 2004:47). Yosef Weitz listed specific numbers for the ideal solution: "The Jewish state would not be able to exist with a large Arab minority. It must not amount to more than 12-15 percent of the total population." He envisioned large-scale Jewish immigration as a way to ensure this ethnic landscape (Morris 2004:69). Further, some Jewish leaders favored "economically strangulating" the urban Arabs by destroying their infrastructure and livelihoods, including roads and ports (Morris 2004:67).

VI. Individual and Aggregate Responses: Victims, Survivors, By-standers

Iraq/Kurdistan. "By the time the genocidal frenzy ended, 90% of Kurdish villages, and over twenty small towns and cities, had been wiped off the map. The countryside was riddled with fifteen million landmines, intended to make agriculture and husbandry impossible. A million and a half Kurdish peasants had been interned in camps.... About 10% of the total Kurdish population of Iraq had perished" (Jones 2004:325). The numbers of Anfal victims (including Halabja) were, at minimum, in the tens of thousands. Most sources mention the particular targeting of male Kurds and even go as far to say that the main purpose of the Anfal campaigns was to kill all military-age men in the Kurdish region (Jones 2004:321), a kind of gendercide. However, given the destruction caused by indiscriminate chemical attacks, concentration camps, mass killings of women and children, and forced depopulation, it also can be surmised that the purpose was to eliminate Kurdish life and culture totally. For the survivors, even after the campaigns were completed, an amnesty was granted, and refugees were allowed to return to certain areas in Iraqi Kurdistan (Yildiz 2004:30), the genocide cannot be forgotten. Thousands of women still have no knowledge of the whereabouts of their husbands, sons, or fathers. Issues of closure and proper burial according to Kurdish cultural norms are still being dealt with, almost twenty years later. The Special Rapporteur on Iraq stated: "The Anfal Operations constituted genocide type activities which did in fact result in the extermination of a part of this population and which continue to have an impact on the lives of the people as a whole" (Yildiz 2004:135).

Palestine/Israel. During the war of 1948, many Jews also died as a result of military operations and massacres. However, as Edward Said (2004, 2000) points out, the greatest injustice was done to the Palestinians for they lost most of their land and became refugees or IDPs, many remaining as such to this day. The creation of the state of

Israel was tragic for the Palestinians. To say this is not to diminish the importance of having a homeland for the Jews. It means that the foundational stories and myths of Israel, as with many nations, must be reconciled with the victims of its glory, the victims of its creation. When understanding the great loss of the Palestinians it makes little sense to only listen to the political rhetoric of Israeli leaders but to also listen to the narratives of the victims. The "new historians," such as Morris and Pappe, although differing in their approaches and levels of criticism, all seek to deconstruct history and undo certain myths. While the official story in Israeli text books describes the Arabs as fleeing on their own accord, it is becoming more apparent and even acceptable in mainstream Israel that many were indeed expelled by force (Pappe 2006:xv).

As genocide scholar Naimark says: "People do not leave their homes on their own...they resist" (Shaw 2007:53). Some claim that "the whole world was a bystander," but within the region itself, many Palestinians themselves argue that other Arab countries did very little to help. Initially, most Jews within the region did not speak out because they were refugees themselves, fleeing pogroms, the Holocaust, or anti-Semitism in other Middle Eastern and European countries; their own sense of victimization was substantial. Many, who might have been sympathetic, knew little of the Palestinians plight until the 1970s or 1980s. The Yishuv initially had overwhelming support from the Western world, while by contrast the Palestinians had little support from the Western or Arab worlds; several Arab countries were hoping to claim certain areas for themselves (Morris 2004:34). Still reeling from the horrors of the Holocaust, much of the world saw no problem with the creation of a homeland for the Jews.

Rwanda. For many global citizens, the Rwandan genocide has become the international bellwether of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The tension between internal participation and external response largely defined this. Allison Des Forges presents a narrative dealing with the issue of popular participation in the Rwandan crisis:

But the people [genocide] tempts are the ones that just happen to live there. And I was there, at home, when the temptation came calling. I'm not saying I was forced by Satan and the like. Through greed and obedience I found the cause worthwhile, and I ran down to the marshes.... Simple people cannot resist a temptation like that, not without biblical rescue, not on the hills, anyway. Why? Because of the beautiful words of complete success. They win you over. Afterward the temptation cannot go to prison, so they imprison the people. And the temptation can certainly show up just as dreadful further along (1999:1).

Bill Berkeley quotes a person named Isadore, who had stared at him with tired, quizzical eyes: "I was very much surprised," he said. "Looking at my neighbors, I thought they were friends. I was very much surprised that they were among the people who came to try to kill us" (Berkeley 2001:3).

Bosnia. In the case of Bosnia, perpetrators and victims were never strangers, but rather, neighbors, classmates, and comrades; there was a certain sense of "physical as well as psychic proximity" (Vetlesen 2005:190). In ethnically mixed towns and villages, Serb forces would enter, attack, and retreat to a Serb house. They would force the male of the house to shoot his Muslim neighbor. If he refused, they would kill him. They would repeat this tactic until a Serbian man carried out the act. This powerful strategy left empty flats, cars and other useful appliances to the remaining Serbian residents. Focused on their newly ac-

quired goods, some Bosnian Serbs saw ethnic cleansing as beneficial, or at least were able to ignore the brutality with which these goods had been acquired (Vetlesen 2005:192-193).

VII. A Moral Imperative

The existence of a moral imperative, mandating action on behalf of the marginalized and abused, has been covered in detail by Van Arsdale (2006:182-190). Some would argue that there is a "moral imperative to continue the struggle against the denial of the crime" of genocide, ethnocide, or ethnic cleansing (Pappe 2006:xv). In the case of Palestine/Israel, the birth of the State of Israel carries with it two competing narratives: that of the winners, the Israelis, and that of the losers, the Palestinians. It is often said that the winners of wars are those who write the history books, and in Israel this has been the reality for many decades. Until recently, the idea that hundreds of thousands of people became stateless and homeless due to the acts of the early Jewish government and the Haganah was denied, suppressed, or ignored.

This now is changing. In the introductory chapter to his book, Pappe stresses the necessity of understanding these foundational myths and listening to the narrative of "the Other" in order to resolve the current combustible crisis in the Middle East. Edward Said suggests the following:

Might it not make sense for a group of respected historians and intellectuals, composed equally of Palestinians and Israelis, to hold a series of meetings to try to agree to a modicum of truth about this conflict, to see whether the known sources can guide the two sides to agree on a body of facts—who took what from whom, who did what to whom, and so on—which in turn might reveal a way out of the present impasse? (2004:349).

Usually, even after genocide is identified, as previously with Bosnia or currently with Darfur, a moral imperative to intervene is initially disregarded by the international community. Carl Dahlman, who has conducted research on Bosnia related to refugee return and reconstruction, commented on the insufficient response of the international community: "If genocide, clearly identified, is insufficient to trigger a humanitarian intervention, then all 'lesser' wrongs, including crimes against humanity, will never be met with substantive force, and this will signal to those regimes that make a policy of atrocities that no one will stop them" (Flint 2005:192). The international community could have prevented the conflict's escalation had it been willing to respond sooner to undeniable atrocities. The horrors of Srebrenica that left nearly 8,000 Muslim men and boys dead likely could have been averted had warning signs been acted upon.

David Rieff, a journalist and author of *Slaughterhouse* (1995), claims: "Bosnia was and always will be a just cause. It should have been the West's cause. To have intervened on the side of Bosnia would have been self-defense, not charity" (Reiff 2005:10). Bosnia represented a true multi-cultural state with a blending of Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. Prior to the war, Bosnian Serbs lived scattered across 95 percent of the land, Bosniacs 94.5 percent of the land, and Bosnian Croats 70 percent (Mahmutcehajic 2003:78).

The international community must be willing to take action when genocide and crimes against humanity are indisputable. If not, as Dahlman emphasizes above, humankind is justifying the unlawful acts of malicious regimes. Under the tenet of "never again," Bosnians, Kurds, Rwandans, Cambodians, and Palestinians deserved a rapid response from the international community, either in the form of humanitarian aid or humanitarian intervention.

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The Politics of Genocide

Congressman Hank Johnson (D - Georgia) was interviewed on National Public Radio on October 17 2007. His remarks provide as much insight into the conundrum that is genocide as any journal article, authoritative book, or video documentary. He originally had supported a U.S. House resolution formally condemning the indisputable Armenian genocide at the hands of the Turks some 90 years ago, but - along with a number of other congressmen - had changed his mind and decided to withdraw his support. His reasons had little to do with the factual circumstances of this particular genocide, which he believes did take place, but a great deal to do with politics. In his comments he emphasized security concerns. He stressed the need to extricate American military personnel safely from Iraq, linking this with U.S. security in the Middle East/S.W. Asian region, linking this in turn with the support being demonstrated by Turkey (a key ally). He cited communications he recently had had with Americans of Turkish descent who live in his district (while admitting to not having had any with Americans of Armenian descent). His tones were measured, his thoughtfulness apparent.

Also on October 17th, the Turkish parliament voted to authorize cross-border military attacks in northern Iraq against Kurdish separatist rebels. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, also supportive of this resolution, pledged not to order immediate strikes. Parliamentarians expressed frustration that the United States and Iraq had not fulfilled promises to curb the activities of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (the PKK), which some have classified as a terrorist organization.

A few days earlier, the U.S. House had begun debating a non-binding measure introduced by the House Foreign Relations Committee. It had voted to condemn as genocide the mass killings of Armenians in Turkey during World War I. (A similar stance had previously been taken by some French parliamentarians.) However, by October 18th, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi had come under increasing pressure from members of her Democratic caucus not to bring the resolution to a vote. While the resolution's original supporters were not ready to concede defeat, the measure gradually lost momentum. The specter of realpolitik had emerged. In a sense, "the indisputable" had become "the disputable."

VIII. The Role of Culture

It is dangerous and inaccurate to say that one particular culture is more prone to engaging in genocide, or that one particular culture bears the markers of genocidal tendencies. What is significant in looking at the role of culture in genocide is how members of that culture might change "the look" of the genocide or the specifics of how it is implemented. In the case of Cambodia, particular cultural practices and beliefs might have contributed to the way in which the genocide was carried out. Anthropologist Alexander Laban Hinton wrestles with these ideas in his book, *Why Did They Kill?* (2005) One instance includes the practice of disproportionate revenge, or "A head for an eye" in Cambodia. In short, this is a practice of exacting revenge on someone for a wrong doing that does not match the wrongdoing committed. An example can be found in the manner in which the Khmer Rouge used class warfare and the Cambodian understanding of disproportionate revenge to indoctrinate Khmer youth into their movement. The use of propaganda found in songs and such sayings as, "To dig up grass, one must also dig up the roots" and the use of reclassification of individuals into new and old people (read "us vs. them," creating "the Other") contributed to the Khmer Rouge's success at using "everyday, average" Cambodians to commit genocide (Hinton 2005).

An example of the practice of disproportionate revenge being used by the Khmer Rouge is told in the story of Neari, a survivor of the Cambodian genocide interviewed by Hinton. Neari's father, mother,

and three siblings were killed by the Khmer Rouge. Neari retold the story of her father's death. He had been a teacher prior to the revolution who was "very strict...and would frequently hit his students in order to make them learn." One particular student, Hean, was "lazy and disobedient and was beaten often." Neari later learned that this same student executed her father, saying: "When you were my teacher, you beat me and made me hurt. Now, I will repay your 'good' deed in turn. I will kill and discard you, so that you can no longer be such a mean teacher" (Hinton 2005). The Khmer Rouge used the cultural practice of disproportionate revenge to encourage those like Hean, who felt they had been wronged, to carry out the genocide.

Are there cultures that are more disposed to commit genocide or genocidal acts? A less critical reading of the work of Daniel Goldhagen, author of *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1996), would suggest that there are. The role that everyday Germans played in the Holocaust is considered as a correlate of German culture. He implies that a kind of cultural determinism may exist. A convergence of perceived past or present injustice, disadvantageous resource access, discriminatory attitudes, and a leader's supremacist ideology - reflecting "a culture" -- therefore yields a targeted response: Genocide.

A more critical reading of Goldhagen's work, considered in point-counterpoint fashion with that of Hinton (2005) and Power (2002), would suggest something very different. What, in fact, are central to the explanation are institutional factors shaped by dysfunctional state systems. Perceived threat by "the Other" is transformed through emergent policy into state-sanctioned, brutal action. Individual leaders (the arbiters/ perpetrators of genocide) play to their opponents' weaknesses and to their own desires to enhance oppressive power. Therefore, in the broadest sense, genocidal activity is about dysfunctional state systems, imbalanced power relationships, and oppressive institutions. It is not "about culture" or "about evil leaders."

If culture can be defined as a group's shared imagery of its past, present, and future; a shared (and often idealized) set of values; and a commonly accepted set of clustered behaviors, then "cultural interpretations" of genocide are possible: reflecting on a desired future, refining values contributing to social integrity, and altering unacceptable behaviors. The reification of "culture" is therefore avoided through careful anthropological analysis. Similarly, the reification of "genocide," by the media and everyday public, is overcome by careful anthropological analysis. Demagogic ideologies and inaccurately portrayed histories can be dispelled; the charge of genocide need not equate with the act of genocide. This is where the discipline can make one of its strongest contributions.

The issue of "cultural disappearance" was noted early in this document. It is another arena where anthropologists can make substantial and innovative contributions as both researchers and advocates. State-sponsored programs of forced assimilation, as have occurred historically in the U.S. with Native Americans, or forced "villagization," as have occurred more recently in Ethiopia with non-Amharic peoples, can result in the disappearance of core cultures. Systematic empirical documentation of these processes based upon on-site fieldwork and subsequent advocacy based upon the data obtained, build upon anthropology's strengths.

The preoccupation of perpetrators of genocide with race, antiquity, agriculture, and expansion (following Kiernan 2007) was noted in the introduction, but not explored herein. Despite criticisms leveled against these categories by the historian William McNeill (2008), they clearly also provide fertile ground for cultural anthropologists. For example, Liisa Malkki's (1995) work on Hutu refugees in Tanzania probed the first two. Van Arsdale's current work on Darfur is probing the second two, agriculture and expansion.

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As the AAA's draft statement on ethnic cleansing (2001) affirmed, a well-rounded concern with "things cultural" is beneficial as these issues are considered. Situating them cross-culturally is essential. Differing values can be debated, diversity in light of factionalization can be considered, and causes of ominous and horrific practices can be addressed. The legacies of colonialism, impacts of globalization, and roles of the military (especially in interaction with civilians) are central. Anthropologists are increasingly well-positioned to analyze human rights abuses and to advocate on behalf of those whose rights have been violated. As the AAA statement notes, there is no "magic theory." There is, simply, an opportunity to contribute to a pragmatic humanitarianism.

"The cure and prevention of the crime of genocide must lie, at least in part, in the diagnosis of its recurring causes and symptoms" (Kiernan 2007:606).

Notes

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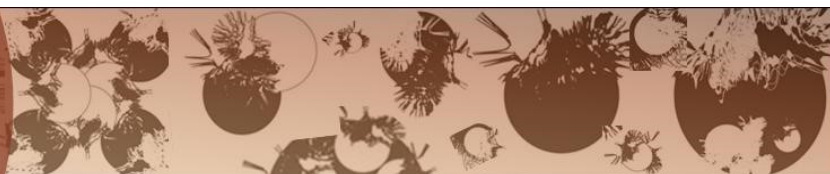
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COLLECTIVE THINKING PRACTICES: INFERENCES FROM CASE STUDIES OF DECISION-MAKING BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

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

Introduction

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

In this paper, we consider linkages of individual decision-making behavior with organizational culture. We focus on organizational decision making in order to illuminate individual thinking practices and their normative groundings. We propose simply that cognitive processes encompass implicit expectations or operating norms that are expressed in observable patterns of organizational decision-making behavior. To the extent the groundings of this behavior are shared, we assume they may be deemed *cultural*. We begin, therefore, with a critical discussion of organizational culture, and then sketch a view of decision making that emphasizes linkages of psychological and social/environmental variables. Finally, we report case studies of decisions in a large manufacturing organization in order to illuminate our argument that commonality of decision-making behavior across individuals in organizations is indicative of shared beliefs and values, which is tantamount to a common culture.

The Concept of Culture

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

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

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

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

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

Such cavils aside, however, the useful view that emerges from Thompson and Luthans (1990) is one of *culture* as a personal generalization about observable social *patterns* of distinctive character, essentially intra-individual in Miller, Galanter, and Pribram's sense of social worlds (1960). It is, then, altogether

reasonable to expect the models extant in particular social aggregates, or communities, to exhibit commonalities, but also to show considerable inter-individual variation. Indeed, Thompson and Luthans aptly speak of there being many cultures in an organization. Reasoning such as this inevitably makes of *culture* a descriptive and individual psychological construct, that is, the concepts, beliefs, and values according to which individual people organize their actions. How these actions eventuate in social exchanges and collective structures is not, therefore, explicable via culture except tautologically. Accordingly, an individual's commitments to shared beliefs and values are direct reflections of their repetitive, often habitual patterns of behavior. Drawing from these intra-individual tendencies, we can describe characterizations of macro-level or organizational phenomena.

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

Analyzing Organizational Cultures

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

Instead of endlessly arguing the ontology of culture, scholars might more usefully seek simple clarification of the particular conditions which the term "culture" may be used to denote. Whatever its confusions and inadequacies, the word "culture" is not going away. We might, therefore, at least clear away some of the descriptive underbrush that impedes communication when the term is used. We mentioned earlier, for example, that if culture is cognitive its manifestations are nevertheless observable. That being true, it obviously is possible to study individuals' actions (or reports of them), evaluate them, compare them with observations of others, make inferences about their similarities and differences, and try to associate any discernable patterns with conditions of their observation. The question, then, is when to speak of such intellectual activity as referring to "culture."

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

American Heritage's second definition, however, is worthy of use for scholarly purposes. It describes culture as "a style of social...expression peculiar to a society or class" (1991:348). This seems

more like it, more consonant with the kinds of ideas social scientists probably hope to conjure up when they use the word culture. Its essence is the notion of "style," an idea that fits the Benedictine anthropological model of human social "patterns" differentiated by context, and one regularly encountered in scholarly conversations about culture. Moreover, "style" has a general parametric or paradigmatic quality suitable to use as a definition. In what follows, then, culture will be equated to style, specifically, for present purposes, *decision-making style*.

Culture and Decision-making

If culture itself is subjective (cognitive), but is manifest in behavior, then there obviously will be many kinds of behavior that imply it (culture, that is) and many ways of observing it. Our interest fastens on decision making because it is a main field of our scholarly interest, but also because it is readily recognizable as what Schein (1990) would call a cultural *artifact*. Moreover, it is a subject particularly relevant to the special case of organizations, expressing as it does the processes of choice via which they are formed and operated.

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

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

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

The Issue of Organization Level Inference

The jump from micro- to macro-levels, from individual actors to cultural systems, requires a multi-level perspective of decision-making behavior. The answer to the question of whether or not a micro-analytic observation and interpretation of decisions can provide a basis for drawing inferences about macro-level patterns, that is, cultures, and vice versa, depends, in part at least, on how these *levels of analysis* are understood. Allaire and Firsirotu's (1984) notion of *partial replication*, for instance, implies that a simple communality of personal meanings evolves among the several actors in a social system, which works to homogenize their world-views and facilitate their interactions. Hence, as noted earlier, observations of inter-individual consistency of decision practices, such as decision-making styles, may be taken as indicative of shared cognitive structures like beliefs, concepts, values at a collective level of aggregation. Inter-individual/intra-organizational consistency of decision-making style is thus expressive, and, in fact, descriptive, of organizational culture. Specification of such styles, one posits, provides an analyst with conceptual means for comparing organizational cultures, and of generalizing about and predicting behavior without, however, requiring commitments to belief in the reality of those cultures.

In addressing the problem of aggregating individual-level data, other researchers have also taken a multi-level perspective to theorizing about cognitive style. In developing the concept of *group cognitive*

style, Leonard, Beauvais and Scholl (2005) contend that over time, as group members interact, they develop patterns of decision-making behavior. They argue that such patterns are a natural outgrowth of the continual social interaction of individual group members. Just as individuals develop preferences for information processing it is reasonable to expect that groups similarly develop a preferred cognitive style or pattern of decision-making behavior.

An Empirical Demonstration

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

Describing Decision-making Styles

In a study by Hunt, Krzystofiak, Meindl, and Yousry (1989) consistent expressions of individuals' cognitive styles were shown across several phases of judgmental decision making. Many other studies have identified relations between various social factors and individual decision-making factors (Slovic Fischhoff, and Lichtenstein 1977; Killeen 1978; Standon and Motheral 1978; Ravlin and Meglino 1987; Leonard and Beauvais 2005).

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

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

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

Organizational Differentiation

Organizations are not monoliths. They are variously differentiated horizontally into such entities as work units, departments, and divisions as well as vertically. The result is that individuals in organizations are variously situated and bound by memberships in distinct groups or role sets that constitute different organizational environments, and their

decision-making styles may be correspondingly differentiated. Like Henry Mintzberg (1978), we divide an organization vertically into four levels of people. From the top down, they are:

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

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

Decision Styles and Organizational Roles

Merton (1957) notes the play of organizational roles in decision making. Superiors, subordinates, and peers, he suggests, exert pressure on decision makers to conform to their beliefs about the necessary and proper ways to make decisions. Organizations thus *socialize* their members toward shared and institutionalized norms of *appropriate patterns* of decision-making behavior that serve generally to regulate and standardize decision-making practices. A decision maker's position in an organizational hierarchy has been shown to influence decision-making; and decision behavior norms, diffused across organizations, may be widely institutionalized, thus defining more or less universal role requirements for incumbents of different organizational levels. Blankenship and Miles (1968), for example, found that upper-level managers in eight different organizations showed a stronger willingness to delegate, and to rely on their immediate subordinates in the decision-making process than did managers at lower levels. Lower-level managers, in turn, were more often at the receiving end of initiatives for decisions by their superiors and were more often expected to consult with their superiors before proceeding on most matters. Thus, generalized level-specific organizational practices and, by inference, role requirements appear to exist which work to differentiate managers' decision behavior, all of which suggests the operation of particular decision-making behavior norms ("styles") at different organizational levels. These styles constitute *cultural patterns* in *American Heritage's* second meaning of *culture*.

Illustrative Case Studies

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

Lengthy semi-structured individual interviews, done in the context of a broader management-initiated developmental evaluation of the plant, were organized around a general coding program, called a *task analysis* method (Hunt, Magenau and Fails 1981; Bahl and Hunt 1984; Hunt and Magenau 1984). Briefly, this scheme treats a decision as a task, and divides the overall decision-making process into periods of pre-decision, decision, and post-decision. It provides a set of descrip-

five categories for characterizing the participants and the structure and content of their activities during each decision period. This allows reduction of a number of descriptive observations to a discrete set of labelled categories (see the examples in the next paragraph) that are manipulable for comparative empirical analysis. Thus, the scheme served as both a template for planning a systematic interview that debriefed informants about their decision making, and as a means of coding their responses to the programmed interview queries.

We collected the following kinds of information for each case:

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

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

Informants' Levels

Decision making was evaluated at four different organizational levels:

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

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

Procedure

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

each interview, the general purposes of the study were discussed with the informants at whatever length they wished and in whatever detail.

Observed Decision Styles

The key empirical question at issue here centers on whether individual manager's identifiable decision styles are altogether individual matters or exhibit collective patterns sufficient to justify calling them cultural. Individual's decision-making styles were identified by asking informants how they "usually went about solving problems." Accordingly, the following question was asked of each informant: "When you search for ways of solving problems or ways of taking advantage of opportunities, how much influence do you usually allow to other people when making a decision?" Based on the degree of influence or participation individuals allowed to other people, they were classified into one of four *primary* decision-making styles, ranging from no influence by others (a *Unilateral* style) to high influence (*Delegation*), with *Consultation* and *Joint* styles as intermediate forms. Some informants implied that, in particular instances, they used styles different from their primary ones. Therefore, in addition to a primary style, *secondary* (or conditional) styles were also coded. Coding primary styles relied on such key words as *typically*, *normally*, *usually*, *generally*, *often*, or *almost always*. Expressions such as *sometimes*, *under some circumstances*, *occasionally*, or *at times* were taken as indicators of secondary decision styles.

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

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

Organizational Level

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

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Collective Thinking Practices...

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

Discussion

Decision making is an exercise in the cognitive construction of reality. The analysis of decision making is epistemologically identical. It is a matter of interpretation, a cognitive construction of reality, a theory. Naïve or scientific, theory is a problem-solving tool that evolves by developing and extending patterns such that empirical themes and relations are explained by specifying their place in a pattern, as parts-to-whole. Implicitly or explicitly, a theory is a claim to knowledge. Sustaining such a claim comes down to persuasively "grounding" belief, warranting assertion, and reaching social consensus on the utility of ideas. Hence, the essential test of any model or theory, personal or scientific, is its practicality in its usefulness for coping with events (see Hunt 1983).

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

The analytic exercise outlined herein demonstrates application of this strategic idea. By focusing on the description of patterns or styles of decision-making behavior that typify managerial actions in a particular organization, we sought to illustrate both a means and the utility of thinking about and describing organizational culture via behavioral analyses, specifically of organizational decision-making practices.

Understanding the empirical properties of organizational decision patterns and, by inference, the individual cognitive models on which they are based, provides a conceptual framework for drawing further inferences about their etiologies. Systematically describing the properties of decision makers, of decisions, and of the environments where they are observed facilitates comparative analyses of individual decision-making behavior and its organizational patterning which support inferences about the cognitive and social processes that ostensibly explain the behavior.

Future Research

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

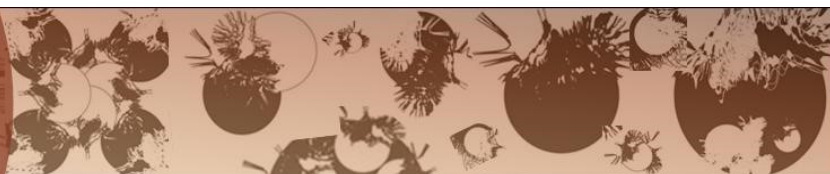
models and analytic technologies such as the task-analysis method used here. Second, intensive and narrowly focused studies attentive to issues of data quality are needed to generate and evaluate inferences about "front-end" matters of decision-making modeling, about their expression in action, in "rear-end"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

Notes

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COMMUNITY CONSERVATION, ALTERNATIVE ECONOMY AND HOLISTIC LANDSCAPES: ETHNICITY AND FARM HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING ON THE GREAT PLAINS

MICHAEL BRYDGE AND KATHLEEN PICKERING SHERMAN

ABSTRACT

Federally imposed political boundaries of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation forced the Lakota to end their nomadic life-style and consider other modes of subsistence by 1868. Subsequent federal policies confiscated Lakota lands that were not being used for agriculture and opened those lands to non-Indian agricultural operators. Some Lakota adopted agricultural practices, some worked as farm hands to avoid starvation, while others escaped the assimilative agricultural mandates and continued with traditional natural resource subsistence practices. Despite conflicts with non-Indian homesteaders, some Lakota households practice farming and ranching on the reservation to this day. One question that remains is whether ethnicity and cultural identity influence Lakota agricultural households to make decisions that differ from their non-Indian counterparts. Surveys were administered to seventy-one non-Indian and fourteen Lakota agricultural operators from 2005-2008 to assess agricultural practices, motives and attitudes toward the environment, community values and demographics. An analysis of correlated and closely correlated survey answers from the Lakota and non-Indian subsets reveal significant differences in their attitudes about nature, wildlife and the importance of agriculture relative to wild resources. Differences between agricultural practices, land use strategies, community conservation and economic motives are discussed in this study. [Lakota agriculture, community conservation, Great Plains agriculture, farm household decision-making, environmental ethics]

Introduction

Standard economic theory assumes that all actors are rational in the choices they make and that rational actors maximize their utility (Burlington 1962:812). Policy makers often assume that rational actors are motivated by profit maximization and enact economic incentives to entice actors to make desired choices and behavioral changes. Therefore, agricultural policy attempts to create incentives that increase the farm income generated by agricultural operators who adopt the practices that government and society favor (Vogeler 1981; Kroese 2002; Mittal 2002). These economic incentives are often viewed as the only leverage available to influence changes in agricultural practices, even when limited funding means minimal policy impacts on severe ecological, cultural or social consequences produced by the status quo. However, other policy incentives may be created that increase non-economic utilities for agricultural households and allow for greater and more rapid improvements in natural resource conservation, environmental sustainability and carbon sequestration. Ethnicity and cultural preferences may provide examples of non-economic incentives that might be used to increase the effectiveness of environmental policies.

Though farming and ranching were not traditional means of subsistence for the Lakota, some Lakota on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation are agricultural operators nevertheless. They are influenced not simply by economic incentives, but by traditional Lakota concepts that are integrated into their agricultural practices. By comparing Lakota agricultural household decisions and attitudes with those of non-Indian agricultural households in South Dakota, Colorado and Montana, this study sheds light on whether the ethnicity of agricultural operators alters the efficacy of policy incentives created to encourage conservation measures.

Furthermore, the voices of ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples have often been muffled by the dominance of both government policy makers and the capitalist economic system. Literature has shown the connections between government policy and capitalism and the marginalization of indigenous peoples, their forced separation from natural resources and the ecological devastation which

ensued (Weisiger 2009; Tucker 2007; Lynn-Sherow 2004; Chase 2002; Pickering 2000; Iverson 1994; Hall 1991; Cronon 1983; White 1983; Carlson 1981). Despite the negative effects of government policy and free market capitalism, historic archaeology and contemporary ethnographies confirm that many indigenous peoples have a strong physical connection to and spiritual relationship with nature (Suzuki and Knudtson 1992; Nabokov 2007). It is through genuine collaboration between western land managers and indigenous peoples that the movement toward sustainable agriculture and natural resource conservation will flourish into the future (Sherman 2006; Pickering, Van Lanen, and Sherman 2009; Ross et al. 2010).

The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to provide evidence that agricultural decision making is influenced by ethnicity and culture, beyond the simple profit motive; and second, to amplify an indigenous voice within the literature on agriculture and sustainability. The overarching hypothesis for this research is that cultural factors influence agricultural household decision making beyond a simple calculation of marginal increases in income. Three specific hypotheses are:

1. Ethnicity and culture influence agricultural practices.
2. Ethnicity and culture influence perceptions of place.
3. Ethnicity and culture influence attitudes about nature.

Considerations of non-monetary aspects, such as community opinions and spiritual reverence, are not adequately accounted for in a cost benefit analysis by agricultural policy makers and are often ignored in neoclassical economic perspectives. The responses to environmental questions by non-Indian agricultural operators of the northern Great Plains are starkly different from responses by their Lakota counterparts in the same region. Lakota differ significantly from non-Indians in relation to their environmental attitudes and conservation practices, including motivations for their agricultural operations, wildlife conservation and land use strategies, their embeddedness in their local community and local ecosystem and concern for wild plants. By taking cultural and ethnic differences seriously, more effective agricultural policies may be developed that look to non-monetary incentives for increasing conservation practices.

Political Ecology: Environmental Impacts of Neoclassical Economics and Agriculture

A neoclassical economic framework presents nature and natural resources as a commodity with an inherent monetary value within the market economy. Political ecology, in contrast, requires that the environmental impacts of economic practice be included in determining the interplay of political, economic and social factors with the environment (Biersack and Greenberg 2006). According to Steven A. Wolf (2008:203), conventional agriculture is flawed by the inability to measure success without the gradient of profit maximization, where yield is increased by maximizing land utility. From a neoclassical perspective, agricultural operators have fixed inputs (i.e., land base) with which they maximize yields (i.e., wheat per acre) to meet global consumer demands for commodities (Hodgson 1996:383). From a purely economic perspective, produced capital such as soils disturbed by implements, fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides are equivalent substitutes for natural capital, such as naturally fertile soil and an area characterized with moderate to high rainfall. From this perspective, natural resources are non-depletable and non-scarce (Faucheux, Muir and O'Connor 1997:528-529). However, conventional tillage practices loosen the soil and emit large amounts of organic carbon into the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans via water and wind erosion (Smith, Sleezer, Renwick and Budemeier 2005). The Green Revolution demonstrated how the pace of production with produced capital is unsustainable, both for poor agricultural communities and for the environment, eroding natural resources at alarming rates (Hodgson 1996:382-391; Wolf 2008:203; Zwerdling 2009).

Sustainable agricultural practices are important to maintain a proper balance between the quality and quantity of food production. According to Brian Walker and David Salt (2006), "sustainability is the likelihood an existing system of resource use will persist indefinitely without decline in the resource base or in the social welfare it delivers (165)." Sustainable agricultural practices include, but are not limited to, crop diversification, no-till practices, herd rotation, non-reliance on chemicals (Altieri 2001) and many subsistence practices which minimize ecological disturbance. According to Rappaport (1979:129), religion and ritual were forces that preserved ecological stability. In addition, sustainable, non-Western subsistence systems were dependent on the conceptual structures of these forces (Wilk 2006:151). Sustainability must include a viable interconnection between society, economy and the environment. Thus, sustainable agriculture is not focused solely on economic return, but also on the societal and environmental implications of the practice.

In contrast, standard economic analysis views an increase in profits from industrialized agricultural operations to be adequate justification for increasing harmful inputs (e.g., fertilizers) and decreasing quality of outputs (e.g., low quality beef). Thus economic return is favored over ecological restoration or preservation. Over the long run substituting natural capital with produced capital has resulted in soil erosion, water pollution, soil toxicity and other serious resource depletion, resulting in the loss of billions of dollars annually in the U.S. alone (Glantz 1996; Altieri 2001:31-32; D'Aleo and Grube 2002; Thompson and Turk 2007:242).

Lakota Agriculture on the Great Plains

The vast grassland ecosystems of the Great Plains have been incorporated into the capitalist economy and world market system through agriculture since the mid 1800s. Food produced by agricultural business interests on the Great Plains continues to be an integral part of the global economic system as U.S. agricultural operators sell food to countries around the world. This has an often-ambiguous economic im-

pact on farmers and food security in other parts of the globe, but has provided American farmers with a sense of pride. As one South Dakota farmer stated, "We feed America." However, agriculture on the Great Plains developed at the expense of indigenous peoples who once subsisted on native resources on the Plains.

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 formed the Great Sioux Reservation for the "absolute and undisturbed use and occupation" of the Lakota (Hall 1991:3; Utley 1984:232; Kappler 1904). Historically, Lakota hunter-gatherers of the Great Plains subsisted on bison, antelope and deer, along with a variety of wild plants from the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi River (Fagan 2005:162). They also traded extensively with agricultural communities along the Missouri River like the Mandan and Hidatsa (Hyde 1937; Holder 1970). Their cultural reliance upon *t'iošpayes* (extended families), trade relations, horse acquisition and knowledge of animal migrations, cosmology and other natural guides allowed the Lakota to successfully transition to the Great Plains environment from the Great Lakes region (DeMallie 1994; Marshall 2004:49; Fagan 2005:162). Unfortunately these adaptations were not as useful against U.S. militarization and land policy. The federal government mandated sedentary living and diminished the Lakota's access to hunting and gathering resources by creating a heavily regulated reservation system (Pickering 2000:65). Though the Lakota have preserved much of their cultural traditions, they became increasingly vulnerable to the federal government through the impositions of the reservation system, the annihilation of the buffalo and the forced assimilation of American Indians into mainstream American society.

The General Allotment Act of 1887, or Dawes Severalty Act, parceled out 160-acre plots to individual heads of household, undermining the Native American communal landscape (Iverson 1994:28-29). The continual usage of the term 'agriculture' throughout the Dawes Act signified federal expectations for the Dakota prairies. Military might, political dishonesty and economic greed appropriated the prime hunting grounds and spiritual epicenters of the Lakota, but that was not enough. Lands not allotted to Indian heads of household were deemed surplus and then given to non-Indian homesteaders. Allotment rapidly degraded the indigenous land base until the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Other related policies, such as the Burkes Act of 1906, Homestead Act of 1862 and Indian New Deal Policies supported federal expectations of a market-based agricultural society, disregarding Lakota environmental ethos (Carlson 1981; Hurt 1987; Flynn 1988:8, 62, 92, 94; Roth 2009:45-46).

Lack of agricultural production on allotted lands was the ostensible reason for confiscation of parcels under the Burkes Act of 1906. Meanwhile, non-Indian farmers and ranchers aimed to maximize land utility for commodity production and capital accumulation through agricultural endeavors (Iverson 1994: 18, 25-51). Concurrently, "Dakota land boomers" rallied on the East Coast awaiting land dispossession (Lazarus 1991:125). Sadly, the federal government fragmented Lakota lands yet again. Fragmented lands were then stripped from the Lakota and sold hastily to white ranchers (Lazarus 1991:125). Federal policy restructured the Lakota's social and environmental landscape in accordance with John Locke's principle. According to Locke, "As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates and can use the product of, so much is his property" (Hall 1991:3; Opie 1998:61; Merchant 1989:305). This ended Lakota egalitarianism and encouraged greater incorporation into capitalist markets (Pickering and Jewell 2008). Manifest Destiny prescribed a spiritual calling to the settlement and development of the Western territory. Politicians and entrepreneurs used this "spiritual calling" to encourage westward expansion. However, economic gain, territorial expansion and irreverence for indigenous people led to agricultural development on the South Dakota Plains.

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Community Conservation...

As the federal government revised and reneged on treaty commitments to provide land, food and supplies, Lakota displaced from their allotted lands sought employment as agricultural workers to protect their families from starvation (Biolsi 1992; Pickering 2000). With aggressive U.S. government encouragement, some Lakota households on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation adopted agricultural production as a means of participating in global and local economic markets. Lakota heads of household learned agricultural skills in order to keep their remaining land parcels that had been designated to them by the General Allotment Act or to raise food for *t'iošpayes*. Peter Iverson (1994) expresses the importance of this era in his book titled *When Indians Became Cowboys*. Regardless of the reason for adopting farming and ranching, the Lakota used agriculture to express emotional, physical and spiritual views of natural resources as interconnected with all aspects of life, not just economics (Suzuki and Knudtson 1992; Nabokov 2007). Lakota and other indigenous cultures instruct decision makers to directly consider the impact of their actions and reciprocal events on the next seven generations (Suzuki and Knudtson 1992).

Theory in Practice

A political economy framework was used to assess the differences that ethnicity plays in this study. Political economy, a materialist approach based on Marxism, provides an alternative theoretical framework to the neoclassical economic model (Munck 2000: 6-8). A political economy approach examines the economies of a region relative to the cultural, social, political and historical processes that have shaped that region, as well as the dominant economic interests there (Roseberry 1988; Greenberg and Park 1994; Jennings 2000:8). A culturally relativistic, political economic approach combines the historical context and the human and spiritual interactions of natural resources, separating them from the commoditization of resources associated with market exchange and distribution. When examining indigenous or marginalized peoples within a global context, anthropologists often use a political economy lens to explore ways in which the benefits of the competitive global market system do not extend to the periphery of the world-system, including tribal communities internally colonized by core capitalist nation-states (Hall 1989: 11-23). Nonmarket concepts such as redistribution, reciprocity and house holding are critical components of economic practices on the periphery, but are often ignored in the standard economic cost-benefit analyses (Pickering 2000:44-61; Hall et al. 2000:23). Furthermore, by adding the dimensions of political ecology to this analysis, the political, economic, and socio-cultural forces which dictate the human interactions within the environment (Berkes 1999:165), and holistic understandings of the context and considerations of agricultural household decision making can be included in one conceptual approach (Somma 1993; Greenberg and Park 1994; Walker 1998; Jennings 2000:5-7).

Methods

Between 2005 and 2007, sixty-eight non-Indian agricultural operators and two Lakota agricultural operators from South Dakota, Colorado and Montana were interviewed by Dr. Pickering Sherman and her ethnographic research team of graduate and undergraduate students from Colorado State University in a study funded by the USDA. The interviews consisted of a mix of qualitative and quantitative questions focusing on agricultural practices, social networks and environmental attitudes. Potential participants were selected randomly from eight counties through local phone books; participants were then selected through a phone interview and followed-up with a face-to-face or phone interview.

Dr. Pickering Sherman and her ethnographic research team con-

ducted additional research during a six-week summer field season on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 2008. Twelve Lakota and three non-Indian agricultural operators on the reservation were administered surveys in person. Three of these agricultural operators were a targeted subsample from 300 household participants in a longitudinal survey of household economic dynamics on the Pine Ridge Reservation from 2000-2008 funded by the National Science Foundation. An additional twelve agricultural operators were identified by the targeted sample through snowball sampling. Though snowball sampling potentially inserts biases, it is an effective methodology to study difficult to find populations or very small subsets (Bernard 2006: 189-194). With so few Lakota households involved with agriculture in this rural locale, using leads from survey respondents allowed the research team to identify potential survey participants. Potential survey participants were contacted via telephone. If they owned an agricultural operation, a survey time was scheduled and surveys were administered face to face. All of the agricultural operators in both studies were engaged in some form of dry land farming or open-range ranching.

The 2008 Pine Ridge subset and the 2005-2007 subset were asked the same or similar survey questions regarding their agricultural operations, demographic information, attitudes towards the environment, community values and participation in conservation practices. A mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative questioning was utilized in both surveys to strengthen the analyses. Answers to quantitative questions, administered with a five point Likert scale including Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree, were converted to numerical responses. Numerical conversions were utilized to produce statistical means of each respective response and an assessment of statistical significance using independent samples t-test. Qualitative questions were administered to record legitimate and heartfelt responses to the questions. These qualitative responses were used as quotes throughout the study to better understand quantitative answers and the attitudes and emotions of operators towards their operations, the environment, community and policy. Some of the important findings are addressed in the following analysis. To eliminate the possibility of ethnicity being conflated to mask other variables like income, age, education level and acres of land owned, the same statistical tests were run for each variable separately. Of all the possible variables, the most significant factor that emerged was ethnicity.

Discussion

Alternative Motives and Traditional Ideas. Agricultural policy makers assume that increasing farm household income is the critical factor for motivating changes in agricultural practices. For some households this may be true, as one non-Indian farmer explained: "Bankers say Yuma County [is the] hottest county for aggressive farmers. Farm more land, borrow more money and more technology." The prosperity of the community was associated with productivism and access to capital—neoclassical economic measures of success.

However, a cost benefit analysis may not capture the primary reason why Lakota households are involved in agricultural operations. As one Lakota bison rancher stated, "We're not really after the money, that's not our driving [force]." Lakota agricultural operators are predominantly wheat farmers, cattle ranchers, and bison ranchers. For many of them it is not policy or marginal economic increases that influence their decisions to expand into more sustainable practices. Lakota culture views the natural environment as encompassing animals, plants, *t'iošpayes* (those to be born) and the spiritual forces throughout the natural system. These Lakota perspectives influence agricultural operators towards more holistic and locally integrated operations (Nabokov 2007:50; Pickering and Jewell 2008). For the Lakota, giving

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back to the community, restoring traditions, restoring the land base and ecological restoration are integrated outcomes that are as motivating as annual household income.

There is an increasing interest in bison ranching on the reservation. Many Lakota families have found ways to reassert their authority over their land through bison ranching. For example, at least three Lakota families with a common land base and common traditional goals have successfully co-managed bison, and initiated the long and delicate process of ecological restoration on their parcels. These families have been able to control decision-making on their lands as they have unified and restored their land base. The ability to use land and restore land from the effects of overgrazing is essential for Lakota cultural continuity. An elder couple who raise bison stated, "We decided a long time ago we would try to bring the buffalo back; the buffalo are more friendly to the land." Their appreciation for bison is not driven by market economics, but in part by the symbiotic relationship between bison and the land.

Wild grasses that once flourished on the prairie are important food for bison and in effect critical to the reintroduction and viability of the bison's life ways. The Lakota prefer bison in part because they exist symbiotically with the prairie ecosystem. Bison ranchers are as concerned with contributing to a healthy biotic environment on the reservation as they are with bison profitability. In contrast, many non-Indian agricultural operators were conflicted about changing to greater conservation practices. One Colorado farmer expressed this conflict between his desires and actions when he said, "[I] wish I could go to grass, but [I] need to make money."

Bison themselves are a species of special cultural significance to the Lakota. Historically, bison provided sustenance and materials to the Lakota people, as every part of the animal was used for daily, ceremonial and spiritual practices. In Lakota beliefs, the sacred pipe was brought to the Lakota people by White Buffalo Calf Woman. Bison are respected as having their own nation, social organization and natural autonomy (Black Elk 1982).

Five Lakota bison ranchers participated in the 2008 study. As one respondent stated, "We are buffalo people and the money doesn't matter." Instead, restoring the land, their family and their cultural traditions take precedence. For example, Lakota bison operators pursued USDA regulations that ultimately allowed for killing buffalo in the field, so the animals could be harvested in a traditional manner, rather than being rendered in a slaughterhouse. In this way, they were able to maintain traditional butchering practices and at the same time they explored new external markets for bison meat. Despite opportunities for mass bison slaughter to meet the growing demand for organic, free grazing meat, the Lakota are more concerned with the sacred and culturally appropriate handling of the animal.

Lakota agriculturalists also mentioned cultural preservation and continuity in addition to ecological resilience when asked about conservation practices on their land. One bison rancher said he applied conservation methods, "For the next generation so the buffalo can grow up, so the bugs can grow up, so the game is always plentiful, I guess you could say." Conservation methods had nothing to do with the market value of his bison herd, but instead involved the preservation of nature and traditions for the upcoming generations.

While the Bureau of Indian Affairs encouraged Lakota families to lease their allotted lands to non-Indian agricultural operators, more Lakota agricultural operators are now attempting to regain beneficial use of their land. One bison rancher refused to renew his lease contracts with his non-Indian wheat farmers because they continually inquired about using pesticides and they refused to follow the field despite his repeated requests. In addition, one elderly Lakota woman

commented on Lakota methods for caring for the land. "We try not to do anything other than cut hay. We quit leasing after we figured out what fertilizers do to the land and the air; [we] allow the land to heal itself." Therefore, the beneficial control of allotted lands is as motivated by conservation practices as by pure economic returns.

Lakota perspectives on agricultural operations reveal alternative motives for engaging in agriculture. Traditional ideas of respect for land, *t'iošpaye* relationships and cultural notions of stewardship all appear in the general responses of bison operators. The next section shows that integration of wildlife into the agricultural landscape by Lakota agricultural operators also distinguishes them from their non-Indian neighbors.

Land Use Strategies: Wildlife and Acreage Maximization. Within the capitalist framework, nature and natural resources are commodities with a value dictated by market supply and demand. When income maximization is the sole motive for agricultural production, land use tends to be limited to active crop production or grazing. Contrary to this neoclassical premise, 78% of Lakota households believed in maximizing land area for animals, birds, and insects to use. In contrast, only 32% of non-Indian households believed in maximizing land area for animals, birds and insects to use (see Table 1).

Of particular interest to policy makers is the response to this land use question when "level of income" is the independent variable. Here, those with the lowest income were most likely to agree that lands should be maximized for wildlife (see Table 2).

Lakota agricultural operators are completely absent from the upper income bracket. These agricultural operators do not regard their land as a commodity to reap a solely monetary profit, but as a natural resource capable of appeasing the owner and local community in spiritual and emotional ways that increased monetary value will not fulfill.

In the Twenty-first Century, Lakota agricultural operators have developed ways of farming and ranching that include Western concepts as well as methods that adhere to cultural traditions and community values. The Lakota have long considered the land sacred for *oyate* (people), land animals, waterfowl, migratory game, and even insects such as grasshoppers that often wreak havoc on agricultural produce. Even the rocks are sacred. A previous study indicated that 95% of Lakota households believed that plants and animals have as much right to exist as humans (Pickering and Jewell 2008). The 78% of Lakota agricultural households that believe they should try to leave as much land aside for wildlife is reflective of Lakota community values (see Table 1).

Several agricultural operators on the reservation keep land in reserve, unassociated from the Conservation Reserve Program, to provide habitats suitable for pheasant, mule deer, turkey and bison hunting. Hunting is a viable source of economic gain within the reservation economy in relation to food production and exchange for many Lakota families. In addition, the art of hunting is still revered among the reservation residents. One bison rancher stated that he conserved land "so we could have it all the time and better quality bucks and better does and stuff like that for the next generation, you know." Some of the reservation agricultural operators also double as hunting guides to increase their profitability without degrading the natural environment. Though Lakota agricultural operators are integrated within the global economic system, they still consider the affects their operations have on holistic landscapes. Animals, animal habitats and the community play a critical role in Lakota agricultural operators' decision making.

Local Embeddedness and the Global Economy.

For Pine Ridge residents, sources of information and decision making of local households depend on local relationships. There are signifi-

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cant differences in how Lakota agricultural households and non-Indian agricultural operators view their duties, obligations and relationships towards the surrounding community. Lakota agricultural operators included in this study expressed deeper obligations to their local community and local ecosystem than their non-Indian counterparts.

Commitments to community and tradition were apparent in a number of Lakota agricultural operators' practices. For example, buffalo operators were constantly harvesting individual buffalo for ceremonial and cultural events, regardless of whether they would be paid for the animal, because it contributed to the healing and nurturing of the community. A Lakota bison rancher explained the importance of communal giving and restoring traditions when he mentioned distributing meat to the community and elders during business meetings, ceremonies and times of need. In contrast, one non-Indian farmer said he would not give meat to community members because he did not want to create the expectation that he was there to help them out in times of trouble.

Similarly, Lakota agricultural operators expressed greater concerns about the positive impacts their agricultural operations had on their community. The spirit of community remained important for Lakota households, in contrast to a more individualistic and competitive viewpoint among non-Indian agricultural households. Lakota agricultural households often allowed their lands to be used for community-based projects without monetary compensation or other benefits. However, their generosity benefitted the greater community. For example, one agricultural operator donated lands to Oglala Lakota College for a community garden.

There was a considerable difference among Lakota and non-Indian agricultural operators in relation to the people they viewed as most influential in regard to farm operation decisions. Both non-Indian agricultural operators from Colorado, Montana and South Dakota, and Lakota agricultural operators from Pine Ridge were asked, "Who is the most influential person/group on the reservation/county in regard to farm operation decisions?" For Lakota agricultural operators, 82% claimed that local entities such as family, country folk, the tribal council or the land office were most influential for their decision-making. One Lakota wheat farmer and cattle rancher responded, "I watch a little bit of everybody and put it all together with what I know." The other 18% relied on the federally organized Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In contrast, only 29% of the non-Indian respondents relied on local entities such as families and the farming community, while 42% relied on federal organizations such as the Farm Service Agency (FSA), USDA and the Natural Resource Conservation Service (NRCS) as well as other corporate organizations and representatives such as banks and chemical salesmen. A non-Indian farmer expressed the importance of non-local entities within their farming community when he stated, "USDA [and the] NRCS office kept farming going, like it or not."

The importance of local relationships to Lakota agricultural operators in regard to trustworthy agricultural information was reiterated by the responses to the question, "Who do you trust the most to provide you with accurate/ useful agricultural information?" For Lakota agricultural operators, 77% trusted information from local people such as community members, family and the locally operated Oglala Lakota College. Only 29% of the non-Indian respondents trusted the local farm community, neighbors and families for accurate or useful agricultural information. Though agricultural operations are an integral piece of the global economy, the vast majority of Lakota respondents view their operations as a reflection of the culturally embedded ideas within their local community.

The Value of Non-Agricultural Plants. Another interesting contrast between Lakota and non-Indian agricultural operators is what they value within their local landscape. In most Western management re-

gimes, wild plants are deemed as "weeds" with no intrinsic value to the market or to agricultural households. The term "weed" does not necessarily mean a plant is entirely undesirable. J. M. Torell (Whitson et al. 2000:ix) describes a weed as, "[a] plant that interferes with management objectives for a given area of land at a given point in time." In contrast, Lakota agricultural operators, even those who plant wheat, demonstrate a concern for the intrinsic value of wild plants, both in their qualitative and quantitative responses to the 2008 USDA survey. Their management practices do not emphasize elimination of plants.

The large majority of Lakota and non-Indian agricultural operators in this study earn most of their household income from selling agricultural products through commodity markets. From a neoclassical perspective, concern for profitability within the market economy should outweigh concern for the preservation of locally occurring wild plant species. For example, when one non-Indian farmer was asked whether "agricultural crops are more important than plants that are native to this area," he replied, "Depends on the economy."

For non-Indian agricultural operators, the market economy plays the most critical role in their decision-making regarding the plants they raise on their farm. Only 37% of non-Indian agricultural operators felt that native plants were as or more important than agricultural crops (see Table 1). In contrast, 57% of the Lakota respondents believed that native plants were as or more important than agricultural crops. Similarly, 100% of Lakota respondents agreed that "useful wild plants" are important on the farm, while, 77% of non-Indians thought that "useful wild plants" are important on their farms. Furthermore, within Lakota households, 57% agreed that it is important to have wild plants on their farm, even those that were not "useful." In contrast, only 28% of non-Indian households considered plants on their farm that were not "useful" as important. A non-Indian farmer responded when asked about the importance of having wild plants that were not "useful" on his farm, "...if you're talking about a weed, then I disagree, but if it's natural, then you should try to keep them." This statement demonstrates a lack of knowledge about native wild plants in the area. If the term natural was used in lieu of native, many "weeds" are natural. Though many "weeds" are native plant species with intrinsic value to indigenous peoples, they are nearly worthless on the agricultural market. In fact their eradication through extra tilling and chemical herbicide applications are costly to farmers operating from the neoclassical premise that wild plants do not contribute to market profitability. Even though the agricultural operators were economically dependent on agriculture, Lakota agricultural operators did not automatically regard crops as more important than native plants. To the Lakota, native plants did not interfere with management objectives, thus they were not regarded as weeds. On the contrary, Lakota management objectives include native ecological reservation and providing environments suitable for wild plants.

Part of this contrast in viewpoint between Lakota and non-Indian agriculturalists can be attributed to cultural values. Numerous plants are vitally important to traditional Lakota spiritual, emotional and medicinal practices (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995). The reservation communities' reverence for wild plants is reflected in the attitudes of Lakota agricultural operators towards wild plants on their land. In Lakota households, wild plants continue to play a role in the nutrition, ceremonies and social life of the reservation. *Tinpsila* or wild turnip, also called common breadroot scurf pea (*psoralea eschulenta*), is an example of a wild plant important to Lakota people. During earlier periods of nomadic hunting and gathering, *tinpsila* was a primary staple for the Lakota. Skinned, braided and left to dry, these turnips can be preserved for years and boiled in soups with other wild foods. *Tinpsila* is sought after for household use, community gatherings and

ceremonial feasts. *Tinpsila* braids are used as a source of trade within the substantive reservation economy and for extra income in tourist shops and roadside stands along the reservation.

Other plants that are still available as food resources on the reservation include: *hehaka pejuta* or wild bergamot (*Monardia fistulosa*); stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*); *pte tawote* or ground plums (*Astragalus crassicaupus*); *mato tinpsila* or red turnips, also called tall breadroot scurfpea (*Psoralea cuspidate*); *sahielu tatinpsila* or Cheyenne turnip (*Lomatium foeniculaceum*); spiderwort (*Tradescantia occidentalis*); *kante* or wild plum (*Prunus americana*); and juniper berries (*Juniperus species pluralis*) (Richard Sherman 2008, personal communication). Though many of these plants are considered "weeds of the west" (Whitson et al. 2000), they are utilized by Lakota households on the reservation. A previous study revealed that 73% of Lakota households used natural resources for trade and subsistence (Pickering and Jewell 2008:23). Harvesting these plants requires spending time in nature - the sacred Lakota landscape. Supplying traditional food sources to the local community strengthens community relationships, instills cultural integrity and provides healthy food alternatives to Lakota *oyate* (people) in a way in which the monetary profits of neoclassical agricultural practices cannot fulfill.

Some of the medicinal plants widely known throughout the Lakota community include: sweet grass (*Hierocloe odorata*); women's sage or *peji hota* (*Artemisia frigid*); chokecherries or *canpa hu* (*Prunus virginiana*); wild licorice or *winawizi ci'kala* (*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*); *Echinacea* or *ica'hpe hu* (*Echinacea angustifolia*); and buffalo berries or *mastince pute* (*Ribes aureum odoratum*) (Richard Sherman 2008, personal communication; Nabhan and Kindsher 2006). For Lakota households on the Pine Ridge reservation, 84% responded favorably to the question, "How do you feel about traditional healing?" More than 80% of respondents in the 2000-2008 longitudinal study of 300 Pine Ridge households maintained that their spiritual beliefs are connected to the way they feel about nature (Pickering and Jewell 2008:8), with a strong belief that animals and plants are interdependent on one and other to survive. This data confirms the importance of wild plant for traditional methods of healing and spiritual fulfillment on the reservation. Lakota agricultural operators fulfill a cultural need by respecting wild plant growth on their properties, while simultaneously providing community access to medicinal plant sources.

Plants also play a key role in local conception of place and history (Basso 1996; Braudel 1980:3; Nabokov 2007). A wheat farmer from a Lakota household delighted in an old cottonwood tree and the connections he had to it as a boy when we toured his property. This tree, growing in a lush canyon adjacent to his farm fields, has no monetary value for the farmer. It provides no direct benefits such as shade from the summer sun or a break from the winter wind, yet his emotional and psychological connections to the cottonwood supersede any capitalist economic motive of valuing the tree as an income source. This dying tree and others that line the accessible canyon would bring large monetary harvests on the reservation where many residents depend on firewood for protection from the winter cold.

In addition, a percolating natural spring keeps the canyon moist and abundant with plants. One plant in particular dries out during the month of July. Once the flat, transparent pod is removed, seeds remain which provide tastes of garlic and Italian seasoning. These seeds provide no greater means of incorporation into the global market system for the farm household. However, the ability to spice up Italian dishes from a wild plant, just out the backdoor, increases dependence on the intricacies of nature as opposed to market commodities that include arms-length dealing and environmental and social exploitation. This wheat farmer, like many Lakota agricultural operators, took great

pride in the amount of wild resources he has preserved on his farmland, subsequently preserving culture and place.

Conclusion

The Lakota have joined the ranks of other agricultural operators as players within global commodity markets. However, there is ample reason to believe that Lakota agricultural operators use alternative economic concepts and culturally based considerations to analyze their options and make agricultural household decisions. The purely economic cost-benefit analysis is not a traditional Lakota concept and is not regarded as the most important consideration for Lakota household decision making today. Land policies were intended to enforce Native American assimilation through commodity agriculture. Though some traditional Lakota hunter-gatherers adopted farming and ranching, much of their cultural values of community, the environment and spiritual reverence for land and animals persist today. In addition, reliance upon traditional food sources for spiritual engagement, physical and emotional healing, and empowerment is necessary for Lakota cultural continuity. In contrast, the non-Indian responses to the agricultural operator surveys are more representative of the values assumed in neoclassical economics and underlying agricultural policies within the northern Great Plains.

The Lakota agriculturalists place cultural continuity above monetary value concerning their agricultural operations, decreasing harvest capabilities in favor of havens for wild animals and plants on their lands. Lakota agricultural operators remain locally embedded and their practices reflect traditional community values. In contrast to non-Indian agricultural operators throughout the northern Great Plains, the Lakota place physical, spiritual and emotional significance on non-agricultural plants. To achieve greater sustainability on the Great Plains, policy makers need to expand incentives to embrace alternative agricultural values and practices such as those used by Lakota households. Alternative modes of agriculture and ethnic based decision-making should be evaluated and considered through focus groups comprised of Lakota agricultural operators and policy makers. In addition, further research is needed to assess the implications of Lakota practices on Great Plains ecosystems compared to agricultural operators utilizing a cost benefit analysis. Alternative viewpoints of the Lakota and others must be acknowledged and critically examined to provide a future for agriculture, ecosystems and the local and global communities dependent on food production.

Notes

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FACING THE UNIMAGINABLE: HOPI AND SOUTHERN PAIUTE RESPOND TO MASSIVE RISK EVENTS

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ABSTRACT

This is an anthropological analysis of two massive risk events, (1) the 1780 North American smallpox pandemic at Hopi and (2) the contemporary transportation of radioactive waste along the Southern Paiute path to heaven; and an assessment of how these American Indian societies responded. Findings from the analysis are used to ground the Risk Society Theory of Ulrich Beck (1992). The analysis is based on historic documents and contemporary ethnographic interviews. A cross cultural and diachronic analysis of risks is theoretically important according to Boholm (2009) because understandings of risks, like other experiential phenomena, are informed by socially and culturally structured and historically conditioned conceptions and evaluations of the world.

KEY WORDS: Risk Society Theory, Social Resilience, Hopi, Southern Paiutes

A fundamental principle of Risk Society Theory (Beck 1992) is that humans in recent times have experienced unprecedented and thus unimaginable risks. As a consequence today we all face *ontological insecurity* (Giddens 1990) because we have neither experienced nor prepared for these new risks and our future is unclear. Often these risks occur due to our proceeding with science and technology decisions based on *timescapes* (Adam 1998) that were too narrow in temporal and spatial scale (Stoffle, Stoffle and Sjolander-Lindvist 2012). Of course sometimes, natural events just happen.

This analysis provides another data-based perspective on Beck's Risk Society Theory (Stoffle and Arnold 2003, Stoffle et al. 2004). Here we ground in case examples the Beck assertion that recent risk episodes are both unprecedented and beyond our pre-existing cultural strategies to maintain social resilience. According to Beck (1992: 20) the modernization process leads to more destructive forces being unleashed and these forces are unlike any others previously experienced. These *unimaginable risks* are considered here in terms of three variables: (1) frequency of occurrence, (2) magnitude, and (3) substance of risks. Each of these variables is viewed as key for understanding (perhaps predicting) the ability of a specific human society to understand, prepare for, and adapt to extreme risks. Risk preparation is the cultural foundation of *resilience* (Resilience Alliance 2013).

Two cases contribute to the analysis. The historical case involves the recovery of the Hopi Indian society after a severe regional drought and the massive North American smallpox pandemic of 1780 (Fenn 2001). Hundreds of American Indian societies experienced this pandemic from central Mexico in the south to British Columbia in the north. This historic case is then compared with a contemporary case involving impacts from the transportation of radioactive waste along the Southern Paiute path to the Afterlife (Stoffle and Arnold 2003). Radioactive waste is currently hauled from 22 Department of Energy national laboratories across the traditional lands of dozens of American Indian societies, including Southern Paiutes, en route to the Nevada Test Site. These two cases illustrate the characteristics of unimaginable risks and the cultural ability (and limits) of these two American Indian societies to be resilient.

THEORY

Risk Society Theory frames many popular and scientific explanations of the contemporary world, especially social and cultural

conditions in Europe and the United States. The notion of Risk Society was presented by the German sociologist Ulrich Beck in 1986 and the term quickly caught on as a way of describing and explaining the stresses shaping human society in the late 20th century. According to Beck, even though humans have always been exposed to and subsequently adapted to risks, qualitatively and quantitatively new kinds of risks now confront society. During this period, Europe experienced risks from the Chernobyl Nuclear Plant melt down, widespread chemical pollution, the mad cow disease outbreak, and biotechnology (Adam, Beck, and Van Loon 2000; Lash, Szerszynski, and B. Wynne 1996). According to Beck (1992: 56) the growing awareness of modernization risks was a totally *unimaginable phenomenon* (emphasis added) a generation ago and is now already a political factor of the first rank. Knowledge of risks that are threats from 20th century techno-scientific civilization has only become established against massive denials and bitter resistance (Beck 1992: 58). The consciousness of modernization risks has had to be argued against the resistance of scientific rationality (Beck 1992: 59). According to his Risk Society Theory one reason these risks have been denied is because the established leadership of modern society (political and scientific) neither has a way of fixing the risks nor of helping society be resilient against their challenges. Not only is contemporary society facing unimaginable risks but it is doing so without the help of traditionally trusted leadership and knowledge providers to set these problems right. This situation has led to a widespread loss of confidence in society itself – another contribution to ontological insecurity, which might be considered as modern *social anomie* (Durkheim 1897).

Resilience is a term that has emerged in common use as well as in the biological and social sciences. Interestingly its popularity emerged just as society lost confidence in its ability to persist in the face of new risks, and it is possible that the two were related. As natural and social disasters increased in frequency and intensity, the issue of lifeway survival became increasingly salient. Resilience is used in this analysis as a social, not an individual or small group, phenomenon. Resilience is about a social condition that occurs when people, acting in traditional ways, learn about their ecosystems and adjust their adaptive strategies to protect them from natural and social perturbations. According to Holling (1973), the Resilience Alliance (2008), and Berkes, Colding, and Folke (2003: 13-16), resilience can be understood in terms of the magnitude, frequency, and kinds of disturbance that can be absorbed or buffered without the

society and culture undergoing fundamental changes. In human terms the simple question is "Are we still here, largely unchanged, after the risk event?"

Ontological insecurity exists at the juncture of risk and resilience. Over time a society can and will co-adapt to social and natural perturbations (like hurricanes, earthquakes, droughts, and wars) that occur within cycles of a few hundred years (Stoffle, Toupal, and Zedeño 2003). When co-adapted with such threats, people are confident that their way of life will persist beyond the risk event. Some perturbations, however, can overwhelm resilience preparations (Stoffle and Minnis 2008). It is beyond the ability of a society to prepare for and adapt to perturbations (like massive tsunamis, volcanic eruptions and devastating pandemics), which have never occurred before, or only occur every millennium, or have never been this severe, or have unique components. Such perturbations are unimaginable and can lead to ontological insecurity.

RISKS THEN AND NOW

Beck's argument that contemporary society has been changed by unimaginable risk events is open to discussion because of its importance and because it has not been grounded in local cases and other time periods (Boholm 2009, Boholm and Lofstedt 2004, Stoffle et al. 2004). According to Beck, when Chernobyl released radiation that exposed Europe and most of the planet, it created a *new risk event* that not only caused health effects but also changed the nature of society itself. Because Chernobyl exposed all Europeans regardless of wealth and rank it thus weakened the foundations of social class, which had been developed during the rise of Industrial Society due to the uneven distribution of valued resources. After Chernobyl evenly distributed its radioactive risks no one was safer than another. Two key foundations of resilience, trust in leaders and reliance on knowledgeable people, were weakened by previous assurances by political and scientific leaders that a Chernobyl-like event could never happen and later by their public rhetoric downplaying both the event itself and the probability of reoccurrence. When trust is a victim of a risk event, the future of society is doubted.

Figure 1. Hopi Lands

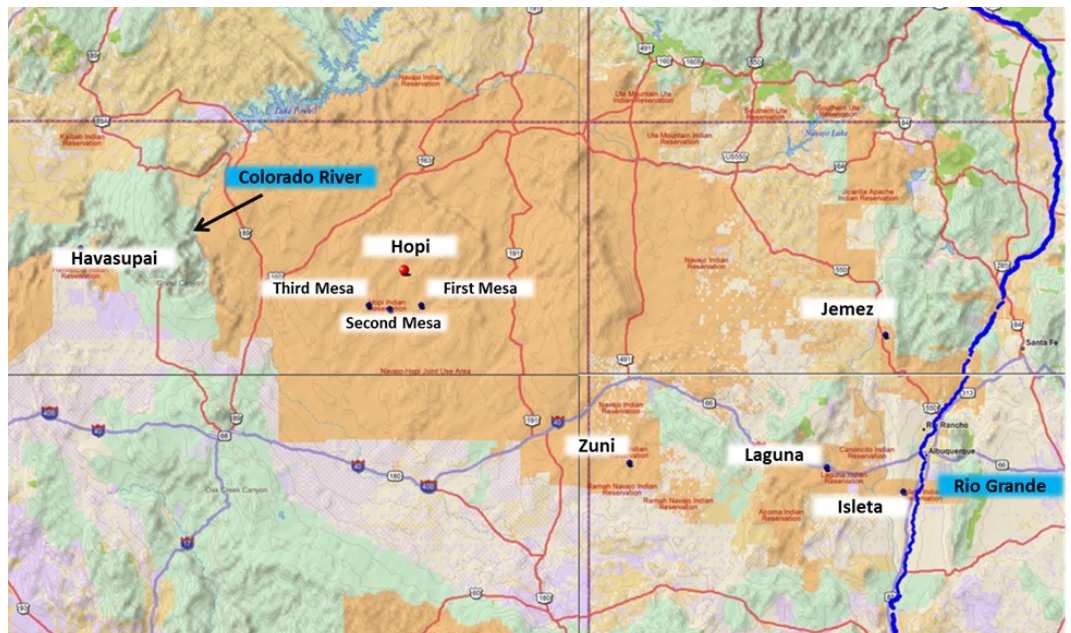
Hopi and 1780 Drought and Smallpox

The Hopi are an American Indian people who have lived for thousands of years on and near a series of isolated mesas in northern Arizona (Zedeño 1997) where they traditionally engaged in complex ceremonial cycles mostly focused on balancing the world, causing rain to fall in this extremely arid desert, and living from the dry farming of corn, beans, and squash (Figure 1). During this period they co-adapted with surrounding American Indian groups and a fluctuating natural environment. Key in this co-adaptation was what might be called a *breathing community* that can increase or decrease its local population (see for comparison Stoffle 2001). According to Levy (1992: 156) the Hopi have a system of resource control wherein the best local agricultural lands are controlled by a single household in the prime lineage

of a clan. As resources become scarce, excess populations are removed in an orderly manner. This preserves the core of every social unit: phratries, clans, and lineages. So, in times of normal cycles of regional drought, selected portions of the Hopi population moved away to be with other tribes with more permanent water (Levy 1992: 107-108), like to the northwest along the Colorado River among the Havasupai people or east to the Rio Grande Pueblo communities (Parsons 1936).

Social networks created by intermarriage and reciprocal exchanges facilitated gaining access to other people's natural resources in times of normal local drought (Titiev 1972: 273). These relationships seem very old according to Lyons (2003) who tracked pulses of ethnic migrations arriving at Hopi after 1150 AD by using pottery styles, perforated plates, ladles, ceramic colanders, ladle handles, kivas, and other archaeological data. Fewkes (1900) documents that Hopi and Havasupai, for example, had reciprocal agreements, which took the form of intermarried families, local exchange groups, and common clans present in each society. Such exchanges were adaptive for many groups having difficulties supporting themselves in times of drought and stress. For example, refugees from Jemez, Zuni, Laguna, and Isleta pueblos came to Hopi in 1715-1716 when drought and raids from Utes, Navajos, and Apaches caused these other pueblo people to seek refuge (John 1975: 238). In 1775 Hopi as the only Pueblo not under Spanish control continued to be the primary home for many Rio Grande peoples who participated in the 1680 revolt against the Spanish (Adams 1963: 104). Usually, however, according to this adaptive pattern, refugees returned to their home territory when conditions permitted.

Around 1780 the people at Hopi faced an unimaginable perturbation – an extensive three year long drought (1777-1779) which when combined with a North American smallpox pandemic (during about the same period) jointly killed most of the Hopi population (Upham 1986). In the *Hopi Dictionary* (The Hopi Dictionary Project 1998: 378) the word for smallpox *paayawu* has two more phrases of reference "*Hisat Oravve ~y akw wuukoso'a*. (Long ago in Oraibi many people died from smallpox) and *Hópiituy amumi pitu* (This smallpox afflicted the Hopi people). So many Hopi people died at this time that the living could not properly bury the dead. The massive number of



bodies combined with only a few healthy survivors necessitated that the bodies be thrown off the edge of the mesas (Emory Sekaquaptewa, personal communication).

Father Escalante made it possible to measure these impacts when he traveled from Zuni (where he had been stationed) to formally meet with Hopi leaders in June of 1775 (Adams 1963). The Father's visit officially was for the purpose of converting the Hopi. The Spanish more broadly had plans to push the frontier further west by conquering the Hopi and finding a route to Upper California (Adams 1963: 100, 108). These military goals clearly made it important for the Spanish to accurately know how many Hopi lived in their seven pueblos. Escalante's 1775 Hopi census (actually a counting of what he calls families which we would define today as households) estimated a population of 7,494 people in 1,249 families (households), with an average of 6 people in each family (Adams 1963: 133-135).

In order find a route to California in 1776 the Spanish launched a major expedition headed by Fathers Dominguez and Escalante (Dominguez and Escalante 1776). On their way back from their failed attempt to find the trail to California the expedition visited Hopi in November of 1776. Their diary entries at Hopi neither mention the drought nor the smallpox so apparently these had not arrived by that time (Warner and Chavez 1995).

In September 1779 the Hopi leaders sent messengers the Spanish Governor Juan Bautista de Anza requesting that he come to Hopi so that he would understand their dire condition and perhaps provide assistance. This was a surprising event inasmuch as the Hopi had a policy of not welcoming the Spanish. When Governor Anza and his men arrived he officially estimated a population of 798 people living in 133 families – he still used an unrealistically high estimate of 6 people in each family. The Hopi village of Oraibi, for example, had 800 families in 1775 and barely 40 in September of 1779, a loss of 95%. The seven Hopi villages had dwindled to 5 families with no more than 40 families left in any village. By most calculations the Hopi lost at least 90% of their population by 1780 (John 1975: 600).

Some Hopi people did move away as part of a traditional pattern of relocating to ethnically different communities living in wetter ecosystems. Some refugees moved safely to Havasupai, but many of the Hopi refugees who moved towards the Rio Grande were killed or captured by the Navajos and never returned (Fewkes 1900: 611; John 1975: 593, 597). The Navajo people were “at war” with the Hopi in 1775. The severity of these threats caused the Zuni to agree to provide Father Escalante with armed escorts for this journey to Hopi. Escalante's escorts, however, forcibly rerouted him against his will to protect him from the Navajos on his way to Hopi (Adams 1963: 105, 109-113). During this period there was a recurring pattern where the Navajo people sometimes (1) provided full protection for refugees and other American Indian travelers, (2) killed only the men and kept the women and children, or (3) killed everyone (Grant 1978: 70-71, 82).

By 1780, however, many Hopi people had simply chosen to die in place on their mesas – their options were extremely limited because other peoples who might have helped in the past were also in similar trouble. At Zuni, for example, people experienced a similar fate and had largely died or left that pueblo. The Rio Grande pueblo people did have river water but they were dying in similar numbers from the smallpox (John 1975: 598). So, a lower number of deaths than 90% may have occurred because some Hopi did leave to live with neighboring ethnic groups, but the prognosis was poor for everyone and Hopi society was in extreme jeopardy by 1780.

The Hopi population partially recovered but it never again (until modern times) reached the pre-1780 size. Levy (1992:108-109) cor-

related more declines in Hopi population in the 1800s with additional droughts and smallpox episodes. The most detailed analysis of the Hopi population during this period was provided in 1893 by Thomas Donaldson who produced an Extra Census Bulletin entitled Moqui Pueblo Indians of Arizona. On page 15 of that Bulletin is the following summary of the best counts and estimates of the Hopi population available (Donaldson 1893:15):

- In 1745 two friars claimed to have counted ... 10,846 people at Hopi.
- In 1775 Governor Anza counted 7,494 people at Hopi.
- In 1775 Escalante counted 7,494 people at Hopi.
- In 1780 Governor Anza counted 798 people at Hopi – no rain had fallen for 3 years and at that time the Hopi deaths were given at 6,698.
- In 1846 Governor Bent counted 2,450 persons at Hopi.
- In 1853 Lieutenant Whipple counted 6,720 people at Hopi (this was just prior to the small pox of 1853-54).
- In 1861 US Indian Agent Ward estimated 2,500 people at Hopi.
- In 1865 US Indian Agent Ward estimated 3,000 people at Hopi
- In 1863 Colyer estimated 4,000 people at Hopi.
- In 1890 the Eleventh US Census counted 1,996 people at Hopi.

The 1890 US census indicated a total Hopi population of 1,996 persons, the 1900 US Census recorded 1,852 persons, and the 1910 US Census documented 2,009 persons. Thus the early 20th century Hopi population was less than a quarter of what it was in 1775 and what it was between droughts and smallpox episodes in the 19th century.

Still the people at Hopi in the early 20th century appeared to be living a traditional lifeway, conducting balancing and rain ceremonies, and experiencing a daily round of life much like that observed by Father Escalante in 1775 (Parsons 1936). The question then is, how did they restore/reconstitute their society and culture after the 1780 drought, pandemic, and massive population loss? The most robust explanation is that other American Indian peoples from distant communities who lost much of their population became unable to sustain a traditional way of life there and so subsequently moved to Hopi. These other peoples then permanently joined this increasingly multi-ethnic community as new clans. Joining Hopi, however, involved accepting strict protocols where the newcomers recognized the primacy of Hopi language, culture, and political leadership model. Newcomers were permitted unique roles in Hopi society, they could continue to practice specialized religious ceremonies in private kivas, and speak their own language in isolation. Each clan and religious society was welcome to become a part of a Hopi village but only on the assurance that the new people would make a contribution to the common good of the community (Hieb 2002: 91).

Hopi society in the 20th century is now made of many peoples and cultures. Their perception of traditional lands constitutes what is called *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi Land), which encompasses everywhere the Hopi ancestors traveled, lived, and were buried during the long migration from the place of origin to *Tuwanasavi* (earth center) on the Hopi Mesas (Kuwanwisiwma and Ferguson 2004).

In retrospect it appears that outwardly the Hopi language, culture, and population were resilient with respect to the 1780 smallpox pandemic and drought. Clearly, however, many clans did not survive

these two perturbations and there was a much different ethnic mix of peoples afterwards living at Hopi. Hopi has had up to sixty-four clans in the past few hundred years. Today, there are more like 32 clans, many members of which have participated in five of our ethnographic studies as elders of the Hopi Cultural Committee, which serves the Cultural Preservation Office (Stoffle et al. 2009). To be Hopi, according to interviews with these elders, is not so much a being a part of a biological group as it is a way of life (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004). Elders we interviewed (Stoffle et al. 2009) maintain that among the key pillars of Hopi culture are cooperation, respect, stewardship, compassion, and humility; humility perhaps as the greatest. They say Hopi is a philosophy and a way of life.

The Hopi society is now, according to the elders, composed of clans who share the overarching identity of being Hopi, but many clans have their unique history, language, and ceremonies, which derive from an ancestral home elsewhere (Yava 1978: 46 - 61). There are Hopi clans today composed of people whose ancestors were Navajo, O'odham, Southern Paiute, and the people from Chaco Canyon, all of whom came to live at and as Hopi.

Southern Paiutes and Radioactive Waste on the Path to Heaven

Southern Paiutes have a spiritual trail known as the Salt Song Trail, which was established at Creation as the cultural and physical path to the Afterlife (The Cultural Conservancy 2010) (see Figure 2). The Paiute Afterlife is a concept similar in many ways to the Christian concept of Heaven, except that all people who arrive are whole and healthy again and live a contented life until they are reincarnated. When a person passes away his friends and relatives move him along this Salt Song Trail by singing a series of Salt Songs and Bird Songs over a period of days. Each set of songs moves the departed person along the trail to a specified physical and spiritual place where he stops and remains until the songs begin again. The departed person only moves along the Salt Song Trail be-

Figure 2. The Salt Song Trail

Salt Song Trail Map of Nuwuvi (Southern Paiute) Sacred Landscapes, Culture Areas and Bands



This map shows Nuwuvi (Southern Paiute) holy lands spanning ocean and desert, mountains and rivers and across four states. These landmarks are described in the Nuwuvi Salt Songs and represent ancient villages, gathering sites for salt and medicinal herbs, trading routes, historic sites, sacred areas, ancestral lands and pilgrimages in a physical and spiritual landscape of stories and songs. The Salt Songs are a cultural and spiritual bond between the Nuwuvi and the land, and represent a renewal and healing of a Nuwuvi's spiritual journey.

The Salt Songs are sung at memorial ceremonies and follow a trail that begins at Avi Nava/Ting-ai-ay (Rock House), the sacred cave at the Bill Williams River, and travels to the Colorado River north to the Colorado Plateau, west to Nuva Kaiv (Mt. Charleston), through mountain passes to the Pacific Ocean and then back east through the desert to the Colorado River and to its place of origin.

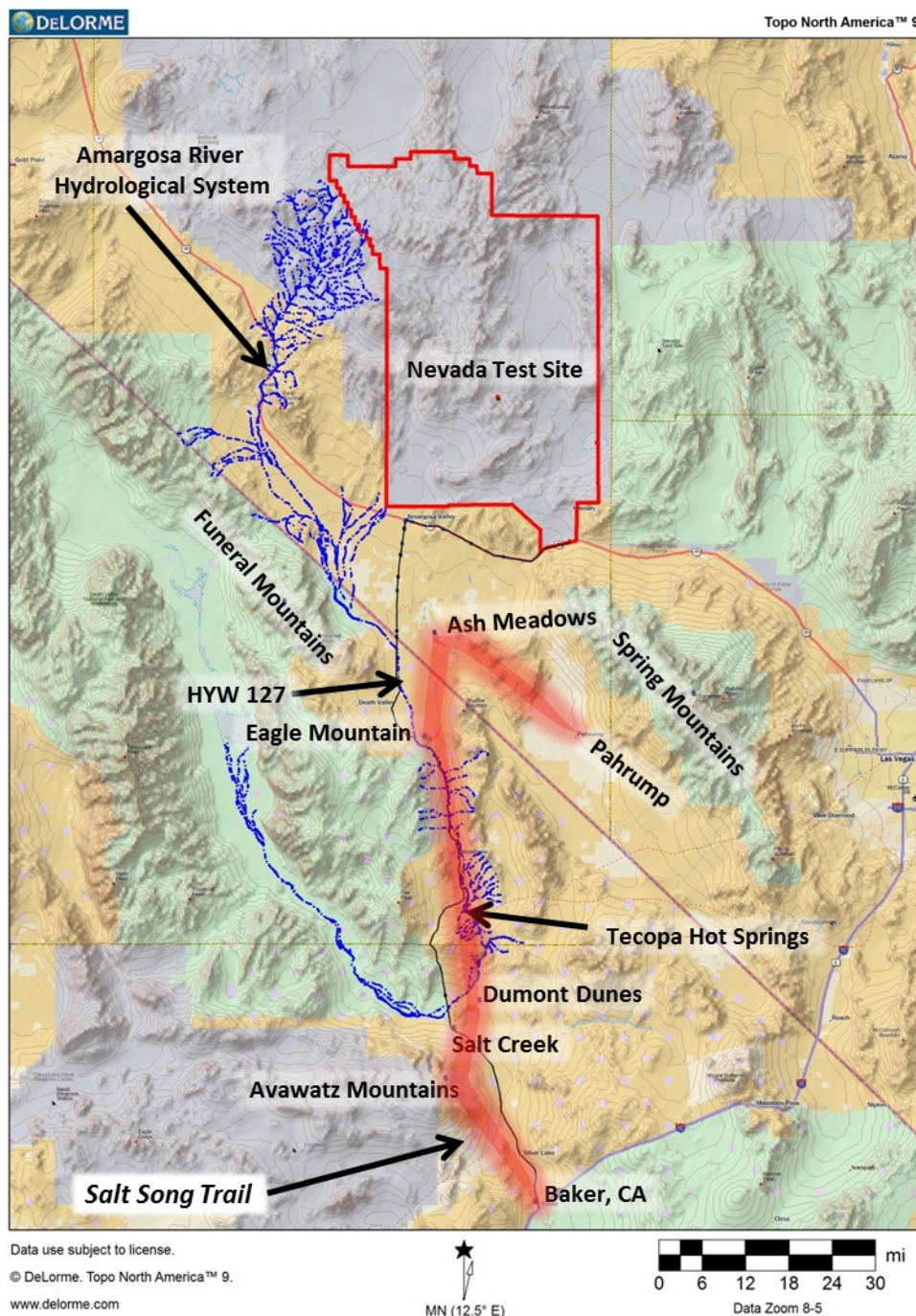
The trail visits the fourteen bands of Nuwuvi people including: Cedar City, Chemehuevi Valley, Colorado River Indian Tribes, Indian Peak, Kaibab, Kanosh, Kawaiisu, Kaiparowits, Las Vegas, Moapa, Koosharem, Pahrump, San Juan, Shivwits, and Twenty-nine Palms Band of Mission Indians.

For more information, copies of this poster and the film *The Salt Song Trail* contact Philip M. Klasky, director of The Storyscape Project of The Cultural Conservancy at www.nativeland.org, (415) 561-6594, Salt Song Trail directors Matthew Leivas (760) 858-4049 and Vivienne Jake (928) 643-7210.

The Salt Song Trail Project © 2009 all rights reserved.
Design by Dana F. Smith and Philip M. Klasky



Figure 3. The Salt Song Route Near Highway 127



Southern Paiute traditional territory and that of the Hualapai people to the east across the Colorado River (Laird 1976) (see Figure 2). The trail is both spiritual and physical. It has physical places such as an approximate center point of the trail and distinctive places all along where the departed person stops at the end of each set of songs. It has spiritual elements most of which are not discussed by Southern Paiute people, but one component is a mountain ridge to mountain ridge viewscape centered on the trail that is important to the well being of the departed and the performance of the singers who mentally follow along and track the trail as the songs are sung.

In 1996 the Department of Energy (DOE) began funding ethnographic studies of potential impacts to American Indian people and cultural places deriving from the transportation of radioactive waste along various highways in Nevada and California (Austin 1996; American Indian Transportation Committee 1999). The radioactive waste is being hauled from DOE national laboratories to the Nevada Test Site (NTS) now known as the Nevada National Security Site. One route that already had some waste hauled along it leads from Baker, California north up highway 127 to Death Valley Junction on the way to the NTS (see Figure 3). Most of this route corresponds with an 83-mile long segment of the Salt Song Trail, which includes the Amargosa River hydrological system.

Three radioactive waste transportation proposals have been considered for this segment of the path to the Afterlife. In 1986 the States of Arizona and California considered the Silurian Valley north of Baker as a site for a joint radioactive waste isolation facility (Stoffle 1987). That proposal was rejected. The NTS transportation study discussed here was the second proposal (American Indian Transportation Committee 1999). Finally an Environmental Impact Study (EIS) was conducted which assessed the impacts

cause of the singing of Salt and Bird Songs.

This path to the Afterlife traverses about a thousand miles through

(American Indian Transportation Committee 1999). Finally an Environmental Impact Study (EIS) was conducted which assessed the impacts

on American Indian culture of the movement of Greater Than Class C (GTCC) radioactive waste to the NTS (Department of Energy 2008). GTCC waste is much higher in activity than many other types of radioactive wastes, and as such, it is potentially more threatening to deceased spirits passing on to the Afterlife according to Indian people involved in the study.

There are numerous specific places (song stopping places) mentioned in the Salt Songs along this portion of the trail. Prominent among these are seven places: Ash Meadows, Eagle Mountain, Tecopa Hot Springs, Dumont Sand Dunes, Salt Creek Spring, Avatwatz Mountains, and the springs at Baker, CA. The song trail and contemporary highway generally follow the Amargosa River which flows south and turns west into Death Valley and the prominent hydrological systems that flow north from near Baker and turn west near Dumont Dunes into Death Valley.

Southern Paiute epistemology stipulates that all the elements of the world are sentient and, like humans, have agency (Stoffle and Arnold 2003). Elements of the world have a range of positive and negative responses to how they are used and treated. Southern Paiute people traditionally knew about and used radioactive minerals (Stoffle and Arnold 2003). American Indian people today talk about the yellow mineral as being used by *Puhaganti* (*Puha* = power and -*ganti* = having) and as face paint for warriors. Areas with high concentrations of the mineral were called dead zones and placed off limits to average American Indian people. Such areas were places of *Puha* and could only be visited by a prepared *Puhaganti*. It is difficult to determine just how old is American

Indian knowledge about and use of radioactive minerals; however, in southern Utah an excavation of burials and caches in a mountain cave yielded a small bag made of prairie dog skin, folded over at the mouth and tied with cordage. The bag contained eighteen dart points, a wooden flaker, and two lumps of uranium ore (Lindsay et al. 1968:42–53). Carbon 14 dating of a nearby sandal from the same level in the cave indicated a date of 7,000 to 9,000 years ago (or more than 10 k years when adjusted to calendar years – see: www.rlaha.ox.ac.uk/orau) (Lindsay et al. 1968:44). The cave lies within the traditional territory of the Southern Paiute people, and the cache contents suggests that uranium ore has been used as a medicine or spiritual material for perhaps the past 10,000 years by the same people. It must, however, be used in ways it deems appropriate or else it becomes an *Angry Rock*.

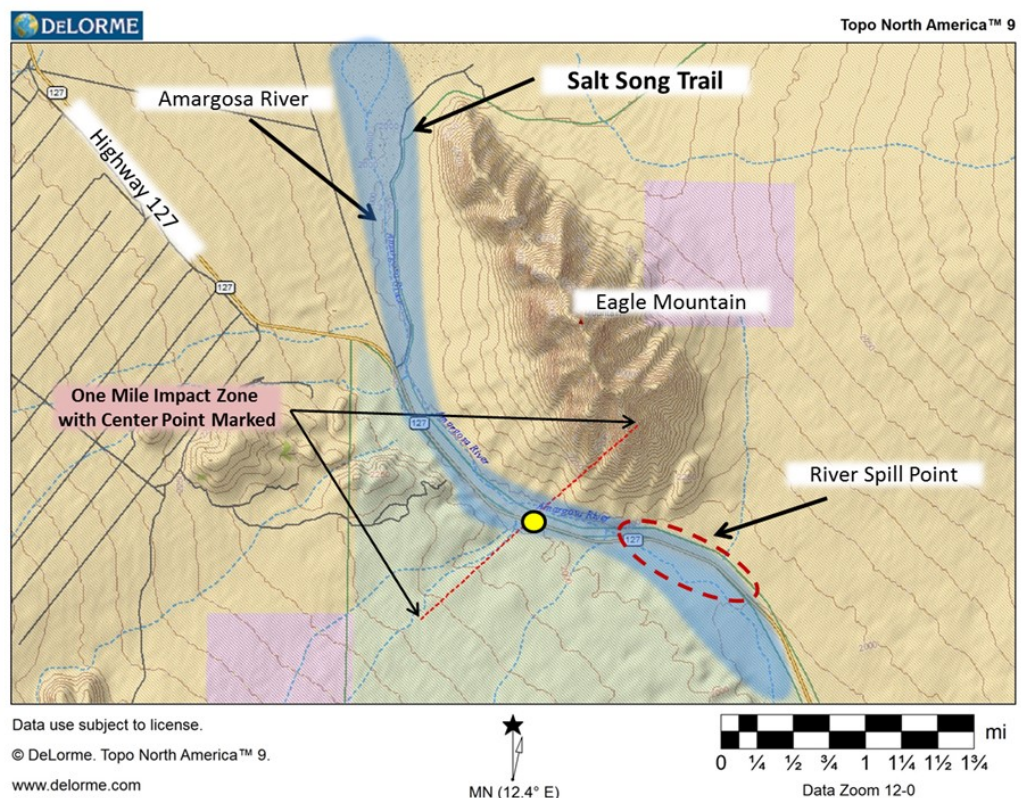
Radioactivity comes from an *Angry Rock*, which uses this and other forces to warn sentient natural resources along its trans-

portation path not to share their energy with humans (Austin 1996) and can interact with departed spirits on their way to the Afterlife. The *zone of influence* is perceived as being about a mile on either side of the highway and basically results in a warning to all nearby places and resources to withhold themselves from humans. The *Angry Rock* can also directly harm others. Radioactive waste can be spilled due to hauling accidents. Elders especially worry if a spill occurs near a water source. The *Angry Rock* also can upset spiritual beings like *Water Babies* and human spirits who have not yet gone to the Afterlife. Spills can also leave the *Angry Rock* permanently in the ground near the road. As a sentient being, radiation can choose to move away from a spill location, either on its own account or be moved by the wind.

Southern Paiute elders specially selected by their tribal governments traveled during our studies along existing and proposed radioactive waste transportation routes (American Indian Transportation Committee 1999). Cultural anthropologists conducted interviews whenever an elder wanted to identify and discuss a place that would be sensitive to the presence of radioactive waste. Elders were especially concerned that the presence of radioactive waste could prevent the deceased person from passing along the Salt Song trail. Contamination was already perceived as occurring due to current radioactive waste hauling. Concern was expressed that more truck hauls (one projection considered up to 22,000 more hauls a year) and higher levels of radioactive waste could result in a radioactive waste spill that could cause a permanent spiritual disruption of the trail.

Elders believe that a large concentration of the *Angry Rock* at

Figure 4. Eagle Mountain and Associated Radioactive Waste Threats



one of the Salt Song stops would prevent the deceased person from both stopping at this mandatory resting place and from further proceeding along the trail to the Afterlife. Figure 4 illustrates radioactive waste threats to a song-stopping place, Eagle Mountain, on a sharp bend in the road. Here there are possibilities of three kinds of pollution; (1) transportation of waste along the highway, (2) a spill into the Amargosa River, and (3) a spill along side of the highway. The spirituality of the mountain, the river, and the passage of the departed are all threatened at this point by both waste transportation and spills.

Elders continue to discuss the implications of having radioactivity on their Salt Song Trail to the Afterlife. Increases in volume and strength of radioactive waste contribute to an unimaginable perturbation. Although uranium was known and used traditionally, it was always mined by Southern Paiutes with reverence and only used by religious or medicine specialists. Contemporary U.S. society, however, has since the 1950s mined millions of tons of uranium and used it without Native American permission or proper ceremony. Now these tons of uranium have become a waste product and the US is seeking places to safely dispose of these Angry Rocks. This is a risk problem that exceeds all traditional situations and cultural adaptations and now seems beyond solution, according to Southern Paiute religious leaders.

DISCUSSION

The emergence of Risk Society by definition contrasts it with risks experienced by the pre and early industrial societies. As such, Beck was largely focused on social types and kinds of risks occurring over the past hundred years in western societies; although he did believe that Risk Society is being experienced worldwide. He made few assumptions, however, about how his new social type would play out in rural and culturally different societies other than to say because of a planet-wide ecology the circulation of pollutants and trust threats creates a World Risk Society (Beck 1992: 23).

The two cases in this analysis illustrate the value of disaggregating key dimensions of unimaginable risk. These cases demonstrate the utility of a risk analysis that separately considers the risk impacts and responses deriving from differences in (1) frequency of occurrence, (2) magnitude, and (3) substance of risks.

Hopi society was culturally pre-adapted to the drought and pandemic that had devastated them by 1780. American Indian people have farmed in and around the Hopi Mesas for more than 2,500 years (Smiley 2002) during which time they came to understand and build responses to various kinds of drought. Pandemic diseases emanated out of Mexico City by 1523 (Dobyns 1966, 1983), although Upham (1986) suggests that none of these exceeded a 30% loss of population. The 1780 trauma of massive population loss and the necessity of throwing the bodies over the edge of the mesas left an indelible emotional scar that exists today (personal communication with Emory Sekeaquaptewa). Generations of Hopi people had previously experienced drought and population loss from diseases, however, the question remains whether these experiences laid a foundation for the Hopi pattern of receiving people from other societies and cultures and incorporating them as new clans, or whether this was a cultural innovation stimulated by an unimaginable risk event.

A question that remains unanswerable, but nonetheless relevant, is which elements of Hopi society did remain the same and which had to be innovated or even radically altered to make such a massive accommodation. According to Chairman Abbott Sekeaquaptewa (2008), "Many people still believe that Hopis have always been one people. In fact, our ancestors were different groups, similar in nature, but each with its own history, tradition and priesthood authority for the performance of the rituals, which they possessed." Another Hopi commentator

said that Hopi society today is culturally resilient to the extent that they still practice an ancient way of life (Lomawyesa 2008).

Southern Paiutes faced a threat from the transportation of radioactive waste (the Angry Rock) along 83 miles of the path to the Afterlife called the Salt Song Trail. There is serious speculation among religious leaders that the path to the Afterlife has and is being disrupted. These disruptions may be episodic such as when the waste passes a spirit on the trail. Spills are another kind of impact, especially were they to happen at certain locations where the spirit stops (see seven critical song stops discussed above) during the journey to the Afterlife. Spills also last much longer and can move at will. It is not clear to tribal elders, participating in NTS waste transportation studies, what the cumulative impacts of radioactive waste hauls and spills have been or will be and whether or not they could become permanent.

Paiute elders during the waste transportation EISs expressed a deepening concern about impacts to the Salt Song Trail. Elders increasingly believe that transported uranium has and probably will continue to be a permanent cultural problem not capable of being mitigated. Paiute tribal elders simply do not know how to culturally accommodate to what they perceive is a basic break in the life cycle.

This analysis returns to the initial question posed by Risk Society Theory (Beck 1992) that only humans in recent times have experienced unprecedented and thus unimaginable risks and as a consequence we all face *ontological insecurity* (Giddens 1990). Two case studies of massive risk events cannot fully resolve this question, but it is clear from the 1780 Hopi case that long before the Industrial Revolution, social risk phenomena were drastically changing the relationships of traditional peoples with each other and with their natural environment. These data thus indicate that Risk Society Theory is not correct when it assumes that unimaginable risks are new to humans. Human societies have adapted to some old risks and potentially can use some former cultural adaptations to face new risks.

These data also assess the proposition that some societies today are unable to adapt to unimaginable risks because the risk is unique in frequency or intensity. Even though Southern Paiute people knew about radiation and had used it in medicine for thousands of years, they never imagined it could appear inappropriately on the path to the Afterlife and do so in quantities so large that it could prevent the departed persons from reaching their Afterlife. This portion of Risk Society Theory is supported by the Southern Paiute case where traditional leaders are currently without culturally-based adaptive solutions to the risk.

These two cases support the Risk Theory assumption that unimaginable risks weaken social resilience, causing people to lose confidence in their own agency to adapt, and thus causing ontological insecurity. The Hopi people were all but eliminated but still were able to reconstruct a society that was similar to what it had been before the 1780 drought and pandemic. They remain, however, emotionally worried about being prepared if such events occur again. Southern Paiutes have not lost large portions of their population to radioactive waste and they do know about and have used radioactive materials, but contemporary radioactive waste transportation poses a direct threat to their ability to sing their departed to the Afterlife. This has caused deep and abiding concerns.

These cases support the conclusion that risk impacts to society and culture must be understood in terms of more detail than that provided in Beck's conceptualization of Risk Society Theory. Theory is strengthened when grounded in real experience.

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TOURING TOHOKU, SERVING THE NATION: VOLUNTEER TOURISM IN POST-DISASTER JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

On March 11, 2011, the northeast coast of Japan suffered an earthquake of unprecedented 9.0 magnitude followed by tsunami waves that destroyed seaside hamlets and farmland in five coastal prefectures. Recovery efforts have been complicated by radiation leaks at the tsunami-hit Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant. Tourism – cast as both casualty of the disaster and key to post-disaster recovery – represents a key node of public discourse on the disaster. In this article, I examine the role of tourism in emergent popular understandings of the “3.11” disaster, recovery, and reconstruction. The discussion focuses on the early development of post-disaster tourism and discourses that support tourism development. Particular attention is given to the convergence of tourism and disaster recovery under the auspices of “volunteer tourism.” The discussion raises critical questions about how differently positioned individuals and groups in Japan and abroad are approaching, analyzing, and developing solutions to the disaster, as well as the changing meanings and impacts of tourism in local communities.

KEY WORDS: disaster recovery, volunteer tourism, media analysis, Japan

The Disaster and Its Immediate “Tourism Aftermath”

On March 11, 2011, the northeast coast of Japan was rocked by an earthquake of unprecedented 9.0 magnitude. The quake, which sent workers streaming into the streets and temporarily halted the subway system in Tokyo, was followed by a series of tsunami waves that destroyed seaside hamlets and farmland in Iwate, Miyagi, Fukushima, Ibaraki and Chiba prefectures. Workers at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant struggled to stabilize the facility’s six reactors whose cooling systems failed after being bombarded by tsunami waves more than 30 feet high. Government bans on consumption of spinach, milk, and beef produced in affected areas, and the detection of higher-than-normal radiation levels at water processing plants outside Tokyo, contributed to an undercurrent of fear discernable throughout Japan and abroad. Dubbed the Great Eastern Japan Earthquake by the Japanese government, the events of March 11th and the ensuing nuclear crisis have been branded “3.11” (pronounced *san-ichi-ichi*) by citizens.¹

Tourism, cast as both casualty of the disaster and key to post-disaster recovery, has emerged as a key node of public discourse on 3.11. In a “white paper” to the Japanese Diet, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism reported that nearly half of all reservations for travel and accommodations during March and April were cancelled nationwide following the disasters (Japan Tourism Agency [JTA] 2011b). Meanwhile, the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) reported that in April, foreign visitors to Japan were down more than 60 percent from the previous year, the largest decline since records began in 1964 (NHK 2011a). A general mood of self-restraint (*jishuku*) was blamed for domestic trip cancellations, while “harmful rumors” regarding the radiation danger were blamed for the drop in foreign visitors.

Soon, the national tourism industry began vigorously promoting tourism, drawing on the nostalgia-laden Japanese cultural concept of *tasukeai no seishin* (“spirit of mutual aid”) (JTA 2011a). The first post-disaster domestic travel promotion campaign was launched on April 21 utilizing the slogan “*Ganbarou Nippon!*” (“Never Give Up, Japan!”), while urging touristic consumption for purposes of economic recovery. The media reported that Japanese youth were traveling in great numbers to Tohoku to assist with clean-up efforts and reconstruction (e.g., Huffington Post 2011; NPR 2011; Wall Street Journal

2011b), and travel agencies began offering “Volunteer Japan” tour packages, representing a new turn in the industry.²

I examine the dual role of tourism – as both victim and savior – in emergent popular understandings of the 3.11 disaster, recovery, and reconstruction, as well as some of the potential impacts of post-disaster tourism on local tourism providers and community residents. Japanese discourses on post-disaster tourism strike a familiar chord, drawing on and building national narratives of collective hardship and solidarity that have been central to postwar formulations of Japanese identity. Centering on the sparsely populated hamlets of coastal Tohoku, the discourse blends nostalgic yearnings for traditional Japanese culture and village life, a theme that has resonated in domestic tourism since at least the 1970s (Creighton 1997; Ivy 1995; Robertson 1991), generating complex connections between national identity, disaster, and tourism.

Post-3.11, this richly layered discourse has found new expression in emerging forms of “volunteer tourism.” A recent concept in Japan, volunteer tourism is linked in the public imagination to a generation of young people who have been criticized as lazy, selfish, and apathetic. After 3.11, young volunteers are said to represent a new social and political awakening, even as local tourism providers are criticized for catering to tourist voyeurs who yearn to see tsunami-devastated areas for themselves. Drawing on media reportage, scholarly ethnographic accounts, and personal accounts posted through social media, I examine the convergence between tourism and reconstruction efforts as an uneven and politically charged process, raising critical questions about how differently positioned domestic and global actors are developing solutions to the disaster. The discussion is not always linear due to the immediate and ongoing nature of the crisis. However, critical study of the events, imagery, and language of 3.11 is essential at the current moment, as opportunities for conducting *in situ* ethnographic fieldwork are opening up, and while official accounts of the disaster have not yet been thoroughly codified.

Situating Discourses on Disaster and Tourism

Anthropologists approach natural disasters as complex social phenomena occurring at the interface of the social, environmental, and technological (Oliver-Smith 1996; Oliver-Smith and Hoffman

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1999; Gunewardena and Schuller 2008). Within this literature, disasters are explored as “contexts for the creation of political solidarity, activism, new agendas, and developing new power relations” (Oliver-Smith 1996:310), although analyses of the tourism industry’s role in post-disaster recovery are rare (cf. Stonich 2008). Media and tourism, as purveyors of disaster narratives, and as the means by which persons not directly affected by a disaster may experience the tragedy, are critical to understanding the social dimensions of disaster because of “their potential to mobilize popular sentiment and collective action, and even their capability to witness or offer testimony” (Kleinman and Kleinman 1996: 1). Tourism in places of disaster engages multiple and diverse narratives of tragedy, while promoting particular interpretations of events and silencing others. Sather-Wagstaff (2011) argues that the motivations, experiences, and interpretations of tourists at Ground Zero in New York and other sites of mass trauma, popularly referred to as “dark tourism” (Lennon and Foley 2000), are part of the complex processes of recovery and remembrance. Visiting sites of disaster is a powerful way for individuals to viscerally experience events that have had a defining impact on their lives and identities. Counter to popular and scholarly notions of dark tourists as rubber-neckers lured by the macabre as a form of entertainment, Sather-Wagstaff argues, “The sense of curiosity that these visitors have is not one for seeing where people died and taking some kind of morbid pleasure in this act but a simple curiosity about what the site actually looks like to literally make the event real rather than as mediated through the news” (2011: 75).

While World War II sites have been major tourist attractions in Japan since the early postwar, disaster tourism and especially disaster-volunteer tourism as defined and practiced in the West, is in its infancy. In Japan, volunteerism has been described as weak, and it has been claimed that Japanese society lacks a tradition of private philanthropy, depending instead on family to provide support for the needy. Although government tax laws have been unfavorable toward non-profit organizations, independent volunteers have played an important role in local communities throughout the postwar period (Avenell 2010). Kage (2011) explains that 20th century Kobe earthquake were followed by a surge of voluntarism and significant restructuring of Japanese civil society (see also Aldrich 2011).

What aspects of Japanese tourism culture contribute to the recent emergence of disaster-volunteer tourism? In *The Tourist*, Dean MacCannell posited that individuals embarking on touristic journeys are primarily driven by a quest for “authenticity” that is missing in their daily lives (1999; orig. 1976). In Japanese contexts, this quest has primarily manifested in nostalgic longings for Old Japan (e.g., Ivy 1995; Creighton 1997; Guichard-Aguis and Moon 2009). In particular, the concept of *furusato* (literally “old village,” but evoking the warm, nostalgic feelings of “hometown”)—pervasive in Japanese travel brochures, mass media advertising, and government planning rhetoric—embodies “authentic” Japanese culture and society as it is imagined to have existed in pre-modern rural farming and fishing villages (Robertson 1991; Creighton 1997). Rural landscapes, forested mountains, rice fields, and thatch-roofed farmhouses evoke the affective relationships and sociabilities presumed to characterize life in such settings—including compassion, camaraderie, tradition, and even motherly love (Robertson 1991).

Furusato imagery is carefully manipulated within the domestic travel industry. References to specific places are avoided so that any rural location may symbolically be appropriated as one’s own *furusato* (Creighton 1997). Village *matsuri* (festivals) have been revived

and invented throughout Japan, most notably in urban and suburban areas, to attract tourists and induce “*furusato*-mindedness” in local citizens. However, as Robertson’s account of a government-created festival in Tokyo demonstrates, planning and participation in new *matsuri* may provoke and reinforce local sectoral and factional differences (Robertson 1991). As Robertson argues, *furusato-zukuri* (“native place-making,” including *furusato* imagery in tourism advertising) is always “a political project through which popular memory is shaped and socially reproduced” (1995: 15).

Somewhat at odds with the *furusato* boom but still part of the quest for “authenticity,” Moeran reported in 1983 that group travel and sight-seeing packages were gradually being replaced with a new emphasis on individual travel and travel for purposes of recreation and experience. Younger tourists, in particular, were interested in travel that promised opportunities for “participating with one’s own skin” (*jibun no hada ni sanku suru*). With the growth of “rural tourism” in the 1990s, experiences sought by these travelers came to include staying and working at farm inns, picking apples, harvesting rice, collecting local wild vegetables, fishing and weaving. These are activities which contribute much-needed low-cost labor to local farms and therefore can be classified as “volunteer tourism,” but which have almost never been discussed in these terms. Post-3.11 disaster-volunteer tourism then represents a new convergence of voluntarism and domestic tourism in Japan.

The following discussion develops more contextualized understandings of post-3.11 tourism, including volunteer tourism, through a discussion of Tohoku as an unusual tourism “site.”

Tohoku in the Touristic Imagination

The natural beauty of Tohoku was enchanting, but the towns and villages proved a little disappointing. I could not help recognizing that the old Japan I have long sought has been rapidly disappearing. Westernization and urbanization are taking its toll on the lifestyle of even the most remote locations in Japan (Mariko Watanabe, email message quoted in Berger 2010: xv).

The Tohoku region encompasses six prefectures—Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, Fukushima, and Niigata—which make up the northeastern third of the main island of Honshu. Surrounded by water and craggy coastlines on three sides, with the Ou Mountains and several minor ranges running north-south at its spine, the region has stunning scenery, numerous natural hot springs, and long, cold winters with heavy snowfalls. Despite extensive agricultural and infrastructural development in the 19th and 20th centuries, the region suffers from lingering perceptions of backwardness, while at the same time local artisans are recognized as among the few remaining practitioners of “traditional” Japanese crafts and culture.

Developed as the nation’s rice production center following World War II, Tohoku was also exploited for low-cost labor, with workers migrating to work in Tokyo factories. During the 1970s, local communities began to invite electric power companies to build nuclear power plants, which offered jobs and state subsidies. Like other rural areas in Japan, the region has a rapidly shrinking and aging population, and a series of village amalgamation laws have caused the decline of small retailers and public transportation services, negatively impacting regional tourism (Traphagan and Thompson 2006). Not surprisingly, the 3.11 disaster has worsened this situation considerably.

Sites in Tohoku that attracted significant numbers of tourists prior to 3.11 included the Jomon period ruins at Sannai Maruyama in

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Aomori, the folklore-related sights of Tono village in Iwate, the scenic Matsushima coastline in Miyagi, the frontier castle town of Aizu Wakamatsu and pottery village of Aizu Hongō in Fukushima, and the feudal period samurai district in Kakunodake, Akita Prefecture. Drawing on the popular view of Tohoku as quintessentially traditional, the *furusato* motif was manipulated skillfully to lure Japanese tourists to appreciate the natural beauty of the region, enjoy the many hot springs and ski resorts, and to consume an imagined past via heritage tourism.

Post-3.11 Tourism in Tohoku

Following March 11th, 25 percent of the 285 registered hotels and inns in the six Tohoku prefectures suspended operations, including eight facilities that were heavily damaged (JTA 2011b). Tourists affected by the closures were moved to other prefectures in accordance with the national Disaster Relief Act. Existing disaster and safety net funds were implemented, along with a special 3.11 recovery fund to provide relief to small and medium sized businesses affected by the earthquake and the Fukushima nuclear plant accident. Additional loans were made available through the Japan Finance Corporation. The direct and indirect economic effects of the March 11 disaster on the region's tourism industry have been significant, and the JTA asserts that redeveloping tourism will contribute mightily to the region's economic recovery due to its potential to generate employment (JTA 2011b).

Tourism in Tohoku is being embraced by the Japanese government not only for its economic benefits, but also for its symbolic value. As an example, on May 18, Environment Ministry officials announced the combination of six national and regional parks along the Sanriku coast into a single national park that will symbolize the area's reconstruction (NHK 2011b). According to the report, the new park will feature observation platforms where people can learn about the disaster, as well as trails for emergency evacuation that link beaches with communities and mountains. The Reconstruction Design Council's June 25 report to the Prime Minister contains the following statement regarding tourism in a newly developed Tohoku:

It is expected that local tourism resources including natural views of the beautiful sea, etc., the rich local food culture, indigenous cultural assets such as festivals and shrines and temples, and brands including national parks and World Heritage sites will be widely utilized to create new tourism styles that are only possible in Tohoku and transmit the "Tohoku" brand to the entire country and the entire world (Reconstruction Design Council 2011).³

Chairman Iokibe Makoto spoke at length in an interview about a proposal to construct a "hill of hope" from tsunami debris that would serve both as a memorial to those who died in the disaster and as a barrier against future tsunamis (Wall Street Journal 2011a).

Reporting on the proposed national park, NHK cited without additional commentary the Environment Ministry's plan to hire disaster-affected fishermen and farmers as tour guides in the new park. What plans exist for the reconstruction of local fisheries and farming itself? An interview with Iokibe provides some detail: "We should give priority to the local people who have suffered, but since the population is declining and the sea in that area is abundant in natural resources, there aren't enough local people to make the fishing industry prosperous" (McCurry 2011). The Council has recommended redeveloping the Sanriku coastal fisheries along a new model: "To revitalize the region's fishing industry, more than 200 ports should be consolidated and major ports equipped with piers for large deep-sea fishing ships, seafood processing facilities and a distribution center needs to be established" (Reuters 2011). Implementation of the Council's recommendations is likely to further displace local fishermen operating on a small

scale. Cross-analysis of even this limited set of articles thus reveals the complexity and contradictions, as well as the inequalities among various local stakeholders involved in the development of post-disaster reconstruction and tourism, a topic that anthropologists are well-positioned to explore (Stonich 2008; Wallace 2005).

During the same time period as coverage of the new national park, the media amplified the debate surrounding local businesses that were *already* engaged in activities that might be construed as "recovery tourism" in affected localities. An Asahi Shimbun article reported that Sanriku Railway Company is currently dispatching employees as guides for local municipal officials, contractors, and other organizations planning visits to sites devastated by the tsunami (Asahi Shimbun 2011). Railway officials arrange for overnight tours of five disaster-hit sites for groups of 10 or more people, providing guide services and arranging for bus transportation and accommodation. Calling the company's new service "controversial," the newspaper cites employee concern that they may be seen as "cashing in on local people's misfortunes" and the protest of one resident who allegedly complained that the company was "placing disaster-hit areas on parade." The report then added, "But Sanriku Railway concluded it needs the income, be it small, now that the earthquake and tsunami put its very survival on the line." The report concludes, "Even before the disaster, the company reported losses for 17 consecutive years due to the falling population in its service areas. The company estimates that up to 18 billion yen will be needed to restore operations after suffering damages in 317 locations from the earthquake and tsunami. The company and local governments along its railway lines are calling on the central government to foot the bill." The suspicious tone of news coverage of private companies engaging in tourism activities contrasts sharply with the neutral tone of coverage of government-led reconstruction projects.

News coverage concerning volunteerism and volunteer tourism in Tohoku has been equally inconsistent, consisting mainly of sentimentalized community interest stories and first-hand accounts penned by journalists who have participated in volunteer trips. Periodic reporting of overall numbers of volunteers and the organization of volunteer centers in Tohoku has appeared, as well as stories concerning the problems caused by the influx of large numbers of volunteers into the region. In preparation for the upcoming Golden Week holiday, for example, Yomiuri Shimbun ran a piece essentially warning volunteers against "inundating" municipalities affected by the disaster.

Offers of help have been so numerous that some local governments have decided to temporarily stop accepting volunteers—partly because they were not prepared to handle the flood of people expected during the holiday period and also to prevent overcrowding and confusion on the roads.... The (Ishinomaki) city government was spooked by the prospect of a huge surge in volunteers. Anticipating more than 2,000 people could inundate Ishinomaki during Golden Week, the city government worried whether it would be able to organize them all (Yomiuri Shimbun 2011).

By mid-June the press reported 450,000 volunteers had traveled to Tohoku since the disaster (The Nikkei 2011).

On Twitter and other social media, volunteers describe shoveling sludge from beneath the floorboards of homes and shops, scraping dried mud off Buddhist temples, cleaning residue from family photographs, and hauling unusable appliances to community junk heaps, all the while interacting with local citizens who have lost their property, livelihoods, and loved ones. Twitter, the only available media immediately after the earthquake, was used to disseminate information about emergency phone lines, tsunami alerts, altered train schedules, and the

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status of friends and family. As relief and recovery efforts moved forward, volunteers in Tohoku tweeted about their motivations and experiences. Top Tour Corporation (Tokyo) and other travel agencies offering volunteer tours also advertised their Tohoku tour packages via Twitter and other social media.² Yomiuri staffwriter Fumiko Endo participated in a three-day, two-night volunteer trip to Miyagi Prefecture. She wrote, "I wanted to see the reality of the devastated areas with my own eyes, so I could comprehend the disaster in more depth. As I have neither a car nor enough free time to register for regular ongoing volunteer duties, I had searched online for short-term volunteering expeditions" (Endo 2011).

Volunteer participation like Endo's has been recognized and praised by the Reconstruction Design Council, even as it is reformulated as service to the nation:

The way in which so many people, including the members of the Self-Defense Forces, came from around the country to engage in dedicated relief activities is truly an inspirational example of *linkage* and *mutual support* being put into practice. If all the people of Japan join in ongoing efforts to support the reconstruction of the Tohoku region, it will serve to nurture "hope" for the revitalization of Japan and make it easier for everyone to identify with (Reconstruction Design Council 2011: 9; italics added).

The italicized terms, *linkage* and *mutual support*, refer to a central goal of the Reconstruction Design Council's plan, developing strong *kizuna*, or interpersonal bonds, in communities under reconstruction. The Council writes,

(H)ow do we resolve comprehensive issues in the context of a compound disaster?... (T)hrough "linkage" activities to other people and things. Linkage comes in many forms: people to people, community to community, company to company, municipalities to prefectural and national governments, local communities with other communities at home and abroad, eastern Japan with western Japan, and country to country.... The gentle support of the national, prefectural, and municipal governments of the various modalities of the cultures of the communities will allow the community members to reconfirm the depth of their *kizuna* (2011 8, 24).

The concept of *kizuna* is evocative of the *furusato* theme discussed earlier. Both quotes from the Council's report also reveal a barely-concealed attempt at redirecting individual volunteer efforts and community/private plans for reconstructing localities toward an overall goal of revitalizing the national collective. Critics of the Council's plan point out the many problems Tohoku faced even before 3.11 that were a direct result of national policies that placed the region in service to the nation, and particularly Tokyo (Oguma 2011).

Conclusion: Ethnographies of Tourism in the Wake of 3.11

Critical analysis of media and personal accounts of post-disaster tourism in Japan reveal the complexities and inequalities involved in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction. While the surge of civic engagements of Japanese citizens volunteering in Tohoku has earned the admiration of foreign journalists, the local tourism infrastructure is informally criticized for putting disaster on display. Meanwhile, the Reconstruction Design Council's report clearly represents an attempt at bringing volunteer-related travel into the national narrative. Ultimately, the diversity of knowledge, experience, and interests of those involved in disaster-volunteer tourism is contributing to an emerging collective

memory of the 3.11 disaster. With regard to the role of tourism and tourism discourses in post-disaster Japan, there are a number of questions that must be asked: What worldviews underlie the various discourses related to post-disaster tourism? What political and ideological frameworks? What social and moral imperatives?

For anthropologists there is an immediate need for careful ethnographic research, including perhaps participatory work as/alongside volunteer tourists, in the communities of Tohoku. A number of factors currently constrain possibilities for foreign researchers in Tohoku. These include the hesitancy of international funding organizations and universities to approve research in a region that continues to be perceived as "dangerous" due to ongoing problems at Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant. With the easing of the U.S. State Department travel advisory in early October, the outlook for local research possibilities is improving.⁵ Participant-observation and in-depth community surveys, coupled with critical analysis of media and other textual sources, will greatly contribute to our understanding of the various stakeholders involved in local community development through tourism. This includes urban volunteer tourists, industry advertisers and providers, government regulators and ideologues, local business persons, and residents of Tohoku.

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Notes

1. In Japan, dates are written with a dot rather than a slash—thus, 3.11 rather than 3/11. Calling to mind the events of September 11th, 2001 (*kyū-ichi-ichi* in Japanese), the moniker succinctly conveys the sense of horror and shock experienced by viewers of the tsunami media footage. For an examination of the linkages between Japan's 3.11 and 9/11, see R. Taggart Murphy's discussion of the shared status of 3.11 and 9/11 as "hinges of history" and as examples of government negligence (Murphy 2011).
2. Tour packages were developed for domestic and foreign travelers. Companies offering "Volunteer Japan" tours to the Tohoku region include InsideJapan Tours (U.K.), H.I.S. International Tours (Los Angeles), and Toptour Corporation (Tokyo).
3. The Reconstruction Design Council, comprised of prominent academics, industry leaders, and prefectural governors, was established by Prime Minister Naoto Kan in April and charged with developing a comprehensive plan for reconstruction of areas devastated by the 3.11 triple disasters.
4. A sample Top Tour itinerary includes roundtrip chartered coach from Tokyo, accommodation in a Japanese ryokan (traditional inn) in Matsushima Bay, evening meals and several lunches, and a multilingual tour guide. In the case of cancellation of volunteer activities due to rain, sightseeing in Matsushima and Hiraizumi is arranged. The company's website states that there will be no sightseeing in devastated areas. Inside Japan Tours (U.K.) also provides rain boots, rubber gloves, a cap, dust mask, and dust proof goggles on its tours. Companies offering volunteer tours partner with Japanese NGOs working in the region.
5. The EASIANTH listserv is one avenue through which U.S.-based scholars are developing research projects in collaboration with Japanese universities and in-country colleagues. The Digital Archive of Japan's 2011 Disasters at Harvard University also promises to become a valuable clearinghouse for media and ethnographic data on the 3.11 disasters. Meanwhile, study abroad programs to Japan are resuming, many, including the Metropolitan State College of Denver program, with an added volunteer component.

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