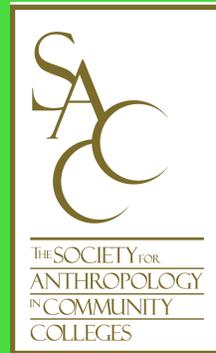


Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes



Volume 16, Number 1, spring 2010

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Introduction

Welcome to our first electronic issue of *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes*. So much reading material is now available online that we are really latecomers to this venue. After much consideration, we decided that the advantages of electronically producing and distributing our publication outweighed those of printing and mailing it.

We are grateful to Des Moines Area Community College who generously printed and

mailed *SACC Notes* for many years at considerably less cost than a commercial printer would have charged. Our electronic version costs us little more than our own volunteer time and energy.

Online publishing gives us many more options for design, including color photos and graphics, and fewer restrictions on such features as form and size. Also, those of us on the production end can exchange draft versions, edit and proofread quickly and efficiently.

Finally, we can distribute the final product instantly by email. And, if errors are discovered, we can email corrections with equal speed.

As with any “first try,” this is a work in progress as we set about learning, experimenting and making adjustments, which means that the publication will be evolving as we move forward. We welcome any comments and suggestions you might offer that will help *SACC Notes* along on its new journey.

We first pause to honor and remember our recently deceased colleague, **Diane Wilhelm**, a long-time SACC member who served both as president in 1991 and, more recently, as assistant editor to this publication. Her son, Daniel, graciously provided some comments on his mother’s life and career as well as a photo of her at her recent retirement ceremony. Diane was a writer and connoisseur of children’s literature, and we reprint two of her poems from earlier *SACC Notes* issues.

Finding the Neandertals to be on the wane in popularity, **Bob Muckle**, in his recurring column, “Archaeology Matters,” revisits his own relationship with their history and proposes some rather unorthodox ways for us to honor them for posterity.

At each of the AAA’s annual meetings, SACC sponsors the Current Issues in Anthropology: Five-Fields Update Symposium for which it invites distinguished anthropologists to present their views on what’s new, interesting, meaningful and important in anthropology’s five sub-disciplines. This issue includes three of the presentations from the November 2009 meetings in Philadelphia, PA.

Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes is the official publication of the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges (SACC), a section of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). It is published semi-annually by SACC and AAA.

SACC’s mission is to encourage dialogue and collaboration among teachers of anthropology across sub-disciplines and institutional settings, and to promote excellence in the teaching of anthropology. *SACC Notes* advances this mission by providing members and subscribers with news of SACC activities, including annual meetings, and publishing articles and commentaries on teaching, research, and of general anthropological interest.

Members of SACC/AAA receive this publication as a benefit of membership. [Annual subscription rate to nonmembers is \\$20. Single issue price: \\$4.00 for members; \\$10 for nonmembers.](#)

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ISSN: 1537-1751

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American Anthropological
Association

Steven LeBlanc reviews what we know anthropologically about warfare in the past and compares it to modern-day wars, challenging a number of popular beliefs. War, whether explained genetically or culturally, is and has been common to all types of human societies, and we large nation-states are not less peaceful today than our historical tribal and agrarian ancestors. LeBlanc argues that we must understand this if we want to seek peace.

Paul Shackel examines the increasing efforts in community archaeology programs to be accountable to members of the communities under study by sharing knowledge of their heritage with them and involving them in the actual research. He provides examples of public archaeology projects and offers some guiding principles for scholars who would engage descendent groups in heritage management research.

A number of scholars have commented recently in the popular press that great ape behavior cannot tell us much about the fossil primate *Ardipithecus*. **Barbara King** challenges this notion, and argues that our primate cousins evolved through the same kinds of complex nature/nurture interactions as did our hominid ancestors. With well-known examples, she demonstrates that understanding ape behavior will help us avoid biological reductionism in explaining human behavior.

Kay Kautz describes in detail a classroom lesson plan she has created that offers students a view of how the nations of the world go about their business. Students prepare to play a game by immersing themselves in comparative data that are presented in manageable portions. They are then required to emulate the views and behavior of the nations they represent, based on global sociopolitical and economic realities. In order to succeed in the game, students must learn about the world.

By comparing what anthropologists and archaeologists know about small-scale wars in the past with contemporary small-scale warfare,

Keith Otterbein presents a number of cultural features that indicate some striking commonalities—hunting, gun love and a “culture of honor” among them. Noting that small-scale warfare has increased while large-scale wars among nation-states have declined, the author asserts that “Anthropology of War” studies may aid attempts to curb the former.

The following two articles are from papers presented at SACC’s annual meetings in Tucson, AZ in April 2009

Laura Tubelle de González provides a detailed description of the Community Supported Agriculture movement and the practices that have put the term, “locavore” in the dictionary. She surveyed members of a food cooperative in her area of southern California and presents some informant comments on their motivations, practices and experiences. She also compares community food cooperatives and their produce with that of conventional super markets, and discusses the topics of “organic” food and food marketing, among others.

As a neophyte to teaching in prisons, **George Thomas** initially braced himself against the common stereotypes we often get from the myriads of TV crime dramas. Yet, amidst the “boundaries and rules” that dominated the environs, he found a surprising diversity of inmates, some with thoughtful, philosophical outlooks on life, some with non-sardonic senses of humor and some with “graduate school” potential.

Finally, **Tom Stevenson** reviews a collection of anthropological autobiographies by “senior” members of the American Anthropological Association. He notes that fieldwork experiences were the most defining factors in the careers of the cultural anthropologists. He also wonders if the essays will interest students as much as they might those already in the profession.

Lloyd Miller

Diane Zior Wilhelm
IN MEMORIAM



Diane Wilhelm was a colleague who over the years became a good friend. We only saw each other at SACC and AAA conferences, but we had lengthy if occasional phone conversations in-between. She was President-elect of SACC in 1990 when I joined, and as President the following year, she appointed me Editor of *SACC Notes* when Tom Stevenson stepped down. In later years, she became Assistant Editor.

Having retired several years ago from Middlesex County College, Diane looked forward to spending more time painting and writing children's stories. Sadly, these plans were interrupted when, shortly after attending the 2008 SACC meetings in Washington, D.C., she was diagnosed with esophageal cancer. However, undaunted by her struggles, she wrote the thirty-year retrospective on SACC that appeared in the fall 2008 issue and was reprinted in our Commemorative Issue, fall 2009.

Inspired by her grandchildren, Diane wrote two anthropological poems for children for *SACC Notes* that we are reprinting in this issue. I will miss her a lot.

Diane's son, Daniel Wilhelm, wrote the following obituary. The photograph was taken at her retirement.

Dr. Diane Zior Wilhelm, who for forty years was a professor of Anthropology at Middlesex County College in Edison, N.J., died on Jan. 5 at home in Pine Beach, N.J. The cause was esophageal cancer, which she had been battling for nearly two years.

Dr. Wilhelm began teaching at Middlesex in 1967, rising over the years to the rank of Professor and becoming, upon her retirement in 2007, Professor Emerita. She traced her life-long love of anthropology to reading Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* as a child and her teaching and scholarship reflected an adventurous and diverse range of interests.

Her fieldwork, for example, led her to live among and write about the Aruacanian Indians of Chile, the people of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia, traditional street-traders in Dublin, Ireland, and suburban middle-class New Jersey society in the 1970s. She was recognized by Middlesex as its teacher of the year and began a number of educational initiatives there, including a field-study program for students at the Picuris Indian Pueblo in New Mexico.

She was active in professional organizations, previously serving as president of the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges and was a regular contributor to and editor of its journal, *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes*. She was also a long-time member of the American Anthropological Association and the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Diane Zior Wilhelm was born in Elizabeth, N.J. Her father, David Zior, was a lieutenant on the Elizabeth police department and her mother, Margaret Freel Zior, was an early-childhood educator who ran her own nursery school. Her sister, the late Marijayne Zior Cheney, of New York, was a retired petroleum executive.

The Zior family was well known in Elizabeth. Her paternal grandfather, Frederick Zior, founded two successful businesses there, the People's Building and Loan Association and a coal company. He was also active in New Jersey politics and government and headed both the Union County Democratic Committee and the county's Board of Elections for more than 25 years.

Dr. Wilhelm graduated from Benedictine Academy, in Elizabeth. She earned a bachelor's degree in anthropology at Washington University, in St. Louis, a master's degree in American studies from New York University and her doctorate in anthropology from the New School for Social Research in New York.

She grew up spending summers on the New Jersey Shore and developed a love for its boardwalks, beaches and Pine Barrens that continued throughout her life. She sailed and raced competitively on the Toms River in her younger years and instilled an enduring love of the sport among the members of her family. Later in life, she wrote and illustrated books for children, often basing the characters on her own grandchildren whom she adored. She was also a devoted amateur artist, musician, poet and film buff.

Dr. Wilhelm is survived by a son and daughter-in-law, Daniel F. Wilhelm and Courtney O'Malley, three grandchildren, Teddy, Alexandra and Charlie Wilhelm and a brother-in law, Peter Cheney, all of New York.

Donations may be made to the Ocean County Artists' Guild, Ocean and Chestnut Avenues, Island Heights, NJ 08732.

Reprinted from *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes*
Volume 8, Number 2, Spring 2002

Bipedal Locomotion

a Poem
by
Diane Zior Wilhelm



An ape named Joe or maybe Flo
Lived six million years or so ago

It brachiated round through all the
trees
But always, always bent its knees

Its arms were long, its brain was
small
It wasn't very, very tall

And then one day it stood up
straight
It locked its knees, improved its
gait

The reason for this isn't clear
Did forests shrink and grass
appear?

Or maybe it fed off those tropical
trees
And carried food, its mate to
please

Or just perhaps in that African
wood
It stood up straight because it
could

Whatever the reason in Africa's
past
The hominid was here at last

It ambled here, it rambled there
Its nose grew big, it lost its hair

Species evolved by tens and

dozens
Some were sons and some were
cousins

Australopithecus had its day
And probably thought it was here to
stay

Along came habilis, chipping on stone
Soon old habilis was all alone

Habilis lasted for quite a time
And erectus left for a different clime

Where erectus went is a subject for
wonder
Asia and Europe and maybe down
under

Ergaster in Africa decided to stay
And pushed old habilis out of the way

But by and by as the years went on
Erectus/ergaster were over and gone

Homo sapiens appeared on the scene
And made a sweep, total and clean

The anthros fight about who came
from where
Was it in one place, here, there or
there?

One thing we know, beyond any doubt
That no one can even argue about

That after all this time and fuss
One day that ape had turned into us



Reprinted from *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes*
Volume 10, Number 2 Spring 2004



A Child's Version of Evolution

Diane Zior Wilhelm
Middlesex County College, NJ






I saw a program on TV
About what people used to be

We're human beans on earth
today
But we evolved along the way

I didn't know I used to be
A chattering climbing
chimpanzee

I swung around in trees each day
All I did was eat and play

I ate with my fingers, gobbled my
food
Banged sticks and branches in a
mood

Now, I live in a house that's full
of stuff
I try to be careful but it's really
tough

I spilled my milk, it made a spot
And then I cracked a flowerpot

A piece of banana jumped in the
air
It landed right on Mommy's hair

I waved my spoon, potatoes flew
They fell down into Daddy's shoe

I wondered how it could possibly
be

That all these things happened
to me

Now I know the reason why
Just yesterday I dropped a pie

It's all left over, don't you see
From back when I was a
chimpanzee

I learned to swing and crash
around
And throw my food right on the
ground

But for a person who once was a
chimpanzee
I think I'm amazing for the age
of three

I eat with a fork and don't
smoosh my peas
I always say thank you and
sometimes, please

I'm really not to blame at all
For things that break and often
fall

You can't expect too much, you
see
From a person who once was a
chimpanzee

But I'm glad I was a chimpanzee
And happy now that I am me






Archaeology Matters

a recurring column

Bob Muckle

Neandertals have been in the news quite a bit lately. I know some of the research being reported is important, yet I can't help feeling that they are waning in popularity, and I'm concerned. Once the representative of everything primitive, Neandertals appear to be taking their last gasps towards respectability in the world of fossil *hominins*.

My own relationship with Neandertal has been rather tumultuous. I've long had a love/hate relationship with them. In the interests of self-preservation I want to make it clear that I am not referring to anyone I have ever dated, or otherwise been friends with. Nor am I referring to students, thugs, hockey players, or guests on The Jerry Springer Show. The Neandertals to which I refer do not include any human, alive or dead, that has lived within the past 26,000 years. Rather, I am referring to those individuals who lived mostly in parts of Europe and the Middle East prior to 26,000 years ago and classified by anthropologists as Neandertals or the more anglicized and some might say less politically correct "Neanderthals". You know, the ones depicted in popular culture as generally being fairly brutish.

Describing my relationship as one of love/hate is perhaps a bit strong, but it does have many of the elements of personal relationships, with episodes of initial interest, a growing fondness, intensity, satisfaction, dissatisfaction, disappointment and some sadness. We've had some break-ups, and reconciled only to break up again, and in the end, remain friends. Of course I realize these are my own emotions. I have no idea how Neandertals feel about me.

Like many people, I suppose, in my youth I found Neandertals interesting. This may have been because Neandertals have been so firmly embedded in popular culture and media. Essentially, "Neandertal" represented all early humans, and while the males may have been rugged, nasty and stupid, the women looked like Raquel Welch in *1,000,000 Years BC*. At least that was my perception.

My interest in Neandertals continued once I got to university. As an undergraduate I loved learning about Neandertal culture. In the introductory courses I loved learning about their proficiency in lithic technology, their burials, the evidence that they would care for those who could not care for themselves and the very idea that they were possibly a mere variant of *Homo sapiens*. In theory classes I loved the challenges of figuring out the basic logic and assumptions of some of the major figures in the history of archaeology who debated Neandertal culture. And in osteology classes, I enjoyed being able to work with real Neandertal bones. In lab courses I tried to replicate Neandertal technology; and in geoarchaeology courses I became interested in understanding the post-depositional sedimentary processes that could be altering our perception of Neandertal life.

It was during those years that I started being an advocate for Neandertals. Often when I heard "Neanderthal" being used in a negative way to suggest some sort of brutish or unruly behaviour, I would take it upon myself to let people know that Neandertals were actually quite smart, efficient and adept at many things. Actually, I still do this, suggesting to my students that if anyone ever calls them a Neanderthal, an appropriate response may very well be "Thank you. Thank you very much," just like Elvis.

It was as a graduate student that I first started turning against Neandertals in a deliberate and serious way. I decided to fight what I perceived to be a very strong Eurocentric bias in the portrayal of world prehistory in general, and the significance of Neandertal in particular. The bias, as I saw it, was not so much in the scholarly literature as in the popular and semi-scholarly literature and textbooks. Although I recognized and appreciated Neandertals, I was willing to sacrifice them for the greater good.

Early in my community college career, when I was teaching about human evolution and world prehistory, I made efforts to downplay the significance of Neandertals, going to great lengths to supplement the

As numbers from YouTube likely attest, the public loves drunken monkeys. It is hard for Neandertals to compete with that...

textbook coverage that was so clearly overemphasizing Neandertals. Eventually I recognized that I was probably going overboard with my criticisms of Eurocentricism, especially as it had been manifested with reports on Neandertals. In fact, sometimes I refer to my preoccupation with Eurocentricism as “The Eurocentric Paradigm of My Own Mind”. So, I started to let the pendulum swing back some years ago, once again appreciating Neandertals and sharing my re-discovered passion for their culture with my students. I loved learning about new discoveries, especially those that showed they lived more recently than previously thought, new evidence of burials, potential artwork, a possible Neandertal flute, a hyoid bone which further established the likelihood of fully articulate speech and even the possibility that they could carry a melody.

After some years of stability in our relationship I started to turn against them again. This time, however, it wasn't even a conscious decision to turn against them. It was more like I just started to take them for granted, then ignored them and finally almost forgot about them.

The turn was slow and subtle. I didn't even appreciate it was happening. It started several years ago, when Neandertals began to get considerable competition for their high-ranking status in the world of fossil *hominins*, at least in popular media. For many years Neandertals pretty much stood in as being a representative of all things perceived to be “primitive” regarding humans, including actual prehistory as well as contemporary robust physical characteristics and unruly behaviour.

The turn coincided with some significant new discoveries and re-interpretations of non-Neandertal fossil *hominins*. These include continuing work on fossils at Dmanisi, now widely accepted to be close to two-million years old and currently the earliest undisputed evidence of the genus *Homo* outside of Africa; the discovery of human fossils close to one million years in Europe, often designated *H. antecessor*; evidence that *H. erectus* was in China hundreds of thousands of years earlier than previously thought, and an *Australopithecus* child in Africa. Most importantly, perhaps, was the discovery of the skeletons of those several small people in an Indonesian site dating between about 90,000 and 12,000 years ago and variously referred to as *H. floresiensis* or the more popular “Hobbits.” And if that wasn't enough, the popular press was all abuzz in 2009

with stories about the discovery of “*Ida*” (proposed in the media as a “missing link”) and the 4.4 million year old *Ardipithecus*, who, although bipedal, had opposable toes.

Through no fault of its own, Neandertal ceased to be the poster boy or girl for the study of early humans. Further, as if the recent research on other fossil *hominins* wasn't enough, primatologists have stolen some of the thunder from Neandertal researchers. In the last few years alone we have multiple reports of chimpanzees, bonobos, gorillas, orangutans and other primates all using tools, with the implications for early human culture made explicit. It hardly seems fair that primatologists get to show film of cute apes and monkeys doing human-like things like driving golf carts, starting a fire with a lighter and drinking liquor. As numbers from YouTube likely attest, the public loves drunken monkeys. It is hard for Neandertals to compete with that, but nobody ever said that the search for status in the primate world was fair.

Neandertals were perhaps the first glam rockers, perhaps even using rocks as instruments. In support, I offer the rock band KISS—lots of shimmering make-up but really, I don't think, much symbolic thought.

It was around the time that the research on the *Ardipithecus* came out to great public and scientific fanfare in the Fall of 2009, that once again my relationship to Neandertal began to change. It is at that point I genuinely began to feel

sorry for them. I felt that never again would Neandertal achieve the prominence it once held. Kind of like a former champion who never regains the glory.

I was trying to think of another analogy to illustrate the fall of Neandertal from public grace and the best I could come up with was to compare it to all the kerfuffle around the late night talk television talk shows that was so prevalent earlier this year. I began with the analogy of Jay Leno representing Neandertal and David Letterman representing Lucy of *Australopithecus* fame—both well-established representatives of early humans, but with Jay (Neandertal) ultimately maintaining first place in the ratings game over the long haul. While Leno and Letterman were pre-occupied with beating each other and became too comfortable with their shows, they failed to notice the competition in the later time slots and on the new speciality channels and adapt accordingly. Ultimately, they realized too late, I think, that if they didn't change their ways, they would go the way of the real Neandertals, remaining important but never again achieving the prominence they once had. To put it another way, maybe people have been getting tired of yet more studies on Neandertals and have chosen to focus on other fossils much the same way as

middle-class America appears to be getting tired of watching old white guys in suits telling lame jokes on TV when they could be watching so many other things.

This is not to say that recent discoveries about Neandertals aren't interesting or significant. I'm looking at them in a different way, though. It is almost as if those reporting the stories are launching a full-out assault to regain some of the past glory for Neandertals.

A number of recent stories, for example, have led with headlines about Neandertal sexual activity, especially in regards to mating with modern humans. It reminds me of tabloid journalism. It gets your attention, but there never really are any significant data, just speculation and opinions. And a few recent stories about potential violence and cannibalism have been associated with Neandertal, which appear to me to be just more sad attempts at headline grabbing.

A few stories have appeared recently that really have been interesting, though. One involves the initial reports on research from the Neandertal genome project. On the one hand it saddens me a bit that the research is lending support to the notion that Neandertal is indeed a separate species from us. I have always preferred to think of them as us. I think it is easier to defend them if they are us. The story from the genome project that tended to resonate with the public the most, I think, is that some Neandertals may have had red hair. I don't know why so many people find that interesting, but they do. Especially red-heads.

It wasn't so much the initial 2009 reports of the genome research in themselves that I found so interesting as some of the follow-up stories. One recent New York Times article quoted a scientist as saying that a Neandertal could be brought to life with present technology for about \$30 million. The thinking is that there is probably enough DNA to create a Neandertal embryo, and to avoid ethics involving humans, it could be implanted in a female chimpanzee. Really, I'm not making this up. This was a real scientist from a real university saying this. I'm not sure what we could learn from all this but it would be interesting and undoubtedly make good television.

Another recent story that I found quite interesting involves the discovery of some pigments on seashells found in a 50,000 year old Neandertal site. The archaeologists' interpretations are that some of the shells may have been colored and worn as shell pendants or necklaces, and other shells were used as

bowls for cosmetics made from the pigments. One report suggests the cosmetics in one shell were probably used as a foundation, and one of the researchers is reported to have said in an interview that the mixture of the pigments would have been applied over the foundation which would have created a glimmering or shining effect and be reflective in light.

Much of the reporting on the discovery of the shells and pigments focuses on the notion that they provide excellent evidence of symbolic thought. I'm not so sure. I have come up with my own thinking on this, which is that it all has to do with meaningless performance. I propose that the Neandertals realized that they weren't really all that good at music, so they made the music secondary to the show. Neandertals were perhaps the first glam rockers, perhaps even using rocks as instruments. In support, I offer the rock band KISS—lots of shimmering make-up but really, I don't think, much symbolic thought.

Since male bias continues to exist in both Neandertal studies and popular media, I didn't find it surprising that many reports suggest that it was the male Neandertals who were likely using the cosmetics, leading some to suggest that Neandertal males were perhaps the first metrosexuals. I didn't see it in print, but surely some must also be speculating on Neandertals as transvestites. But honestly, I find it very odd that there is so little explicit consideration that the females had anything to do with the shells or pigments. I think that more females should get involved with Neandertals—Neandertal studies, I mean.

Although I am very excited about all the new discoveries that are relegating Neandertals to a lesser place in the world of fossil *hominins*, I am at the same time a bit saddened. I used to like to work some of those Neandertal-related words into my lectures. All those Neandertal sites from Spain and France sound especially exotic. I liked to use words like *Levallois*, *La Chappell-aux-Saint* and *Ferrassie*, as much as possible. I think they make me sound exotic and smart. And *Mousterian* provides a sense of adventure and mystery and maybe a bit of naughtiness. It has that Vegas sound. The sites and tool industries associated with all the new discoveries just don't have that panache that comes with Neandertal.

To help alleviate my distress at the eroding place of Neandertal, I have been thinking about ways that we can honor them. In the spirit of entertaining people with silly lists, I offer here my own top 10 ways to

*Make Neandertals sexy. This is doable...
Remember, they can sing, bring flowers
and are the same size as Tom Cruise.*

honor Neandertals and help them regain some of their past glory. Consider it a “Draft Neandertal Manifesto.”

Number 1. Give a popular women’s name to the next discovery of a Neandertal skeleton. Female fossils with female names seem to go over better with the public. Think “Lucy”. Think “Ida”. Even “Ardi” is widely recognized as a woman. I can’t even recall a well-known *hominin* fossil with a male name. There is that Nariokotome Boy, the 1.5 million-year old *Homo ergaster* skeleton, but who even knows how to pronounce “Nariokotome?” If the next Neandertal find is an obvious male, and the researchers can’t be convinced to give it a women’s name, then it should be something gender-neutral, like “Bobbi”.

Number 2. Create a Fossil *Hominin* Hall of Fame. To provide a sense of history of early human studies, I suggest the first appointment be the original Neandertal discovery in the valley of Neander in 1856. I think a good argument can be made that this was the most important discovery ever. Even Darwin mentioned it. It would be like former sports stars or rock stars regaining some of their glory upon election to the hall. It should be a televised event. We could base it in Cleveland and piggy back onto the Rock and Roll inductions.

Number 3. Use YouTube, Twitter, Facebook and other social media to give Neandertal their due. Even *Ardipithecus* has a fan page on Facebook, and somebody wrote and performed a song called *Ardipithecus ramidus* that went viral on the web. I suspect more people learned about *Ardipithecus* from watching the video on YouTube than read the scholarly reports or even the popular ones in mainstream print media.

Number 4. Do an unofficial tie-in with a popular movie. The researchers who discovered *Homo floresiensis* were brilliant with the describing them as “hobbits” on the heels of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. Perhaps we can start calling some Neandertal remains as “The Navi” of the movie *Avatar* fame. It doesn’t matter that there is little physical similarity. Wait a minute, the Navi were blue and we do now have some colorful pigments that may have been used to color Neandertal bodies. Good enough.

Number 5. Convince James “I am King of the World” Cameron, director of *Terminator*, *Alien*, *The Titanic* and *Avatar*, to make a movie about Neandertals. Hopefully he would romanticize them,

make their characters sympathetic and further exploit middle-class guilt.

Number 6. Start a “Save the Neandertal” campaign. We can twitter about it, facebook about it, and blog about it. We can model the campaign after some environmental campaigns or dirty politics. I think we might need a boat though. A bunch of anthropologists protesting outside a museum just won’t get coverage like a boatload of anthropologists I’m sure. And helicopters, we will need helicopters. Maybe we can get some A-List celebrities who have been involved with early humans to help out. If there are any A-listers, that is. Otherwise we could go to the B-list and beyond. For example, we could ask one of the living Beatles to assist. I suggest Ringo. Paul seems to be involved with other causes, but Ringo seems like a good fit. He played a caveman in the movie *Caveman*.

Number 7: Have a telethon, with some musical groups. Considering the discovery of the cosmetics, I recommend the band Queens of the Stone Age. Bono and Lady Gaga have rather Neandertal sounding names so we might ask them to host.

Number 8: Promote Neandertal as the best model of the Paleo-Diet and “Live Life like a Caveman” bandwagons. The *New York Times* ran a piece a short time ago that described this phenomena as a subculture “whose members seek good health through a selective return to the habits of their Paleolithic ancestors.” Besides having a diet focussing on meat and organs, according to the article, “the urban cavemen also choose routines focused on sprinting and jumping, to replicate how a prehistoric person might have fled a mastodon. “ and “They frequently grumble about vegans, whom they regard as a misguided, rival tribe.” Done properly, we can make Neandertal the ideal body type; and thus make references to Neandertal looks and Neandertal behaviour as a positive thing. We can probably get financial support from the meat industry.

Number 9. Make Neandertal sexy. Recent research shows that while some of the shells used for pendants and cosmetic bowls were deliberately chosen for those qualities, Neandertals were much more into eating shellfish than previously thought. I know that limpets and mussels aren’t as well known as aphrodisiacs as are oysters, but we don’t have to say we haven’t found any oyster shells. As I mentioned in a previous column, describing them as sexy is doable.

Remember, they can sing, bring flowers and are the same size as Tom Cruise. Add eating shellfish to that mix, and, well that could make them really sexy. We will need an anatomist to reconstruct Neandertals showing them as sexy though. We can perhaps ask Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt to be our models.

Number 10. Support that scientist who says a real Neandertal can be recreated for \$30 million. It is unlikely that a proper source of research funding could be secured, but it seems likely we could get a television network to foot the bill. Of course the network would want all sorts of rights and such, but

that's okay. And forget about implanting a Neandertal embryo in a chimpanzee. That would be too weird and unfair to the chimpanzee. Perhaps we could get Octomom involved. We could let Angelina and Brad adopt one.

Just as I was completing this list it struck me that maybe trying to regain the honor of the once mighty Neandertal might be kind of sad in itself. So, rather than actually following through with any of the previous suggestions, I am simply going to offer a toast, with a glass of brandy in hand, because brandy is classy: "To the Neandertals." ~~74~~



Congratulations SACC Teachers of the Year 2009

The SACC Awards Committee received nominations for two extremely strong candidates who are considered to be exceptional teachers and colleagues by their peers and students. They share many similarities in being sensitive and creative in teaching students of diverse backgrounds, inspiring and communicating with their students beyond the classroom walls, sharing their experience with colleagues, and making a difference within their respective communities.

The Awards Committee has voted to give the Teacher of the Year award to two nominees: Laura Gonzalez of San Diego Miramar College, USA, and Tad McIlwraith of Douglas College in British Columbia, Canada. This award is only given every other year. It includes a \$500 prize and registration waiver to give a presentation at a SACC annual conference.

Warfare Matters: An Anthropological Perspective on Understanding Warfare

Steven A. LeBlanc

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We live in a world with warfare. The more we understand why we have warfare the more likely we will find a way to end it. Unfortunately, far too many people assume warfare is irrational and therefore not amenable to understanding. Or they make statements like: “Those people fought over religion” or the like, without realizing that such statements do not really provide a useful framework for comprehending the underlying causes of warfare. Various disciplines, such as political science, history or psychology, approach the understanding of warfare from very different perspectives, and a few anthropologists have also weighed in on the topic (e.g. Ferguson 1984, Fried et al. 1968, Hass 1990).

Yet anthropology, including archaeology with its great time depth, would seem to provide a key set of observations critical to our understanding. Warfare is a group behavior, and warfare is worldwide, not just a Western Civilization phenomenon. That is, it is just the type of human activity that the methodology of anthropology is suited for. Or, to put it another way, warfare is almost invariably considered from the perspective of the recent past and from a nation-state perspective. Yet, as anthropologists, we have available to us over two million years of human history and hundreds of different societies that provide knowledge about warfare behavior, based on archaeology, ethnology and ethno-history. Unless one assumes that human nature or the reasons for warfare changed completely in the last few hundred years, then a culturally diverse and historical perspective must provide the bulk of our knowledge about warfare, not a minor footnote as is often assumed.

Moreover, the consequences of warfare cascade throughout human societies. Studying these societies without reference to their warfare behavior makes comprehension incomplete. For all these reasons, it seems that anthropologists should consider warfare as an important topic for study and teaching. Yet, there seems to be a school of thought that teaching about warfare somehow legitimizes it. Of course that is

nonsense, but the attitude does exist. More serious is that much of the standard consideration about warfare is simply wrong. There is a considerable literature on peaceful societies that is simply wrong, or for which the wrong conclusions are drawn (more about that below). Thus, it seems useful to summarize briefly what we know and what we don't know about warfare. Several critical issues surround warfare, but the two most significant must be: Why do humans fight? and, Can we ever live in peace? Here I first lay out, in very basic terms, some possible reasons for warfare, and then I summarize the nature of past and non-nation state warfare. Finally, I evaluate the possible reasons in light of this evidence.

Explanations of Warfare

All explanations for warfare can be subsumed into several broad categories. This does not mean that there could not be combinations of these factors, or that each of these categories does not contain very nuanced issues and subtleties. However, the broad categories are still generally useful. Moreover, as many have noted before, we can expect there to be differences between the proximal causes of warfare and ultimate causes. Human cultural behavior is too complex to expect that the ultimate and proximal causes would always, or even often, be isomorphic.

One explanation is that warfare is genetic, or innate. That is, there has been selection for aggressive behavior, and this sets up an environment where warfare, while not necessarily inevitable, becomes ever-present.

Another explanation is that warfare is a rational response to real problems. The argument is that humans compete for scarce resources because like all species they usually outgrow their resources, and since humans have had no significant predators for the last two million years, a critical check on growth is intra-specific competition. A given society is better off, or at least continues to exist, if it engages in warfare, even though many individuals may suffer or die from warfare. While rational is probably a fair description

of this explanation, “competition over scarce resources” is less loaded. However, one variant of this explanation needs to be mentioned. Warfare may be “rational” for only a part of the society while not increasing the net wellbeing of the remainder. That portion of the society engages in warfare anyway. This situation seems to be couched in terms of elite-driven warfare.

A final explanation is that warfare results from an emotional response, not necessarily based on physical needs: distrust, fear or hatred of “others”, or the desire for fame, stature or revenge. Such emotional or cultural differences may play out in terms of religious differences. But the reasons do not involve gaining anything from other groups, but to satisfy non-material needs derived from a group’s own social and cultural needs. One is tempted to label this explanation “irrational” in contrast to the rational explanation above, but perhaps “emotionally or culturally driven” is an adequately broad term.

This final, potential cause is tricky because one must ask how come humans are willing to risk being killed because of hatred of others, or the desire for revenge, etc. That is, from an evolutionary point of view, fighting because of irrational reasons appears to be maladaptive, so how could it have evolved? Something else must be going on. There are, of course, other proposed explanations, such as mistakes in assessing the costs of conflict. But the above potential explanations are the most relevant for anthropologically based discussions.

At this point it is useful to clarify what is meant by warfare. If one defines warfare as requiring armies, then bands and tribes don’t have warfare by definition. But such societies have considerable inter-group conflict and are highly relevant to the issue of warfare. Instead, we should see warfare as sanctioned and organized violent competition between independent groups or polities. By this definition, raiding, ambush and pitched battles are all warfare, just different ways of carrying it out. A raid involving almost all the men in a social group is as warlike as an army in the 20th century. Such a definition then makes chimpanzee inter-group violence appear as warlike. They plan to attack, they work as a group, they defend territory, they take over territory and they kill lots of members of other groups, the same behaviors we see among humans.

Warfare in the Past

As a background to the discussion, the following is a brief summary of knowledge about past warfare drawn from archaeology, ethnology and ethno-history. It is more fully discussed in Keeley (1996), and LeBlanc (2003, 2009). It is useful to consider warfare based on the social systems of the protagonists, and I use concepts that are considered in Johnson and Earle (1987).

Foragers, the presumed best analogy for the deep human past, have much more warfare than is commonly perceived. From both archaeological and ethnographic information, we know that they have specialized weapons, including armor. They located their settlements with defense in mind, massacres occurred, they took over other’s territories, they favored surprise attacks at dawn, they make rock art depicting warfare, and significant numbers of skeletons have been found with blows to the head and other evidence of violent deaths. Such evidence goes back to the Paleolithic, and exists for such diverse groups as Eskimo/Inuit, Andaman Islanders and Australian Aborigines. The single best study is surely Burch’s (2005) on the Inupiaq Eskimo of western Alaska. In fact, foragers (except under certain and highly relevant circumstances discussed below) have as much deadly warfare as anyone else.

Tribally organized farmers and hunter-gatherers probably had the most intense warfare of all. In addition to all the evidence just cited for foragers, tribal farmers built fortifications and watchtowers, often had no-man’s lands separating polities, and some even had specialized boats for fighting. Massacres are well attested. Of particular note, lots of warfare accompanied the spread of farmers into previous forager territories.

Examples of such societies range from marginal farmers like the Yanomamo, to very sedentary Southwestern pueblos and to very dense Highland New Guinea horticulturalists, most famously depicted in the film documentary *Dead Birds*. Several authors, in particular (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992, Kelly 2000, Fry 2007), argue that there were peaceful societies in the past and/or that warfare among foragers and farmers occurred because of contact with expanding states. In reality, while expanding states often changed the nature of warfare or even intensified it, no society has been shown to be peaceful prior to such contact. Furthermore, all known forager and tribal farmer

The proportional number of warfare deaths in modern nation-states is lower than for foragers and tribal farmers.... it is a myth that we were more peaceful in the past than today.

societies that were peaceful for any length of time either had warfare in their past, which had ceased by the time ethnographers studied them, or they were client societies (such as the Aka, Mbuti, or Efé, often referred to as Central African Pygmies) of farming groups that did have warfare.

Chiefdoms, like state-level societies, also had lots of warfare. Few scholars have been willing to consider any chiefdom as peaceful, although the intensity of warfare is often denied. So at the great prehistoric town of Cahokia in Illinois, some oddly consider the massive bastioned wall that was burned and rebuilt as non-defensive. The early conceptualizations of the Maya as peaceful are now well established as false. That is, the few cases where it has been proposed that warfare did not exist among chiefdoms and states for extended periods of time have not withstood careful scrutiny.

Of particular interest is death rate from warfare found among foragers and tribal farmers. Perhaps the best measure of how real warfare was is the proportion of men who die from warfare. The estimate of around 25% of male deaths from warfare crops up repeatedly, as does ca. 5% for women. Of interest, the proportional number of warfare deaths in modern nation-states is lower than for foragers and tribal farmers. This is the opposite from what most people assume. So, we must conclude that warfare is not a relatively new phenomenon, and it is a myth that we were more peaceful in the past than today.

Ecological Imbalance in the Past

Relevant to the issue of warfare is the nature of human-resource balance. This is a complex topic and is only touched upon here to relate it to warfare. Again, contrary to much popular belief, there was never a time when humans lived in ecological balance for very long. The longest periods were when new territories were colonized, such as the Americas, Australia or islands. As many islands were colonized rather recently, we have fairly accurate understandings of their histories. In short, islands colonized by farmers fill up with people in 500-600 years or less, and evidence of resource stress in the form of extinctions of fauna, intensification of food production and warfare is then found. This is the case for small islands like Easter Island, for large island chains like Hawaii and even for very large islands like Madagascar or New Zealand.

Put another way, in the past, all populations grew until they outstripped the environment. No mechanisms to keep populations in balance have ever existed. There were never innately perfect environmentalists; not now, not in the past. There is no evidence that populations can control their numbers well below the carrying capacity. There was never very slow growth. Humans have always had rapid growth when adequate resources were available. Once they hit the carrying capacity limit, growth slows, and so it appears that most human populations were slow-growing in the past. But this was a consequence of hitting the carrying capacity limit. One consequence of reaching or coming near the carrying capacity is competition. As you run out of resources, you compete for what is left before you starve.

The problem of resource limitations is compounded or magnified by climate change. We are beginning to realize climate change was more rapid, more common and more important that we used to think. So, even when people were below the carrying capacity and relatively peaceful due to a particularly fortuitous set of circumstances, climate deterioration would result in resource stress and conflict would intensify. It appears that deleterious climate change tends to occur every few hundred years almost anywhere on earth so that resource stress is bound to happen everywhere in the span of centuries. The Little Ice Age is an example of this.

Lack of Resource Stress Correlates with Peace

Most "peaceful societies" cited in the literature are ones where the carrying capacity was significantly and rapidly raised. Peace often follows in such circumstances. This can happen two ways, neither of which is always pleasant. One way for the carrying capacity to increase is for the population to decline, such as when Old World diseases impacted the New World or Australia. The other way is the introduction of new technology, especially metal tools or new crops: machetes or axes in the tropics, rifles in Alaska, potatoes and corn in Europe or domesticated animals in the New World. These technologies can quickly increase the ability to obtain food, thereby increasing the available carrying capacity.

There are also prehistoric examples of peaceful interludes probably caused by new technologies, such as the Chavin culture in ancient Peru developing metal tools. However, in these cases, unlike the ethnographic ones, after a few centuries, population growth caught

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up with the carrying capacity and warfare began again. The point is, these societies were not inherently any more peaceful than any others, and wherever we have historical data, they had as much warfare as other societies prior to the change in carrying capacity. But they swiftly became peaceful once the carrying capacity rose. Thus, they are not evidence of inherent peacefulness, but are evidence for the relationship of warfare to the carrying capacity. They are, of course, evidence that societies can be peaceful given the right circumstances. But they are not evidence that some societies had figured out how to live peacefully for millennia.

Explanations of Warfare

The above discussion provides an argument for warfare being in many instances a rational response to a real problem, but I now turn to other explanations of warfare.

The Genetic Explanation of Warfare

We very much do not want there to be a genetic explanation for warfare. It is sometimes incorrectly assumed that if warfare is innate, then there is no hope for the future. Thus, we want to reject any genetic component to warfare. However, wanting and reality are two different things. If warfare is innate, we are better off knowing it than pretending it is not the case. Key to accepting the possibility that there is a genetic component here is that the brain (hence behaviors, innate tendencies, or whatever you want to call them) has evolved just like all other parts of the body. This can most concisely stated as "Evolution did not stop at the neck."

Based on all the above evidence of warfare over human history, we would expect there to have been selection for men being successful at warfare. And, no surprise, there is strong evidence of selection for human aggressive behavior, especially among males. It is hard to imagine that with millions of years of male-led, inter-group competition that there has not been selection for such aggressive behavior, and that is what we find. We even see it in our closest relatives, the chimpanzees, and in the differences in levels of aggressive behavior between males and females.

Evidence for a genetic component to aggressive behavior, especially among males is quite strong. Richard Wrangham (Wrangham and Peterson 1996; Wrangham 1999, 2006) perhaps best summarizes these arguments and evidence, but of course they are not all

original to him. The idea that aggressive behavior is culturally learned and can be eliminated by simply not teaching it is somewhere between silly and absurd, and is certainly a dangerous idea. Yet a significant genetic component to aggressive behavior does not necessarily mean warfare is inevitable, because warfare is a collective, social behavior. Other factors, both genetically based and culturally based, are also at work.

The difficulty with this line of thought is that we often hold inaccurate ideas about what we mean by a genetic basis for behavior. In reality we have a genetic basis for lots of behaviors, and they exist at the same time. Humans, including males, are highly cooperative. We innately do many things that are much the opposite of aggressive, warlike behavior, such as being upset when we hear a baby cry. But that does not mean aggressive behavior cannot be triggered by some circumstances. Or to put it another way, gene-environment interaction is very complex and at this point still rather poorly understood.

What we need to come away with in this context is that there is certainly a generic component to male aggressive, coalitional behavior that often plays out as, or is a component to, war. Yet, humans are capable of enough other countervailing behaviors (some of which are also genetically based) that there is no inevitability to human warfare. But to naively believe that we are so plastic in our behaviors that male aggression can easily be turned off is wrong and dangerous. We need to understand the genetic component and figure out how to deal with it, not pretend it is not there.

Warfare as Culturally Driven

It is obvious that humans can hate, take pleasure in killing their enemies and can see "others" as barely human. Humans can be convinced that it is their moral and religious need to war on others, to capture enemies for necessary sacrifices for the gods, or feel obligated to extract revenge on their enemies. These and innumerable other behaviors make it clear that humans often firmly and deeply believe that particular wars are just, desirable or necessary. There is no denying the pervasive existence of such attitudes. The question is why these attitudes exist. Will humans always have such attitudes, even though the particular attitudes may change and evolve over time? When one gets deeper into these explanations, they often appear to describe rather innate behaviors; that is they have a genetic component.

We have many fewer deaths from warfare today than foragers or tribal farmers did in the past. We are doing better.

So, in spite of our wishing it were not so, humans appear innately uncomfortable with “others.” Distrust and the lack of understanding of other people who look different and behave differently increases the likelihood that conflict will arise between groups as it has for millennia. But we know that such attitudes are fluid. Humans form alliances; humans do not hate everyone else, and so on. If warfare is primarily culturally driven, we should expect several things. It should not be patterned or patterned in particular ways. It should not correlate with the abundance or scarcity of resources. It should stop and start rather arbitrarily. Yet, this is not what we find. We find that warfare can stop rather abruptly, it is true, but it does correlate with scarcity of resources. Thus, it would appear that there is a culturally learned component to warfare, but it is not, by far, the complete explanation.

The Explanation that Warfare can be Rational

The present thesis is that it can be effectively demonstrated that warfare is some of the time rational, and has been so throughout human history. In particular, it is a rational response to scarce resources. In such a world, developing cultural responses that help you win are useful. And these get institutionalized, such as maintaining one’s reputation for being dangerous, or being known to be willing to seek revenge. It appears that some of the culturally driven causes are often so well institutionalized that they can persist for some time even when resources are no longer scarce and the rationale for warfare no longer exists. This argument is well supported by historic evidence. Thus, we can find situations where warfare makes no sense, but it exists and is maintained by culturally learned behaviors, which were rational in the past. The good news is that we have ample examples of warfare ceasing when there was no longer a reason to compete over scarce resources, and in these cases, such culturally learned behaviors were quickly extinguished.

Conclusion

Warfare was much more common in the past than most people realize. It was much more deadly and much more important than we realize. We also can observe that humans in the past fought over scarce resources. The idea that humans fight over scarce resources has been sometimes discredited because of the perceived, but false, idea that people control population and can live within their carrying capacity, and that climate has little impact on subsistence dynamics. Both ideas are wrong, and when more

accurate ideas are understood, they provide not only support for a resource-based explanation for much warfare, but in essence demand it.

In the past, warfare was much more common, much more deadly and much more important than we realize.

As there is less resource competition following the industrial revolution and the current demographic transition, we would expect there to be less warfare. If we conceive of

the intensity of warfare as the per capita death rate from warfare, then this expectation is borne out. We have many fewer deaths from warfare today than foragers or tribal farmers did in the past. We are doing better. Thus, reducing resource scarcity and then letting time extinguish cultural behaviors that encourage warfare should reduce it. Making an effort to modify culturally driven traditions and behaviors that institutionalize conflict should, in the long run, contribute to reduced warfare. That is, warfare is a solvable problem if we understand it.

However, we must also accept the caveat that male aggressive behavior has a significant genetic component. We must understand this, not deny it, if we are to deal with the genetic aspect of warfare behavior. And, of course, culture matters. Societies that developed culturally learned behavior that increased their success in warfare do not instantly lose such cultural traditions just because they are no longer useful. We also need to recognize these culturally learned behaviors and not deny their existence. How one changes them would seem to be a fertile area for interaction between psychology and anthropology. Another important lesson is that ecological behavior is learned, not innate, and our environmental policies and teaching must accept this reality as well.

We can learn useful things from both the past and the differences and similarities between the world’s societies. But we must dispel the myths. They are dangerous. Preparing students so that they can put popular ideas and particular events in a broader context is important, and anthropology is highly relevant to the task. 74

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**Some children's answers to church school questions
from the Church of England
(Original author and/or publication information unknown.)
from www.wisdomquotes.com**

- Noah's wife was called Joan of Arc.
- Henry VIII thought so much of Wolsley that he made him a cardigan.
- The fifth commandment is "humour thy father and mother".
- Lot's wife was a pillar of salt by day and a ball of fire by night.
- Salome was a woman who danced naked in front of Harrod's.
- Holy acrimony is another name for matrimony.
- The pope lives in a vacuum.
- The patron saint of travelers is St. Francis of the sea sick.
- Iran is the Bible of the Moslems.
- A Republican is a sinner mentioned in the Bible.
- Abraham begat Isaac and Isaac begat Jacob and Jacob begat twelve partridges.
- The native of Macedonia did not believe, so Paul got stoned.
- The first commandment was when Eve told Adam to eat the apple.
- It is sometimes difficult to hear what is being said in church because the agnostics are so terrible.

Public Benefits of Heritage Building in Historical Archaeology

**Paul A. Shackel
University of Maryland**

Public Archaeology

From the late 1970s there has been growing momentum in the discipline of archaeology to share significant discoveries with the public. The types of public archaeology programs have changed since this time, from public tours, to public participation at archaeology site, to stakeholders playing a role in the development of research programs. Barbara Little's (2002) edited volume on the *Public Benefits of Archaeology* shows how archaeology is becoming much more broadly perceived by the public and practitioners. Archaeologists are increasingly using the discipline for "purposes of education, community cohesion, entertainment and economic development" (Little 2002:1).

Community-based archaeology programs are growing in number because professionals now accept the fact that archaeology is more than implementing scientific methods to collect and interpret data. While the New Archaeology placed academically trained professionals as gatekeepers of archaeological knowledge, archaeologists are now increasingly relying on community input for their projects. The increased inclusion of descendants and local communities has developed within the context of the national civic engagement movement. Universities and government agencies are encouraging civic engagement practices as a way to foster community wellness by enhancing social capital. Historical archaeology has a role to play the civic engagement movement.

Historical Archeology and the growth of Public Archaeology

While historical archaeologists have engaged the public in many different ways for over a half-century, it is not until recently that engagement has become an integral part of the discipline. Ivor Noel Hume (e.g., 1991, 1994) helped to popularize the discipline from the 1950s by appealing to a wide audience. His insights into the colonial past and his engaging writing style helped to popularize the discipline. Noel Hume's

work created the foundations for a very successful and long-term historical archaeology program at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia.

James Deetz's work at Parting Ways in Plymouth, MA is an early example of archaeology participating in a grass roots preservation effort. In the late 1700s, the town of Plymouth granted four African American veterans land in reward for their service in the American Revolution. Known as New Guinea, the settlement had all but disappeared. The preservation and recovery project developed to remember and commemorate the place and the stories of the veterans. The Parting Ways Museum, with the assistance of the Plymouth

Plantation and James Deetz, along with community members and interested stakeholders, performed archaeology at Parting Ways in 1975 and 1976. The local African American community maintains a virtual museum to

commemorate the place (Deetz 1995). The archaeology project in the neighborhood of Weeksville in Brooklyn, New York, is another early community project in historical archaeology. The work focused on an impoverished African-American neighborhood. The archaeology helped to remember and interpret a historic space, and served as a way to address contemporary concerns (Bridges and Salwin 1980).

In the early 1980s, archaeologists associated with the Archaeology in Annapolis project, directed by Mark Leone, made significant outreach efforts by welcoming visitors on site and creating tours that connected the past with the present, and allowed visitors to explore how archaeology can illuminate the development of inequities in a modern capitalist society. Archaeologists served as tour guides and explained methodology and the theory behind the interpretation of the particular excavation (Leone 1983; Leone and Potter 1987; Potter 1994). Many other projects have since provided public interpretation, sharing with visitors the excitement of archaeology (see for example Bense 1991; Cressey 1987; Fagan

1984; Hoffman 1991; Lerner 1991; McMannamon 1994; Smith 1993).

Engaging Communities

The passing of The Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 and the events surrounding the African Burial Ground from the mid 1990s have shaped the discipline's growing ethical accountability to include stakeholders in the decision-making process of fieldwork, and, at times, the interpretation of the archaeological findings. Making archaeologists accountable to the various stakeholders did not happen in a vacuum. For instance, since the late 1990s the American Association of Museums (AAM) has made a tremendous effort to promote civic engagement initiatives. Museums and historic places that convey local or global heritage are being encouraged to become places of learning, where people can use lessons of the past to address contemporary political and social issues. Making these links between the past and the present can facilitate an exploration of both historic and contemporary concerns related to social justice (AAM 2002).

There are many different definitions of civic engagement. Thomas Ehrlich (2000), one of the main drivers in the movement today, writes that civic engagement is a way to make a difference in civic life and quality of life in our communities through political and non-political means. Robert Putnam (2000) also shows that in American society, social capital produces civic engagement, which can lead to a broad societal measure of communal health. Social capital develops in collectives, and it is important for building and maintaining democracy. Putnam believes that social capital can be measured by the amount of trust and "reciprocity" in a community or between individuals. Drawing upon social capital generates more social capital. Putnam distinguished between bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bridging social capital refers to the networking between socially heterogeneous groups. It can help create many benefits for societies, governments, individuals and communities. On the other hand, bonding social capital is exclusive and homogenizing and is often exclusionary and is created at the cost of hostility toward outsiders.

While historical archaeologists are increasingly taking into consideration the needs and desires of communities, the goal of inclusiveness and developing bridging social capital can be a complex matter, especially when research strategies and interpretations

are negotiated with the various stakeholders. Choices are made about research goals, issues of significance and what issues, interpretations and conclusions are worth sharing with the larger audience. In every project, archaeologists make decisions about the politics of their research agenda. They are faced with questions of either supporting the consensus history or changing the status quo. The consensus view of history is sometimes weighed against a more inclusive view of the past. A consensus history is often supported because those in control of the interpretation believe that it will allow them to avoid the conflict that comes when multiple voices and tough histories are interpreted to the public.

Practicing Civic Engagement in Historical Archaeology

Developing bridging social capital by incorporating the views of the various stakeholders can help create a more inclusive and democratic past. Several historical archeology projects demonstrate how our discipline can help generate bridging social capital and make for a more inclusive story of the past and the present. One of the more prominent programs, bridging institution and descendant community, is the work being undertaken by Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis. In the name of urban renewal, the African American community was destroyed and people were displaced. The archaeology project, directed by Paul Mullins, has developed a strong commitment to incorporating voices of the displaced community into the narrative of the site. The project is a unique effort to bring the community and the University together to acknowledge a difficult past. Mary and Adrian Preatzellis began an extensive outreach program in West Oakland, California. The community was once divided by a highway; however, after the relocation of the road, their oral histories and exhibits on archaeology have helped to reconnect the neighborhood to its past. Today, the Federal Highways Administration cites the project as an example of environmental justice. Carol McDavid's engagement work at Jordan's Plantation in Texas was part of a larger excavation program at the University of Houston directed by Ken Brown. The outreach component of the program encouraged descendants of the enslaved African Americans to work with the descendants of the former owners for the preservation and interpret plantation life. The plantation is now owned by the state, and means of interpreting plantation life are being developed. David Gadsby and Robert Chidester

Many community members felt threatened that we were developing a heritage project that might not have included their descendants or their views of the past.

are engaging the residents of a former industrial community known as Hampden, which is now incorporated into the City of Baltimore, MD. Today, the story of Hampden's working class is not part of the dominant narrative of the community. These archaeologists are collaborating with the community in order to make the working-class history part of the public memory. They sponsored a series of public history workshops where the local residents, discussed the community's past, present, and future. Bringing the community together and supporting a public dialogue is a way to promote a more inclusive perspective of the place.

New Philadelphia

In all civically engaged archaeology projects it is important for researchers to consider the needs and perspectives of the local community. Noel Chrisman (2006:168) provides seven basic principles for scholars collaborating with communities, and I think they are applicable to any archaeology program that strives to be civically engaged and socially responsible. These principles are valuable for bridging between scholars, communities and descendant groups. To summarize, these principles are:

- Proposals and procedures must be consistent with community's culture, values and beliefs.
- Collaboration with the community is necessary in identifying its wants and needs.
- The participation of community members is integral to realistic planning, delivery, and evaluation of a project.
- Collaboration with existing organizations and their leaders is a must.
- The design and implementation of projects must make sense to the community.
- Anthropologists must respect the people with whom they work.
- Anthropologists must be agents for change by working *with* people, not *on* them.

These are some of the guiding principles that our archaeology team used when we arrived in a west-central Illinois community to help with a heritage project. We found that little remained of the historic town of New Philadelphia. An African American began developing the town in 1836, and it became a bi-racial community that survived until the height of KKK in the 1920s. Today there is little remaining above

ground in the town, and when I first arrived in the region, local citizens began telling me stories about this all-black town. Racial tensions appeared to be high when we started our archaeological survey. Local farmers would drive by the field in their late-model trucks and would yell that we should go back to Chicago. In retrospect, it appears that many community members felt threatened that we were developing a heritage project that might not have included their descendants or their views of the past.

One of our graduate students, Charlotte King, surveyed the nineteenth century census data and showed that both African Americans and Euro-Americans lived in the town throughout its entire existence. Some of the African American descendants were shocked because they thought that their ancestors helped to develop an all-black town. Several in the white community were also surprised to learn that their relatives once lived in the same town and in close proximity to African Americans.

Our job was not to downplay the significance of the founding of the town by an African American. However, by expanding the past and allowing more groups to claim ownership of New Philadelphia's past, additional members of the white community slowly began to support the project. Weekly community meetings, history days, and family reunions at the archaeology site were all important events that brought the different stakeholders together to help develop a bridging social capital and a new dialog about the place.

Discussions about race in the past and racism in the present have helped to create some sort of reconciliation. For instance, we had an open dialog with the field school students and the local community about issues of race and racism. The community was invited, along with the students, to view a recent three-part PBS special on race. The film dismantled the myths associated with the construction of race. In an open conversation, one white student from the region expressed amazement that blacks did not have an extra muscle in their legs that allowed them to run faster. An African American student told of his experiences being profiled and harassed by St. Louis City, IL police on several occasions. We were able to both create a productive dialog and imagine similar stereotypes and physical assaults in a historic context.

Community members also expressed their amazement about the history of the construction of race. Community leaders have told me that they are now more aware of the impact of racism in modern

society and are committed to developing a multiracial past and present. How this view will translate into the development of modern Pike County, IL, as well as the protection and interpretation of New Philadelphia, has yet to be seen.

Because of everyone's efforts, the town site is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and more recently, the Secretary of the Interior designated New Philadelphia as a National Historic Landmark. Those late-model trucks no longer pass us by. Now they stop at the site. Farmers ask questions about the archaeology and their heritage. Some of their children have also volunteered on the project. A lesson plan in Teaching with Historic Places, written by Charlotte King and published by the National Park Service, emphasizes the development of the town and the history of race in the Midwest (New Philadelphia 2007). Heritage development can be a vehicle to help combat some of our misconceptions of the past, and it has helped to create a more cohesive present day community.

After working for several years in the Midwest and helping to develop bridge social capital between a local community and many of its descendant groups, I believe we have made a contribution in creating a healthier community that is more aware of its racist background that caused the demise of the town. Bridging between groups helped to create an inclusive past and present. The history of race and racism is now part of the story, and it also provides us a lesson of how we can use these stories to help promote a more tolerant present.

Conclusion

In his recent monograph that focuses on heritage development in the Chesapeake region, Erve Chambers writes that, "heritage has largely become an instrument that defines the disturbances, irregularities and uncertainties of the present much more than it truly represents the past" (Chambers 2006:2). These disturbances and irregularities in the present are, I believe, an opportunity for stakeholders to address both current inequities and the difficult pasts. This knowledge can inspire social consciousness and give citizens the option to act. However, we have to be willing to step through the door and confront the past, rather than close the door, lock it and throw away the key.

Engaging descendant communities and other stakeholders can lead to a more inclusive narrative and provide a broader understanding of past and present social and economic inequities. It can also bring various constituencies together to use the past to

illuminate important social, political and economic issues that we face today. Heritage sites can serve as important places where we learn about communities and ourselves.

Heritage is crucial to the survival of displaced communities (Oliver Smith 2006), and in the case of New Philadelphia, descendant and local communities have connected to each other and created a new type of social capital. Uprooted communities like New Philadelphia draw upon their heritage to create their community. Bridging social capital, which crosses geography, ethnic groups, class, and age, brings people together from different communities to find common ground. In the case of New Philadelphia, new links created new concepts of community and boundaries that traditionally separated communities. *TA*

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What Can Great Apes Tell us about Human Behavioral Evolution?

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In late 2009, Friday, October 2 to be exact, the whole world paid attention to biological anthropology.

On that day, the journal *Science* published 11 papers on the hominid *Ardipithecus*. The image of a reconstructed *Ardi*, as this 4.4 million-year-ago bipedal creature is fondly nicknamed, graced the front page of *The New York Times*, and the fossil was discussed widely on television and radio, and in science blogs. For many people, despite other discoveries since, the evolutionary-touchstone fossil has been Lucy (*Australopithecus afarensis*), found by Don Johanson's team in Ethiopia in 1974. To learn that anthropologists have gained much knowledge of a human ancestor over one million years older than Lucy grabbed keen attention.

I will use *Ardi*'s discovery—or more precisely one aspect of what the *Ardi* team is saying about this fossil hominid—to shed light on a question central to biological anthropology today: What can the behavior of our closest living relatives, the great apes, tell us about our past and about our present? The link between *Ardi* and this question emerges directly from comments made by *Ardi* researchers, and I will start with these.

A key focus of the published work on *Ardi* involved claims for the need to see early hominids as so different from apes that any working ape models applied to human evolution should be rendered meaningless. Consider these remarks:

*"No ape exhibits an even remotely similar evolutionary trajectory to that revealed by *Ardipithecus*" (Lovejoy 2009).

*"*Ardipithecus ramidus* thus indicates that the last common ancestors of humans and African apes were not chimpanzee-like and that both hominids and extant African apes are each highly specialized, but through very different evolutionary pathways" (White et al. 2009).

*"No modern ape is a realistic proxy for characterizing early hominid evolution." – *Ardi*

researchers quoted in *The New York Times* (Wilford 2009)

To a biological anthropologist who has argued (e.g., King 2004, 2007), as other scientists have argued (e.g., Stanford 2002, de Waal 2006), that studying behavior of great apes may shed light on aspects of the evolution of human behavior, these comments are startling. Are the great apes really so irrelevant for the study of human behavioral evolution? What about for the study of modern human behavior?

I will argue here that while great apes and early hominids indeed may have been specialized in different ways, rendering suspect any tight 1:1 comparison, there are useful lessons to be learned about past and present human behavior from primatology. In short, the behavior of chimpanzees, bonobos, gorillas and orangutans supports anthropologists' skeptical response to claims emerging from the biology-centered models of evolutionary psychology and related fields. But let's start with the apes themselves.

Intraspecific variation in great apes

With apologies to Gertrude Stein's "a rose is a rose is a rose," a chimpanzee isn't a chimpanzee isn't a chimpanzee. Ever since the early cross-population comparison of tool-making and tool-using among chimpanzees (see McGrew 2004), primatologists have known that intraspecific variation in behavior is a significant phenomenon. Since those days, the study of ape culture, defined as population variation in behavior for reasons explicable via social learning (rather than by ecology or genetics), has taken off (e.g., Whiten et al. 1999). But intraspecific variation is so much more than this: Cultural tradition, individual life history and developmental dynamics intersect to make African ape behavior highly plastic at the individual as well as the population level.

Decades ago, Jane Goodall brought this principle to our attention, perhaps most explicitly in her book *Through a Window* (1990). In an accessible narrative,

Chimpanzees and our other closest living relatives have and display personalities, and the type of ape one becomes depends in part on the personalities of the primary caretakers.

she compared competent and calm chimpanzee mothers of Gombe, Tanzania, with less competent and less calm mothers, to show that maternal style affects not only the offspring when they are young, but also when they mature and themselves become mothers. Maternal style is not inherited genetically, but rather emerges from early life experiences. I'm not confident that this lesson has really penetrated in anthropology in its full meaning, which I take to be as follows: Chimpanzees and our other closest living relatives have and display personalities, and the type of ape one becomes depends in part on the personalities of the primary caretakers.

And yet the study of animal personality, and animal emotion, has taken off in recent years (e.g., most recently, Bekoff 2007, Bekoff and Pierce 2009, King 2010). As this work indicates, it's not only our closest living relatives, but other animals including elephants and birds, that have emotional and perhaps even moral lives. Indeed, it's all the rage now to claim that we humans are ape at our core (*Our Inner Ape*, de Waal 2006) or even fish at our core (*Your Inner Fish*, Shubin 2008). There's truth to this of course, as anyone who accepts the evolutionary relatedness of all living beings knows, but it all depends on how far you take it. There's a problem with the strict claim that we have two different ape natures in us—chimpanzee and bonobo—taken to mean an aggressive and a pacific nature, respectively. This is because chimpanzees and bonobos are refusing to cooperate with such a pigeon holing (de Waal himself notes this very point, a point often lost in media coverage of the book). Chimpanzees sometimes act in quite bonobo-like ways, as in Newton-Fisher's (2006) report that Ugandan female chimpanzees may bond together to deflect male aggression. Similarly, Boesch and Achermann-Boesch (2000) report that chimpanzees of Tai Forest in Cote d'Ivoire behave socially, in terms of male-female bonds, in ways more like bonobos than like Gombe chimpanzees. And bonobos, of course, do aggress, and do, on occasion, hunt. If we have an ape or apes in us, it's an ape with no fixed nature.

Elsewhere (King in press) I offer vignettes about apes that scientists have come to know through intense observation and/or interaction:

*Flo, the most calm and competent mother of all the chimpanzees Goodall studied at Gombe, and who was memorialized with an obituary in *The London Times* at her death;

*Brutus, a dominant male chimpanzee with unusually skilled hunting techniques, a kind of elder to young apprentices in the Tai Forest community in the Cote d'Ivoire;

*Washoe, the chimpanzee pioneer at learning aspects of American Sign Language in her youth, and who, as she matured, went on to introduce many people around the world to the notion that apes show empathy (kissing the broken arm of a human friend) and personality quirks (her love of shoes and shoe catalogs);

*Panbanisha, a bonobo who has learned to communicate extensively with human symbols called lexigrams, and who can be watched on video experimenting with playing the keys of a piano, carefully picking out octaves with her fingers;

* Michael, a lowland gorilla who could communicate using elements of ASL; enjoyed listening to recorded Pavarotti; and created simple guitars by materials available to him, then made music with them.

Three of these five apes – Washoe, Panbanisha, and Michael—lived, or in the case of Panbanisha, lived enriched lives in captivity, immersed as much in human ways as in ape ways. The ethics of these living situations are a matter for consideration and discussion elsewhere. My inclusion of Brutus and Flo is meant to signal that wild apes too are highly individual creatures.

In sum, these apes, indeed all apes, are distinct selves with memory and emotion at work, with personalities evident. Every great ape is a unique, self-aware, thinking and feeling self. Collectively and individually, these apes are the antithesis of some kind of generalized, "ape nature". And here we come back to our starting point: what these apes have to tell us about *Ardi* and the relevance of apes for human behavior.

Challenging biological reductionism

Apes' distinct selves emerge in development through a combination of biology and culture. Genes matter and brains matter; this much is obvious to a biological anthropologist like me. What is too often neglected however are the back-and-forth co-regulated interactions, the moment-by-moment contingent communications that shape life in ape dyads and groups, and that I refer to as the dynamic dance (King 2004). This is the process of developmental dynamics

The anthropology of apes also shows that contextual, contingent meaning-making is not rooted primarily in reductive biology, but in the intersection of cultural tradition, individual life history and developmental dynamics.

that, as I mentioned earlier, intersects with cultural tradition and individual life history.

And here is a series of key points for the argument I am developing: This three-way intersection, and the developmental dynamics that I highlight as part of it, occur robustly across the species of great apes and across their living environments. This in turn indicates that it is a phylogenetically conserved phenomenon, probably present in the common ancestor of great apes and hominids. And as a result of this likelihood, we biological anthropologists can use our understanding of apes and ape behavior to challenge models of biological reductionism that purport to explain human behavior and its evolution.

That behavioral plasticity, at both the population and individual level, is part of our evolutionary history is serious news. What does it mean? It means that:

*We didn't evolve in the violent chimpanzee-like way or in the pacific, sex-driven bonobo way, because there *is* no single chimpanzee way or bonobo way.

*Apes focus our gaze on plasticity and contingency rather than on innatism or essentialist adaptation to a supposedly ancestral environment as key determinants of human behavioral evolution (see Fuentes 2009).

*To seek the evolutionary environment of adaptation, as some evolutionary psychologists do (see Barkow, Tooby, and Cosmides 1992, Workman and Reader 2008), grounds evolutionary scenarios in an impoverished starting point.

*To ground explanations of the evolution of human behavior heavily in chemical-hormonal explanations grounds, e.g., the role Olmert (2009) gives to oxytocin in understanding human-human and human-animal bonding, also grounds evolutionary scenarios in an impoverished starting point.

I have expanded on this point in my books and articles noted here, so I will expand now on only a single example. Olmert's book *Made for Each Other* is a well-written, entertaining book that appeals to readers interested in the evolutionary story of animal-human relating. There's no doubt that the hormone oxytocin, perhaps best known for its role in enabling mammalian labor and lactation, plays a role in social interaction of mammals, including humans. But look at the statements that Olmert piles atop this base, in a cascading series of claims for an omnipotent hormone. Oxytocin, she writes:

*Lowers heart rate and stress hormones.

*Enables a mother to see herself in her newborn, a recognition that will inspire her to protect her baby.

*Makes people more trusting and trustworthy.

*Makes a primatologist want to live with baboons in Africa, and makes her want to understand the baboons and be understood by them.

*Makes us smarter, calmer, friendlier, healthier, and even more attractive.

Can oxytocin really do all that? I feel confident in asserting that many, perhaps most, anthropologists would be skeptical, to say the least.

Anthropologists may take up against these sorts of claims by insisting that the behaviors of human-meaning-making that we see, report and participate in are not rooted primarily in reductive biology. My point here is to add that the anthropology of apes *also* shows that contextual, contingent meaning-making is not rooted primarily in reductive biology, but in the intersection of cultural tradition, individual life history and developmental dynamics.

If we have learned anything from books that interrogate an earlier wave of reductive claims, e.g., *Century of the Gene* (Keller 2000) or *What It Means to be 98% Chimpanzee* (Marks 2003), we should look hard at fantastic claims for reductive biology. A recent prominent example of backpedaling-from-gene-claims can be found in an article in *Science* magazine entitled "Depression Gene: Back to the Drawing Board for Psychiatric Genetics" (Holden 2009). In 2003, it was announced that a variant of the serotonin transporter gene played a significant role in whether people get depressed in response to life stress. However, a meta-analysis of the data (involving a large sample of people) failed to support any connection among the gene, life stress and depression. In the *Science* article reporting this failure, a behavioral geneticist was quoted as saying how "disappointing" this outcome was.

Disappointing? Maybe not so much, unless you embrace the idea that reasons for complex emotional responses lie primarily in the genes (or hormones). Again, I feel confident in saying that many, if not most, anthropologists would not share the behavioral geneticist's disappointment. To master the art of understatement, I am not claiming we anthropologists are monolithic thinkers, but rather that anthropologists tend to interrogate rather than accept determinist roles for genes. A focus on contingencies in ape behavior supports that interrogation.

Ardi surely deserves its pride of place in 2009 anthropology, indeed in 2009 science as a whole. But

its analysis deserves to co-exist, not with a dismissal of the relevance of apes to understanding human behavioral evolution, but with an understanding of what we have inherited from our ape-like ancestors.
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I stand here knowing that my story is part of the larger American story, that I owe a debt to all of those who came before me, and that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.

Barack Obama

from www.wisdomquotes.com

The World Game: A Global Immersion Lesson Plan

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Preface

As the pace of globalization accelerates, students need to understand their lives in context with a larger world. Although lesson plans to address this need are critical, a comparative full-sized global arena is rarely addressed. Instead, most lesson paradigms lead students through inductive logic to learn micro-details. In this manner, students learn fine points without knowing the illusive bigger picture. However, using immersion lesson plans with deductive logic gives students the whole first, and then they dissect or deconstruct the parts with guided analysis. The “World Game”¹ lesson offers a sudden-immersion into the global whole.

In the World Game lesson, which is based on statistical ratios of world classifications, students represent world conditions of economical, political and social stratifications. They ‘see’ the world, experience the world, compare the world in several ways, and then analyze what contributes to world conditions. The beauty of this method is that the statistical ratio representation of global populations makes the details clear for students after they have seen the bigger picture.

Introduction: A Lack of Global Comprehension

The purpose of lesson plans is not always understood by students. For example, teachers often hear such things as why must we learn algebra? Why should I care what happens in Zimbabwe? Current educational preparations in the United States assume that students will naturally recognize the logical whole, but few reach these understandings. However, recognition of educational purposes can be facilitated within educational planning.

It may seem overwhelming to present a holistic global concept to students. An effective method leads students to deconstruct global concepts through role modeling, which teaches students practical knowledge.

True, a mighty wailing is sometimes heard, “I do not know what I am supposed to be doing!” or “I am so confused!” However, now that they are paying attention, students are instructed to be patient, to *observe*, and share when they understand something. With the empirical senses engaged and careful guidance, students start to have emotional *aha!* moments.

Learning attached to emotion and/or food is deeply ingrained. The World Game uses food, gifts, and unfair practices to enable students to see a holistic global picture. In just a few class periods, the lessons teach stereotypical global social, economic, and political conditions. Careful guidance by the instructor is needed and many handouts are given to deconstruct data. Students often beg to do it again.

Learning Theories

Currently, learning in secondary and post-secondary schools is mostly conducted through inductive logic. For instance using Bloom’s Taxonomy (1956), learning steps are 1) knowledge acquisition (i.e. learning geometrical shapes), 2) comprehension (learning theorems), 3) applying the knowledge (applying the correct theorem to the correct problem), 4) examining the knowledge (doing mathematical calculations), 5) managing the results (applying theorems to new geometry problems), and 6) analyzing the value of the knowledge (knowing the practical application of geometry in everyday life). Note that analysis is the last stage, as it is a higher cognitive skill.

Immersion lesson plans, like the World Game, aligns with three other learning theories. The earliest one, the Gestalt Theory (Wertheimer 1923), postulates that for learning, “Two directions are involved: getting a whole consistent picture, and seeing what the structure of the whole requires for the parts.” (71-78). Gestalt is a behaviorism theory that looks at the big picture first. It uses deductive reasoning to understand the structure of the whole before categorizing the parts.

¹ The World Game was copyrighted with the Library of Congress, 2002 by Kay Kautz, Ed.D. and statistics updated in 2007.

Next, Conversation Theory (Pask 1975) delivers information through group conversations. In this collective learning process, Pask identifies two complementary learning paths with structured and sequential methods; serial learning connects the relationships of the whole to create higher learning. In addition, students teach each other through group conversations and multiple learning methods (Gardner 2006). Role modeling, as one conversation vehicle, changes parameter knowledge and values during the lesson exercise. The process is explained next in the theory by Argyris (1976).

The Double Loop Learning Theory (Argyris 1976) describes self-fulfilling learning. Like self-fulfilling prophecies, realities are created from the point of view of human actors. This means that what people actually do is in contrast to what they think they do. Self-fulfilling learning is to learn selectively. What people see and hear is what they choose to see and hear, while ignoring other data because it does not fit well with expectations. This must be overcome in order to learn productively, and self-fulfilling learning must be identified and addressed to solve complex problems. During role modeling and the subsequent analyses, students are confronted with alternate behaviors and realities. Goals of the Double Loop Theory are to teach organizational leadership and embrace multiple

world views, which endorse the objectives of the World Game lesson plan, as well.

The World Game

With the pace of globalization processes increasing in the last few decades, global concerns and why they are important must be addressed. Students must learn to prioritize and synthesize in an expansive, yet compartmentalized, world (Sack 1997). This means that even if they have wrong information, students must learn skills to recognize discrepancies and seek better information. The World Game lesson gives students practice with these thought processes.

The World Game swiftly immerses students in sensory material and then leads them, step by step, out of the fog. A great deal of material can be covered in short spans of time, but the lesson must be managed carefully to reduce student frustration. This type of lesson plan works well in social sciences and may not be for every discipline.

The World Game applies updated statistical global comparisons of major world conditions (according to Western values). Based on statistical ratios of classifications, a classroom will visually represent world conditions in economics, politics, and social stratifications. Larger class sizes enjoy deeper immersion and better details.

Implementation of the World Game

Each World Game session is carefully pre-analyzed according to the number of students. For instance, given that 41% of the world has freedom of speech, then 41% of the class will draw cards with countries that have freedom of speech. If 60% of the world lives on less than \$4000.00 a year, then 60% of the class will hold those cards. The plan aligns to the U.N.'s index of economies with the lowest level of cash existence at \$1.08 a day. Political index ratios of Free, Partly Free, or Not Free are used according to the Freedom House Survey (1998).

To begin the exercise, each student draws a card with the name of a country that contains information about economic and political standings. Then, students are seated according to their card specification of Free, Partly Free, or Not Free. The 'Free' card holders come to the front of the room and can speak when they desire. Students with 'Partly Free' cards sit in the middle of the room and can speak, if they raise their hands and are called on. Those with 'Not Free' cards cannot talk during the experience unless requested to do so. They sit in the back rows.

 <p>United States Economic Index Level 6 "Free"</p>	 <p>Luxemburg Economic Index Level 6 "Free"</p>	 <p>Norway Economic Index Level 6 "Free"</p>
 <p>Angola Economic Index Level 1 "Not Free"</p>	 <p>Argentina Economic Index Level 2 "Free"</p>	 <p>Armenia Economic Index Level 2 "Partly Free"</p>

Figure 1 Examples of World Game Cards, 2002

Economic comparisons

Teachers or schools purchase ‘prizes’ for this exercise and costs average \$1.00 per participant, when shopping at a dollar-per-item store. The prizes are part of the emotional hook for this exercise. Students in the U.S. generally have negative reciprocity values, or the desire to get as much material goods as possible. They receive demonstrative gifts and food according to information on their card. Students want to be competitive, even though they cannot improve their luck of the draw. For some, it is hard to comprehend not being able to better themselves. International students may have different responses.

The card holder with the wealthiest country, Norway, gets the most representative wealth. The equivalent of a balanced meal is represented by: A bottle of water, a granola bar, a beef jerky stick, fruit roll-ups, and a full size candy bar. Norway also gets a toy dog. Norway gets a miniature metal car to represent that every driver can own a vehicle. In addition, Norway will get a representative 2-story house [the 4-inch kind from a Christmas scene]. This person will also receive a book, a pen, and a notebook to express the ability to read and write and the freedom, wealth, and time to do so. He/she will get a college certificate and other goodies that can represent a wealthy nation. The prizes for Norway create a rather hefty display pile.

Norway, as the wealthiest nation in the world, is a Level Six. Each class must have this card, regardless of size. As of 2007, only 7% of the class should hold a level six card (\$40,000 and up annual per capita GNI). Students are surprised to find the United States is only 6th in national wealth per GNI statistics (World Bank 2007). The goods dispersal continues according to the economic status of the cards. The group of Level Five card holders will get a few college certificates and some high school certificates. They will get a balanced meal representation, but no toy car or two story house. Level Four will get a balanced meal representation and half will get a high school certificate. The rest of the gifts dispersed align with the lesson handout. Level One card holders get either a piece of Zwieback toast or a rice cake and no more.

After the prizes are given, the class keeps their gifts permanently. In this way, the lesson continues over time. Students usually look around at other allotments. Some students share or get angry. If the draw does not enable them to eat well, students often become disgruntled and wonder aloud at the unfairness of their situation. Students identify with their drawn country and compare themselves to the conditions of others.

The ‘Free’ students have a good time talking and laughing. Then, some unusual realities begin to dawn on them, such as India may be free, but will only get a rice cake. Columbia, as Partly Free, cannot join in unless they ask. The class begins to grow quieter, as the rest of the goodies are handed out. ‘Partly Free’ students look quietly on and rarely raise their hands. The silent ‘Not Free’ students begin to scowl. This group may write notes to each other, break the rules and speak up demanding to be heard, or give up.

Some players have cards that give them the option of becoming a terrorist, figuratively. To do this, the student must announce to the class that he/she is a terrorist and the class is under attack. A few students make the decision to do this to gain power or food. Once in my class, a student took the terrorist option, marched up to Norway, and seized the toy dog. He put it between two pieces of toast, announcing he was hungry. Norway was furious and an argument ensued over the fate of the toy dog. (Yes, these were adult college students).

Next steps

Since a plethora of information is consumed in one sitting, we deconstruct the World Game through numerous exercises over the next few days. Students examine country standings of Free, Partly Free, and Not Free. Within the handouts, these connotations refer to the ability to travel within and out of the country, voting rights, personal freedoms, and civil liberties. Students learn that ideas of ‘Free’ are in line with Western philosophy, as in other nations, people’s religious choices may not include civil or personal freedoms.

Freedoms also refer to the majority population and not necessarily the minorities within a country. The Political Index does not include indigenous peoples within countries. Students learn a country may have civil rights in law, but not in practice.

For an analytical and deconstruction exercise, students look up the Gross National Index (GNI) and population densities of their country card and they learn differences between GNI, GDP, and PPP. Students call out their GNI per capita and population densities statistics and we put data in a chart on the white board. The annual GNI per capita is a better indicator of income, but at times, only the GDP is available. Students must try to pick out and explain patterns from looking at raw data.

Figure 2. Sample of 24 student listings of raw data and in random order.

Cambodia Annual GNI = \$430. Pop Density = 201	India Annual GNI = \$730. Pop Density = 862	Mexico Annual GNI = \$7,310. Pop Density = 135	France Annual GNI = \$34,600. Pop Density = 345
Singapore Annual GNI = \$27,580. Pop Density = 17,794	Puerto Rico Annual GNI = \$15,090. (2000) Pop Density = 716	Nicaragua Annual GNI = \$950. Pop Density = 103	Philippines Annual GNI = \$1,320. Pop Density = 717
Norway Annual GNI = \$60,890. Pop Density = 37	Russia Annual GNI = \$4,460. Pop Density = 22	Turkey Annual GNI = \$4,750. Pop Density = 239	Jamaica Annual GNI = \$3,390. Pop Density = 625
Afghanistan Annual GNI = \$250. Pop Density = 120	Côte d'Ivoire Annual GNI = \$870. Pop Density = 146	Chile Annual GNI = \$5,870. Pop Density = 56	Dem. Republic of (North) Korea Annual GNI = \$1,800. Pop Density = 483
Malawi Annual GNI = \$160. Pop Density = 282	Dem. (South) Korea Annual GNI = \$15,840. Pop Density = 1270	Germany Annual GNI = \$34,870. Pop Density = 598	Japan Annual GNI = \$38,950. Pop Density = 876

United Kingdom Annual GNI = \$37,740. Pop Density = 637	China Annual GNI = \$1,740. Pop Density = 352	U.S. Annual GNI = \$43,560. Pop Density = 80	Namibia Annual GNI = \$2,990. Pop Density = 6
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Population densities per square mile (rounded up).

World Game Lessons

From this exercise students learn critical analysis of data, but eventually the instructor must make sure larger lessons are covered. Some important patterns to view are:

Comparison of Islands: *Comoros, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico* all have different relationships with the U.S., as demonstrated in their GNI. The local people of *Jamaica* are poor with \$3,390. per capita (GNI) because outside Multi-National Corporations own the majority of *Jamaica's* tourism industry. The island's local populations provide cheap labor that increases core profits for the MNCs. It would not do *Jamaican* locals any good to unionize, because the MNCs would simply move to another tropical location (Boo, 1990)

Alternatively, *Comoros* has no relative U.S. economic relationship. *Comoros* Islands have a small Eurasian tourist industry, and are a Level One (\$2000.00 annual GNI). *Puerto Rico* is a U.S. territory with a U.S. Navy base. Their annual GNI per capita is approximately five times that of *Jamaica* and ten times that of the *Comoros* Islands. *Jamaica* is 'Free', while U.S. territories, are listed as 'Partly Free', yet have a higher GNI per capita than many other tropical islands.

Perceptions of wealth based on a cash economy: Students learn that using per capita income (GNI) does not necessarily reflect majority economics within a nation, as it averages all incomes together. For instance, in oil rich countries, only a few elite may benefit from oil exports. Yet their GNI ranking can be as high as a Level Five.

Subsistence living from what can be made or grown is not easily comparable to a cash economy. Subsistence populations may have greater life satisfaction or fewer afflictions of modern isolationism ailments (UNICEF 2008), yet they may also lack education opportunities, medical care, and power within their nation.

Students are asked to examine healthy balances of power, economies, and environmental concerns. The class discusses the comparison of living in ‘Partly Free’ Russia as opposed to living in ‘Free’ Mexico. Both nations are a Level 2, yet Mexico actually has \$2,850. a year more per capita. Mexico has a higher population density and the disparity between rich and poor is greater. Russia has greater ethnic diversity and

a single resource export. Other comparisons are about encroaching *desertification and salinification*², along with nations that have *civil wars, totalitarian governments, and terrorism*. Often students realize that populations living below \$1000.00 a year may be in jeopardy of preferring a totalitarian government, *so they can be fed!*

Category	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
Transportation	Walking (Public Trans. for important occasions)	Walking (Public Trans. once or twice a week)	Walking, bicycling, or Public Trans. daily	Walking, Bicycling, or Public Trans. About 20% of families have a car	Public Trans. often with one car per family	Vehicle for each member of the family over the age of 18. Public Trans. in crowded cities.

Figure 3. Sample chart for stereotypical transportation within each economic level. Economic levels are U.S.D.: 1 = 0-\$4,000. / 2 = \$4,000.- \$10,000. / 3 = \$10,000.- \$20,000. / 4 = \$20,000.- \$30,000. / 5 = \$30,000.- \$40,000. / 6 = \$40,000. and above.

higher levels of education attainment. Using stereotypes aids generalizations of the larger picture, but deconstruction of the data helps to emphasize the details.

Other patterns examined are generalizations for continents (Africa versus Europe), population density, colonization and de-colonization, terrorism, natural resources, and civil wars. *Densely populated nations* create an odd circumstance concerning wealth. The upper class of high-population-density areas must spend their wealth to buy space, such as in Singapore with 17,794 population density per square mile. The use of small animals (insects, cats, dogs, rats, rabbits, chickens, ducks, and goats) as necessary food protein is addressed in areas with poor natural resources or high population densities. We talk about a protein diet for a healthy nursing mother.

Students study hegemonic power displays from vocabulary terminology and map making. The nomenclature of European colonization is substituted with European conquest, and the subsequent poverty and chaos of ‘decolonization’ are examined.

Students compare *landlocked nations* to those with good sea harbors. They examine nations dependent on

Final Understandings

Reflection papers are written a week or two after the last of several exercises. Students learn that having power and wealth seems to stem from national plenty with excellent natural resources or trade to provide resources though good sea harbors. Landlocked countries may be at a disadvantage. Also, friendly borders, an educated populace, and non-totalitarian governments with checks and balances are relevant.

A chart compares living standards to understand what it is like to live with a \$300.00 or a \$4000.00 annual income. These levels are compared to Norway’s \$69,000.00 annual GNI. This handout examines eight stereotypical comparative levels of standards of living for each economic condition: *Water, Household Goods, Environment, Transportation, Food Consumption, Education, Travel, and Climate Control*.

Disclaimers

In all, there is no indication that the stereotypical information in the World Game is exact in nature, but it is a generalization at best. The charts are a summation of several that may hold conflicting information. Additional information is sought from public

² Definitions of two terms are: *Desertification is transformation of habitable land into desert; is usually caused by climate change or by destructive use of the land...and results from removal of forests, overgrazing and overuse of surface and groundwater. Salinification occurs when minerals and salts are placed on the topsoil, which sterilizes the soil. wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn*

information sites such as “cia.gov” and “worldbank.org”. It is evident that my own cultural biases and definitions are exhibited in this exercise.

Statistics of the World Game

The stereotypical statistics of world conditions for this exercise in 2007 are:

Economic statistics of nation’s populations: Percentage of world populations at each level:

Level #1 = 28%

Level #2 = 32%

Level #3 = 24%

Level #4 = 4%

Level #5 = 5%

Level #6 = 7%

Political statistics of nation’s populations:

Free = 44% / Partly Free = 30% / Not Free = 26%

The World Game includes U.S. territories of: Guam and Wake Islands, American Samoa, and Puerto Rico. U.S. territorial statistics and flags were not available in many U. S. indices and maps, after the year 2000.

Discussion

Some educators believe students from the U.S. are behind in global knowledge due to “academic isolationism and inbreeding” (Kautz 2008). The purpose of this immersion lesson plan is to enable students to understand stereotypical levels of global issues very quickly. It can be used in conjunction with other inductive-type lesson plans.

The World Game is only one of several sudden immersion lesson plans that utilize role modeling and data deconstruction. Model UN classes utilize this form of learning. Other immersion lesson plans can focus on: Causes and Results of Genocide, War, and Terrorism, Colonization and Decolonization, and Ecosystems and the Environment.

Immersion learning can be employed where students are behind in understandings necessary for their future successes, as it addresses more learning styles than linear methods. In immersion learning, the learner must take in large amounts of knowledge quickly to endure, and a buy-in or hook becomes the motivation. This type of learning keeps education

fresh and interesting, and students do not ask, “Why must I learn this?” 74

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Attachment 1

Sample of Statistical Listings for the World Game Lesson

(To obtain all handouts, please contact: Dr. Kay Kautz at kay_teach@yahoo.com)

Nation States indicators as of 2003 (There are 195 listings):

1. Afghanistan: Economic Index=Level 1 / Political Index PR=6, CL=6, Population Density: 119. ...*Not Free*
2. Albania: Economic Index=Level 2/ Political Index PR=3, CL=3, ↓ Population Density: 286...*Partly Free*
3. Algeria: Economic Index=Level 2/ Political Index PR=6, CL=5, ↑ Population Density: 35...*Not Free*
4. America Samoa: (As of 2000) Economic Index= Level 3/ Political Index PR=4, CL=3, Population Density: ...*Partly Free*
5. Andorra: Economic Index=Level 2/ Political Index PR=1, CL=1, Population Density: ?... *Free*
6. Angola: Economic Index=Level 1/ Political Index PR=6, CL=5, Population Density: 28 ...*Not Free*
7. Antigua and Barbuda: Economic Index=Level 3/ Political Index PR=4, CL=2, Population Density: 460...*Partly Free*
8. Argentina: Economic Index=Level 2/ Political Index PR=2, CL=2, Population Density: 34... *Free*
9. Armenia: Economic Index=Level 2/ Political Index PR=4 ↑, CL=4, Population Density: 266...*Partly Free*
10. Australia: Economic Index=Level 4/ Political Index PR=1, CL=1, Population Density: 7...*Free*
11. Austria: Economic Index=Level 5/ Political Index PR=1, CL=1, Population Density: 250...*Free*
12. Azerbaijan: Economic Index=Level 1 / Political Index PR=6, CL=5, Population Density: 246...*Not Free*
13. Bahamas: Economic Index=Level 3/Political Index PR=1, CL=1, Population Density: 59... *Free*

14. Bahrain: Economic Index=Level 3/ Political Index PR=5, CL=5, Population Density: 2665...*Partly Free*
15. Bangladesh: Economic Index=level 1/Political Index PR=4, CL=4, Population Density: 2665...*Partly Free*
16. Barbados: Economic Index=Level 3/Political Index PR=1, CL=1, Population Density: 1630...*Free*

Attachment 2

Basic Learning Goals for the World Game

Dr. Kay's Generalized Rules About Governments and Groups of People (Not all her own original ideas)

1. Sometimes, people allow or disallow their governments according to the fullness of their bellies.
2. You can't have a successful democracy without a good economic base, educated voters, a system of checks and balances, and personal freedoms or rights for the individual.
3. People do not change their ways unless they are personally uncomfortable and quite often in a great deal of hurt.
4. Every government and group of people is just trying to survive and promote their way of life. They think their way is best.
5. There are no good groups of people or bad groups of people; there are some nutso leaders.
6. Any small group that controls the majority of wealth and power and ignores the masses jeopardizes the long run.
7. Those who define borders and attach multiple and vicarious meanings to vocabulary have the power to manipulate and control people.
8. Corruption lowers the standard of living for all.
9. Intolerance of others depletes economic resources. To enslave others, is to enslave yourself. (Thomas Jefferson)
10. Any development or progress that takes from the earth's resources without renewal, whether floral, faunal, or mineral is disastrous for the continuation of the human species.

The Relevance of the Anthropology of War to the Study of Small-Scale Wars Today

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With the emergence of many small-scale wars, coups de'etat, insurgencies, counter-insurgencies, uprisings, and ethnic wars, accompanied by the decline in large-scale military operations, the study of the wars of non-literate peoples and peasants assumes greater importance than it held decades ago. The sub-field, called the Anthropology of War, holds ideas and views of relevance for the study of these modern small-scale wars. The Archaeology of War, if indeed it can be considered a separate sub-field, is also of relevance (Otto, Thrane, & Vandkilde 2006).

Most anthropology textbooks, several decades ago (Otterbein 1973:925-926) as well as today, do not include chapters or major sections on warfare. And what is offered is a summary of Yanomamö warfare. Absent from these texts are analyses and the implications of research on war and how these might pertain to modern small-scale societies. I encourage instructors of introductory anthropology courses—including more specialized courses in archaeology, cultural anthropology and physical anthropology—to include the study of the warfare of non-literate peoples and archaic or early states in their curricula. Instructors and students can find applications of the anthropology of war to an understanding and perhaps even halting or preventing of small-scale wars of the present. In the last paragraph of this essay are a few suggestions.

The final section of my book on the origin of prehistoric and Neolithic warfare documents the decline of wars in recent years (Otterbein 2004:223-225). In a recent issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, writer John Horgan argues the same (2009). Meanwhile, the study of warfare by anthropologists and archaeologists has flourished. At a recent conference on the Archaeology of Violence, held at the University at Buffalo and organized by its Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology, I was invited to give opening remarks (conference papers will be published). I found that the European archaeologists present were conversant with the debate in cultural anthropology over the antiquity of war, its frequency, and its lethality. We in cultural anthropology, however, seem less knowledgeable

about their research, which often focuses upon warrior cultures and the belief that peasants through time were peaceful (Vandkilde 2006).

Several ideas are relevant to the anthropology of war and also to the study of small-scale wars today. First, a number of features of *Homo sapiens* facilitate war, or as I prefer to define it, “armed combat between political communities.” Of course, it is not the political communities themselves that engage in the combat, but the adult males and sometimes females of those communities who fight with weapons.

Anatomical features include: binocular vision; the ability to walk and run; and the ability to use shock and projectile weapons. Neuropsychological features include: the amygdala, that part of the brain that can trigger a fight or fear response; gratification in taking revenge; and gratification in removing from a group those members who are “cheaters.” Social features include: intragroup cooperation; intergroup hostility (ethnocentrism); and socialization to the group's attitudes toward war and peace. *Homo sapiens*, or human beings, if you prefer, “have what it takes” to be killers, fighters, warriors, or soldiers. Although the above features are biological characteristics, they do not determine human behavior (Otterbein 2009:52-62). These characteristics can serve to make men hunters, athletes, seamen or explorers, as well as combatants. The individual features that facilitate war seem to prevail more in small-scale war than in high-tech modern warfare that demands computer skills and the like (i.e. “push-button” warfare).

Second, I believe the study of hunter/gatherers also enlightens the study of small-scale wars. While some have argued that hunter/gatherers are peaceful, and others have argued that they are warlike, my recent research indicates that eight types of hunter/gatherer bands exist, types long identified by anthropologists. Four of the eight types rarely go to war (Microbands of Big Game Hunters, Foragers, Incipient Tillers and Symbiotics); four types frequently go to war—Macrobands of Big Game Hunters, Australians, Settled

Anthropological knowledge concerning the warfare of [small-scale, non-state societies] may lead to ideas that could decrease the number of small wars.

Fishermen, and Mounted Hunters (Otterbein 2009:68-74).

What appears to set the two groupings apart is their subsistence base. The types that go to war appear to rely on large game animals, either terrestrial or aquatic (Otterbein 2004:85-90): These hunters draw from those biological characteristics features that may facilitate both hunting and warfare. While hunter/gatherers are treated today as insignificant populations, compared with, say, the Chinese and Indians, many of the current small-scale wars are taking place in regions that had hunting and, more recently, herding as a way of life, e.g. Sudan and Afghanistan. People in these regions are not far removed culturally from their hunting/gathering past.

The mountainous regions of the Southeastern United States display some of the above features. Even today large game animals, like deer and bear, provide subsistence to many families. Hunting is a way of life. Men love their guns. This region opposes gun control. It is also the region that, in the 19th century, was racked by feuds (Otterbein 2000). Furthermore, the southern states provide, and did provide, many of the officers and enlisted men in the US Army and Marine Corps. In *Born Fighting*, Senator James Webb has described how he is one of them (2004).

Third, studies of small-scale non-state societies, as well as early states, either archaic or pristine, have revealed socio-political features that make some peoples more war-prone than others (Otterbein 2009:28-34). Specifically, my research for over forty years has shown that communities with Fraternal Interest Groups, based on virilocal residence, are prone to violence, from intra-village fighting, rape, and feuding, to internal war (Otterbein 1994:75-158). Combatants drawn from cultures with virilocal residence today wage many of the small-scale wars. These cultures often have patrilineal clans, polygyny, and cultures of honor. Again, many cultures in the Middle East and Africa have these features.

Research by many others and me has shown that early states, by which I now mean newly formed states, are despotic (Otterbein 1986:73-82). Once states achieve political control through terror, they frequently wage war with neighbors. Combine Fraternal Interest Groups with the despotic nature of early states and the ingredients are present for ethnic wars, uprisings, insurgencies, and coup de etats. Iraq under Saddam was such a state.

In this comment I have tried to show that the findings of both anthropologists and archaeologists

regarding war, considered to be a subfield called the Anthropology of War, should be of great interest to those studying modern small-scale wars. No one seems to question that these wars have grown in number in recent years while large-scale military operations related to the Cold War have declined. I have suggested three research foci relevant to studying small wars: features of Homo sapiens that facilitate war; hunter/gatherers with war; and socio-political features that lead to war. Cultures with these socio-political features are found in regions where, in recent years, small wars have occurred—Africa, Balkans, Middle East, Afghanistan, and South and Southeast Asia. Anthropologists have studied many of the warring cultures in these areas. You know them; from West to East: Nuer, Dinka, Montenegrians, Kurds, Bedouins, Swat Pushtuns, Kachins, Iban, and Tausug.

Can this anthropological knowledge lead to understandings that might ameliorate the violent conflict of these areas? I will not try to answer the question, largely because I do not have the answer. I do think it possible, however, that anthropological knowledge concerning the warfare of such cultures may lead to ideas that could decrease the number of small wars. For example, influencing change in residence could diminish influence of Fraternal Interest Groups. If men in leadership roles who might attack neighbors could be induced to relocate, leaving these areas, this might help. The anatomical and neuropsychological features of humankind can be channeled into peaceful ventures, rather than violent ones. Education of men and especially women can raise earning capacity; education of women can raise their status and make them more influential members of the society (Otterbein 2009:107-110). 74

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If you as parents cut corners, your children will too. If you lie, they will too. If you spend all your money on yourselves and tithed no portion of it for charities, colleges, churches, synagogues, and civic causes, your children won't either. And if parents snicker at racial and gender jokes, another generation will pass on the poison adults still have not had the courage to snuff out.

Marian Wright Edelman

from www.wisdomquotes.com

Children have never been very good at listening to their elders, but they have never failed to imitate them.

James Baldwin

from www.wisdomquotes.com

In our culture most of the features of adolescent life are a reverberation of adult life... The high school...is an institution run by adults for the entire community and, because of this, expresses the demands of the community and the idiosyncrasies of the adults who run the high school.

Jules Henry, Culture Against Man

Food with the Farmer's Face on it

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One morning last March, I opened my e-mail to find the headline, “Obamas to Plant Vegetable Garden at White House.”¹ While this may seem like presidential trivia to some, people interested in the U.S. food system know it is the culmination of a quest begun long before the Obamas moved into the White House. Founders of the urban organic food movement began campaigning more than a decade ago for the Clintons to plant a garden on the South Lawn. While the Clintons agreed to plant some container herbs on the roof, and the Bushes sourced organic produce for their meals, the scene of Michelle Obama and a group of local third graders digging and planting on the White House lawn makes an entirely different kind of statement. In this small organic garden, urban kids get what may be their only opportunity to not only see an actual farm, but also to participate in the process of growing their own food. This garden is a powerful symbol for the local food movement.

The local food movement is a rallying point for those who believe the future of our planet depends on the health of our food system. According to advocates of this movement, a more local food system would reorient food consumption closer to the point of production. Today's global system of mega-farms, with industrial food production and massive distribution centers of imports from all over the globe, would be divided into smaller regional units, and reintegrated into our communities. By providing more ways to purchase directly from the farmer in our

neighborhoods, the journey of food from farm to fork would become more transparent, ecologically sound and with fewer health risks. This paper explores some of the most common reasons for dissatisfaction with the conventional² food system, and the rise of direct marketing from farmer to consumer, with comments and survey data from Southern California Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) members.

Defining local food

Clearly, buying “local” doesn't mean walking down to the corner store to buy a *Slurpee*.³ Definitions of what constitutes “local” vary, but essentially it is whole food produced within a certain radius of where it will be consumed, often 50 or 100 miles.⁴ However, even if the aforementioned *Slurpee* was mixed on store grounds that morning, it has two strikes against it: the ingredients arrive from a central distribution facility outside of a 100-mile radius, and secondly, the *Slurpee* is not “food,” but an “edible food-like substance.”⁵ Processed food as a general category falls outside of the definition.

The local food movement emphasizes a “collaborative effort to build more locally based, self-reliant food economies—one in which sustainable food production, processing, distribution and consumption is integrated to enhance the economic, environmental and social health of a particular place.”⁶ The actual

¹ *New York Times*, 3/20/09

² The term “conventional” when applied to food refers to the way the vast majority of our food is produced today. If not labeled “organic,” FDA regulations allow food crops to be genetically-modified, sprayed with pesticides, herbicides and other chemicals, (animals) injected with hormones and antibiotics and products irradiated before coming to market. Organic Foods in *USDA-FDA*. Retrieved from <http://usda-fda.com/Articles/Organic.htm>.

³ Slurpee is a registered trademark of the 7-Eleven Corporation.

⁴ Smith, A., & MacKinnon, J.B. (2008) *Plenty: Eating Locally on the 100 Mile Diet*. New York: Three Rivers Press.

⁵ Pollan, M. (2008) *In Defense of Food*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.

⁶ Feenstra, G. (2002) Creating space for sustainable food systems: lessons from the field. *Agriculture and Human Values*. 19(2). 99-106.

and symbolic place is referred to increasingly as the “foodshed,” a term that represents the availability and variety of the food that may be grown in a particular regional environment. Like “watershed,” the term underscores the connection between the health of the environment and the responsibility shared by the people who use it as a resource.⁷ Importantly, the emphasis on sustainably produced food highlights the ability of the food system to remain healthy in order to meet the needs of future generations.

As with the more general concept of sustainability, the idea of the foodshed underscores our role as consumers and decision makers in the development of a healthy system. While the term originated in academic research,⁸ eaters across the United States have embraced the idea of supporting one’s own foodshed. Support can be seen in the rising numbers of urban farmer’s markets, direct farm-to-eater purchasing such as CSA and community gardens, all of which have had a sharp spike in popularity over the past decade. Unprecedented growth in these areas signals a shift in consumer purchasing patterns towards more local sources.

Isn’t Organic Enough?

Just a decade ago, most consumers had a simplistic understanding of the issues regarding sustainable food production. Shoppers could identify “good” food from “bad” food by its “organic” label. Due to this strong association (organics = good), organic food sales have skyrocketed, growing on an average of 20% per year over the last decade.⁹

Unfortunately, labeling practices do not always represent actual business practices. Many consumers, lulled into complacency by pastoral narratives and

bucolic images at “organic” grocery stores like Whole Foods,¹⁰ fail to recognize that many of their expensive organic groceries are produced industrially—what local food advocates refer to as “Big Organic.” Industrially produced organic fruit and vegetables may also be grown on mega-farms with otherwise standard agricultural practices. The particular field in which a crop is grown may conform to organic standards at the most basic level.¹¹ At the same time, the company’s agricultural practices may be generally unsustainable, or their business practices do not protect laborers, the soil or the environment. In other words, “Big Organic” is not concerned with nurturing the foodshed or the web of people dependent upon it.

Increasingly, the industrial food system is being linked in consumers’ minds to problems: in particular, the food system’s large carbon footprint and unsustainable agricultural practices. Moreover, multiple food recalls with tragic consequences in the past several years have made more and more consumers sit up and notice, even if they were not particularly inclined toward organics or sustainable agriculture previously. For local food proponents, two aspects of this system become focal points for reorganization: bringing food production closer to the point of sale, and redesigning food distribution to create a direct marketing relationship between farmer and eater. With a more transparent and regionally oriented process, they argue, we can begin to solve what food expert Michael Pollan calls our “national eating disorder.”¹²

Food Miles and Greenhouse Gases

Since most food today in the U.S. is not grown near the place it will be sold or eaten, products must be

⁷ Kloppenburg, J. Jr., Hendrickson, J., & Stevenson, G.W. *Coming Into the Foodshed. Agriculture and Human Values* 13:3 (Summer): 33-42, 1996. Retrieved from <http://www.cias.wisc.edu/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/comingin.pdf>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Frequently asked questions about organic food and farming. *Organic Farming Research Foundation*. Retrieved from <http://ofrf.org/resources/organicfaqs.html>.

¹⁰ Pollan, M. (2006) *The Omnivore’s Dilemma*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.

¹¹ USDA Organic standards. Retrieved from <http://www.ams.usda.gov/AMSV1.0/nop>.

¹² Pollan, M. (2006) *The Omnivore’s Dilemma*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.

shipped long distances in order to get to their final destinations. Products go through a network of “processors, packers, manufacturers, wholesalers, brokers, shippers, buyers, distributors, warehouse operators and supermarkets.”¹³ The so-called “food miles” that result from weeks of transportation from field to plate have made consumers uneasy. Shifting from conventional large distribution centers to regionally based distribution could decrease the numbers of miles in each leg of the journey, creating fewer carbon emissions.

The Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture has produced research on conventional and local food systems that has entered consumer consciousness through books and other media. In a seminal 2001 study, center director Rich Pirog and his associates found that “A common dinner of chuck roast, potatoes, carrots, and green beans could travel a collective distance of 5,375 miles through conventional channels before reaching the dinner table while the same meal grown locally could travel a collective distance of just 90 miles before reaching the dinner table.”¹⁴

On average, each piece of this meal traveled approximately 1,500 miles from various sites in the U.S. and Mexico to reach the Chicago Central Market for distribution, some of it, ironically, back to the location of origin.¹⁵ The distance of 1,500 miles has become an important and oft-used piece of data for local food advocates who wish to illustrate the contribution of the conventional food system to global warming. Calculating total greenhouse gas emissions is more complex than simple addition of food miles; however, on average, the carbon footprint of transporting an item like green beans would be substantially greater from overseas than from domestic farms.

Risks of Industrial Food Production

Shrinking the gap between farm and table through direct purchasing is one way to gain more control over the potential risks inherent in large industrial agriculture production and centralized processing. There is mounting evidence that the American public does not feel very safe regarding their food. According to an online survey of two thousand adults in February 2009, “61% of U.S. adults feel the U.S. food recall process is only fair or poor” and “73% of adults say they are as equally concerned about food safety as the war on terror.”¹⁶

The inability to trace the journey of our food can be dangerous for our health, as we saw in early 2009 with salmonella-tainted peanuts in over 3,800 products made by more than two hundred companies.¹⁷ The fall-out from this tragedy sickened over seven hundred people and killed nine, with the median age of those affected under sixteen years old.¹⁸ These stories are widely reported on in the media, causing consumers to sit up and notice, especially when major recalls are frequent or tragic.

With frequent recalls, the security of our entire food system has come into question. When industrial food moving through the process from harvest to delivery can’t be tracked, couldn’t food be tampered with along the way? The FDA only began in 2005 to keep “traceability” records on where a product originated, how it was transported and who received it. Marion Nestle, Professor of Nutrition, Food Studies and Public Health at New York University, describes a failed attempt by the Department of Health and Human Services to assess the success of FDA’s new tracing system. Nestle reports that out of forty different food samples, inspectors could only trace the supply chain of five. Moreover, “nearly 60% of food facilities

¹³ Van Dyne, L. (2005, May 1) Food Coming to Us from Around the World. *The Washingtonian*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonian.com/articles/restaurants/1806.html>.

¹⁴ Pirog, R., Van Pelt, T., Enshayan, K., Cook, E. (June 2001) Food, Fuel and Freeways: An Iowa Perspective on how far food travels, fuel usage and greenhouse gas emissions. Ames, IA: Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture. Retrieved from http://www.leopold.iastate.edu/pubs/staff/ppp/food_mil.pdf.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Nicely, L. and Lemke, N. (2009, March 11) Food Safety: Majority of Americans Feel Industry Doesn’t Do Enough. ASQ Media Room Press Release. Retrieved from <http://www.asq.org/media-room/press-releases/2009/20090311-food-safety.html>.

¹⁷ U.S. Food and Drug Administration. *Peanut Product Recalls: Salmonella typhimurium*. Retrieved from <http://www.fda.gov/oc/opacom/hottopics/salmonellatyp.html>.

¹⁸ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2009, April 29) Investigation Update: Outbreak of *Salmonella Typhimurium* Infections, 2008–2009. Retrieved from <http://www.cdc.gov/salmonella/typhimurium/update.html>.

handling these products could not complete the tracing and 25% did not know they were supposed to.”¹⁹

Direct marketing from farmer to consumer

These and other concerns have led some people to seek options outside the big box store, local supermarket or corner grocery in a way they feel they might better control what they eat and serve to their families. Of course, the best-recognized institution of the local food movement is the farmers’ market: a physical location, often in an urban center, where certified producers sell directly to the public. Farmers’ markets have surged in popularity in the past dozen years. Since the USDA began taking data in 1994, the number of registered farmers’ markets in the U.S. has risen from 1,755 to 5,274 in 2009.²⁰ Market goers have the opportunity to interact directly with farmers or their employees, who can answer questions about where and how their products are grown or raised.

Along with the rise in farmers’ markets, there has been an accompanying rise in direct farm sales overall, including a program called “CSA,” or Community Supported Agriculture, brought to the U.S. in the eighties from Europe and Japan. In this program, consumers buy a share in the farm by paying in advance for weekly boxes of farm produce. Members of CSAs receive seasonal, often organic or biodynamic produce (fruit and vegetables) from a farm that is in their regional foodshed. Some CSAs offer eggs, meat, poultry, honey, even homemade items such as breads and jams. Farms deliver the boxes to central drop-off points, such as a farmers’ market or member’s house, or members can pick boxes up at the farm. USDA survey data from 2007 claim that over twelve thousand farms engage in some form of CSA direct marketing, a 30% increase from just five years earlier.²¹ This dramatic increase of direct sales of farm products seems to [reflect] rapidly growing consumer interest in “food with the farmer’s face on it.”²²

CSA Members’ Motivations

Changing shopping and cooking practices is not easy, especially since conventionally produced food is ubiquitous and inexpensive. What do participants in

the CSA system say are their primary motivations for alternative food sourcing? In January 2010, I made a survey available to members of the Inland Empire CSA in Southern California by way of a link to their listserv. Of the 188 listserv members, twenty-nine responded to the survey. For twenty-three members, this is their first CSA, while six members have been members of CSAs previously. A majority (nineteen) of the respondents had been members at least six months, with nine members over one year.

Initial motivations for joining the CSA	Number of members	Percentage of members
To get organic food	16	57%
To minimize carbon footprint by buying locally	14	48%
To eat food with higher nutritional value	14	48%
To get fresh food that tastes good	10	34%
To establish a relationship with the people who grow food (farmers)	7	24%
*To get a variety of food	4	14%
*To eat seasonally	2	6%
*To reduce dependence on big agriculture	1	3%
*To support local farming	1	3%

Note: * denotes write-in responses.

I asked about their initial motivations for joining the Inland Empire CSA, and which were the “most important” of those reasons (multiple answers were allowed in each category). A majority of respondents said the most important reason was to get organic food. Nearly half initially joined for environmental and nutritional reasons. The table above shows the results in detail.

Secondly, I asked those respondents who have remained members of the CSA their motivations for staying. The most commonly chosen “most important” reason for staying was, again, the organic food. The next largest group of respondents stay in the CSA as part of their commitment to an environmentally aware lifestyle. The table on the following page shows these responses.

¹⁹ Nestle, M. (2009, April 3) Can Food Products be Traced? Not Easily. Message posted to <http://www.foodpolitics.com/>.

²⁰ USDA Agricultural Marketing Service. Retrieved from <http://www.ams.usda.gov/AMSV1.0/farmersmarkets>.

²¹ Community Supported Agriculture. In USDA National Agricultural Library. Retrieved from <http://www.nal.usda.gov/afsic/pubs/csa/csa.shtml>.

²² Meter, K. (2009, February 4) Direct farm sales rising dramatically, new Agriculture Census data show. Crossroads Resource Center. Retrieved from <http://www.crcworks.org/press/direct090214.pdf>.

Motivations for staying a member of the CSA	Number of members	Percentage of members
Organic food	14	51%
Part of my overall commitment to a low-carbon lifestyle	10	37%
High quality produce	9	33%
I enjoy knowing the people who produce my food (farmers)	8	29%
Higher nutritional levels	7	26%
Food tastes great	7	27%
* Convenience of having food delivered near my home	1	3%
* Eating seasonally and trying new foods I probably would have never tried	1	3%

Note: * denotes write-in responses.

It is clear that organics and environmental stewardship both play a big part in why these consumers choose CSA membership. Members understand their food-purchasing practices as fitting into a conscious lifestyle, in which they try to minimize their carbon footprint and eat healthfully. The fact that the food is produced locally, by farmers they know personally, makes the CSA organic option more transparent than “supermarket organic,” where claims on the packaging may or may not fairly represent the company’s business practices. In contrast, CSA members are invited annually for an “Open House” to both of the farms that grow for the Inland Empire CSA. They can walk the fields and greenhouses, ask questions of the farmers, and are treated to a meal they helped harvest. “Organic” claims can be measured against the farms’ actual practices.

In order to clarify their relative importance, I asked whether members would prefer to purchase “organic” (and not local) or “locally-grown” (and conventionally produced). Assuming the cost of the item was the same, only seven respondents chose “organic” without qualification (24%). Nine members chose “locally-grown” (31%) and the majority answered that it depends on the item (44%). In explaining their choices, members in this last category of responses make these comments:

Organic is just a label, it depends on how the food is grown/raised.

Support local small businesses. It is most likely closer to organic, because it is not corporate farms that grow it.

I can get organic food from the farmer’s market. That’s not the main reason I stay.

I’d prefer they be both organic and locally -grown.

While organic may be important to these consumers, it is the farming practices that members are interested in. Small family farms, like the two that produce for the Inland Empire CSA, are more likely to use sustainable agricultural practices than a large industrial farm, even when it is producing “organics.”

CSA membership is not always easy for members, who alter their purchasing and eating patterns to accommodate a weekly delivery of seasonal vegetables. Consumers do not have a choice in what vegetable or fruit selection arrives in the box, but receive whatever is fresh and ripe on the farm that week. For consumers who are not used to eating seasonally, it takes some adapting, especially in the winter months. For instance, in the cool season (even in Southern California) there is no warm season produce: tomatoes, bell peppers, eggplant, cucumbers or strawberries. Instead, members receive lettuces, greens (collards, kale, chard, bok choy, tat soi, or others), onions, carrots, radishes, citrus fruits, avocados and winter squash. In general, there is less variety in the winter, and many familiar foods are absent for months.

A majority of respondents admitted to having “challenges” with CSA membership (62%). When I asked which aspects of CSA membership posed challenges for them, more than half of this group emphasized the fact that more time is needed to cook. With a large box of fresh produce, members must find the time to cook many meals during the week. Because some items are unfamiliar, recipes must often be sought, taking additional prep time. One member says, “Getting recipes and learning to cook new produce, especially the variety of greens” was a challenge. Another member, who eventually left the CSA, admits this was the reason for terminating her membership: “I received food that I had no idea how to cook—a lot of different greens that my children didn’t like. I still buy organic at the local farmer’s market but I get to choose what I buy.”

Related to the fact that more time is needed for cooking, about half of the members who experience challenges also lament food spoilage. Moving to a largely fresh diet from a pantry-based diet takes some adjustment. Fresh food that has been paid for can go uneaten, leading to waste. This is especially true with less hardy items such as winter greens and lettuces. One member says their challenge has been “using or finding ways to store all the food in one week.” Another implies that food goes bad because eaters in the household don’t like it: “There are certain foods that we get week after week for a long period of time

like radishes and pineapple guavas that I don't love and I run out of ideas of what to do with them."

On the other hand, cooking with unfamiliar and fresh produce is exciting for some members. Ten of the respondents felt they "have not experienced any challenges" with CSA membership or "have experienced these differences but do not see them as challenges" (38%). One wrote, "We find it takes more time to cook, but the challenge has been very enjoyable and member recipes are helpful." Another member admits her challenge has been, "Learning to cook with new vegetables/produce. However, this has been a fun challenge." These members enjoy the surprise of unfamiliar vegetables and cooking new dishes when the produce is fresh and tastes good.

A number of write-in responses focus on how membership in the CSA has "forced" them to cook more often with healthier or seasonal foods. This might be seen as analogous to a gym membership where one is "forced" to exercise since membership dues are paid in advance. These members are grateful to be pushed outside of their regular habits. Here is a sample of some responses echoing this sentiment:

I find that many of the items that I get in the box are things that I would never purchase in a store. I love this aspect of the CSA because it encourages me to eat outside of my comfort zone, try new things, and most importantly, consume a healthy amount of fruits and vegetables.

I love the challenge of using produce that might be unfamiliar to me. I think that using the produce in the CSA box makes for a healthier diet.

Though initially difficult, I now enjoy the challenge of cooking whatever I get. CSAs introduced me to food I would never have tried on my own. I had no understanding of what seasonal foods were.

Finally, CSA members see themselves as conscientious consumers. They choose to purchase food in ways that have the least impact on the environment, and to support local, small farmers over multinational corporations. Their alternative purchasing patterns reflect a concern with global warming and their personal carbon footprint. Fourteen respondents said that "food miles" were "very important" to their decision to join a CSA (48%). Four more said it was the "most important" factor in their decision (13%). One member claims, "Food miles was my original reason for looking into a CSA."

The idea of decreasing one's food miles may be part of an overall philosophy of sustainable purchasing and eating. The following comment reflects a

member's understanding of the web of influence of his or her local purchasing patterns:

Reducing my carbon footprint is most important to me overall as it reduces the use of fuel for transportation, keeps money in the local economy, encourages family and cooperative small farming, helps the local economy by keeping local people employed, you know the source of your food and the food is fresher.

Another member used to drive some distance to pick up her box, but wanted to reduce her carbon footprint even further:

It didn't make sense to me to drive fifteen or twenty miles to a drop-off when I was trying to cut down on my food miles, so I made do with buying carefully at the grocery store, cutting down on meat, and planting my own garden. I wanted to have some personal involvement with the food I was putting in my family's mouths, and I wanted to support a small agricultural business model.

It is clear that CSA members' motivations for choosing an alternative pattern of purchasing and eating fit into a general philosophical model that includes an awareness of — or, at least, a desire to learn — the consequences of their choices. CSA members are willing to endure the minor challenges that come with a substantial shift in their everyday behavior in order to do the "right thing."

Public messages about local food

The local food message appears to be no longer just a buzz word among people who generally are drawn to alternative lifestyles. CSA membership runs the gamut from soccer moms to physicians. Media messages to the larger public about the food system are frequent, with both stories of successful small farms and warnings about tainted food. One cannot help but notice that our food system has become an interesting subject.

In 2006, readers were fascinated by Michael Pollan's exploration of the food system in *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, one of the *New York Times'* top ten books of the year. Colleges and universities, often the leaders of grassroots movements, began sourcing local food for their campus cafeterias. "Locavore," a person who seeks out locally and sustainably-produced foods, was chosen in 2007 as the *Oxford American Dictionary's* Word of the Year, underscoring the common use and new relevance of the term. Even more to the point, in March of 2007, *Time* magazine

proclaimed this headline: “Local” is the new “organic.”²³ The motivations of those participating in

direct purchasing from farmers seem to support this assertion. 74

²³ Cloud, J. (2007, March 2) Eating Better than Organic. Time. Retrieved from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1595245,00.html>.

The world is proof that God is a committee.—*Bob Stokes*

The art of not reading is extremely important. It consists in our not taking up whatever happens to occupy the larger public—*Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860)*

Peace, n. In international affairs, a period of cheating between two periods of fighting.

Man: An animal [whose] . . . chief occupation is extermination of other animals and his own species, which, however, multiplies with such insistent rapidity as to infest the whole habitable earth and Canada. —*Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914?)*

Illegal aliens have always been a problem in the United States. Ask any Indian. —*Robert Orben*

Immigration is the sincerest form of flattery. —*Jack Paar*

More than any time in history mankind faces a crossroads. One path leads to despair and utter hopelessness, the other to total extinction. Let us pray that we have the wisdom to choose correctly. —*Woody Allen*

Patriotism is the willingness to kill and be killed for trivial reasons. —*Bertrand Russell (1872-1970)*

Democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few.

A government which robs Peter to pay Paul can always depend on the support of Paul. —*George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)*

from *The 2,548 Best Things Anybody Ever Said*, selected and compiled by Robert Byrne. Border Books (Simon & Schuster), 2006.

Show I.D. and They Open the Boundary Gates

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In my halting efforts to use civil service retirement as an aid to re-enter what was my academic multi-field of interest, I found a part-time position loosely resembling the teaching of anthropology in a community college. It was to inmates in the Texas Department of Corrections. This all happened in winter, 2008-9, just as *American Anthropologist*, *Anthropology News* and *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes* all presented articles on the teaching of anthropology in prisons.

So naturally the theme at the 2009 SACC conference in Tucson, AZ, "Boundaries," caught my attention and I had to wait until I stopped chuckling to get to work. Not only do "boundaries" keep inmates from physically escaping, but as I continued trying to contrive an appropriate oral presentation for the conference, it became clear that this essential aspect of division, structure, social organization and the fact that one is working in an environment where human beings are locked up extends to the entire process of earning college credit in prison. To a newcomer to prison teaching, even to a naïve one, boundaries and top-down hierarchy are first impressions. This is not a case of some elephant in a room; one is simply overwhelmed. Boundaries and control *are* the room.

As with international boundaries, the boundaries between prison life and life "on the outside" are just as Haviland describes in his textbook, *Cultural Anthropology*. They "are made real by a complex political ritual that includes elaborate signposts, people wearing special uniforms with obscure insignia, gates, and an implicit aura of risk." The main difference between international boundaries and prison walls is that the aura of risk is explicit, meticulously maintained, and backed up by personnel with immediate access to high-powered weapons. And please don't ask about my creative use of field trips.

On my first day one of the other instructors led me to the education building through what would appear to most of us to be a post-9-11 airline security station, through two "accountability" checkpoints at which our

driver's licenses were checked with entries on the access list, past the library (which all my students regarded as inadequate), along what appeared to be a maze bounded by high chain-link topped with barbed wire, and through several gates at which we were individually scrutinized and found to be OK by persons stationed in booths.

Upon our entry to the building, the education center guard announced our course titles and the waiting crowd of white-suited students filed into assigned classrooms. The barbed wire, accountability booths, electronic doors and regular airline security practice set a suitably bounded tone. By the second class, Stockholm syndrome—or perhaps something closer to Larry, The-Cable-Guy's "Stockyard Syndrome"—had set in. I'd become eerily accustomed to it.

It's mildly satisfying that, for a few hours each day, there is a monastic ambience to prison, and that some students have developed philosophic outlooks and senses of humor.

Teaching cultural anthropology to state prison inmates is better than it might seem, but then last spring my students were all doing "hard time." This fall I'll be processing "young male offenders," some of them earnestly seeking college credit, so I may have missed out again on a chance to endure classrooms filled with paying students who still present discipline problems. We should all be so lucky.

I approached my first class ready to find interests and behavior so outside the box that the reason for incarceration became clear, but there was none of that. Most students tried to stay as awake and responsive as "normal" college students. Some had backgrounds that apparently involved reading, and a few showed potential for graduate study to rival or exceed some graduate students. At worst there was that look of extreme boredom and undisguised need for sleep characteristic of college classes everywhere, but others usually kept them awake with class participation. An older inmate independently hit on what articles have said about why prisoners make good students. "It helps pass the time." He claimed to be taking five courses at once. Prisoners pay for the courses with combinations of earnings and a scholarship program.

Contract instructors are cautioned not to go into specifics of each case—none of that "Whatcha-in-for?"

banter—among the many cautions designed to prevent the potential abuses unique to prisons. This makes knowing thy students a bit difficult. The challenge is to compartmentalize this reality out of the way, achieve rapport elsewhere and teach anthropology anyway.

Prison overcrowding and the statistics on percentage of population imprisoned—the US has 6% of the industrial world’s population and 20% of the prisoners—are subjects of mass public knowledge. Articles on these issues were in the newspaper on the day I wrote this sentence. Absent any sweeping solution to the problem, it seems that one of the positive things that can be tried is to make college credit available to inmates so that they might have a bit more to offer the job market if and when they are released. I don’t have an idea as to prospects for any of these inmates ending their terms and going forth to make new lives, and, one naively supposes, continuing in anthropology.

Welcome to the World of Academic “Contraband”

It was somewhat of a shock when the Dept. of Corrections first informed me that it didn’t allow Xeroxed copyrighted materials as handouts unless I obtained written permission from authors or publishers. It meant

I had to redesign my course outline within a week or two, and that any classic old article from, say, 1917, would be difficult to clear. The upside to this is that my administration eventually agreed that purchasing a standard book of “classic readings” to accompany the text would be a good idea. No longer would I have to read selected portions of “Steel Axes” and “Nacirema” orally to college students. Already I found myself in the position of an applied anthropologist in a government post suggesting a subtle change that should make reservation life a little better.

So many things are “contraband” that full-opportunity study is impossible. Students make up for it on a college level by spending some of that extra time they have focusing on the course materials. The lack of access to computers and any decent library further reduces student research options to the instructor’s lectures and textbooks. Students do not buy the textbooks. These are contractor property and are distributed and collected as in high school. Before Windham School District agreed to purchase the books of readings, I found it difficult to assign essays to students with access to only a few typewriters. I

received stacks of handwritten essays for which students had gone to grotesque lengths to quote relevant passages from the textbook without plagiarizing.

On and on the prison boundaries go. We think mostly of barred cells and walls, but security procedures have evolved to intimidating proficiency in keeping with 21st century technology and subculture. Prisoners aren’t allowed cell phones. Those of us who have remained marginally alert are aware of the nasty things which those with lighter leanings toward constructive activity *do* with cell phones—some of you can fill me in later—and the subculture circulating into and out of prisons with the aid of electronic media. It helps to keep in mind the basic premise of prison and that communication among prisoners and contacts inside and outside the “boundaries” helps build Hollywood plot and story line files for *CSI*, *Law-And-Order* and several feature-length movies. Computer hackers, underground MacGyvers and shadow-social-organizations, some of which we have come to term “gangs,” sometimes come to public attention as textbook examples of the limits of social control in state systems.

Computer hackers, underground MacGyvers and shadow-social-organizations, some of which we have come to term “gangs,” sometimes come to public attention as textbook examples of the limits of social control in state systems.

Okay, I admit that I am in an early fieldwork process of ingratiating myself to management. But to the uninitiated, the detailed attention to the “special setting” of prison, and the array of concerns most of us never consider, are not part of any “self-actualizing” socialization process we would choose willingly in retrospect. One anthropology teacher accustomed to working outside this brave new world of boundaries suggested I share with the inmate class an American Anthropological Association website on whatever topic we were discussing. No, it was off-limits. After some years of this, I, as well as some older inmate-students, might find myself out of touch with modern texting and tweeting.

Not only are prison libraries minimal, but also inmates are discouraged from possessing any significant number of books until they’ve graduated to some kind of “trustee” status. Among inmates who haven’t enjoyed this rite of passage, prisoners preparing for a “hit” might fill laundry bags with books and use them as clubs—a textbook example of subcultural agenda.

Lockdowns Don’t Happen on the Outside

Lockdowns are clearly unique to the prison situation, or perhaps to a school setting in an

emergency or war zone. A semester can be rolling along without unusual incident when suddenly one learns that an entire complex is now on “lockdown.” Six of my 20 students would miss class. The lockdown of March 3rd continued through March 10th. Then during Spring Break on the 17th we learned that the remainder of the unit would be out. Spring Break had been extended. WOOHOOO!

The result of the initial, partial lockdown was that at least four straight-A students were out, leaving two additional A-or-near-A students in a class cut down by almost one-third. This would be an unlikely situation outside a prison, epidemic or war setting.

Many truly talented “hard timers” have attained their current life standing for good reason. One assumes they were incarcerated for crimes and that some of the crimes were not subject to debate or reinvestigation. The fact that some prisoners have been railroaded, or have had their convictions overturned by later DNA evidence or some other such reversal, complicates the fact that many prisoners are skilled con artists. The fact that my assigned scope of concern cannot extend to knowledge of individual cases also restricts me from readily understanding

other experiences they might have had, some of which could help them build interest in anthropology. My role is simply to provide the introduction to anthropology. I gladly leave counseling roles to others. (It’s a multidisciplinary operation.)

Anyone can be excused for doubting whether state funds are productively spent for post-secondary education of prison inmates. There are even Masters programs. If inmate education programs were removed, we could expect equal doubts as to whether states are serious about “rehabilitation,” and whether that is only a politically correct dodge to satisfy handwringers. But it’s mildly satisfying that, for a few hours each day, there is a monastic ambience to prison, and that some students have developed philosophic outlooks and senses of humor. Whether academic attainment can help them become productive citizens after release is, of course, mired in individual case histories, circumstances and personalities. Maybe the prison situation really does encourage increased student resolve, and maybe some of my initial class of “hard-timers” will continue academically. I haven’t found a way across that boundary. *7A*

The things we admire in men, kindness, generosity, openness, honesty, understanding and feeling are the concomitants of failure in our system. And those traits we detest, sharpness, greed, acquisitiveness, meanness, egotism and self-interest are the traits of success. And while men admire the quality of the first they love the produce of the second.

John Steinbeck, Cannery Row



Book Review

The Tao of Anthropology edited by Jack Kelso. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2008. Hardcover. 320 pages. ISBN 978-0813032627

Reviewed by Thomas B. Stevenson

Most readers of this journal define themselves both as faculty and anthropologists. Some see themselves primarily as teachers who use anthropology as a tool to teach such skills as critical thinking, research, and analysis. Others see themselves as researchers and writers for whom anthropology courses are a vehicle for conveying their enthusiasm to a new generation. Many of us are somewhere in-between. As a unique subset in our professions, how do practitioners outside the community college realm see themselves and the craft they practice or the tools they employ?

In *The Tao of Anthropology*, a collection of 20 essays by senior anthropologists, Jack Kelso seeks to inform budding anthropologists on the state of the discipline, provide them with lessons others have learned, and offer suggestions for a career. Given the target audience, readers might reasonably ask why a freshly retired and crotchety SACCCer is reviewing the book. First, I volunteered and second, it seems that only with experience can someone comment on the diversity of points made in these papers. It is from that perspective that I can say, there are some lessons here I wish I had learned earlier in my career.

Of the twenty papers in this collection, half are written by colleagues of the editor and the remainder selected from anthropologists responding to an invitation. Probably disproportionately high for the eras in which their careers began, women authored almost half the essays. One contributor is African-American. Almost all the contributors spent their careers in four-year colleges, most in programs that offered advanced degrees. Lloyd Miller is the sole representative of community college faculty. Cultural anthropology is the most represented subfield, followed by physical anthropology – Kelso's area. Linguistics and archaeology are barely represented.

It is impossible to describe each of the essays in a short review so let me sketch a few gleanings. As might be expected, but I had not contemplated, most authors had been taught by faculty who were either the founders of American anthropology or were one generation removed. They have seen lots of growth, diversity and change in the discipline during their careers. Not all are happy with these changes and a few were pessimistic about anthropology's future.

As Kelso points out, there are recurring themes in the papers: the four-field approach, culture concept, the role of science, cultural relativism, the anthropological perspective and fieldwork. Despite their centrality to some of the papers and the discipline, each of the core elements has changed over the years. Taken as a whole, those essayists addressing one or more of these themes find the reshaping of these ideas somewhat distressing. Most prefer "the anthropology with which they began." For example, although none of the authors seem to be true four-fielders, many espouse a longing for that orientation in response to the apparent drifting about of the subfields. While unstated, some of the intellectual changes in the core elements are the result of changes in anthropology's scope, a response to integration of small communities into larger ones and a focus on subcultural variations.

So what struck me in these excursions into others careers? First, many of our colleagues came to anthropology by happenstance. For some it was some life experience, such as military service that introduced a new culture experience. For others, especially women, it was the books they read in the childhood and youth that inspired them.

For cultural anthropologists, fieldwork was, and is, the formative and defining stage of their careers. It was these parts of the six or seven essays that deal with process that I, and I suspect young cultural anthropologists, will find most interesting. Most informative are the often-unreported relations between the observer and the observed, how the authors structured their relationships, how they conducted their projects, and what they contributed to the betterment of the communities in which they lived. Here one can see

the difference between how anthropologists and how non-anthropologists who have “adopted” fieldwork conduct themselves and their research differently.

While not wanting to single out any contributor’s work for discussion, I do want to address Lloyd Miller’s essay. As the only community college professor and non-PhD contributor, it will be reassuring to those who wonder about their status vis-à-vis their cohorts, that there is little to distinguish the experiences in Lloyd’s discussion from those who

pursued their careers elsewhere, except his emphasis on teaching.

Kelso’s collection represents a varied view of anthropology and academic life. While not all essays will be of interest to readers, there is something for everyone in this collection. At times readers may bemoan what seems authors’ self-serving tone, but they were asked to be so. While I took away new insights, I am not certain that budding anthropologists will find these reflections as informative as I did. 74

If you don’t want a man unhappy politically, don’t give him two sides to a question to worry him; give him one. Better yet, give him none. Let him forget there is such a thing as war. If the government is inefficient, top-heavy, and tax-mad, better it be all those than that people worry over it. Peace, Montag. Give the people contests they win by remembering the words to more popular songs or the names of state capitals or how much corn Iowa grew last year. Cram them full of noncombustible data, chock them so damned full of “facts” they feel stuffed, but absolutely “brilliant” with information. Then they’ll feel they’re thinking, they’ll get a sense of motion without moving. And they’ll be happy, because facts of that sort don’t change. Don’t give them any slippery stuff like philosophy or sociology to tie things up with. That way lies melancholy... So bring on your clubs and parties, your acrobats and magicians, your daredevils, jet cars, motorcycle helicopters, your sex and heroin, more of everything to do with automatic reflex. If the drama is bad, if the film says nothing, if the play is hollow, sting me with the theremin, loudly. I’ll think I’m responding to the play, when it’s only a tactile reaction to vibration. But I don’t care. I just like solid entertainment.

Ray Bradbury, Fahrenheit 451