

CULTURAL REFLECTIONS

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Introduction

Welcome to the fourth issue of **CULTURAL REFLECTIONS**, a journal put together by the graduate students of anthropology at the University of Victoria. For those readers familiar with past issues of our journal, we thank you for your continued interest and support, and hope that you will enjoy the new selections published this year. To all of our new readers, sit back, enjoy, and look for us again next year!

CULTURAL REFLECTIONS has been a success since its very first issue. Participants in the journal—editors, sponsors, contributors, and readers alike—have shown great interest in our yearly attempt to publish students' writing on a wide variety of topics. Complimentary copies of our journal are sent out to anthropology departments and associations across Canada, and the feedback that we have received has been outstanding, not to mention very encouraging. Because of the increasing interest in **CULTURAL REFLECTIONS**, as well as the ever-growing interdisciplinary nature of anthropology, this year's editors solicited submissions not only from anthropology students but from all students from any academic department who felt their work to be relevant to current anthropology. The upcoming volume currently in production, Volume 5, has remained open to non-anthropology students, and we are told that the response has been fantastic.

Such interest in **CULTURAL REFLECTIONS** should come as no surprise as the journal offers excellent opportunities for all those involved. It provides editorial experience for those willing to volunteer their time to make the journal happen; it allows contributors to see their work in print and get feedback from their peers; it allows readers to find out more about the research interests of other students. Topics are wide-ranging and hold a little something for everyone. General articles offer an academically-oriented look at anthropological issues, while the field notes section provides a view of how research is carried out. The reviews section offers valuable commentary on recently published material. We hope that the latter two sections in particular will receive more numerous submissions in future volumes.

We would like to express our gratitude to the generous sponsors of this year's issue. Without their support, the publication of **CULTURAL REFLECTIONS** would not have been possible. We also look forward to seeing the tradition of **CULTURAL REFLECTIONS** continue and grow in upcoming years, and we hope you—the readers—will too!

Cynthia Lake
Neil Vallance
Managing Editors

THE AMBIVALENT INTERMEDIARY:

ADBUSTERS and the Pursuit of Counter-Hegemony

Sarah Elizabeth Perry

Emerging from the Fall 2001 seminar in Visual Culture, this paper contemplates the success of the subversive culture-jamming movement as evidenced through the 'resistant' Adbusters magazine. Adbusters' true potential for inciting revolt against Capitalist domination is questioned in light of the magazine's paradoxical reliance upon those products which are central to commodity culture itself (namely advertising). Rather than offering an innovative, galvanizing campaign, it is argued that Adbusters occupies an inherently ambivalent realm which allows the magazine to denounce the dominant regime whilst simultaneously profiting from its commercial approach. Such an ambivalent stance permits analogy to Fanon's (1967) delineation of the colonial situation, and prompts the suggestion that resistance and ultimate counter-hegemonic emancipation are unattainable considering Adbusters' firm entrenchment within the Western culture industry.

Introduction

This is "mass political jujitsu"—a "basic tactic in warfare against the Haves"(Alinsky 1971:152). This is a strategy of modern resistance which is premised on the notion that the "Have-Nots do not rigidly oppose the Haves, but yield in such planned and skilled ways that the superior strength of the Haves becomes their own undoing"(Alinsky 1971:152). This is the nature of contemporary counter-hegemony—and this is the concrete foundation from whence arises the "consumer resistance crusade" of culture jamming (Handelman 1999:399).

A movement of individual and societal forces which "work against dominant meaning and power systems", which engage in "challenging the status quo and effecting social change in ways that may not favor the interests of the marketplace"(Sturken and Cartwright 2001:352, 54), culture jamming represents a campaign mounted in opposition to the industrialist, consumerist, media-driven

hegemonic state. A crusade aimed at "countering the continuous, recombinant barrage of capitalist laden messages fed through the mass media"(Handelman 1999:401), culture jammers contest the culture industry—that realm which is "geared to profit-making, controlled by centralized interlocking corporations", mastermind of "ersatz-gratification of human needs"(Cook 1996:x, 57), and orchestrator of the "deadening of existence"(Schudson 1984:144). Via a compendium of subversive practices—including the manipulation of billboards, the publication of radical 'zines, and the promotion of a continuing "information guerrilla war"(Baines 2001:15)—culture jammers endeavour to "spurn the dominant coding complex [of consumer culture] with its commercialism, push-button democracy, info-tainment, negative stereotypes, ecological externalities and rationalization of mass poverty in an age of extreme wealth"(Baines 2001:15). As such, culture jammers reap from the tradition of the Situationists and the art of détournement, whereby an "image, message or artifact [is] lifted out of its context to create...new meaning"(Klein 2000:282). This détournement thus represents an interception—a technology that "allows [one] to use Madison Avenue's aesthetics against itself"—an assemblage of "counter-messages that hack into a corporation's own method of communication to send a message starkly at odds with the one that was intended"(Klein 2000:286, 281). The counter-hegemonic force of culture jamming, therefore, attempts to "[challenge] the legitimacy of pre- and mass-packaged ideas" and to "reroute the power of culture to ignite social change"(Baines 2001:14). What remains elusive, however, is the effect.

This paper was composed while Sara was a fourth year Honours Anthropology student at the University of Victoria. Her academic interests, although extensive, have focused particularly on visuality and archaeology and the intersection between both realms.

Acknowledgements

Many, many thanks to Dr. Andrea Walsh and the students of Anthropology 501. Much appreciation is also extended to Ian Kirkpatrick for introducing the author to Adbusters magazine and its counter-hegemonic strategies. The images contained within this article are reproduced with the kind permission of Adbusters.

“In one simple deft move you slap the giant on its back. We use the momentum of the enemy.”

~ Kalle Lasn *quoted in* Klein 2000:281

It is this counter-hegemonic approach—this art of ‘mass political jujitsu’—that is endorsed and promoted by the thirty-eight issue, twelve year-old *Adbusters* magazine. A self-proclaimed “Journal of the Mental Environment”, *Adbusters*—with its staff of “‘refugees’ from the advertising and media industry”(Handelman 1999:401)—strives to “comment on and counteract the commercialization of every venue of our culture”(Pollay 1993:129) and to thereby advance the “new social activist movement of the information age”(AMF 2001). Thus, it is through an interplay of image and text—via “incisive philosophical articles” in concert with striking visual production, subversive artwork, and “activist commentary from around the world”—that *Adbusters* magazine “[tackles] the capitalist ideology at its core”(Handelman

CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS OUR BUSINESS

We are a loose global network of artists, writers, environmentalists, ecological economists, media-literacy teachers, reborn Lefties, ecofeminists, downshifters, high school shit-disturbers, campus rabble-rousers, incorrigibles, malcontents and green entrepreneurs. We are idealists, anarchists, guerrilla tacticians, pranksters, neo-Luddites, poets, philosophers and punks. We see ourselves as one of the most significant social movements of the next 20 years. Our aim is to topple existing power structures and forge a major rethinking of the way we will live in the 21st century. We believe culture jamming will become to our era what civil rights was to the '60s, what feminism was to the '70s, what environmental activism was to the '80s. It will alter the way we live and think. It will change the way information flows, the way institutions wield power, the way TV stations are run, the way the food, fashion, automobile, sports, music and culture industries set their agendas. Above all, it will change the way we interact with the mass media and the way in which meaning is produced in our society.

1999:401) and battles to “topple existing power structures and forge a major shift in the way [one] will live in the 21st century”(AMF 2001; see *Figure 1*; also see Data Analysis for further description of *Adbusters*’ tactics). As *Adbusters* implies, it is this dialogue—this exchange between image and text—which will effectively “shock people awake from their consumerist slumber”(Harkin 2001:25), “coax people from spectator to participant”(AMF 2001), and incite self-reflection, rebellion, and, ultimately, emancipation.

It is such objectives—objectives of “individual emancipation, the recovery of civil society, freedom from bureaucratic control and suppression, self-fulfillment, and ‘the good life’”(Carroll 1997:26)—which are quintessential to the *culture jamming* movement; and, *Adbusters* is certainly quick to assert that it is the “‘house-organ’ of the culture-jamming scene”(Klein 2000:286; see *Figure 2*). Consequently, the magazine is enmeshed in a campaign of “flipping meanings and subverting messages”(Harkin 2001:25)—engaged in a “go-for-the-corporate-jugular” approach (Klein 2000:287) which is destined to “make...viewers aware of the hidden ideology that controls their lives, and then demystify this ideology by pointing out the control viewers have to change their own consciousness”(Handelman 1999:403). However, the validity of such a campaign—its success and *actual* potential for future revolution and emancipation—is ambiguous, as *Adbusters* is *itself* an ambivalent agent, thriving in the realm of the dubious middleman.

Hence, *Adbusters* magazine flourishes in a sphere which is simultaneously within and without the popular consumer ethos, at once condemning the “standardization and homogenization of contemporary culture”(Cook 1996:x), while singularly reaping from its consumerist products. Resultantly, the publication denounces the branding and mass commodification of the culture industry, while concurrently “building equity in [its own] brand”(Harkin 2001:25)—a brand of counter-hegemony, “cognitive dissonance”, and anti-advertising. As the magazine’s editor notes himself, “[we] slap the giant on its back. We use the momentum of the enemy”—yet, the use of this momentum distinctly highlights *Adbusters*’ “affection—however deeply ambivalent—for media spectacle and the mechanics of persuasion”(Klein 2000:294). It is this affection—an affection that secures *Adbusters*’ role as a conspicuous intermediary between the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic—which, consequently, provides the focus for the remainder of this report. It is, therefore, via a brief analysis of the content of *Adbusters* magazine, in conjunction with an elucidation of both the notion of ambivalence and the role of the middleman, that this paper intends to depict *Adbusters* as a *culture jamming* movement that has—to date—failed to materialise any actual resistance or liberation. Ultimately, it is suggested that the publication is perhaps so profoundly entrenched within the spirit of commodity culture that true

Figure 1. *Adbusters* 2001



Figure 2. *Adbusters* 1993:62

emancipation and enlightenment are functionally unattainable.

Data Analysis

Adhering to a technique which is loosely reminiscent of the qualitative media analysis approach advocated by David Altheide (1996), three publications of *Adbusters* magazine—spanning the twelve-year history of the journal—have been reviewed with an aim towards “capturing definitions, meanings, process, and types”(Altheide 1996:27). Utilising a reflexive method of data collection premised on notions of “constant discovery and constant comparison” (1996:16), each publication has been systematically surveyed in an attempt to define the *culture jamming* tactics that have been adopted and promoted by *Adbusters* since its launch in 1989. The three issues have been examined specifically so as to reveal continuing and emerging topics of discussion and imagery, in addition to any major modifications in content or format. The magazines themselves (Winter 1993, Winter 1996, and September/October 2001)—although not evidencing a random collection—reflect a purposive sample which is intended to be representative and consistent, yet has been



Figure 3. *Adbusters* 2001

unavoidably constrained by availability. As such, the observations noted below are subject to reinterpretation upon further, more consolidated, analysis.

Overall, *Adbusters* has experienced very little change in either content or format since the publication of its Winter 1993 edition. The magazines range in length from 68 to 132 pages (the latter being deemed a “special double issue”(Adbusters 2001)); each demonstrates a full-colour ‘glossy’-style cover and closing page (and both the 1996 and 2001 volumes are composed exclusively of such coloured, glossy paper); and each



Figure 4. *Adbusters* 2001

exhibits an introductory 'Letters to the Editor' segment, followed by a continuum of integrated text and visual displays. As well, articles consistently tend to be authored by professional writers, artists, college professors, and—occasionally—students and anonymous individuals; while, contrarily, the creators of imagery and visual productions are often left unidentified. The only blatant alterations to magazine layout which are notable over the 1993, 1996, and 2001 issues include the elimination of page-numbering and a table of contents, along with the erasure of an ongoing 'Editor's Statement' component. Furthermore, over the three issues, a trend appears towards the inclusion of the *Adbusters* mission statement (see *Figure 1*), in addition to an increase in ticket price (from \$4.75 to \$7.95) and a specification of magazine recycling content (such that the 1996 edition notes "50% recycled, 20% post-consumer paper"; and the 2001 edition notes the use of "30% post-consumer waste").

Content itself—both visual and textual—has remained highly stable throughout the years, with articles and imagery reflecting a multitude of enduring themes. As such, the magazine embraces a conglomeration of fictional accounts, enhanced photographs and imagery, singular statements, all-encompassing proclamations, and erudite criticism of modern consumer culture. The *Adbusters*' audience is confronted, primarily, with an array of commentary that both intimates and directly delineates popular culture as a "bloated and decadent" construct (*Adbusters* 1996:2)—the source of all modern woes. The magazine thus critiques such matters as ecotourism (*Adbusters* 1996), graphic design (*Adbusters* 2001), the use of cosmetics (*Adbusters* 1993), and the "commodification of education" due to the imposition of advertising in the classroom (*Adbusters* 1993, 1996, 2001). The magazine abounds with manifestos which suggest that this commercialisation and 'archetypal cultural pollution' can be brought to a "sudden, shuddering halt" via the actions and tactics of *culture jamming* (see *Figure 2*). And the

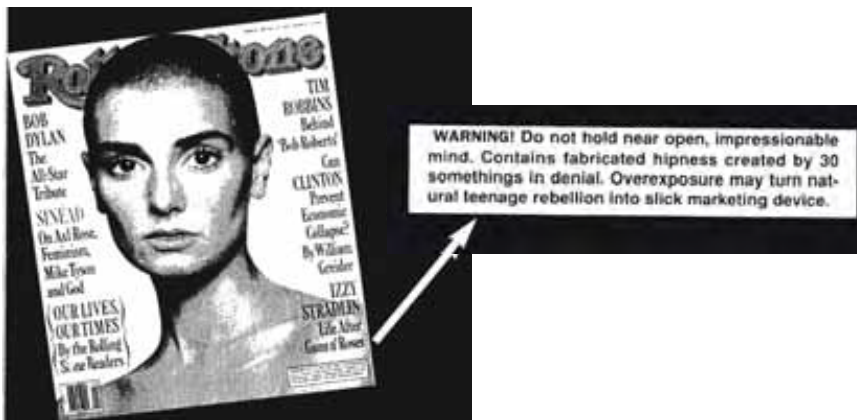


Figure 5. *Adbusters* 1993:18

publication provides an unlimited source of slogans and axioms which are intended to "jolt postmodern society out

of its media trance"(Klein 2000:296; see *Figure 3*) and which are intertwined with striking images destined to "unmask (or demystify) this [capitalist] ideology"(Handelman 1999:403). In association with such slogans, *Adbusters* also encourages readers to "participate

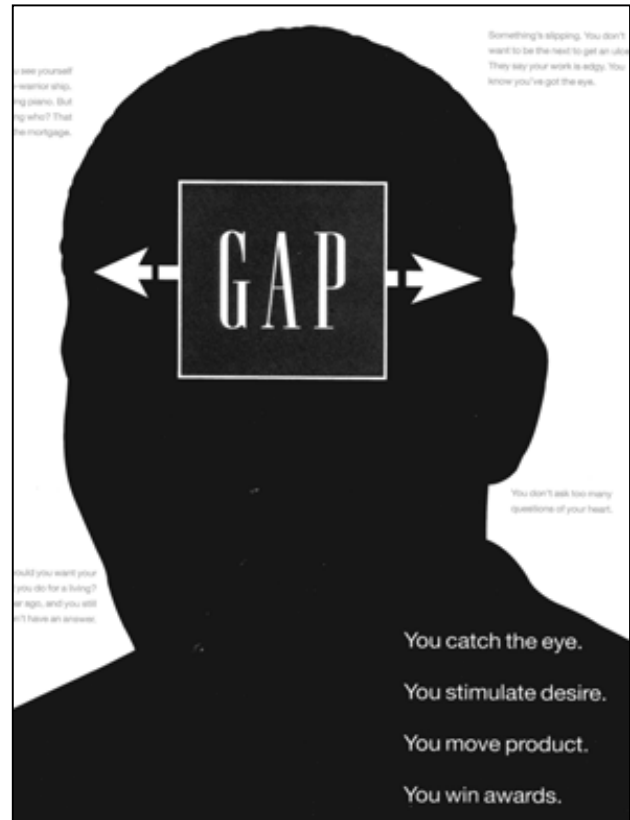


Figure 6. *Adbusters* 2001

in a number of activities that represent steps towards alternatives to the 'capitalist way of life'"—activities which include the stink-bombing of Nike clothing stores, and the creation of 'health warning labels' for popular magazines (Handelman 1999:401; see *Figure 4*, *Figure 5*). Furthermore, *Adbusters* is engaged in an ongoing campaign of subverting advertisements—a process in which current and fashionable ads are "[lifted] out of their original contexts and, by montage, modification and/or insertion of text, [reassembled] into a 'new coherence'"(Ward 1985:149)—such that each issue includes between one to six anti-advertisements (see *Figure 6*). As well, the magazine is replete with cartoon figures and comic-strip features which mock the consumptive homogenisation of mainstream culture (see *Figure 7*).

Most intriguingly, however, an average of 15% of the content of the 1993, 1996, and 2001 *Adbusters* issues represents actual promotion and publicizing of the magazine's *own* accomplishments and products, along with the advertisement of other, similar counter-hegemonic goods. Consequently, the viewer is bombarded with announcements for the launch of *Adbusters*' newest website, with images advocating the establishment of local *Adbusters*' chapters (see *Figure 8*), with visuals which broadcast many of *Adbusters*' 'great' ideas, with promotion of reader subscription to the magazine (see *Figure 9*), with endorsement of the magazine's own 'Power Shift' advertising agency, and with advertisements for the ordering of back issues of the publication (see *Figure 10*). Moreover, *Adbusters*' audience is barraged with the promotion of counter-hegemonic *culture jamming*



Figure 7. *Adbusters* 1996:62

wear, with requests for submission to the magazine's recurrent adusting contests, and with publicity for the magazine's oft-repudiated television 'un-commercials' (see *Figure 11*). It is therefore notable that *Adbusters*, firstly, engages in demarcating those back issues which are "sold out" and are therefore unavailable for future consumption; secondly, offers a reward of \$50 (which subsequently increases to \$100 in the Winter 1996 edition) for production of the winning 'spoof ad'; and, thirdly, proudly brands its 'un-commercial' as rejected from commercial circulation by the three dominant American broadcasting agencies. Interestingly, *Adbusters* appears to be decisively entangled in its own orb of production, circulation and consumption—an orb which typifies the 'pop culture marketeering' that the magazine aspires to "bring...to a sudden, shuddering halt". Such promotion and publicity seem to implicate *Adbusters* in the very

homogenisation and standardisation from which the magazine seeks to escape. It could therefore be suggested that, in fact, *Adbusters* perpetuates the very "image factory"—the very democratization of goods (see Schudson 1984:181)—the very hegemonic state—which it unceasingly claims to be resisting.

Criticism of *Adbusters*' Tactics

"The bad news is that our consumer culture is already so bloated and decadent—our industrial systems so cancerous; neoclassical economic 'science' so entrenched—corporations so firmly in the saddle—our brains so pickled in commercial pap, and the activist tradition so mired in the spent ideology of the left—that we may no longer be up to the challenge. We need an immaculate conception—the birth of a new American dream. And a new political movement to jam our culture back into gear."

~ Kalle Lasn (*Adbusters* 1996:2)

In general, public critique of such a *culture jamming* approach tends to be limited in scope, with popular commentators often inarticulately—and unfoundedly—deeming *Adbusters* "too dumb" for success (Smallbridge 1996:10). Intriguingly, however, those critics who *themselves* exist within the counter-hegemonic sphere—those who themselves condemn the commodified world and themselves seek cultural liberation and enlightenment—also note *Adbusters*' unsatisfactory qualities and ambiguous tactics. Correspondingly, such critics liken the magazine and its approach to the "morality

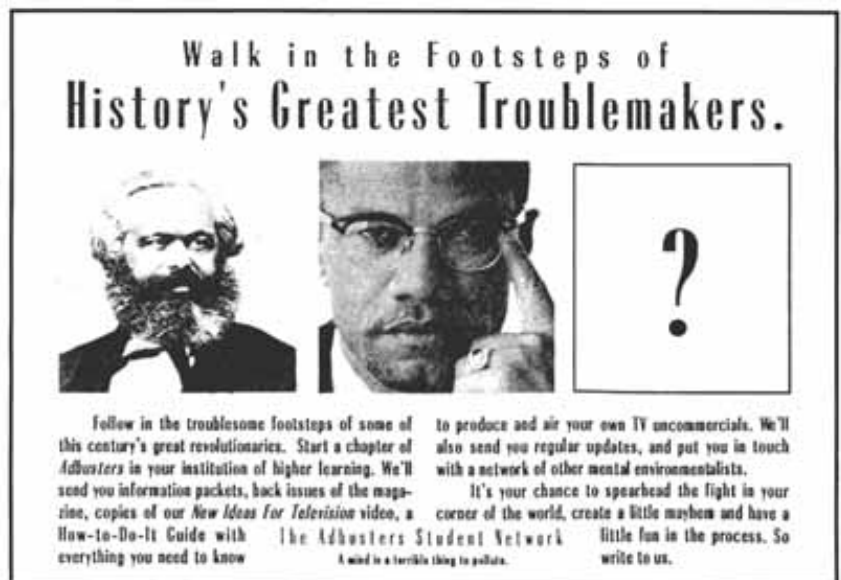


Figure 8. *Adbusters* 1993:10

squads of the political correctness years”, to a campaign which encroaches upon “puritanical finger-waving” (Klein 2000:293), to a crusade composed of patronising statements, “pointless vagaries” and “catchy, meaningless [slogans]” (McLaren 1995). Such commentators observe the “spiraling bravado” among *culture jammers*—a bravado which often leads counter-hegemonic movements to “overstate their own power” (Klein 2000:295). Accordingly, such boastfulness and pretension is profoundly evident in *Adbusters* itself, in both its claim to be the ‘house organ’ of the *culture jamming* sphere, and in its inference that the magazine might indeed facilitate the “birth of a new American dream”—an “immaculate conception” (*Adbusters* 1996:2).

Most poignantly, however, critics emphasise the ambiguity—the ambivalence—of a magazine which firmly denounces commodity culture whilst simultaneously embracing its approach. Commentators both criticise *Adbusters*’ appropriation of the capitalist model of production-circulation-consumption, and condemn the magazine’s promotion of anticonsumer products (i.e. posters, videos, stickers, and—paradoxically—‘Buy Nothing Day’ t-shirts), deeming the publication “too popular to have much cachet for the radicals who once dusted it off...like a precious stone” (Klein 2000:296). What exists today, therefore, is an ongoing “‘USA Today/MTV-ization’ of *Adbusters*”, an “advertisement for anti-advertising” (Klein 2000:296), a publication which, fittingly, brands its own back issues with ‘sold out’ labels, and, ironically, designates other similarly popular magazines as ‘slick marketing devices’ created by “30 somethings in denial” (see Figure 5). Thus, supporters of counter-hegemony now suggest that *Adbusters*’ approach, in actuality, introduces “no real alternative to [the] culture of consumption”, but rather is representative of “[j]ust a different brand” (McLaren 1995).

Further confirmation of *Adbusters*’ inability to supply an alternative to the hegemonic order—to actualise a new American dream—is furnished by the culture industry’s own reappropriation of the same *culture jamming* tactics that were originally intended to incite resistance and counter-hegemony. Realising the “great sales potential” of *culture jamming*’s “hip-hop attitude, punk anti-authoritarianism and...visual gimmicks” (Klein 2000:297), mainstream corporations now borrow liberally from the “creative armoury” of *Adbusters* magazine (Harkin 2001:25), and the culture industry thus prevails as the “new leader”, as the “new hip consumer ethic” (Baines 2001:16). Hence, while *Adbusters* attempts to topple existing power structures, to galvanize cultural revolution, to supply the populace with a “powerful moment of truth” (Klein 2000:296), commodity culture simultaneously practises counter-bricolage, and, correspondingly, proceeds “elsewhere, higher, further, to new experiences and virgin spaces, exclusively or firstly theirs, [guided]...by the sense of the legitimacy of practices” (Bourdieu 1984:215 quoted

I HATE...

Sealy Paturepedic mornings tofu wieners NutroSlim All in the Family reruns Twinkies Lemon Pledge Bart Simpson Raffi that little guy in the Dominoe's Pizza ads Don Cheney's shirts cute coffee mugs belly button lint chamber music toilets that don't flush on the first try twist off caps shoddy underwear elastic muscle cars plumber's not our "informercials" Volvos steam cleaning handable bottles having to return returns cellular phones pay phones able shoes inflatables w snow pants hydroelectric n's lyrics little b dard girl bands ack of psoriasis anned laught timations tion ions bugs mas McD ral Comm n Teen Spirit the commercials chili pep McDona old bat on Golden G inlaws a WWII entaries in A&E Wre leg Stairmasters Beemers animal testing wedgies baseball player in those underwear ads the "Seattle Scene" damn that traffic jam nostalgia for the '70's gout animal husbandry leg waxing the united colors of beneton formica the name Daphne shorts and black socks mutton chops CD's Moons Over My Hammy Dan Quayle jokes Dan Quayle people with perfect teeth my mom's brownies the word "Smuckers" bugs Slushie headaches the bends gin "the child within" photosynthesis tapeworm performance art lima beans acid rain 711 burritos the sound of one hand clapping Amway sale-oberations school lunch programs afterschool children's programs knitting bees scum-sucking tow-truck drivers Tom Vu, Tony Robbins, and that "Juicer for Life" dink...

...but I jes' love Adbusters Magazine.

ADBUSTERS
Magazine

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8 Issues — \$30.00
Schools & Institutions — \$32.00 for 4 \$60.00 for 8
Canadians add 7% GST
Overseas — \$40.00 U.S.
Airmail only

Figure 9. *Adbusters* 1993:74

in Schaffer 1995:39). Therefore, as “the logos fight back” (Harkin 2001), the *culture jamming* aesthetic becomes “absorbed into marketing” and revolutionaries are left to question whether, perhaps, “there’s no opposition left”, whether, indeed, “any resistance is futile” (Klein 2000:299).

The Ambivalent Intermediary

In utilising the momentum of the enemy, in “borrowing visual legitimacy from advertising itself” (Klein 2000:285), and in producing, circulating and publicizing the consumption of its *own* anti-brand, *Adbusters* has become the middleman between popular consumer culture and those who seek “liberatory social and political change” (Kahn and Neumaier 1985:8). Existing ambiguously between radical activism (i.e. the realm of the “suicide-prone existential desperadoes” (Ward 1985:150)) and the mainstream world of “mass consumption, social disintegration, normalized individualism, excessive exploitation of nature, and bureaucratization and state control” (Carroll 1997:26), *Adbusters* thrives in a sphere of ambiguity—at once promoting the counter-hegemonic stance while also exploiting the very products of hegemony itself. *Adbusters* thus fulfils the role of the ambivalent agent, an agent who binds the popular with the unpopular, the dominant with the resistant, the homogeneous with the heterogeneous, the oppressed with the emancipated. The magazine subsists in an “interworld...a completely public realm, open to every kind of experiment, an exposed battlefield between creative spontaneity and its corruption” (Ward 1985:162). Correspondingly, *Adbusters* is able to profit from both extremes, and is therefore able deem itself a ‘new social activist movement’ while, simultaneously, subsisting entirely within the bounds of corporate, consumer culture.

dependence and to “[c]ast off the chains of market structured consciousness” (Handelman 1999:402), *Adbusters* magazine vacillates between the deified role of cultural revolutionary, and the unfortunate consumer of popular wares. Thus, just as the colonized man demonstrates that “he is at once the perpetrator and the victim of a delusion” (Fanon 1967:225), so too does *Adbusters* foster the *same* cultural commodification and the *same* omnipresent homogenisation that persecute and enslave the modern world. Correspondingly, both the colonized man and the counter-hegemonic advocate exist in an environment where “no real relationship can be established, where dissension breaks out in every direction, where the only masters are lies and demagoguery” (1967:104)—an environment which has “horribly drawn and quartered” the resistant man, but one which he, nevertheless, continues to “[feed] with his blood and his essences” (1967:216). As such, *Adbusters* is “always contingent on the presence of The Other” (1967:211), for, without the ‘visual legitimacy’ furnished by the culture industry, the magazine would have no tactics, no mission, no reality. It is “The Other who corroborates him in his search for self-validation” (1967:213)—it is the hegemonic state that supplies *Adbusters* with both its tools and its adversary, its audience and its success—hence the magazine becomes “the Hero...the centre of attention” in spite of its contradictory role as both nourisher and critic of the enemy

(1967:212). Such is the “god gone astray in the flesh” (1967:18).

Interestingly, *Adbusters* is also able to profit from the ambivalent nature which is fundamental to the culture industry itself. That is, *Adbusters* is able to reap from both its stance as intermediary—a stance which allows the magazine to draw

liberally and nonchalantly from both the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic orders—and from its ability to offer salvation from the ambivalence of commodity culture itself. In a realm so saturated with “corporate manufactured dreams”, so overwhelmed by “mass produced, standardized, nationally advertised consumer products” (Schudson 1984:175, 147), individuals “lose a secure understanding of what their needs are and to what extent commodities can satisfy them” (Schudson 1984:155); they “no longer know how to wish or what they should wish for” (Cook 1996:118). *Adbusters* therefore supplies the populace with a revolutionary brand name



Figure 10. *Adbusters* 1996

It is this role of intermediary—this enduring negotiation betwixt both the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic—which permits analogy between *Adbusters*’ stance as middleman and Frantz Fanon’s delineation of the “extreme ambivalence inherent in the colonial situation” (1967:83). Just as the colonized individual exists in a realm of “rupture” (1967:36)—between the extremes of inferiority and dependence, the polarities of deification and devourment (1967:93, 92)—so too exists the *culture jamming* movement. Ensnared by both a total dependence upon the tools and products that are archetypal of commodity culture, and by a need to overcome such

which “helps [to] build a culture...a world of shared meanings”, which provides a “fixed star in a universe of flux”(Schudson 1984:163).

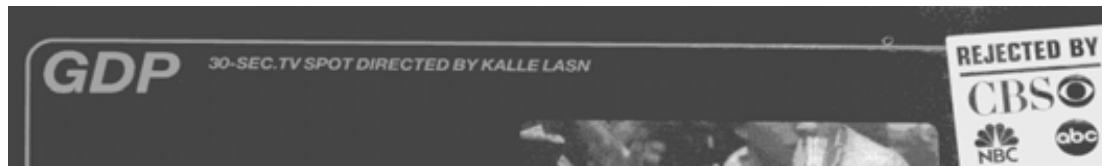


Figure 11. *Adbusters* 2001

As the culture industry spawns a sphere of uncertainty and ambivalence—a sphere in which consumers are left “full of anxiety about social standing and meaning”(1984:155)—*Adbusters* supplies a product that “can be digested easily and enjoyed without effort”(Cook 1996:117)—a product that renders the universe intelligible and provides “some sense of identity and continuity in [individual] lives”(Schudson 1984:157). Accordingly, *culture jamming* becomes a symbol for “charting a complex and uncertain world”(1984:155) and *Adbusters*’ name becomes a “guarantee of predictability”, an identity, a continuity and source of familiarity (1984:162-163). Hence, the magazine engenders a counter-hegemonic “insignia of mass consumption”(1984:159), and the democratization of *culture jamming* ensues. As such, hegemonic resistance becomes popular—vulgar—and a movement that “once held some kind of uniqueness” becomes now just a symbol of convenience and homogeneity (Schudson 1984:181; see Ward 1985:154).

The Pursuit of Counter-Hegemony

Such ambivalence seems, ultimately, to define the very nature of counter-hegemony, for resistance is often “invariably dependent upon, and therefore implicated in, the hegemonic order” (Schaffer 1995:30). As *Adbusters* appropriates the culture industry’s *own* products in an effort to formulate resistance, the magazine thus “[engages] with [the] hegemonic system on its own terms”, and thereby provides that system with “at least tacit consent and legitimacy”(1995:51). As such, the formulation of counter-hegemony is “ultimately dependent on the practices of the hegemony it works against”, and, hence, *Adbusters* actively continues “to play the rules of the hegemonic game, even [though its] intention is to overthrow them”(1995:29, 52). It is argued, therefore, that to effect a liberatory movement—to succeed in the pursuit of resistance against the dominant—counter-hegemony *must* be constructed “in terms that are not those of the hegemonic order”(Schaffer 1995:29). But in an era when “everything is cultural”—when life is sustained in an orb of “virtual experience and funhouse signs” and the individual is bombarded with a “sensational and unremitting parade of retail values”—perhaps, as Fredric

Jameson suggests, there is “no escape from the ‘system’, no exterior position from which to critique it”(Sullivan 1995:267). As a result of the “prodigious expansion of culture throughout the social realm” (Jameson 1991:48), *Adbusters* has been *commanded* to adopt the discourse of the hegemonic, for it has no access to an alternative approach,

no unambiguous or unambivalent means to achieve its ends. Thus, regardless of any counter-hegemonic yearning for the possibility of “positioning...the cultural act [i.e. the revolution] outside the massive Being of capital”—for the attainment of “critical distance”—*Adbusters* has no capacity to fulfil such yearning or to achieve such distanciation due, in entirety, to the complete pervasion of the culture of commodification (1991:48-49). The hegemonic, therefore, overwhelms the counterculture, permeating all discourse, all tactics, all ideology. And so, *Adbusters* magazine and the community of *culture jammers* become “somehow secretly disarmed and reabsorbed by a system of which they themselves might well be considered a part, since they can achieve no distance from it”(Jameson 1991:49).

Successful Strategy and Cultural Emancipation: Concluding Remarks

“*Adbusters* wants a revolution. But like a kid kicking a sandcastle, *Adbusters* doesn’t know what to build in its place. Yes capitalism has its social problems and its impact on the environment, but what are the alternatives on a revolutionary scale? Maybe *Adbusters* has come up with a better vision for the future, but... [a]ll I see is anti-design design. Substance doesn’t seem to follow style”.

~ Letters to the Editor (*Adbusters*, November/December 2001)

If the counter-hegemonic order is thus colonized by the culture industry and critical distance is functionally unattainable, true emancipation from the dominant regime seems an unlikely, unrealisable goal. Yet, in expanding upon the conceptualisations of Homi Bhabha (1994), it is precisely within this colonized realm that resistance can erupt. It is therefore in the space of liminality between hegemony and revolution—in precisely the “temporality of the ‘in-between’”(1994:148) which is occupied in part by *Adbusters* magazine—where alternatives to commodity culture can both be located and cultivated. In occupying an ambivalent realm the boundaries between the homogeneous and the heterogeneous can be singularly

broken down and new ideologies can emerge which are “marked by the discourses of minorities, the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples, antagonistic authorities and tense locations of cultural difference” (1994:148). It is in this liminal realm that emergent counter-narratives can “continually evoke and erase...totalizing boundaries”, that the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic can be dissected and merged, and that “no political ideologies [can] claim transcendent or metaphysical authority for themselves” (1994:149, 148).

It is unfortunate, therefore, that *Adbusters* magazine has not yet fully embraced this liminal realm—that the publication indeed occupies a role of ambivalence but seems incapable of dismantling opposing boundaries. As such, *Adbusters* presents a set of tactics which encourage “independence from the unilateral logic of the marketplace”(Handelman 1999:403), but which, in actuality, approximate the rhetorical—reminiscent of the typically banal radical, the “one who uses...tired old words and slogans, calls the police ‘pig’ or ‘white fascist racist’...and has...stereotyped himself”(Alinsky 1971:xviii). It is such words and slogans, such use of profane techniques as stink-bombing and comic-strip production, such formulaic transplanting of anti-ads and un-commercials, that “lead others [to] react by saying ‘Oh, he’s one of those’”(1971:xviii) and that consequently ensure that “radical literature collects dust on the bookshelves, radical films are seen only by aficionados, and so on”(Ward 1985:150). As Tom Ward (1985:162) notes, “[t]here is a missing link between theory and tactics, of course. It’s known as *strategy*”. And it is this strategy that *Adbusters* lacks.

Consequently, without advancing beyond the rhetorical and the banal, without articulating a “coherent social vision”, without transcending “political and ideological vagueness”(Carroll 1997:26), and without thereby enunciating an authentic strategy, *Adbusters* magazine is doomed to persist as the everlasting intermediary—an agent who reaps from the hegemonic order while simultaneously advocating revolution. It is thus *only* in adopting a *true* liminal stance—a stance which champions the *erasure* of boundaries rather than the continued maintenance of social extremes—that *Adbusters* can ‘build on the rubble of the old media culture’, and that all individuals who seek an “alternative way of thinking and behaving” can positively achieve complete cultural liberation and “lasting emancipatory change”(Handelman 1999:399).

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Body Language, Dress Codes and Background Noise:

The Photographic Re-presentation¹ of Lawyers in "Yellow Page" Ads

Neil Vallance

This paper reviews recent literature on the anthropology of dress and explores the subject by way of a preliminary survey and analysis of lawyers' ads in the Yellow Pages of phone books. The survey was inconclusive, but my overall impression is that the images in the ads extend two main messages to consumers. First, some ads emphasize the warlike qualities of the lawyers, who offer to punish those who have inflicted harm. Others emphasize the personal warmth of the lawyers, who offer to help the victim of harm along the road to recovery.

Introduction

Today, lawyers market themselves in phone book, magazine and television ads, clamouring for the attention of consumers. What kinds of invitation are extended to the potential consumers of legal services? What limits are imposed on the messages conveyed? This paper will explore these questions by a preliminary survey of the Yellow Page sections in selected phone directories.

Traditionally lawyers did not advertise. To do so was considered "conduct unbecoming". The maintenance of the dignity of the legal profession still is an important value, enshrined in the *Professional Conduct Handbook* (2001:42). With the rise of consumerism in the 1970s, the public began to demand a better basis for retaining a lawyer than randomly choosing from telephone book listings which did not even indicate preferred areas of practice. They found many supporters within the legal profession, and after much debate the restraints were gradually removed over the course of the 1980s. The ads became bigger and bigger, and some began to include photographs of the lawyers. There are forty-three pages of lawyer ads in the 2001 Victoria Yellow Pages, which contain photographs of a total of eighty-three lawyers.

What services are advertised? The major ads are directed towards the victims of automobile accidents, because personal injury law is the most lucrative area of practice. This type of legal work is exempted from the general prohibition against charging a "contingency" fee based on a percentage of the damages (if any) awarded to the client by the court, or by the insurance company in the case of a settlement. The other areas of practice which feature in the ads are criminal law and family law. These cases are handled by barristers or trial lawyers. The

litigation ads are directed towards those members of the general public who find themselves requiring the services of a lawyer involuntarily – they have suffered an accident, been charged with a criminal offense, or become embroiled in the breakup of a marriage.

It is clear that the marketing of legal services has expanded rapidly in the last decade, and it may be an opportune time to take stock. Insights gained as a result of research will be useful to those concerned about the image of the profession presented to the public. The analysis of Yellow Page advertising could form part of an overall project. This paper can make only a preliminary excursion into the field, but the exercise should highlight some of the theoretical issues and practical problems which would confront such an undertaking.

One way to analyze the Yellow Page ads is to look at the photographic images of the lawyers. There are many possible approaches, each of which has the potential to yield insight. The approach in this paper will be to look at the bodies of the lawyers in the photographs, their clothing and their surroundings (or background). The background for my purposes includes the spaces inside and outside the frame of the photograph. The content of the background includes both objects and text. I will argue that these interrelated images of bodies, clothes and backgrounds, can be understood as part and parcel of the invitation from the legal profession to the public to enter a relationship. Of the three approaches to the study of visual culture outlined by Sturken and Cartwright, I will adopt the first, described by them as "...the use of theories to study the images themselves and their textual meanings" (2001:5). This will allow me to "...examine what images tell us about the cultures in which they are produced" (2001:5).

Recent anthropological theory has offered new ways of seeing human bodies (Lock 1993 & Csordas 1999), their clothing (El Guindi 1999) and their interrelation with the immediate environment (Entwistle 2001). These are explored for their potential to help in the decoding of any information in the photographs. Next, the

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dress codes and the marketing restrictions imposed on the profession are outlined and discussed, and two examples are analyzed in some detail. Then a case study is provided to get behind the ads and reveal the process used to produce them. With that background, a simple content analysis was undertaken of all the photos and some of the text (following Altheide 1996). A discussion of the overall results of the exercise constitutes the conclusion.

Body, Dress and Background

The Anthropology of the Body

The photographs of lawyers I have seen in Yellow Page ads show little exposed flesh: the head, neck and hands, sometimes forearms and calves. The shape and size of limbs and torso can sometimes be discerned, sometimes not. The photographs taken from the neck up are largely disembodied. The body's stance can be discerned from the more complete images. What more can be learned from the study of these bodies?

According to Csordas, the body has become primarily "a performing self of appearance, display, and impression management", and the goal of bodily self-care has changed from spiritual salvation, to enhanced health and finally to "a marketable self" (1999:179). If this is so, it follows that lawyers posing for ads will want to manage the presentation of their bodies to make a good impression on potential clients. This could involve exposing attractive features, and concealing bodily imperfections. I tried to test these notions in my manifest data analysis without success. The in-depth qualitative analysis of two ads, reported later in the paper, seemed to do a better job of revealing the uses of the body in advertising.

The Anthropology of Dress

What are the clothes associated with lawyers? Formal attire for trials is a white shirt, collar and tabs, black waistcoat, black pants or long skirt, black shoes and a black gown (similar to the academic gown).² For other court appearances, and in the office, lawyers are supposed to don some variation of the business suit. The two different "costumes" have their origins in England where barristers (the "senior" side of the profession), were strictly separated from solicitors (the "junior" side). The barristers "gown" reached its modern form, "open, and of black cloth or stuff", by the eighteenth century (Hargreaves-Maudsley 1963:90). Solicitors, largely a product of the Industrial Revolution, looked after the business affairs of the landed gentry, and were not permitted to appear before the "superior" courts. According to Hargreaves-Maudsley, solicitors "...do not seem at any time to have had a special costume" (1963:92). Hence, it would seem, their adoption of the business suit³.

Collier describes the male version of this outfit as follows: "a two or three piece suit in a (very) dark colour, black or dark coloured shoes, a pale shirt...and more often

than not, dull socks and underwear" (1998:33). Fortunately, the study of Yellow Page ads does not require looking into the more intimate items of apparel. What additional information can be extracted from these rather unpromising materials?

El Guindi's survey of the anthropology of dress contributes some interesting suggestions. For instance, clothes can have multiple purposes, such as separating group members from non-members, placing the individual in a gender category and enhancing role performance (1999:56-7). The legal gown certainly separates members from non-members of the legal profession, but does little to place the individual within the legal hierarchy and makes little concession to gender. According to El Guindi, "a robe may communicate an emblem of power" (1999:61), and Collier grandly asserts that "The man who speaks with a suit takes up a position of authority" (1998:34). However, the generic business suit does not appear to be capable of separating members from non-members of the legal 'fraternity' without the aid of other membership markers. One commentator claims that a women lawyer who adopts the business suit can only be "...a pale copy of her male counterpart in both appearance and style" (Thornton 1996:223, quoted in Collier 1998:34). Collier suggests that a lawyer who dresses other than in a business suit risks being categorized as "deviant" (Collier 1998:34). Finally, Entwistle (2001:38) is of the opinion that "shaggy hair" is found among professionals who critique society (such as academics), and "smooth hair" is likely to be found among those who conform (such as lawyers).

These various assertions were tested with some success in the data analysis. The business suit is indeed the favourite of both men and women, in sad confirmation of the stereotypes described by Collier and Thornton. Also, it would seem that Entwistle is right to claim that male lawyers wear their hair smooth, not shaggy. However, a sufficient number of lawyers eschew the wearing of the suit to call into question Collier's theory that they may be seen as deviant.

Looking At The Background

Entwistle combines the anthropology of the body and the anthropology of dress in her article "The Dressed Body" (2001). She also argues that "space is a crucial aspect of an experience of the dressed body", and lists formal dinners, job interviews, shopping expeditions and walks in the park as places where people are more aware of their dress (2001:45). She takes the argument a step further by asserting that, "when we dress we attend to the norms of particular spatial situations" (2001:49-50). She draws here on Bourdieu's understanding of *habitus* as an "unselfconscious orchestration of practices" within a spatial field, such as the workplace (2001:53). For this paper, I propose a concept of *habitus* more in tune with Young's definition of it as "a social setting that enculturates

people...by connecting them with tangible bodily and spatial distinctions" (1996:147).

Confirmation of the importance of background or surroundings is provided in an article on law firm marketing, which stresses that lawyers publicizing a "mission statement" should ask themselves this question: "Is there an integral connection with that message in all your mediums of communication?". The author advises lawyers to "Take a walk around your office, or ask a friend to take the tour. When you walk in the door, what do you feel? Does the atmosphere complement your message?". With respect to ads in the phonebook, she concludes that, "The message you are printing must be 'felt' when the client walks through the door. Everything about you and your office environment markets, or communicates a message" (Thiessen 2000:6). My intent is to analyze the images in Yellow Page ads of the lawyer's office, and the law firm boardroom (with its shelves of law books behind an elegant table), for confirmation of a spatial dimension to the visual identity of lawyers. My notion of the legal office was partly confirmed by the manifest data analysis, which suggests that law books are essential markers of lawyerly status, and serve to distinguish them from non-lawyers in suits.

Rules of Court and Law Society Rules

Dress Codes for Lawyers

In a courtroom, only members of the bar are allowed to sit at the counsel table. If a judge is hearing a trial in Supreme Court, all counsel must wear the formal "judicial attire" set out in the Law Society Rules (McEachern 2001:739). If a judge is sitting in "chambers", the test for appropriate dress is "good taste", and the standard of good taste is set by the sitting judge (2001:739).

In 1973 I had a summer job which included among its duties, acting as a judge's clerk in chambers. The presiding judge took me aside prior to the morning session and informed me that my brown corduroy sports jacket and tie might be "suitable for a walk in the park", but were not appropriate for the Supreme Court of British Columbia, the dignity of which he took very seriously indeed. Duly abashed, I borrowed the black waistcoat of another clerk before calling the court to order. Some years later, I was present in chambers before a rather crusty judge, who ordered another lawyer out of his courtroom for wearing brown shoes. The risk of expulsion from the courtroom has quite a dampening effect on any impulse towards sartorial innovation by counsel.

On more serious level, I would argue that the power of judges influences the demeanor and dress of lawyers outside the courtroom. This seems to me to be an example of Foucault's "panopticon" effect, in which structures of surveillance produce conforming behaviour, even in the absence of actual surveillance (Sturken &

Cartwright 2001:98-99). I would argue that this effect even extends to the manner in which lawyers present themselves in advertising.

Chapter 14 of the Professional Conduct Handbook – "Marketing of Legal Services"

This chapter of the Handbook undergoes constant revision, in an attempt to maintain some degree of control over the marketing activities of the profession. The basic concept is well expressed in Rule 4.1: "Any marketing activity undertaken or authorized by a lawyer must be in keeping with the dignity and reputation of an honourable profession" (2001:42). A new provision was added in April 2000: "4.2 A lawyer must not do any of the following in any marketing activity: (a) state or imply that the lawyer is aggressive" (2001:42). This addition was prompted by some creative use of drawings as symbols of aggression in some Vancouver Yellow Page ads, such as the following three examples taken from the 1997 edition: a pair of boxing gloves accompanied by the slogan "Protect Your Business! Put Us In Your Corner" (1997:1061); an angry-looking eagle staring from the page, with the slogan "Simon, Wener & Adler, the Litigators" (1997:1046); and my favourite, a growling bear with the caption "Like a Grizzly Protecting Its Young" (1997:1069).

The President of the B.C. Law Society states its position as follows: "A lawyer who's selected by one client because of having a demeanour, for example, of a snarling dog, or the disposition of a grizzly bear, sets the environment where the focus of the dispute becomes one of getting ready for a brawl, not of resolution" (Karl Warner quoted in Goldberg 2000:59). The opposing point of view is put forth by a litigation lawyer who believes that "The Majority of the public wants a lawyer who will handle their case quickly and aggressively" (Lawrence Pierce quoted in Goldbert 2000:59). I believe some lawyers have responded to this pressure from the Law Society by finding new ways to signal aggression – by creating a context in which their facial expressions and clothing become symbols of aggression. I would argue that the two-page ad of McCullough Parsons in the 2001 Victoria edition successfully conveys its message of aggressiveness through the use of facial expression and dress (a reduced version is reproduced at the end of the paper). The ad confronts the viewer with a solid phalanx of nine lawyers in full court regalia, every one of them wearing a scowl. There is no background to the photo to place them in any broader context. The viewer is not being asked to see them as human, but as a frightening force to be unleashed against a foe. It is consonant with a very old image of the law, demonstrated in this quote from Act II, Scene 2, of the Beggar's Opera by John Gay (1688-1732): "The charge is prepared, the lawyers are met, The judges all ranged, - a terrible show!" (quoted in Bartlett 1944:205).

A completely opposite approach is taken by Philip N. Williams in his two-page ad in the 2001 Victoria phone book (a reduced version is reproduced at the end of the paper). He seems to be following the marketing preferences of the B.C. Branch of the Canadian Bar Association, as set out in an article published in *Bar Talk*: "When a layperson enters a relationship with a lawyer, three basic components must exist: 1. A sense of trust...2. A sense of competency... [and] 3. A sense of value...." (Thiessen 2000:8). In the photograph accompanying Williams' ad he is leaning against his desk, hands in pockets, wearing a broad grin and a casual open-necked shirt. On the desk is a lamp casting a warm glow over a clock and small globe (items more familiar in the home than the office). He clearly is not a pit bull, but someone who wants to be your friend. The banner slogan across the top of the ad reads "Maximize Your Recovery", and the text section of the ad emphasizes physical recovery as much as financial recovery. The text portion ends with another slogan: "With Philip Williams you are not alone." A feature of the ad not often seen is an explicit mention of a fee rate: "Percentage Fees as low as 15%".

A Case Study of the Process Producing Yellow Page Ads

When I was a young lawyer trying to launch a practice in 1976, the only allowable form of marketing was the business lunch. My partner and I dutifully wore our blue suits and met with the local bankers, also in suits. A boring time was had by all. The Law Society gradually relaxed its restrictions on advertising during the 1980s, and by 1990 the first two ads featuring photographs of lawyers appeared in the Yellow Pages of the local (Victoria) phone book. Our firm was always on the trailing edge of change, and did not use photographs in its advertising until 1997. That year I wanted to market my newly acquired mediation skills, so the photographer told me to take off my jacket and put on a fuzzy sweater and a warm smile, the better to re-present myself in a softer, gentler image. The next year we discarded the rather stiff "mug shot" format in favour of an informal group shot, taken outside in natural light, with a background of grass, ocean and sky. In 1999 the firm decided to take the plunge with a two-page ad (at an annual cost of over \$30,000.00). Now the design of the annual ad is serious business.

The description of the experiences of my firm which follows is designed to illustrate the process followed by a (perhaps) typical law firm in the design and production of its annual Yellow Page ad. The firm has used the services of an independent media consultant since 1994, and has used a commercial photographer since 1997. One partner in the firm is assigned the responsibility each year to work with the consultant and the photographer. Generally, the other partners resist being drawn into the process, and associate lawyers take no interest at all, except to attend the photo shoot and complain at the result.

The text of the ad is written by the designated partner, and edited by the others. The consultant designs the layout of the ad with input from the partners, and the locale of the photograph session is decided after earnest discussion between photographer and partners. A memo is then issued as to appropriate attire, which is given a liberal interpretation by all recipients.

The foregoing is a cautionary tale, intended to forestall the temptation to read too much "meaning" and "communication" into the ads analyzed in following section of the paper. This caution is echoed by Altheide in his warning about taking news stories at face value: "...news content may be as much influenced by the organization of the news process as it is by the events it claims to be about" (1996:10). Campbell directs an even more pointed comment towards would-be interpreters of visual communication: "...individuals can be confident in asserting that they 'understand' the meaning of someone else's ensemble, secure in the knowledge that their understanding is unlikely to be challenged" (1997:343)

Data Analysis—an Extended Learning Process

Altheide follows his warning, above, with help in a practical form: a step-by-step procedure to follow in the selection, organization, analysis and presentation of media data (1998). I will describe my own research in the form of a report on my attempts to follow Altheide's methodology.

Step 1. Pursue a specific problem to be investigated.

I prefer to think of research "question" rather than "problem". That quibble aside, my research question is: how do lawyers use their bodies, clothes and immediate surroundings to re-present themselves to the public in photographs?

Step 2. Become familiar with the process and context of the information source.... Explore possible sources (perhaps documents) of information.

My first thought was to look at the photographs of lawyers in "trade" magazines published by the Law Society and the Canadian Bar Association. However, the intended audience of these publications is other lawyers. While they have the potential to reveal how lawyers wish to be seen by their peers, they do not address the issue of lawyers they wish to be viewed by prospective clients. The burgeoning Yellow Page section under "Lawyers" was the obvious next potential source. Photographs have come to occupy more and more of the space in the ads each year since 1990, supporting the contention of Sturken and Cartwright that "Western culture has come to be dominated by visual rather than oral or textual media" (2001:1). I looked at the Yellow Pages in the Vancouver phone book (1997), the Victoria phone book (2001, 1997, 1990) and the Nanaimo phone book (1998). The Vancouver section was too large for a pilot project, and the Nanaimo section was too small.

The Victoria section seemed about the right size, and I have the benefit of knowing most of the people in the photographs. I thought about doing an analysis of the evolution of the Victoria ads over time, from 1990 to 2001, but that is too large an undertaking for this paper.

Step 3. Become familiar with several (6 to 10) examples of relevant documents, noting particularly the format. Select a unit of analysis....

My unit of analysis is the "out-of-column" ad, each of which is neatly framed. The format of the ads (and the frequency of each type) is as follows: two-page ads (10), one-page ads (8), half-page ads (19), quarter-page ads (16) and eighth-page ads (15), for a total of sixty-eight. The two-page ads are placed first, the one-page ads next, and so on down the line. Of the sixty-eight ads, twenty-nine contain photographs of lawyers⁴.

Step 4. List several items or categories (variables) to guide data collection and draft a protocol (data collection sheet).

I found Altheide's restatement of Step 4 in the text more helpful: "a protocol is a way to ask questions of a document; a protocol is a list of questions, items, categories, or variables that guide data collection from documents" (26).

Step 5. Test the protocol by collecting data from several documents.

Instead of collecting data from several documents, as recommended in Step 5, I collected data from all the ads, since the total number of ads and photos is relatively small.

Step 6. Revise the protocol and select several additional categories to further refine the protocol.

After the first batch of statistic gathering, I followed the suggestion of Step 6 to eliminate some categories, "refine" others and add a few new ones. Categories eliminated included relative age (too hard to judge) and the location of women in relation to men (too many variables).

Step 7. Arrive at a sampling rationale and strategy.

Altheide argues against a "rigid sampling strategy" in favour of "progressive theoretical sampling". In this process, "materials" are selected for "conceptual or theoretically relevant" reasons, based on an "emerging" understanding of the topic (33-34). I certainly agree that this has been a back-and-forth process, in which the "meanings, emphasis, and themes of messages", emerge only gradually, if at all.

Step 8. Collect the data and analyze the results.

Here is a summary of my attempt to analyze and summarize the data collected:

1. Body Language

1. The ratio of women to men is 16 women and 67 men, which roughly translates into 20% women to 80% men. The number of lawyers listed in the columns of the Yellow Pages for Victoria is 515, of whom 120 are women. Therefore, women lawyers represent about 23% of the total. Province-wide, women constitute 29% of practicing lawyers (Ostrowski 2001:2). It would seem that women are somewhat underrepresented in the Victoria Yellow Page photos.
2. Posture/stance. The only item of interest is the number of people (six) "leaning" against something. This stance suggests a casual or informal approach.
3. Hidden disabilities. My result of "nil" may mean that none of the lawyers pictured have a disability, or it may mean that any disabilities have been deliberately masked. Lawyers are not likely to advertise their disabilities, because "There's still a feeling amongst lawyers generally that because you're disabled, you're less likely to succeed in certain types of work" (Ron McInnes quoted in Cumming 2001:16).
4. Visible minorities. Few "visible" minorities (three) were visible to me, but I felt very uneasy during the process of identifying them – it seemed like participating in a reification of race.
5. The women (11 out of 16) smile a lot more than the men (29 out of 67). However, this may only reflect the gender ratio for smiling in the general population. Without that extra statistic, the information in the pictures is not very meaningful.
6. The hair style information reveals nothing of note, except to confirm the surmise of Entwistle that male lawyers are not likely to have "shaggy" hair (only 2 out of 67).

2. Dress Codes

1. The legal gown is clearly not a favourite outfit to wear for a marketing photograph. Nine of the ten people pictured in robes are in one ad. The wearing of lawyer's robes in a Yellow Page ad seems provocative, signaling a willingness to do battle in court at a moment's notice.
2. Some form of the business suit (dark jacket and white shirt/blouse) is indeed the favourite of both men and women. However, there are a substantial number of people (19 out of 83) not wearing this particular combination.

3. Backgrounds

1. The split is 50/50 between photos with backgrounds (15) and those without (15). The absence of a background focuses all attention on the body and clothes of the lawyer. The presence of a background could be seen as a mere distraction, or as a carrier of additional information about the lawyer, information intended to be persuasive.
2. Indoor/outdoor. The interesting thing here is that any (4 out of 15) lawyers would choose to be photographed out-of-doors. Why abandon the office/boardroom? Perhaps the image they are trying to convey is of people with real lives and interests outside the office and courtroom, so that ordinary people can relate to them.
3. Lawyers like to be photographed in their office (2) or boardroom (6), with a back-drop of law books. I was surprised by the absence of legal documents in the pictures, since in my experience, the production of documents is a much more common task than the reading of law books. However, documents in photographs are generic and could represent any white-collar profession.
4. Almost all the "other" objects (a piano, mask, Mercator globe, dried flowers, clock, and arm chair) are from two ads. They suggest a deliberate attempt to create a warm and comforting impression of the lawyers in the foreground.
5. Other images. Representations of gavels, scales and (courthouse) columns/pillars are all symbols of justice, associating that value with the advertisers who use them. Some ads featured faux newspaper front pages with headlines trumpeting the huge settlements obtained by the law firm on behalf of former clients. The implication is plain that new clients will also receive outrageously large awards of money. This seems to be another way to signal an aggressive attitude.
6. Text frequencies. At first blush, it seems that lawyers are least interested in inspiring trust (16 out of 75), more interested in obtaining a lot of money for clients (and themselves) (23 out of 75) and most interested in boasting about their competency (36 out of 75). However, this result may have been produced by faulty categories, or placement of words into the wrong category. Much more work is needed before I would feel comfortable defending this result.

Conclusions

The manifest data analysis was an interesting exercise, but the results are merely suggestive, without enough substance for any definite conclusions. I was left with a feeling of "so what". More satisfying, if less objective, was my detailed description of the two ads reproduced at the end of the paper. They seemed to exemplify the two major directions taken in the ads surveyed. First, there was the combative ad, extending an invitation to go to war on the client's behalf and punish wrong doers. This contrasted strongly with the warm and fuzzy ad, extending an invitation to enter a personal relationship and assist in all aspects of the client's 'recovery' (physical, emotional and monetary).

Another conclusion is that I have merely scratched the surface of this topic. One aspect that I have not even touched is what is not in the ads. For example, there are areas of practice which do not account for many column inches in the ads, such as corporate law, real property law, and estate planning. These matters are handled by solicitors, or office lawyers. Office lawyers represent clients who are seeking their services voluntarily, because they want to start a business, buy a house or draw a will. Why do these lawyers not find it worth their while to use the Yellow Pages?


Another aspect absent from this essay is the reaction of the viewers, the general public, to these ads. What do they think and how do they respond? As Ball and Smith state, the sense that viewers make of photographs depends upon their cultural assumptions and personal knowledge (1992:18). I was able to find no material to give me that perspective, and as a result I focused entirely on the intent of the makers of these images. The limitation of this one-sided approach is well stated by Sturken and Cartwright: "Analyzing images according to the intentions of their producers...is rarely a completely useful strategy" (2001:45).

Finally, I am pleased to report (somewhat to my surprise) that the concepts and insights of anthropology do seem to have application to this kind of study, both at the micro level of describing and interpreting bodies, clothes and backgrounds, and at the macro level of placing the marketing of law and lawyers in broader context. More work along these lines could provide valuable insight to those anxious to chart the future of the profession.

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Notes

¹ The hyphenation is deliberate. According to Nichols, "Images are things that represent (re-present) something else" (1983:1). I want to stress that a photographic image in Yellow Page ads is "something else", and is not a mirror image of flesh and blood lawyers.

² For examples of robes or gowns see the McCullough Parsons ad in the 2001 Victoria Yellow Pages, p.596.

³ All modern clothing, including the business suit, is impressed with the stamp of the law: "American society is filled with signs of legal culture. Every...piece of clothing...contains a label warning us about its dangers, instructing us about its uses, and telling us to whom we can complain if something goes wrong" (Ewick & Silbey 1998:xi).

⁴ There are four additional people in the ads, who are not intended to be identified as lawyers: a male prisoner behind bars, a mother and child in a wheat field and a young girl sitting next to her father.

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Reflexive Thoughts on Literacy and Orality

Masako Fujita

Previous studies of literacy are mostly concerned with the linguistic difference between the written and spoken forms of a language or with the effects of literacy on cognitive and analytical skills. Some researchers argue that literacy leads to the development of higher cognitive and analytical skills, while others argue that these skills are the result of education rather than of literacy per se. However, these discussions are based upon the “defining” skills of literacy, useful in the literate world but not necessarily in the oral world. While these studies help to clarify some contrasting properties of written and spoken languages, they fail to recognize the more fundamental differences between literacy and orality. This failure is due to the lack of reflexive and explicit recognition of the limitation of our literate minds. If it is true that literacy, directly or indirectly, leads to the development of cognitive and analytical skills as defined by our literate values, it might also disable skills that are prerogatives of orality. In this paper, I review literature on writing and literacy. I then explore literacy and orality from a reflexive linguistic anthropological perspective. I further attempt to seek clues to the workings of the oral world.

Introduction

Writing and literacy are generally viewed as positive forces. Literacy is a crucial skill in many parts of the modern world. A literate individual has better opportunities in a multitude of spheres of his/her life. However, the negative aspects of writing are rarely discussed. In human history, writing has been an instrument for lies and deceptions. It has served as a convenient tool for political and economic leaders to control and exploit the “standardized” populace. The negative aspects are two fold: literacy can be used to manipulate the populace, as seen above, and there is a more fundamental kind of loss that cannot be properly articulated. Virtually no literature exists on fundamental effects and loss associated with literacy. In order to assess whether literacy really contributes to the liberation and advancement of people, we need to first understand the

workings of literacy and more importantly its roots, orality, in its own terms.

Literature on Writing and Literacy

In many literate societies, written language is given priority over spoken language. In the early 20th Century, some linguists (Sapir 1921; Bloomfield 1933; Sussure 1959) began to argue to the contrary. For these linguists, writing is nothing more than a presentation of speech on paper. More recently, Olson (1994: 8) argued, “One’s oral language ... is the fundamental possession and tool of mind; writing though important, is always secondary.” Chafe (1994: 41) similarly granted ordinary conversation a special status among all the language uses because it provides the very base of any other use. Despite these contrary opinions, literacy is usually awarded a higher value than mere speech. The persistence of this tyranny of literacy may be accredited to studies that argue for the association between literacy and higher intelligence such as cognitive and analytical skills.

Discourse Analyses: differences between writing and speaking

Many linguists (Biber 1988 1995; Chafe 1985; Chafe and Tannen 1987; Olson 1994; Tannen 1985) have focused on “obvious” structural, semantic, and paralinguistic differences between written and oral discourse. These linguistic discourse analyses are mostly focused on a comparison between the written language and spoken one, or the secondary orality, within a language. The term orality, or oral language, includes two distinct

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kinds of spoken language: primary orality and secondary orality, to borrow Ong's (1992) terms. Primary orality is the orality of peoples without knowledge of any writing, while secondary orality refers to the language of peoples who have literacy. It should be noted that while most of these discourse analyses compare literacy and secondary orality, they do not draw comparisons between literacy and primary orality.

Typically discourse studies refer to the unique properties of writing as opposed to speaking. For example, Chafe (1994) argues that writing is more de-situated than is speaking. Situatedness is defined by both copresence and interaction, and translated as "the closeness language has to the immediate physical and social situation in which it is produced and received" (44-45). The lack of "copresence, [a] direct and immediate involvement with another mind" (Chafe 1994: 44), is one of the most notable characteristics of writing. In an oral conversation, copresence enables interlocutors to interact, alternating in their roles as speakers and listeners. The participants of a conversation simultaneously influence one another, and the course of conversation is thus coproduced by the interlocutors through social interaction. This indicates that written communication and oral communication contrast not only in their linguistic structural features but also in their semantic dynamics due to the interaction.

The de-situated nature of writing further leads to a more explicit style of writing. Although writing has an immense potential to transcend the restriction of time and space typical in speaking, writing often omits a multitude of information that is available in oral communication. For example, through intonation or paralinguistic features, one can convey a great deal of meaning which may not be expressed in written form (Foley 1997: 420). This de-situated or decontextualized nature of written texts makes it necessary for them to be more explicit in their meaning in a clear and self-explanatory manner (Olson 1994; 1997). Even if the author of a written text carefully attempts to supply the necessary information as explicitly as possible, it is inevitable that some pieces of information disappear. Since the writer is usually displaced from the reader, the missing information must be supplied by the reader. Since written texts are stripped of the surrounding context of the utterance, in order to communicate equivalent information, authors need to employ more explicit wording and clarity. This change in the style of language, argues Foley (1997: 420), "actually alters the nature of thought itself leading to more rational critical and analytical thinking."

Cognitive Effects of Literacy

Some researchers have argued that literacy is an instrument for the development of cognitive and analytical skills. Countless cognitive studies have been carried out to examine this development. For example, Olson (1994) argues that before the invention of writing systems, people were unaware of the linguistic structure of spoken

language. The concept and categories for thinking about such structures are gained only through an acquisition of literacy. "To invent a writing system is, in part, to discover something about speech; to learn to read is, similarly, to discover something about one's speech, and ultimately, about 'what is said.'" (Olson 1994:73). Olson (1994: 68) further argues that writing systems were invented to be read, and as they were read, they also provided a model for thought. Since texts are fixed and present before us, argues Olson (1994: 420-421), reading texts provides an opportunity to reflect on language as an object in itself. We introspectively explore language and mind in terms of the categories prescribed by our writing system, leading to the development of grammar and lexicography. This reflection, according to Olson, further leads to the "discover[y] of [a new kind of] logic" (1994: 259). This new grammar and logic is different from that of an oral society because it is built with the categories that are brought into the consciousness for the first time via scripts. As a result, acquisition of literacy ultimately enables more frequent, decontextualized uses of language, logical syllogistic reasoning, or the elaboration of abstract categories. Olson is not the only one to believe in these revolutionary effects of literacy. Many scholars, such as Michael Clanchy, Jack Goody, Brian Stock, and Geoffrey Lloyd to name a few, have argued that literacy affects "our means for thinking about the world" (Olson 1994: xvi).

Linguistic Effects of Literacy

On the other hand, Duranti (1997) points out the importance of the linguistic effects of literacy rather than the cognitive effects. For example, his critique of the advocates of cognitive theory focuses on their underestimation of the role of literacy in linguistic analysis – their assumption that the "type of analysis they engage in is an adequate idealization of cognitive abilities that any speaker of a language ... can make" (1997: 126-7). The experiments on phoneme deletion illustrate this point. When people were told to delete a particular sound of a word, literate individuals successfully performed the requested task while the majority of non-literate people could not. This kind of experiment tests the subjects' lexical competence but it does not necessarily test their cognitive skills because the ability to segment speech into smaller sound units such as phonemes or morphemes is acquired through learning how to read. Such ability is meaningless when these sound units, such as phonemes, do not have significance to people's language use or their interests in general.

Education vs. Literacy

Other researchers argue that the cognitive effects are an outcome of the combined influence of literacy and schooling (Berry and Bennett 1995; Cook-Gumperz 1986). Some even argue that the cognitive

consequences arise solely from formal education rather than literacy. Scribner and Cole's study (1981: 88) on the Vai people of Liberia indicates that the cognitive effects such as more decontextualized uses of language, logical syllogistic reasoning, or the elaboration of abstract categories, are associated only with formally taught English language. An indigenous Vai vernacular script, a syllabary, which is taught in households, is not associated with expected cognitive effects.

Reflexive Consideration

While previous studies illuminate some contrasting properties of written and spoken languages, they fail to recognize the more fundamental differences between literacy and primary orality. This failure is partly due to the fact that these studies are mostly limited to the comparison between literacy and secondary orality. More importantly, this failure is due to the lack of reflexive and explicit recognition of the limitation of our literate minds. Researchers disagree on an ultimate cause for the development of cognitive, analytical, and/or linguistic skills; however, they agree that literacy directly or indirectly leads to the development of these skills. Curiously though, the very parameters upon which these discussions are based, are crucial "defining" skills of the literate world but not necessarily meaningful in the oral world. When viewed this way, it becomes clear that there lies a self-indulgent logic inherent in these previous studies. Simply put, this logic is summarized as: literacy leads to a development of the skills that are valued in literate world, which are measured through the criteria that are literate and assessed through the values that are literate. Although there is no doubt that these skills are important in the modern, global community, assessing primary oral peoples in terms of literate gauges will provide us with neither a full understanding of orality nor a more realistic and reflexive understanding of literacy.

In the history of humanity, literacy is a "brand-new" invention in contrast to the spoken language. The history of literacy is only about 5,000 to 6,000 years old while oral language has been around for tens of thousands of years (Ember and Ember 2000: 133). Although the exact timing of the origin of writing is still controversial, it is likely that it was not invented "overnight" but it grew out of orality in a gradual manner. For a better understanding of the effects of literacy, therefore, it is crucial to understand its roots in primary orality. "Discussions of writing which ignore its roots in orality and restrict themselves to alphabetic printed texts from the age of Romanticism on can produce effects which are interesting often because they are unavoidably distorted" (Ong 1992: 304).

Literacy and Orality as Adaptive Practices

Curiously, the previously mentioned Scribner and Cole's study (1981) has revealed that different

literacies are associated with different sets of mental skills. For example, English is associated with analytical skills, whereas the Vai vernacular language is associated with metalinguistic skills such as stringing syllables together to construct words. Scribner and Cole (1981: 236) eloquently define literacy as an adaptive practice that uses:

A set of socially organized practices which make use of a symbol system and a technology for producing and disseminating it. Literacy is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script by applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific context of use. The nature of these practices, including ... their technological aspect, will determine the kinds of skills (consequences) associated with literacy.

The cognitive effects of literacy then are the result of a much wider range of social practices, and such effects are inseparable from this whole range. A particular social niche and a particular type of practice influence the particular kind of local cognitive spheres produced by each literacy. For example, English-based literacy and schooling values a particular set of skills such as "logical reasoning, development of abstract categories, explicit expository talk," and hence this particular literacy may create localized effects of these particular skills (Foley 1997: 424).

We should thus guard against championing written language over other modes of language. Each mode of language use should be viewed as an adaptation to the circumstances of its use (Chafe 1994: 48-49). Rather than viewing literacy at the top of a hierarchy of language evolution, it should be understood as a particular adaptive mode to a particular set of circumstances which happens to dominate a wide geographical area due to its usefulness. Each mode of language provides unique possibilities but also imposes its own restrictions.

A few researchers have critically viewed the restrictions associated with literacy. For example, Bloch (1998) holds the view that the effect of literacy has not been as revolutionary as to alter the nature of cognition, but instead it has "parenthesize[d] certain forms of knowledge" (ix). Duranti similarly states, "... like any other powerful analytical tool, writing not only highlights certain properties..., it also hides some other[s]" (1997: 124). These hidden properties are likely to be neglected in a literate society. What are these properties? Is it possible for literate people to find these "un-parenthesized" or hidden properties of oral language?

The Operation of Literate Minds

When people learn to read and write, there are irreversible consequences. The effects of literacy manifested at a more fundamental level may be more

significant than those effects at the “cognitive” or “analytical” levels. Ong (1992) provides a crucial discussion on some aspects of the fundamental differences in thought processes between the literate and non-literate people. Literate human beings’ thought processes are fundamentally governed by the technology of writing. “Without writing the literate mind would not and could not think as it does, not only when engaged in writing but even when it is composing its thoughts in oral form” (Ong 1992: 294). Functionally literate people think and speak chirographically. Since the technology of writing is so deeply ingrained in literate minds we do not commonly feel as though we are being influenced by writing. It requires a great effort to feel and sort out the presence and influence of writing; it is even more difficult to divorce ourselves from it (Ong 1992).

Furthermore, literate minds tend to conceive a word as existing all at once. When a literate person is asked to think of a word, the mentally written word misleads the person into conceiving the word as a thing that appears all at once. However, real or spoken words cannot actually ever be present all at once since they are composed of a sequence of sounds, which exist only when it is going out of existence. A word is “an event, a happening, not a thing, as letters make it appear to be. So is thought; ‘this is paper’ is an occurrence; an event in time. We grasp truth articulately only in events” (Ong 1992: 295). The fixity of the written word deceptively governs our literate consciousness at the basic level of its operation. Our literate minds are fundamentally altered in such a way that it is perhaps impossible to think and understand the primary orality as non-literate people do.

The Operation of the Primary Orality

When literate persons try to comprehend the workings of the orality, they cannot avoid doing it from within a literate mental framework, thereby creating the risk of non-reflexivity and/or ethnocentrism. Ong (1992) bravely challenges this difficult task with admirable reflexivity, and describes the more holistic thought pattern typical in orality. The orality operates, argues Ong (1992: 295):

with exquisite skill in the world of sounds, events, evanescences.... Instead of spatial fixity, formulaic structures and procedures are used to complement and counteract the evanescent: proverbs and other fixed sayings, epithets, that is, standard expected qualifiers ... numerical sets, ... balance, rhythm of all sorts – anything to make it easy [to remember].

Primary oral people also conceptualize in terms of a human-life world, personalize things and issues, and store knowledge in stories. Most importantly, argues Ong (1992:

295), the oral world functions in a framework built to “hold things together, to make and retain agglomerates, not to analyze” in the sense to take things apart. This characteristic of primary oral language to “hold things together” is in fundamental contrast to the western notion of analysis. However this should not necessarily be taken as the absence of “analytical” property in the primary oral language.

Unfortunately, Ong (1992) fails to recognize the different kind of analytical property that is effective in the primary oral language. He states that the primary orality is limited in its degree of analytical possibility due to the constant need to capture its transient “fugitive noetic universe” by being conservative and by avoiding exploratory thinking. I argue that the analytical difference between the primary orality and literacy is that of a kind but not of a degree. When things are thought and remembered in the orality in terms of human-life world or personalized stories, a great deal of analysis is performed in the process of transforming things and issues into these terms. These things and issues are sorted out, interpreted, and placed in the right “position” in order to contribute to the agglomerates, the whole knowledge. Thus to claim that the primary orality can afford little exploratory and analytical thinking to conserve energy to retain the accumulated knowledge is ethnocentric, and it does not do justice to the primary oral peoples’ particular kind of analytical process used in building their knowledge.

Similarly, Ong’s (1992: 308) argument is unfounded when he states that primary oral people fail to distinguish the interpretation of data from the original data. According to Ong, (1992) when primary oral people are asked to repeat exactly what they have just said, they often state an interpretation of the original statement, treating the interpretation as exactly what they said in the first place. This however, indicates more than a mere amalgamation of interpretation and data or their “lack” of ability to identify the exact word sequence that they just said. Rather, they may be repeating the “essence” of the original statement by providing an alternative phrase, the result of another “analysis” of the original statement. Why would anybody ask them to repeat an exact word sequence if s/he understood the meaning of the original statement? The very fact that the experimenter is asking them to “repeat” the statement indicates the necessity to explain, clarify, and thus rephrase the original statement. This is then a manifestation of the analytical and exploratory property of the primary oral language in which analyses are done prior to utterance of a word or sentence, or at the “data acquisition level” so to speak.

One Alternative Approach

When literacy and orality are considered from a reflexive and relativistic perspective, it becomes clear that understanding primary orality on its own terms is a difficult task. However, rather than falling into a self-

destructive downward spiral of radical reflexivity, (Davies 1999) we should attempt to understand our limitation and seek an alternative approach that is constructive. If we adapt the broad definition of literacy as an adaptive social practice, we might be able to seek a clue to the operation of orality in a broader social practice rather than only in discourse analyses or in language experiments. I suggest that we seek a window of opportunity through which to see the workings of orality that intersect with literacy. One such rare opportunity may reside in the critical examination and comparative study of dictionary projects for oral languages.

Transcription: Imperialism of Written language

When oral languages adopt a writing convention through an enforced literacy, a new and foreign way of thinking may be imposed. Historically, missionaries and social scientists have transcribed oral languages, and some of these languages have seen the development of dictionaries. The method of transcribing by alphabet was originally developed by Franz Boas as a way to salvage rapidly disappearing Native American language and cultures (Duranti 1997: 124). Since transcribing the sounds of a language requires decisions on linguistic structures and the organization of a given linguistic system, Boas and his American Indian consultants were recording their own analysis of the past even if all they were trying to do was to simply record it. Duranti (1997: 125) succinctly elaborates on this point:

Since any writing system contains a partial theory of the sounds and units of the language it purports to represent, when we write down the sounds of a language that has never been transcribed before, we bring to it a history of ways of thinking about what linguistic sounds are like and what they are for."

Thus transcribing a language is not simply writing down what is heard. It is rather a transformation of a language from what it was into something else so that it becomes comprehensible to external minds. This process of transformation is hardly neutral; language is modified and altered in the process, based upon the preconceived notion of what language should be and how it should work.

New Dictionary Projects

More recently, indigenous people themselves have developed dictionaries for their own language. Although the above-mentioned problems with transcription still hold true to an extent, if the project is internally conceived and operated, the resulting dictionary may reflect some characteristics that are unique to linguistic or social practices in that oral language. Rice and Saxon (2002) for instance, compare and contrast the dictionary

projects conceived and/or developed by external parties (Federal Government or Linguists), with an internally initiated project (the Kaska Tribal Council dictionary project).

Among the points raised by Rice and Saxon, a few are especially relevant to the current discussion. For example, the Kaska dictionary lists many variants of a word under one lexical entry, instead of choosing one variant or two over several others as is commonly seen in a standard dictionary. This acceptance of lexical variability is in sharp contrast to typical dictionaries of an established literate language. More surprisingly, the Kaska dictionary covers three distinct languages in one dictionary: Kaska, Mountain Slavey and Sekani, although only Kaska is "entitled." These three languages are separate according to the linguistic criteria for determining a language. This is a 'definitive' contrast to the conventional dictionary, in which only one language is covered per dictionary (Rice and Saxon, 2002). The Kaska dictionary, however, transcends notions such as one bounded language. This may reflect the Kaska peoples' more global conception of their "language," (Rice and Saxon, 2002) which is defined not by conventional linguistic classifications of language but in terms of composite communication media used within their particular political unit. If a language is a particular adaptation to unique social circumstances, this Kaska tribal council's global conceptualization of the language may reflect one manifestation of their particular mode of linguistic and/or social adaptation.

Conclusion

One of the most valued skills of modern society is the ability to use written texts. Literacy is often considered as a means of solving a host of social problems, such as poverty and unemployment. An UNESCO policy asserts that literacy would lead to "the liberation and advancement" of humanity, and sets a goal to eradicate illiteracy by the year 2000 (Olson 1994: 1-2). In a western school system, we are taught to read, write, and calculate. All these basic skills require us to handle a system of notation. Understanding the properties and the prerogatives of orality is crucial to knowing what acquisition of literacy actually entails at a more fundamental level than the "obvious" merits such as access to written information or development of cognitive and analytical skills, which are measured by the scale that is literate.

The widely held faith in literacy as a magic solution to the multitudes of societal problems is under question. This faith reflects a selective view of the facts which justifies and benefits literate society and systematically devalues other societies. If it is true that literacy, directly or indirectly, leads to the development of cognitive and analytical skills as defined in terms of literate values, it may also be true that some skills are lost with literacy. While it is an inevitable fact that the acquisition of literacy provides crucial skills to survive in

the contemporary global economy, imposing literacy and “eradicating” the primary orality without reflexive understanding of what literacy and orality are, will lead to an irreversible loss to humanity. If the possession of language is the defining feature of human beings, each language, regardless of its mode, is indispensable wealth. More and more scholars are arguing for a broadening of the definition of language to include social interaction (Duranti 1997; Foley 1997). If we are to accept this wider notion of language, then we have as yet very little understanding of primary oral language in any sense which includes its operation as a whole. The interface between literacy and orality may provide some clues towards approaching the complex task of understanding orality, despite our confinement to a piece of paper.

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The Impact of Development on Easter Island (Rapa Nui), Chile 1967-2001

Tandy Shephard

2000 miles off the coast of Chile lies Easter Island also known as Rapa Nui by the native islanders, who call themselves Rapanui. In 1888, Chile annexed Easter Island and since that time the island has been run as a sheep farm, endured a brief period of Chilean Navy rule, and begun its course of "modernization" with the arrival of the first commercial flight in 1967. Since this time, islanders have witnessed improvements in infrastructure, the betterment of social services and the development of a tourism industry. However, the process of development has played a strong role in modifying the physical landscape and altering some of the economic, social, and political aspects of traditional Rapanui society.

Introduction

Easter Island is situated between 27°03' and 27°12' South latitude and 109°14' and 109°27' West longitude in the South Pacific Ocean. Measuring only 166 square kilometres, it lies approximately 3,500 kilometres from mainland Chile and roughly of equal distance from Tahiti. Its traditional inhabitants, the Rapanui, are of Polynesian descent and to date, the native tongue, Rapanui, is spoken and the traditional culture practiced.

Despite its remote location, the island has endured several phases of post-contact development. European contact began with Jacob Roggeveen, a Dutchman, who visited the island on Easter Day in 1722, initiating a period of explorers and navigators who stopped at the island to trade goods with the islanders. In 1862, isolated and unprotected, the island was raided by Peruvian ships in search of slave labour to work in foreign mines and on plantations. This second, but short phase of external impact exposed the Rapanui to deadly unknown diseases, dramatic population decline, forced emigration, and the significant erosion of their traditional culture. The year 1864 marked the arrival of missionaries imposing western religious ideology on the Rapanui. During this third phase, foreign settlers also began to appear on the island. The phase of exploitation and colonization began in the early 1870s, when the island was purchased by a Tahiti-based Scots-French partnership with the intention of managing

the island as a sheep ranch. The remaining islanders at this time were displaced and confined to Hangaroa, the island's only town. The fourth phase of development began with the collapse of the above partnership, facilitating the annexation of Easter Island by Chile in 1888. Williamson-Balfour, a Scots-Chilean firm, then administered the island until the 1950s, when the Chilean Navy assumed control, continuing to run the island as a sheep ranch and confining islanders to Hangaroa. It was not until 1966 that the Chilean government passed Law No. 16,441, Ley Pascua (Easter Island Law), finally proclaiming Easter Island a civil territory as a part of the Valparaiso region.

The development of Easter Island began in 1967 with the arrival of the island's first commercial air flight; as a result, the inevitable process of modernization commenced. This process initiated rapid infrastructure development, the improvement of social services, the development of tourism, and the emergence of contemporary ideologies. Regular air traffic between Chile and Tahiti, via Easter Island, replaced the island's only previous form of transportation: the annual supply ship. With the problem of accessibility solved and the number of visitors steadily increasing, development was also necessary to accommodate the island's previously non-existent tourism industry. Over the past three decades, Chilean development plans have focused on upgrading transportation services (e.g. airport and port facilities), the betterment of social services (e.g. improved education and health services), and the further development of tourism (e.g. construction of hotels and other related services). However, besides the betterment of the overall standard of living for the Rapanui, these forces have played a strong role in modifying the physical landscape and altering some of the economic, social, and political aspects of traditional Rapanui society.

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Environmental Impact

Impact on the Natural Environment

Native islanders recognize tourism as their main economic enterprise, but understand its consequent impacts on the natural landscape. Nero (1997) contends that the rapid destruction of the natural environment is the main problem faced by Pacific Islands today. Undoubtedly, an increase in the annual number of tourists has had a significant effect on Easter Island's fragile eco-system and heritage sites, moai (stone statues) and ahu platforms (ceremonial structures on which the moai stand). Yet, to date, no impact assessment or resource management studies have been conducted to survey the accumulative damage of past years, to assess present conditions of archaeological sites, or to predict future problems. Community members stress the need for increased preservation efforts because Easter Island's unique landscape and its pristine heritage environments will account for the economic and cultural livelihood of future Rapanui generations.

Porteous (1981) noted garbage accumulation at important archaeological sites during the mid-1970s, a problem that is still evident. A "lack of healthy ecological conduct" has been observed, as tourists discard trash at sites (Montero 1991:66). Visitor behaviour, as Fagence (1999) points out, can be problematic and has been a growing concern for park officials, as well as the Rapanui. Recognizing this, trash cans have been installed at some sites and tour operators provide plastic bags for tourists to collect unwanted garbage. Islanders have also been accused of environmental misconduct. Just as Porteous (1981) reported in the early 1970s, vandalism of archaeological sites continues to be a problem. In past years, individuals have been guilty of chalking and scraping petroglyphs in order to emphasize figures, as well as marking monuments.

Most importantly, large numbers of tourists can contribute to the destruction of Rapanui archaeological sites (Montero 1991). Fences have been erected around popular sites to prevent the entry of vehicles and signs have been posted prohibiting tourists from walking or climbing on the moai, ahu platforms, and petroglyphs although this does not deter tourists from walking on petroglyphs to take photographs or ascending ahu platforms to have photographs taken with moai. Although no data have been located regarding the average number of tourists visiting the different sites on a daily basis, observations recorded at Rano Raraku and Tongariki show that it is not unusual for two or three hundred tourists to visit these particular sites in one day during the high season. However, with the arrival of a cruise ship, popular sites can expect up to six or seven hundred passengers in one day. To lessen the environmental impact and avoid congestion at sites, tour operators stagger departure times and alternate routes, but it is impossible to coordinate this

upon the arrival of cruise ships, whose passengers have only a limited amount of time to visit the sites.

Porteous (1981) further noted considerable damage at the ceremonial site of Orongo. Since this time, measures have been taken to decrease the impact of visitors to the area. Additional walking paths throughout the site have been created to divert tourists from fragile areas and visitors are not permitted to walk on or enter traditional stone houses. Obviously, the erosion of the ancient petroglyphs along the cliffs of Orongo remains a foremost concern due to increased visitor access. To decrease the impact of foot traffic, platforms have been laid in areas surrounding petroglyphs. Signs have also been posted prohibiting visitors from touching the petroglyphs.

Although the gradual degradation of the physical environment of Easter Island is evident in the contemporary heritage landscape, there are some factors which have played a role in decreasing the environmental impact of tourism, compared to other small island destinations. Effects of tourists on the natural environment have, to some degree, been controlled because of tourism's high and low seasons. Although Easter Island receives tourists all year round, the majority of visitors arrive in the summer months (October through March), whereas there are fewer arrivals in the winter months (April through September). Thus, this island does not experience a constant, year round influx of visitors. Furthermore, group tours assist in controlling visitor numbers and can also play an important role in managing environmental impacts (Schmidt as quoted in Pearce 1982). Observations of group tours at Rano Raraku and Ahu Tongariki confirm that site tours are well-managed and controlled (e.g. tours are staggered). As well, the urbanization of Easter Island has been restricted to the area in and surrounding Hangaroa, which therefore has prevented development in important ecological areas (Dasmann 1982). Nevertheless, collective action by Rapanui and Chilean officials, as well as community members, must be taken to preserve the existing landscape for future generations, especially if tourism remains the only economic alternative for the Rapanui.

Economic Changes

Occupational Structure

Since the onset of modernization in the late 1960s, the population was comprised not only of Rapanui residents but also mainland Chileans who came to work for one of the many Chilean agencies (e.g. Air Force, Navy, police, governor's office, municipality, school or hospital). Porteous (1981) observed a noticeable transition from self-employment in agriculture to wage-labour in the 1970s as a result of the modernization process. In 1969, only 16.3% of the Rapanui population worked as skilled labourers and of that figure, a mere 3.5% actually worked in public

services (e.g. governor's office, municipality, hospital, and school) (Porteous 1981). Rather, 59.6% of the Rapanui were employed as labourers in activities such as agriculture, construction, and the private sector (Porteous 1981). Accordingly, in the early 1980s, the greater part of Rapanui people were labourers; 58.8% of *jefes de familia* (head of the family) were unskilled workers, 17.1% were skilled workers, and a small percentage, 9.3%, occupied jobs in the areas of art and folklore (Vargas Casanova 1990). Mainland Chileans accounted for the large percentage of individuals employed in public or community services (43.1%) (Vargas Casanova 1990). Positions held in the areas of electricity, water, transport, communication, financial services, and forestry would also be occupied by mainland Chileans. Just as Porteous (1981) reported, the Rapanui at this time would largely have been employed in the sectors of tourism, agriculture, fishing, construction, and commercial activities.

The 1992 Census reported that the four important economic activities for the island population were: public administration and defence (23.84%); agriculture (11.36%); commerce (11.36%); and industry (11.27%) (de C. Olivares San Juan 2000). The majority of the Rapanui continued to work in the areas of agriculture (17.6%), fishing (6.8%), and tourism (21.4%), and mainland Chileans were employed in the areas of public administration and defence (21.84%), transportation (10%), education (6.4%), and health (6.4%) (de C. Olivares San Juan 2000). de Olivares San Juan (2000) attributes this trend to the higher levels of education and training that mainland Chileans possessed as compared to Rapanui workers. However, there has been a dramatic increase in the percentage of Rapanui working in public services since this time. Contemporary figures from 1994 display an increase in the number of Rapanui employed in public services; for example, at this time 72% of municipality employees were Rapanui (Memoria de Gestión 1995).

Rapanui now possesses the education and training to occupy positions originally reserved for mainland Chileans. Many Rapanui hold positions at the governor's office, municipality, hospital, school, post office, bank, airport, or with the Chilean Navy. Such individuals work as secretaries, office clerks, nurses, teachers, tellers, or serve as marines in the Navy. Compared to only 3.5% in 1969, in 1994, 39% of public service employees were Rapanui (Memoria de Gestión 1995).

The development of tourism on Easter Island has also played a large role in changing the pre-existing occupational structure. Unlike other Pacific Islands (e.g. Tonga, Cook Islands and New Caledonia), there is no foreign involvement in the tourism industry and thus money earned is not repatriated to outside sources. Furthermore, the Rapanui are not required to pay taxes to the Chilean government and therefore, any revenue generated through tourism remains directly in their hands.

The transition from a subsistence agricultural economy to one based solely on monetary activities and services, such as tourism, has taken place in many Pacific Island societies (Lockwood 1993a). Porteous (1981) reported that during the mid-1970s, mainland Chileans usually held positions as professionals and clerks on Easter Island and were employed in the areas of food preparation and service in tourism; the Rapanui on the contrary were employed as laundry staff, room service attendants, and hotel maintenance. The roles have changed considerably over the past two decades. Today, a growing number of Rapanui are employed as professionals and clerks and occupy the majority of positions in tourism. With the exception of Hotel Hanga Roa (the only Chilean owned and operated hotel on Easter Island), all of the hotels and residenciales (bed and breakfast establishments) in addition to the numerous restaurants, shops, tour agencies, and other related services are owned and operated by Rapanui businesspeople. Because the tourism industry, as Klope (1975) explains, does not require its labour force to possess highly developed technical skills, the Rapanui have the opportunity to fill a number of positions. It was observed that the Rapanui, rather than mainland Chileans or foreigners, occupy almost all of the management positions and account for the majority of support staff in this industry. In contrast to Porteous's (1981) observations made in the 1970s, today migrating mainland Chileans or foreigners are often employed as hotel or restaurant staff.

The establishment of hotels, residenciales, restaurants, souvenir shops, and tour agencies has further facilitated the demand for wage-labour. Over the past three decades, this shift in the occupation structure is much more evident because a large number of Rapanui now generate their income from wage-labour. Tourism has become the primary sector of employment and, for some individuals, their only source of income. In 2001, approximately 90% of the Rapanui were employed in the tourism sector either directly or indirectly. Many Rapanui are self-employed; individuals own and operate hotels, residenciales, restaurants, souvenir shops, and tour agencies. In order to understand the demands and needs of the tourism industry, the Rapanui have educated and trained themselves and, as a result, have built an industry that has proven sustainable and highly profitable.

Even though tourism is the primary source of employment for the Rapanui population, it is not uncommon for individuals to have secondary occupations. In the 1970s, Porteous (1981) reported that many native islanders had more than one source of income; for example, many Rapanui males were also fishermen, farmers, carvers, and worked in construction. In 2001, personal observation confirmed that a large portion of both men and women hold secondary occupations. Aside from primary occupations, many Rapanui hold secondary positions as musicians, sculptors, painters, and entertainers to supplement incomes. A small number of Rapanui continue

to grow fruit and vegetables, which are sold to local grocery stores, restaurants, or in the public market. Almost entirely dominated by men, fishing also continues to be an important secondary occupation. Tourism has created a great demand for fresh seafood and a small number of fishermen supply fish to hotels, residenciales, and restaurants.

Integration into a Money Economy

International tourism has had a profound impact on traditional Rapanui society. By the late 1970s, Porteous (1981:232) describes the impact of tourism on the Rapanui as “the disruption of long-established lifestyles”. Tourism has enabled the Rapanui to become fully integrated into a cash economy, which in turn has created new values and beliefs. Money, for example, was not commonly used prior to the 1960s; it has now become an integral part of Rapanui society. Today it is associated with power, affluence, social status, consumerism, materialism, and capitalism. Almost the entire Rapanui population has become accustomed to and dependent on a cash economy. Erisman (as quoted in Matthews & Richter 1991:131) explains this process through what is known in tourism studies as the ‘commoditization theory’: “destination societies and their environs are treated as commodities in tourism, and the touristic intrusion has resulted in social and cultural change, more in line with commercial values”. As a result, the traditional Polynesian notions of ‘community action’ and sharing have been replaced to some degree with the ideology of individualism. Rochna-Ramirez (1996) explains that the introduction of tourism activities into traditional Rapanui society has been conducive to the growth of individualism and the desire for personal wealth. Lockwood (1993a:14) further contends that increased money and material wealth among traditional Pacific societies is “increasingly taking the place of traditional criteria linked to kinship and community service for achieving social prominence”. Social prominence associated with monetary wealth is clearly evident in contemporary Rapanui society with the emergence of a Rapanui upper class.

Because of the shift from agricultural subsistence to tourism, the Rapanui have become increasingly dependent on imported products. Items like bottled water, carbonated beverages, alcohol, meat, poultry, packaged goods such as rice and pasta, as well as a variety of fruits and vegetables are imported for grocery stores, hotels, and restaurants to accommodate both local and tourist demands. The island’s inclusion in a market system, as Lockwood (1993a) points out, contributes to an increase in the consumption of manufactured goods, which largely replaces traditional subsistence produce. Kaitilla (1995) explains that a greater income allows individuals to purchase store bought goods, which are seen as emblems of status and prestige.

Social Changes

Population

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the population on Easter Island has grown significantly. In 1920, a mere 299 individuals were recorded, but by 1970 the population had grown to over 1,600 (Porteous 1981). The last official population census was conducted in 1992 and as a result, population figures thereafter have been based on estimates generated from the local government and municipal offices. According to the 1992 Census, there were 2,764 inhabitants on Easter Island (Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui 1997). By 1999, the total population was estimated at 3,460 (de C. Olivares San Juan 2000). The present population is calculated at approximately 3,500 people. It is estimated that the population of Hangaroa will grow to over 4,000 by the year 2005 (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Santiago 1993).

The influx of mainland Chileans has played a vital role in a steady growth of the island population since the 1970s. The Chilean population is comprised of individuals who relocate to work at one of the many Chilean posts (e.g. Navy, Air Force, hospital, school, police, or ministries) or those who have permanently relocated to escape the pollution and crime that is characteristic of many mainland metropolitan areas. It was difficult to locate data, especially for the last two decades, which recorded the distribution of the population in terms of the number of Rapanui residents and mainland Chileans. In the late 1970s, mainland Chileans accounted for approximately one-quarter of the population (Porteous 1981). Out of a total population of 2,335, 725 were registered as mainland Chileans in 1981 (Vargas Casanova 1990). Of that number, 64% were public service employees and 19% were permanent residents (Vargas Casanova 1990). The 1992 Census reported that 40% of the island population was not born on Easter Island, a percentage that was similar to data recorded five years earlier (de Olivares San Juan, 2000). Thus, mainland Chileans have been and continue to be an important group living on Easter Island. By 1987, mainland Chileans accounted for only 30% of the entire population (Vargas Casanova, 1990). Of the 701 mainland Chileans, 63% were public service employees and 36.7% were permanent residents (Vargas Casanova, 1990). Yet in the next decade, mainland Chileans expanded to represent a large percentage of the total population; in 1996, native Rapanui formed only 30% of the 2,870 inhabitants (RNJ, March 1996). Based on the above information, it is evident that the Rapanui are becoming a minority group.

An increase in the occurrence of marriages between Rapanui and mainland Chileans, as well as foreigners, has been characteristic of recent decades. In the Rapanui culture, individuals are not permitted to marry within their family; for example, cousins are not

sanctioned to marry one another. Thus, at times it is difficult to find a Rapanui mate due to cultural restrictions, and as a result, mainland Chileans or foreigners are considered as potential partners. Between the periods of 1970 to 1994, there were 140 marriages between Rapanui and mainland Chileans, which accounted for 48.1% of the total marriages (Makihara 1999). During this same period, 27 marriages were officiated between Rapanui and foreigners (Makihara 1999). Although no current data have been located for Rapanui/Chilean marriages post-1998, other data show a large increase in the number of Rapanui/foreigner marriages. In 1998, 41 marriages between Rapanui and foreigners were recorded, 46.3% of which were with French citizens (Memoria de Gestión 1999).

Social Structure

At the time of his research, Porteous (1981) noted that the process of modernization had altered traditional social divisions and further created new ones. Social divisions within Rapanui society are clearly apparent in the year 2001. The “nascent Rapanui middle class” that Porteous (1981) observed (e.g. steady employment, comfortable homes, and children attending university) is still evident today, but a Rapanui upper class has emerged in the late 20th century. This group is comprised of those individuals who hold important positions in public services (e.g. representatives of the provincial government or municipality and other public service sectors) or tourism (e.g. own and/or operate a large business). Individuals of the Rapanui middle class either operate a small business (e.g. restaurant, souvenir shop, or rental agency) or work as wage laborers in tourism (e.g. cook, waiter/waitress, or chambermaid) and usually supplement their income with a secondary occupation. The Rapanui lower class is comprised of those persons who are mainly unskilled. In the mid-1970s, Porteous (1981) characterized this group in Rapanui society as poorly educated and without permanent work. Today they are most often employed on a temporary basis and earn money by selling artwork or handi-crafts and performing a wide variety of odd jobs. Poverty among the Rapanui appears to be non-existent as most individuals can grow their own produce or fish and live on family land.

Mainland Chileans continue to form a separate social group (Porteous 1981) which can further be subdivided into: a) those employed in the public service sector (e.g. Navy, Air Force, or Police Department) and b) independent migrants who are self-employed (e.g. taxi drivers) or work in tourism (e.g. waiters/waitresses, chambermaids, or construction). Those mainland Chileans working for the Chilean Air Force and Chilean Police are provided with comfortable housing on the outskirts of Hanga-roa and earn considerably higher wages than most Rapanui, further alienating them from Rapanui society. For those mainlanders working or living independently on Easter Island, housing and property can be obtained

through rental agreements with Rapanui landowners or by marriages with ethnic Rapanui.

Traditional Belief System

Foreign visitors to Easter Island have brought with them an array of customs, cultural norms, and languages, which over the last three decades have permeated traditional Rapanui culture. Erisman (as quoted in Matthews & Richter 1991) contends that once a host society has become economically dependent on tourism, it also becomes culturally dependent on it. This is referred to as mass seduction theory; hosts form particular beliefs about tourists (e.g. being wealthy is normal) and based on this perception, hosts discredit their traditional values for new beliefs and as a result become culturally dependent (Erisman as quoted in Matthews & Richter 1991). Traditional Rapanui culture, although affected to varying degrees, has not yet been completely abandoned or eroded. The Rapanui continue to preserve their ancient culture against the pressure of outside influences, for example, through the annual Tapati Festival, which celebrates the Rapanui culture and ancient traditions.

Political Changes

Acculturation

Since the early 20th century, the Rapanui have been influenced culturally by the strong Chilean presence on Easter Island and as a result, have become ‘Chileanized’ to varying degrees. Spanish has replaced the native tongue, the indigenous people have been governed under a particular colonial administration imposed by the state, and Chilean customs and lifestyles have been taught. As previously mentioned, tourism has also played a role in the acculturation of the Rapanui as they have been introduced to a variety of outsiders with different lifestyles, customs, and cultural norms (Prasad 1987). Many Rapanui community members believe that the Chilean modernization process has seriously impacted Rapanui youth. Lockwood (1993a:14) describes the impact of the modernization process on younger generations in Pacific societies:

Young people can barely remember the “traditional lifestyles” of their grandparents, and their values and aspirations now differ significantly not only from those of their grandparents, but also those of their parents.

The betterment of education services introduced a system entirely regulated by Chilean standards that has been instrumental in the assimilation of Rapanui youth. For the majority of Rapanui youth, Spanish has replaced Rapanui as their first language. At school, exposure to their native tongue is restricted to weekly language classes. Improvements in communication have introduced Chilean

television and radio, further exposing young people to Chilean and Western ideologies and alternative lifestyles. Lockwood (1993a:14) explains that the 'Western media' have played an important role in creating unrealizable aspirations for young people that commonly clash with traditional beliefs and values. As many community members point out, today's youth have become accustomed to mainstream Chilean society and as a result, they have gradually abandoned the traditional Rapanui way of life.

Dependency

For the Rapanui, the process of modernization has undoubtedly advanced social conditions, and with the growth of the tourism industry, economic conditions have improved. As long as the island's archaeology is preserved, tourism can be a long-term industry for the Rapanui. Funding for these changes has almost entirely been provided by the state; thus Easter Island has become increasingly dependent on Chile for ongoing social and economic assistance. A recent study produced by the Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación (2000) concluded that over the past thirty years, the island has failed to generate suitable conditions for social and economic development with its own resources because of its increasing dependency on the state.

Wilson (1991:497) is correct in stating that, "a dependency mentality retards sustainable economic growth". Easter Island can be classified as what Lockwood (1993b:85) refers to as a "welfare dependent society"; the welfare of the peripheral group is dependent solely upon the colonial administration. For the island of Tubai, welfare state colonialism has bettered the social and economic welfare of islanders and created numerous development possibilities (Lockwood 1993b). On the other hand, as Lockwood (1993b:93) further contends, islanders from Tubai, like the Rapanui, have "given up their right to self-determination and the right to shape their own modern society" in exchange for economic development. Due to government cutbacks in 1999, Easter Island has witnessed extreme economic dependency. Rapanui concern is expressed as follows:

Just awhile ago, we were pounding our chest and saying that we were the jaguars of South America, and now we would not even pass for a wet cat. What is happening is that we are so dependent; we are like a raft drifting in the ocean and have to take care with the revolutionaries. We are all part of the government and thus more or less tied together, but on the other hand, we are disillusioned because we do not understand what is going on (RNJ, September 1999:85).

The relationship between Rapanui officials and the Chilean government is not collaborative, and, in many instances, Rapanui officials are not integrated into the decision-making process regarding the current social and economic situation. Easter Island does not have the economic capacity to finance itself independently and, therefore, has no option but to rely on assistance from the state. The Rapanui, like the Kanaks of New Caledonia, as Wilson (1991:497) explains, are caught in an "aid dependency circle". This means that because both groups rely solely on public funds, they are entirely dependent on the source of this funding (Wilson 1991).

Discontent and Resistance

The contested nature of contemporary development is reflected in the history of colonialism on Easter Island. After the island's annexation in 1888, the Rapanui were incorporated into the colonial system of Chile. Prior to this, the Rapanui endured several phases of domination: the arrival of explorers, missionary intervention, and oppressive foreign administrations, such as Williamson-Balfour. Until its proclamation as a civil territory in 1966, the island's people were forced to live under strict regulations enforced by foreign bodies and the state. Throughout these different periods, the Rapanui have periodically expressed their discontent towards foreign and national leadership through various forms of resistance. Porteous (1981) suggests that the first act of defiance against foreign leadership occurred in 1877 with the murder of Dutrou-Bornier, the foreigner who assumed control of Easter Island in the late 1860s. Uprisings continued into the early 20th century; for example, as a response to their unfair treatment by Merlet, who ran the island as a sheep farm, Rapanui rebellions arose in 1914 (Porteous, 1981). As Berry (1980:10) reminds us, "the apparent domination of one group over the other suggests that what happens between contact and change may be difficult, reactive, and conflictual rather than a smooth transition". The transition of the Rapanui into a Chilean neo-colonial system has been difficult and there has been protest and resistance.

The Rapanui continued to express their discontent with Chilean leadership after the onset of modernization in the mid-1960s by protesting development strategies, land decisions, and the limited control that the Rapanui possessed in the overall planning process of island affairs. More specifically at this time, the Rapanui opposed infrastructure projects such as reserving land for new streets and the construction of housing for mainland Chileans (Porteous 1981). As Porteous (1981:229) explains, modernization efforts by Chile involved more "planning for the people, rather than with them". Thus, resistance towards present and future development plans is strongly embedded in the historical context.

The imposition of colonial structures on traditional societies has initiated the systematic degradation

of traditional social, cultural, economic, and political systems and structures. Resistance and protest has been demonstrated throughout the Pacific Islands in response to foreign presence in traditional indigenous societies. For example, resistance to foreign control increased in Western Samoa when traditional social, economic, and political sectors were integrated into the colonial administration (Colbert 1997). Past colonial resistance must be incorporated into contemporary issues in order to extract their meaning and evoke understanding.

Inevitably, past experiences have shaped contemporary Rapanui society including their compliance with, and resistance to modernization efforts. Resistance is a part of the past, has become a part of the present and will remain in the future. Resistance has become a medium for expressing opinions and objections in an attempt to protect and preserve traditional societies. Hempenstall and Rutherford (1984:8) equate resistance and protest with indigenous people's fight for their existence within the colonial system:

Island politics during the age of territorial colonialism was, however, more often about social survival: the struggle for some share in the control of colonial society or at least for the right to contribute to its formation.

Like other Pacific Islanders, the Rapanui want to participate in the present and future development of their island, and actions of protest and resistance have created a platform on which their voices can be heard.

The proclamation of 1966 and subsequent improvements in infrastructure and the development of tourism, have transformed Easter Island into a neo-colonial state. The island society continues to be involved in an intricate set of neo-colonial relationships with Chile, relationships which have dictated social, economic, and political development. Despite the fact that the island no longer operates under Navy rule and living standards have increased for native islanders, it still stands on the periphery of national interests; Easter Island serves as a military post in Pacific waters.

At the time of his research, Porteous (1981) explained that Chilean development plans were contested because of a lack of public consultation and the ignorance of traditional Rapanui values on the part of the state. Wilson (1991:503) explains that colonial systems implement development projects that are "often maladapted to the local context". Over the past three decades, the Rapanui have continued to resist particular aspects of development in order to voice their concerns. Tisdell (1993:241) explains that although the indigenous people of small islands possess an extraordinary amount of information regarding local conditions and the natural environment, they often lack the practical knowledge of "assessing new techniques, originating principally from

abroad", thus limiting the participation of indigenous people in modern development strategies. It is apparent that there is an absence of integrated planning efforts between the various Chilean agencies and Rapanui authorities, as well as community members. The Chilean state fails to involve the Rapanui in a public consultation process regarding the economic and social future of Easter Island. Consequently, due to the lack of economic resources, Rapanui administrators have relied on advice and subsidies from Chile, but Chile's ignorance of the Rapanui has fostered conflicts and resistance (Tisdell 1993). As discussed in the following section, resistance and conflict will continue if the development visions of Chile and the Rapanui fail to become integrated.

Rapanui Independence

As a result of the continual dismissal of Rapanui complaints by the state, some Rapanui are seeking the secession of Easter Island from the Fifth Province, Valparaiso. They would prefer it if the island became an autonomous region within Chile. Since the early 19th century, the Rapanui have never independently governed or managed island affairs; foreign and national bodies have always assumed control of the island and over native islanders. 'Free association' may be a viable alternative; Nero (1997) and Lockwood (1993b) explain that free association is a manageable option for Pacific Islands because of the fragility of their economies and the fact that small islands face difficulties like constrained resource bases, isolation, transportation restrictions, limited local markets, dependency on exports, and small local markets. It is uncertain if Chile would ever grant the island an independent status considering the geopolitical benefits of Chile's presence in Oceania. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the Rapanui could exist independent of Chile because the island's civil and government administrations depend on the state for economic funding to administer island affairs.

Conclusion

Without the inception of air travel to Easter Island, it is uncertain if the Rapanui would have witnessed the same degree of social and economic change that has occurred since the late 1960s. Easter Island has undergone some important changes over the past three decades; and in the process, native islanders have observed the irrevocable environmental and social effects of development. Studies have yet to be completed to assess the long-term impacts of tourism on the island's fragile environment, nor has much attention been placed on the social impacts associated with the strong Chilean presence on Easter Island. Tourism has also contributed to the growing social divisions among community members because of an increased dependency on the monetary system, as well as irreversible damage to the natural environment, which could have significant

consequences for the long-term prosperity of the tourism market.

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A Sense of Community

Communal Work in Post-Communist Romania

Liviu Știrbăț

*This article attempts to investigate a form of reciprocity particular to work relations in Romanian villages and the subsequent forms it has taken since the fall of the communist regime in 1989. I used Arthur Kideckel's research in the village of Hârseni both as a starting point for my thesis and for the location of my fieldwork. My research revealed that during the years that passed since his ethnography was published a resurgence of the custom of communal work events (or *clacă*) took place, contrary to his prediction. However, because of economic and social factors, the villagers are not aware of its reappearance.*

Introduction

This anthropological investigation is devoted to the study of a few households in Hârseni village in Romania. The focus of my issue-based fieldwork was the way in which reciprocity in work relations in communal work events (*clacă*) changed in the post-communist times. It was also an attempt to add to a much more extensive work carried out by anthropologist David Kideckel in the same village and published in 1991, The Solitude of Collectivism. The great deal of change that the country has undergone ever since the anticommunist revolution of 1989 made me determined to investigate whether the predictions made by Kideckel were still valid and the best place to do so was Hârseni itself.

The traditional way of carrying out complex processes in the household such as building an extension to the house, harvesting or even weddings was the *clacă*: rounding up neighbours, relatives and friends for a day and then, in return, join in whenever any of the participants organised a similar event. Kideckel predicted a further decrease in the level of working interaction in communal projects as a result of collectivisation and other communist policies. The anticommunist revolution, which started just before the publication of the ethnography, renders this prediction subject to serious rethinking. In spite of the social and economic uncertainty specific to the transition process from central planning to market economy, which would most likely affect reciprocity adversely, the present day situation indicates the contrary.

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Background

Taking up the southeastern part of Europe, Romania has a long and rich history, its main event being the Roman conquest in 106 AD, which led to the creation of the Romanian language and of the Romanian nation. In the early 20th century, Romania was mainly agricultural and relied on small units of production such as the village of Hârseni for its economics. In 1946, the communist party forced the country's king Mihai I to abdicate and then established an abusive and violent regime. Under the close guidance of USSR and in accordance with soviet models and policies, the prime-secretary of the party, Nicolae Ceaușescu initiated a national program of collectivising land, livestock and agricultural machinery. In most cases peasants were deceived or forced to co-operate. People gave up their private ownership and instead received an equal quota of what was produced through collective work. Everybody had to contribute a number of hours of working in teams. Then in December 1989 an uprising in Timișoara culminated into a nation-wide revolution that overthrew the party and freed the people (Scorpan 1999).

As time went by, the social effects of this economic policy started to show. Although it was intended by party officials to be a generalisation of the ancient custom of *clacă*, which has been observed ever since the "Serf Liberation Act" in the 1700's, collectivisation turned out to be a social cohesion abrasive. As Kideckel points out, people were inclined to work for themselves and feared that the reciprocity of *clacă*, which is so vital to the process, would not be respected either because of lack of time (factory jobs were abundant in the new industrial revolution) or because of suspicion (Kideckel 1991).

Hârseni is situated in the centre of the country, being the administrative seat for the commune of Hârseni even if it is the smallest of the four villages pertaining to it. The village contains about 200 households and has three shops, two churches and a bar. One of the first things noticed is the large number of vehicles with Italian license plates. Upon further inquiry, one learns that 65% of the youth in their 20's have left for Italy for work. Another important and fairly new feature is the breakdown of the

ethnic and religious uniformity that Kideckel noticed. The gypsies have taken up about 15 houses on the outskirts of the village and have formed a strong community, which is both despised and feared. Also, the Seventh Day Adventists, a sect that was active and numerous during the 1980's in the surrounding villages has found several adepts within the village, which is 92% orthodox (Știrbăț 2001).



Figure 1. The host family embracing on of my friends on the main street, next to an Italian FIAT with Italian license plates.

Methodology

I conducted my fieldwork between the 8th and 14th of August 2001 and I was accompanied by five friends of my age. The methods of obtaining data relevant to my research question were varied, extensive and personalised for the circumstances encountered. They provided me sometimes with pieces of information that were very conflicting. However, when enough data was gathered, the bits of information were shown to be either different perceptions of the same thing or complementary facts. Brevity would have indeed been inauspicious for my fieldwork, as the relevant data was all uncovered towards the end, after I gained the trust and respect of the community.

The first method that I used was that of interviews recorded on tape. Ioan Mesaroș (age 51), the mayor of Hârseni was my first official informant. The interview began in a very official manner but my informal appearance and manner of speech along with my reiteration of the fact that my research had no official character ended up re-normalising the atmosphere. I also interviewed Kideckel's main informant for his ethnography, Victoria Bălan (age 66). She is his regular host and the friendship between them is very strong. Apart from her daughter, who visited the anthropologist in U.S.A., Bălan is the only person who, at the beginning of my visit, was aware of the existence of the "Solitude of Collectivism" and actually has a copy translated into Romanian.

Basic informal interviews were used as a second method. This method enabled me to enhance the likelihood of true opinions emerging, as the community still fear repercussions from officials when revealing such sensitive information. The interviews provided most of the data and were restricted to the immediate members of my host family, the Rusu family, who all granted me permission to use their names: Maria Rusu (the wife, age 47, postal worker), Petre Rusu (the husband, age 49, forest ranger), Ionică Rusu (son, age 22, school janitor), Florin Rusu (son, age 20, student), Tăulea Roxana (godmother, age 37, housewife) and Mihai (a very close friend of the boys, age 21, unemployed).



Figure 2. A classical anthropological mug-shot in the host's busy front yard. Starting from the left: Florin, Maria, Petre and me.

Following the spirit of Malinowski's ethnographic approach, I found participant observation to be a "preliminary condition of being able to carry on successful fieldwork" (Malinowski 1961:27). I therefore engaged in as much casual labour as I could, both around the house and in the neighbouring households. Work ranged from cooking to carrying sacks of barley or cement. This gave me an insider's perspective on how the hierarchy and the reciprocity of the chores done within the household.

My main hope was that I would be able to participate in one big *clacă*, such as building a house. However, such an opportunity did not arise during my one-week stay. This led to the necessity of employing a fourth method: two case studies of such events. The first concerned the building of the barn; I requested accounts about this from most of the participants so that the image would be as complete and objective as possible. The second case study, thoroughly analysed from several perspectives, was the account that Rodica Drăgulescu (age 42), the owner of one of the shops in Hârseni, gave me in great detail about her daughter's wedding which occurred in 1995 (six years after the revolution).

Ethical Considerations and the Experience

My fieldwork brought about several special issues that arose out of its atypical nature and out of my efforts to present an unbiased, pertinent perspective. I tried to avoid the inherent suspicion towards inquisitive research, natural in a country that has not yet dealt with its violent past, by assuming an almost equal status to my informants (housing in a tent rather than a hotel in town, avoiding ostentatious display etc.). Similarly, I had to deal with the fact that the village is accustomed to anthropological research since Kideckel returns to the village on a regular basis along with groups of 20 students. In addition, the data was unquantifiable and so it did not lend itself to an objective analysis.

The character of both interviews was more that of a dialogue, as I found it much more productive and enjoyable for both sides if I mentioned examples of my own experience with my father's village in the Northeast of Romania. This may have affected the outcome of the interview, but I feel that informants should not be put on display as exhibits, but rather as partners in a dialogue. My belonging to the same ethnic group as the informants made it all the more reasonable.

The fact that Bălan was accustomed to the methodology and participated in numerous interviews with Kideckel gave her a special status. Just as in the mayor's case, she started off prepared to answer questions that she had heard before. However, the fact that my approach was unconventional in that I began by telling her about myself first led to a different outcome for the interview than she had expected. I was served large quantities of home-brewed alcohol (the usual sign of hospitality when discussing such issues) and ended up not being able to leave her house for many hours. The discussion drifted to general problems of my country and also my situation as a student abroad. The end of the interview showed a major change in attitude towards the concept of work reciprocity, indicating that the informant changed her opinion as she was answering my questions. My own biases may have influenced her to some degree but I believe it was mainly due to the fact that she had never discussed such matters with a co-national.

Informal interviews were especially important to my work since answering my research question can trigger national pride and so alter the result. It is particularly important for Romanians that we present an image of a country that has recovered from the traumatic communist experience. An informal discussion allowed them to be honest and not try to impress me. They were usually carried out in larger groups, where my friends were present as well. The multitude of factors (i.e. my friends' own opinions) shaping these discussions may have had adverse effects on the outcome in terms of bias but it created a very prolific environment.

Some of the informants required that they stay anonymous either because of personal reasons or because

of the uneasiness some may feel in dealing with foreigners (possibly a remnant of the totalitarian communist regime). I respected their requests and made clear to everyone that they have the right to remain anonymous. Whenever it was necessary, I protected their identity with the use of pseudonyms.

Another notable experience that I had was the people's reaction to seeing Kideckel's ethnography. I can only characterise it as over-enthusiastic. Because practically no one in the village knows about it, the book ended up being named Kideckel's Bible because of the exuberance that it generated. People from far away came to our tents and asked if they could see it. Even the chief of the Police station in Hârseni, newly come from the eastern part of Romania, stopped me on one of the roads to inquire about the book he had heard so much about. What is even more intriguing is the fact that they paid no attention to what I was translating for them from the ethnography about their village. The pictures were their sole focus. Each of them tried to identify all the people that appeared and sometimes recognised relatives. It was really fascinating to see the effect of taking the ethnography back to the people it was written about.

A Rediscovered Sense of Community?

The data that I have collected are in the form of my journal-notes and the two taped interviews. Since it cannot be quantified, there is some level of subjectivity that will be involved in my analysis of the data. The informants can be best classified by age since most of them seemed to have a similar perspective within an age group, probably because of shared experience (by contrast Victoria Bălan was the only one who has experienced the pre-communist environment). Maria Rusu, Petre Rusu, Roxana Tăulea, Rodica Drăgulescu and Ion Mesaroş belong to the adult 30-50 age group. Ionică Rusu, Florin Rusu and Mihai belong to the youth group of 19-25.

Unawareness

The data strongly points towards the concept of a reinvented tradition. But not one that fits with Hobsbawm's classification into traditions that confer social cohesion, traditions that legitimise institutions and traditions that inculcate beliefs (Hobsbawm 1991). The ancient Romanian tradition of *clacă*, whose practice has experienced a lapse during collectivisation years, seems to have been revitalised. Nevertheless, the elders of the village are not aware of it. It has not reached the official and popular status that made it central to any ethnography about Romanian villages prior to the 1970's. In many cases, the actors aren't even aware that what they are doing fits precisely the characteristics of a *clacă*. Their apparent lack of awareness can be justified by a constant preoccupation with the economic problems of day-to-day life and the bitter and traumatic experience of Collective

days. The adults were thus inherently inclined to have a negative perspective on life. “Trust is no longer trustworthy”, they would say. Also, “private property made people more selfish”.

One example of such a breach of trust and tradition that would stand as a reason for the negativistic approach of elders is Maria Rusu’s story. She was diagnosed with cancer in 1992 and required a large sum of money for an operation. She asked her godmother (the person one usually goes to in case of need) for the sum and obtained it without much trouble; after a short while, however, her godmother asked for the money back, fearing depreciation and possibly the loss of the entire amount. Maria had to sell her best carpet and the furniture in one of her rooms in order to repay without delay. At the same time, however, she broke all relations with her godmother and did not call her to help out with household chores nor with the autumn harvest as she had done in the past.

I noted a similar level of unawareness within the youth group as well. This age group was generally characterised by a rather hedonistic view of life. In addition, their concerns for the future were almost always linked to Făgăraş, the nearest town, or to Italy and never to their native village. These factors can partly explain why they were not aware of the reciprocal quality of their work. They had come to learn in school about this tradition and shared the academic community’s belief that traditions were dying out (von Hirschhausen 1997:21).

I came to learn the true value of their work as a group later on. I was at least for the first few days rather pessimistic myself about reciprocity, having heard only the negative sides from the even more pessimistic elders. This was, however, soon changed. While drinking beer and sharing same-age concerns (bikes, clothes, camping, etc.), the host’s children started telling us stories that were unrelated, or so they thought, to my research but which encompassed exactly the “ingredients” for a *clacă*: reciprocal labour, trust and respect for one’s duty towards the participants, generalised reciprocity and relative closeness (friends, kin, imagined kin) between participants (examples will be provided later in the paper).

The mayor, in contrast, had very optimistic views of reciprocity in Hârseni. Using the generalised definition of a *clacă*, he claimed the village was involved in several community work events such as building schools, cleaning the street-sewage channels and clearing pastures. Participation, although not entirely satisfactory, was very heterogeneous (both in terms of gender and age) and willing. The medieval custom of allocating a couple of days every month to work on the common areas of the village has been adopted by the state (von Hirschhausen 1997:102). The mayor sanctions this in an informal manner, namely through gossip. This form of village-wide, organised communal work is, according to the mayor, very successful.



Figure 3. The town hall, once an active meeting place for people taking the bus to work, is now deserted most of the time.

Possible Reasons

The reinvention or rediscovery of *clacă* under such odd circumstances (i.e. without the knowledge of the actors) shows that *clacă* plays a very important role and reappeared as a response to needs which are similar both in the times of its initial flourishing and nowadays. When analysing conditions prior to and post communism in contrast with the communist era, one realises that the existence of such desirable goals as a new house, a new outbuilding, a bigger harvest is much more evident in systems of private-ownership.

The ease that collaboration brings about when it comes to reaching these gave rise in pre and post-communist times to the phenomenon of *clacă*. Communism discouraged such individualistic goals, thus rendering the method of achieving them unnecessary, and also enforced a form of reciprocity that the people did not want. They were forced to share produce and revenue with unrelated people, and inter-relations outside the communist sphere were closely spied on and reported as anti-party movements.

The magnitude of the hostility and the anti-cohesiveness of the pre-revolution climate can explain why the tradition failed to reappear in a similar shape. Mesaroş and Bălan both pointed out that people contended with small projects that they could manage by themselves because they feared reciprocity would not be respected. To their honest knowledge, even if they hope for a revival of this tradition, it is not practiced anymore. They see it as part of a breakdown of rural society, along with the loss of orations, wishes and horse riders at weddings and other lost traditions.

The nostalgia for the lost traditions as well as the breakdown of reciprocity in its public forms is revealed by the case study of the Drăgulescu family since marriage used to be both an important form of *clacă* and a time of great traditional celebration. Rodica Drăgulescu’s daughter

married a forest ranger in Sebeș in 1995. Their wedding was a normal one for the time, however Rodica objected to its simplicity and to the disrespect of traditions. Before the communist era, weddings were a significant example of *clacă* because the entire community took part in its preparation (be it with food donations or with horses for the village teenagers who rode in front of the after-church march through the village) and the same was expected of everyone, every time. Weddings were held in one's house so the number of people invited to the actual event was limited, but invitations were also reciprocal. On the date of her marriage, there were only two horse riders (Fig.4). The story of the love between the newly espoused, a greatly esteemed custom, was not told to the guests. In addition, the wedding was held in Făgăraș in a restaurant and 500 people turned up. There was no community effort involved, neither through food contributions nor through money donations and so Rodica was justified in not helping when the next wedding took place. She thus participated indirectly and involuntarily (I suspect) in the change towards "modern", urban type weddings.



Figure 4. Florin, the host family's younger son, riding a horse for a wedding procession.

Youth, on the other hand, are more positive in their views but just as unaware. They are desperately trying to find ways to get out of the village. They usually resort to illegal methods of entering the Italian black labour market. When they do so and earn enough money abroad, they return and use it to buy flats in Făgăraș. However, they often help each other in a reciprocal manner, most of the time without their parents' knowledge. It is usually small harvest work, but is sometimes as big as the barn-building project described in the next paragraph.

The case study of the building of the barn is characteristic of the level of interaction that is now taking place in the community. The youngest son, Florin decided in April 1999 to take upon himself the responsibility of rebuilding the family barn. The old building was broken down so he called his uncle, his cousin Ovidiu, his best friend Mihai and his brother, Ionică. They tore down the

building in one day and started acquiring materials (bricks, beams, and cement). In the next couple of days, the five men, none of whom had any professional training built the walls and set the roof beams. Ovidiu and his father had to leave so Mihai, Ionică and Florin were left to finish the most difficult part of the work on their own.

Florin joined the construction team that was fixing the village school for a week and so learned the craft of setting roof tiles and daubing. He then finished the construction in a week and it was still standing when I stayed with them. In return for the services of his uncle and Ovidiu, one month later, Florin and Ionică helped them to build a new garage. There was no quantification of the work volume involved even if the garage was half the size of the barn. The story was first mentioned when talking about sports cars and I believe that even now Florin doubts that it could be called a *clacă*.

One other reason for the present state is the "reverse" dichotomization that can be observed between the two existing religious groups. After the fall of the communist regime, persecution and denial of religious affiliations ended (Vasilescu 2000:206). The Adventists have since experienced a time of flourishing in strong and supportive communities. This led Orthodox villagers to define themselves as inferior to the Adventists in the surrounding areas. I was told on several occasions that Adventists from Sebeș (closest village) came to help a newly converted gypsy family to build, paint their house and clean their field. Always referring to these exceptional examples of religious cohesion, villagers see themselves as inferior on this level. Thus they disregard the examples of work reciprocity from within their own community, which do exist, even if they are less obvious.

Conclusion

The level of reciprocity in interactions involving large volumes of work has indeed increased since the revolution, appearing to be the reverse of Kideckel's prediction. However, the continuing influence of the previous regime on the people, namely the memory of the lack of trust and the economic hardships, has affected the way in which the ancient tradition of *clacă* re-emerged, making it less obvious in its manifestations.

A final possible reason for the changes that it has undergone is the implementation of technology. Although none of the informants mentioned it, work that before communism took a week (gathering wheat) is now accomplished in a couple of hours using agricultural machines. Human labour is no longer the main component of a project; it is machinery.

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The Contributions of Applied Anthropology To Decreasing Occupational Health Hazards Among Mexican Migrant Farmworkers

Kate Fibiger

Anthropologists Thomas Arcury and Sara Quandt have researched occupational health hazards, especially pesticide exposure, among Mexican migrant farmworkers. The anthropologists initiated a community participatory health project in 1994 entitled Preventing Chemical Exposure Among North Carolina Farmworkers, PACE, which aimed to empower and educate Mexican migrant farmworkers about work-related health issues. To achieve target-community ownership of the project, the PACE team implemented a "multidomain, multimode model," which has resulted in substantial improvements in farmworker understandings of pesticide-related health risks.

Agricultural work is considered one of the most dangerous occupations in the world due to both the risk of injury when working with farm machinery, and exposure to hazardous substances. It is the latter of these two risks that is the primary concern of this paper, and more specifically, the risk of pesticide exposure to Mexican migrant workers in North Carolina. Anthropologists Thomas Arcury and Sara Quandt assessed the needs of Mexican migrant workers, and have also developed a community participatory model to aid this poor and medically neglected population. Before delving into their ground-breaking research and advocacy work, it is first imperative to gain an understanding of the pre-existing structures in the United States which implemented regulations regarding pesticide use and safety measures, most significantly the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Furthermore, a basic understanding of the negative health effects of pesticides must be explained in order to understand the context into which Arcury and Quandt worked with this Mexican migrant farmworker community.

By applying a bottom-up approach, these anthropologists were able to identify the deficiencies of the political and social structures whose policies were not culturally relevant to Mexican migrant workers. The anthropologists initiated a partnership with the community-based North Carolina Farmworkers' Project (NCFP) to create the community participatory health project entitled Preventing Chemical Exposure Among North Carolina Farmworkers, or PACE (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 569). PACE identified Mexican migrant farmworkers, "a poor and medically undeserved population for whom community participation in health research could be empowering and

culturally appropriate" (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 565). The PACE team not only conducted research and fieldwork, but also established culturally appropriate means of giving ownership of PACE to the farmworkers themselves.

Commercial agriculture is a multi-billion dollar sector of the economy in the United States, and pesticides are a major ally in increasing agricultural profits. It is estimated that US\$16 billion in crops is saved each year by the US\$4 billion investment in pesticides (Pimentel 1992: 277). Although this enables a significant increase in productivity, the use of pesticides in industrial agriculture has unfortunately resulted in a public health crisis (Thu 1998: 335). Agricultural workers, out of all occupational sectors, suffer the second-highest rate of work-related illness (Thu 1998: 336). According to a 1998 National Agricultural Workers Survey, of the 1.6 million migrant workers in the US, 77% were born in Mexico (Arcury *et al.* 2001: 57). The number of Mexican migrant farmworkers entering the US with H2A visas is growing; this allows workers to stay in the US for a specific amount of time while employed by a farmer (Arcury *et al.* 1999b: 462). The employer is required to provide workers with 35 hours of work per week, a standard wage, housing, and farm safety training (Arcury *et al.* 1999b: 462).

Previous research in the agricultural sector has shown that health threats appear to be most acute for individuals from impoverished socioeconomic circumstances (Vaughan 1993: 678). Health problems resulting from acute agrochemical exposure include: neurotoxicity, polyneuropathy, lung damage, and chemical burns of the skin and eyes (Perry and Bloom 1998: 343). Furthermore, intense and consistent exposure to pesticides is one of the factors that contributes to an increase in the occurrence of cancer among agricultural workers (Perry and Bloom 1998: 343). The agricultural workers are responsible for managing such health hazards by wearing work gloves, masks and protective clothing (Vaughan 1993: 675).

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The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has attempted to decrease the risk factor involved in pesticide exposures to farmworkers with the Worker Protection Standard (WPS). The WPS dictates that

Agricultural employers must assure untrained workers receive basic pesticide safety information before they enter the treated area on the establishment. No more than five days after their initial employment has commenced, all untrained agricultural workers must receive the complete WPS pesticide safety training (Environmental Protection Agency 1999).

It is also the responsibility of the employer to ensure such training is communicated in a language and format that workers can understand. Furthermore, it is stated that training must be provided by qualified instructors, and that opportunities for the farmworkers to ask questions must be allocated (Environmental Protection Agency 1999).

Farm health and safety in itself is not a new issue of concern in the US, but the majority of research thus far has failed to focus on the “unique needs of a migrant population whose cultural background and disenfranchised status requires special attention” (Arcury and Quandt 1998: 331). Arcury and Quandt, in their aim to understand the factors surrounding Mexican migrant worker health and safety issues, applied various methods to conduct their research. Participant observation was used to observe the migrant farmworkers, and casual and structured interviews were also conducted with individuals (Quandt *et al.* 1998: 361). By utilizing these qualitative methods, the anthropologists were able to ascertain some of the beliefs and perceptions of the migrant farmworkers that have had a profound effect on their pesticide safety measures. It was revealed that farmworkers largely relied on detecting pesticide exposure with their senses (Quandt *et al.* 1998: 362); many believed that pesticides entered their bodies through their mouth and lungs, and perceived their skin to be a protective barrier against pesticides (Quandt *et al.* 1998: 363). In fact, many pesticides are not detectable by the senses, and the skin is the primary venue through which pesticides enter the body (Quandt *et al.* 1998: 363). The farmworkers also believe that pesticide exposure is most intense in the morning, when plants are wet with pesticide spray, but it is usually pesticide residue which causes pesticide infection (Arcury *et al.* 2001: 57). A number of farmworkers also believed that the ill-effects of pesticide exposure varied according to one’s age and physical strength (Quandt *et al.* 1998: 364). They further found that farmworkers were much more deeply concerned with the short-term, acute effects of pesticide exposure, such as headache, vomiting, and nausea, than they were about the long-term effects such as cancer (Quandt *et al.* 1998: 364). A startling finding was that some farmworkers

believed that pesticides could not harm people because they only affected insects and plants (Quandt *et al.* 1998: 364).

Based on the above findings, it became evident that a more detailed assessment of Mexican migrant worker pesticide perceptions and understanding was necessary in order to formulate an effective safety program. In order to achieve this, the next step was to discern the experiences these migrants had with pesticides in Mexico, because this directly affected their work and safety behavior in the United States (Arcury *et al.* 2001: 57). Arcury and Quandt found that most of the Mexican migrant farmworkers had engaged in farming activities in Mexico (Arcury *et al.* 2001: 61). For those who had received pesticide safety training in Mexico, their instructors were mainly pesticide salesmen, family or friends (Arcury *et al.* 2001: 60). It was concluded that because pesticides are viewed as just another element of farming, they are not perceived as a health hazard (Arcury *et al.* 2001: 63). The anthropologists further noted that previous pesticide exposure in Mexico would also tamper with “biomarker” testing in the US, which is used to glean the effectiveness of safety training (Arcury *et al.* 2001: 64).

Based on their findings, the anthropologists were able to identify four interwoven themes that influence the health of Mexican migrant workers: control, economic stress, beliefs, and access to information (Arcury and Quandt 1998: 333). The definition of control includes the ability to make safety-conscious choices as well as the ability to decide one’s living arrangement and labor opportunities (Arcury and Quandt 1998: 333). The farmworker perception of having control has been linked with increased use of safety measures (Vaughan 1995: 458). Economic stress in this context pertains to the uncertainty of maintaining employment, as farmworkers will often overlook safety measures to complete their work without disturbing their employer (Arcury and Quandt 1998: 333). When comparing farmworkers who were confident of alternate employment options with farmworkers who were not, it was found that “insecure” farmworkers were less likely to report safety inadequacies at their place of work (Vaughan 1995: 471). The third theme of beliefs is significant in that “not believing [in the health hazards of pesticide exposure] becomes a mechanism for disregarding risks in the face of economic stress or lack of control” (Arcury and Quandt 1998: 333). The final theme of access to information is directly related to lack of control, because farmworkers often are not properly informed of the farm hazards and lack the empowerment needed to demand an explanation (Arcury and Quandt 1998: 333).

The anthropologists also completed an evaluation of the EPA Worker Protection Standard, using the Mexican migrant workers as their case study. In their assessment, they found that the overwhelming majority of Mexican migrant farmworkers had not been trained according to the

EPA guidelines (Arcury *et al.* 1999b: 463). Approximately a third of the workers interviewed indicated they had received training, which was most often in the form of a video, and were generally not given the opportunity to ask questions following training sessions (Arcury *et al.* 1999b: 464). Furthermore, the farmworkers indicated they had little or no knowledge about the modes of pesticide exposure, which is one of the major tenets of EPA pesticide education policy (Arcury *et al.* 1999b: 466). The anthropologists concluded that those farmworkers who had received pesticide safety training had a lower level of knowledge regarding pesticide protective measures in comparison to the expectations set out by EPA policy (Arcury *et al.* 1999b: 467).

In an attempt to find a solution to the pressing problem of Mexican migrant farmworker health and safety issues, the anthropologists suggested that the agricultural safety programs shift from the existing model which focuses solely on education, to one whereby the control and power are possessed by the farmworkers themselves (Arcury and Quandt 1998: 332). “The most powerful aspect of community participation in health intervention projects is that it forces the projects to address the health concerns of community members rather than the concerns of health professionals” (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 564). The anthropologists set out to implement an alternate model that would enhance community participation, and could also be adapted for various types of communities, especially those that lack strong political and social organization and are geographically dispersed (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 563). The lack of common organizations impedes the distribution of information as well as a stance of solidarity (and hence empowerment) among the farmworkers, a problem which is exacerbated by a widespread lack of communication (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 568). Furthermore, there is often a communication barrier between the farmworkers who speak Spanish, and the health care workers who often speak only English (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 568).

The anthropologists decided to implement what they termed a “multidomain, multimode model.” This model was incorporated into the PACE project, and provided Mexican migrant farmworkers with numerous strategies for decreasing occupational health and safety hazards. Arcury and Quandt devised modes of interaction which would increase community participation and ownership of PACE (1999a: 569). From the outset of their research, they consulted and formed a partnership with the North Carolina Farmworkers’ Project (NCFP), the community-based organization that already promoted farmworker self-advocacy in the region (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 569). The PACE collaborators then developed an advisory committee, planned community forums and public presentations, and conducted research (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 569).

It was the responsibility of the NCFP to identify and recruit interview participants, organize focus groups, conduct interviews, and play an active role in data analysis (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 571). Because the community members were playing an active role in the research and planned other intervention methods, the result was community ownership of this health project.

The goal of the advisory committee was to create a setting where farmworkers and health care workers could meet and discuss relevant health issues (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 571). It was a conscious decision of PACE not to include traditional representatives of farmworker concerns, such as government officials, because they often spoke on behalf of the farmworker community without a thorough understanding of the farmworkers needs and perceptions (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 571).

The PACE team also organized two community forums, where research findings were discussed and farmworkers had the opportunity to ask questions and/or make comments (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 572). It was imperative to the PACE team that these forums be held at a time and place that was both convenient and comfortable for the farmworkers, and based on this, forums were scheduled on Sunday afternoons in a Latino church (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 573). Beyond informing the community about PACE, these forums also provided opportunity for the project staff and farmworkers to interact, and to promote increased participation in the project (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 573).

The project presentations primarily provided information and did not directly incorporate community participation. Information was delivered through a variety of venues, including PACE newsletters written in both English and Spanish, and the distribution of flyers at public events such as community soccer games (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 573).

The anthropologists concluded that using this multidomain, multimode approach resulted in an incredible increase in Mexican migrant farmworker involvement in the PACE health project. Furthermore, by offering a plethora of avenues to information and participation, the challenges of educating and empowering this socially and geographically dispersed group were largely overcome (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 575). For it was understood at the outset that if the project was limited solely to involving the community-based organization, the NCFP, widespread and sustainable community participation would not be achieved (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 575). Formulating the advisory committee, organizing public forums and public presentations, and involving the community in the research provided opportunities for farmworker participation to expand beyond the NCFP. By implementing these different modes of interaction, it also meant that participants were not required to have an “all or nothing” involvement with PACE. Public presentations were primarily aimed at informing the least-involved members

of the Mexican migrant farmworker community. The forums attracted more involved participants, and the advisory committee allowed for very involved farmworkers to express their views (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 576).

Since this multidomain, multimode model has only recently been implemented, the anthropologists point out that further research could be done to improve on this project; future topics could include the effects of expanding farmworker involvement beyond the community-based organization (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 576). Aside from health problems, other social issues such as low education levels, should also be examined in order to gain a better understanding of their situation (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 576). A final recommendation of how PACE could expand and improve was to increase the involvement of health care workers, which would better the chances of long-term sustainability (Arcury *et al.* 1999a: 577).

All of the above-mentioned recommendations for further research would undoubtedly increase understanding and participation in addressing the health concerns of farmworkers who face occupational exposure to agricultural chemicals. Yet perhaps further advocacy work could take place by approaching the EPA. For if this governmental organization were informed of the findings of the PACE project, their Worker Protection Standard might be altered to improve the educational standards and hence the safety of farmworkers on a national level. Perhaps this suggestion is naïve and overly optimistic, yet the feats that the applied anthropologists have already accomplished with empowering the Mexican migrant farmworkers and increasing their awareness of pesticide health hazards leads one to believe that anything can happen.

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Field Notes

Palaeo-Ecological Field Notes from Porcher Island, B.C.

Duncan McLaren

This article is a visually oriented presentation of palaeo-ecological research that was undertaken on the eastern side of Hecate Strait on the North Coast of British Columbia. This field research was conducted in the summer of 2001. The purpose of this work was to obtain core and stratigraphic samples to help in determining the sea level history and past environmental conditions of the area. The field excursion is described here through photographs and excerpts taken from notes during our visit to Porcher Island.

Introduction

The study area on Porcher Island was chosen for fieldwork based on features revealed on air photos and 1:20,000 TRIM maps. The area targeted appeared from air photos to include a series of raised beach ridges lying



above the present day location of Oval Bay. A series of lakes lay between the various ridges and are clearly visible

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I was privileged to have worked with Dr. Quentin Mackie, Daryl Fedje, Trevor Orchard, and Cynthia Lake, during this field research.

on the air photos. These lakes were identified as good targets for employing a lake coring methodology.



Once we arrived on Porcher Island, it became evident that the beach ridges identified in the air photos were not situated in a gradated fashion, but mostly occurred at similar elevations with the exception of one large ridge lying along the easternmost bank of the system of lakes. This eastern ridge rose well above all of the other linear ridge type features.



The system of lakes on Porcher Island was surrounded by scrub forest, peat bogs, and wetlands. Beaver dams seemed to have raised all of the lakes in the region to their present levels. Areas that had been most recently inundated by beaver activities were clearly visible from stands of inundated trees, sometimes with green foliage. The raising of water levels by beaver activities resulted in the avoidance of shallow areas for coring as in pre-dam times these areas would have been dry(-ish) land. As most of the lakes in the study area were found to be 1.5m or less deep, this meant that few spots were found suitable for coring. Vegetation was predominated by muskeg and a low shrub layer with lodge pole pine being the most frequent conifer around the lake margins. All of

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the lakes were found to be shallow with none exceeding 2m in depth. Evidence of land fauna included whitetail deer, wolf, sand hill crane, ravens, eagles, and beaver.



June 11th, 2001

In the early evening our crew was dropped by floatplane on the shore of a small bay on the western side of Welcome Harbour, Porcher Island. From this place it was our intent to travel by canoe and portage to Oval Bay to set up our field camp.



We proceeded with this plan by portaging from Welcome Harbour southwards to a small lake. The water

level of this lake lies at 4.8m above high tide line. This lake was referred to as 'Next Lake' and is the most north-westerly lake lying to the east of Oval Bay.



We traveled south on Next Lake, and after a short portage continued south-wards on 'Haul-Out' Lake. At the southern-most end of 'Haul-Out' Lake we cached the canoes and field gear and made our way through extremely thick brush to the long gravelly beach of Oval Bay. We set up our camp in a magnificent spot, just south of a tiny point in the bay.



Using a Livingstone Corer

The most successful device used for gaining palaeo-ecological samples was the Livingstone Corer. This implement was used to gather samples from the bottom of shallow lakes and ponds where sediments have been building up over several millennia. The general technique that we employed was to stabilize two canoes in the middle of the lakes by tying them to shore and lashing them to one another. Across these two canoes a plywood platform was laid. A hole drilled in the platform allowed for a guide tube to be lowered to the bottom of the lake. The Livingstone corer was then placed into the guide tube until it reached the sediments at the bottom. At this point the core tube was opened and the corer pushed into the lake sediments. Up to 1m of sediments could be collected at a time in this manner. These sediments were then pulled up from the bottom and extruded into a core box fashioned from PVC pipe, plastic wrap, and duct tape. Each core box

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was labeled with the location of the test and the depth of deposits recovered.

If deeper samples were needed the corer could be lowered through the guide tube into the same hole, thus allowing the next meter of sediments to be sampled. Using this device and these methods we were able to recover up to 6 meters of sediments in a single sampling location.



June 13th, 2001 – Black Bog, ST ‘A’

On June 13th we canoed to the southern end of the study area. We traveled over a series of lakes all within 1.5 meters in elevation of one another. These lakes were all relatively shallow and had been dammed by beavers. We made our way to an area that appeared on air



photos to have been recently drained, possibly for agricultural purposes. Beavers had since reclaimed some of the area that appeared to be drained on the 1977 air photo, this reclaimed area was referred to as ‘Newly Made Beaver Lake’. Another area remained drained with the



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former lake basin being primarily reduced to a saturated bog. This area was referred to as 'Black Bog' and we recovered two Livingston Core samples from this bog. Between Newly Made Beaver Lake and Black Bog lay a series of drained lake channels pooled between beach ridges. Several prominent cut bank exposures in this area revealed good profiles for sampling. A profile sample was taken from one of these banks and is referred to as ST 'A'.



Black Bog was cored without the aid of canoes. Rather, we found old planks of wood and lay them out into the bog enabling us to set up a coring platform at the center of the feature. It was estimated using an altimeter that Black Bog lays only 2m above high tide line in its drained form. The first core recovered 98cm of sediments (0-98cm dbs) in one section with a clear transition from organic bog sediments to sand.



The second core was set up approximately 15m east of the first. The first sample of this core penetrated 0-66cm dbs. The second core was obstructed before completion, most likely by compacted sands. This sample penetrated to 89cm dbs and it was noted that the top 2 cm of this sample were contaminated during extraction. We moved 30cm west of this location and reinserted the coring device to 89cm. At this point we once again began cutting and recovered an additional 30cm of deposits to 119cm

dbs. This sample revealed a similar transition as that found in Black Bog sample 1. Once Black Bog 2 was completed we moved to a prominent eroded bank to the north of Black Bog and collected profile samples. The profile of ST 'A' was found to include 60cm of organic materials over brackish and then beach-like strata. The test surface elevation of ST 'A' is located 5m above high tide line.

June 14th, 2001 – C.P.

On the 14th of June we traveled to the Northeastern end of the study area with the intent of coring some higher elevation lakes. We made our way along a series of lakes to a small lake separated from the chain by a prominent rocky ridge. This lake was named CP Lake and was chosen for coring. CP Lake was estimated as being 7m above high tide line. Samples from three cores were recovered from CP Lake. Our efforts in this lake were daunted by the large amount of woody debris encountered during successive coring attempts. Fortunately, persistence paid off and we succeeded in recovering a core sample with a fine transition from organic silts to grayish-blue silty clay.

June 15th, 2001 – S.B.

This was to be our last day on Porcher Island. In the morning we packed up our camp and portaged all of the gear back to Welcome Harbour. With this task complete we had a few hours until the floatplane was to arrive. During this time, we undertook a couple of tasks. A crew was sent to measure the elevation of CP Lake above high tide line. Another crew took profile samples in the Staging Lake area. In the afternoon our floatplane arrived. We loaded our gear, lashed down the canoes to the plane's floats, and flew back to Prince Rupert to continue our research on other islands in the area.



Reviews

Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuuchahnulth, Ditidaht, and Makah

Alan D. McMillan. UBC Press: Vancouver. xii + 252 pages. ISBN (paperback) 0-7748-0701-6. 1999.

Reviewed by Trevor J. Orchard

Prior to the publication of this monograph, the major archaeological overview for the region of the Southern Wakashan people was Mitchell's (1990) chapter in Suttles' Northwest Coast volume in the Smithsonian's Handbook of North American Indians series. Mitchell's summary incorporated purely archaeological data from three excavation projects, namely those at Yuquot, Hesquiat Harbor, and Shoemaker Bay, all on the central west coast of Vancouver Island. Based primarily material from Yuquot, in Nootka Sound, Mitchell (1990) defined the West Coast culture type as representing cultural stability or homogeneity since 3000 BC, with relatively little change in subsistence or technology. Since the writing of Mitchell's overview, however, a wealth of additional archaeological data has been collected from the Nuuchahnulth, Ditidaht and Makah areas, and an updated

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review of the heritage of the Southern Wakashan peoples was overdue. With greater than 30 years of archaeological and ethnographic experience among the Nuuchahnulth, McMillan is uniquely suited to write such an update, and he provides one of the most well written, comprehensive culture historical accounts that has yet been published for the Northwest Coast.

Perhaps one of the greatest strengths of McMillan's book lies in its comprehensive use of all available sources of evidence on the prehistory and history of the West Coast people, including information from oral traditions, ethnohistoric accounts, ethnographic descriptions, historical linguistic reconstructions, and historic sources, as well as archaeological data. Following Trigger (1991), McMillan criticises the ahistorical approaches that have often dominated discussions of the history of First Nations peoples prior to European contact, and he specifically criticises Mitchell (1990) for his portrayal of the unchanging culture of the Nuuchahnulth. Espousing Trigger's (1991) concept of "holistic archaeology", McMillan argues in favour of the use of all sources of information on the history of First Nations peoples, allowing for a more rounded view of the dynamic nature of this history.

McMillan's approach is outlined in the first two chapters of the book. Chapter One provides an introduction to the book, highlighting the fact that the west coast of Vancouver Island was long an archaeological unknown, only recently experiencing increased archaeological investigation. The introductory section also outlines Trigger's development of an holistic archaeology, and reveals McMillan's preference for such an approach. This chapter further provides a linguistic and ethnographic overview and characterization of the Southern Wakashan people. Particular emphasis is given to the Toquaht and neighbouring groups in Barkley Sound, as this region has been the primary focus of much of McMillan's work over recent years. Given the relatively recent inception of archaeological research in the Southern Wakashan region, a variety of alternative approaches and alternative data sources contributed to theories of the Nuuchahnulth past. These earlier approaches, including oral historical studies, historical linguistics, and ethnographic and anthropological theorising, are outlined and summarised in the second chapter. Early archaeological work is also outlined, including Mitchell's definition of the West Coast culture, which McMillan criticises as masking the constantly changing or dynamic nature of Nuuchahnulth culture.

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A history of archaeological research in the Nuuchahnulth, Ditidaht and Makah areas is provided in the third chapter. Prior to 1966 the region was virtually unknown archaeologically, but in that year major archaeological projects began at the sites of Yuquot and Ozette. A number of archaeological projects have subsequently been conducted, though the region still suffers from a relative dearth of archaeological data, with major archaeological excavations being limited to the Yuquot, Hesquiat Harbor, and Toquaht projects in Nuuchahnulth territory and the Ozette and Hoko River projects in Makah territory. Additional archaeological research in the region has largely been limited to site survey and small scale excavations.

The remainder of the book represents McMillan's synthesis of the available archaeological, ethnographic, oral historic, ethnohistoric, and linguistic data into a unified account of the culture history of the Nuuchahnulth, Ditidaht and Makah. This begins in Chapter Four with a discussion of the period from the earliest evidence of human occupation of the region to approximately 2000 BP. The oldest archaeological deposits in the region are from Yuquot, and are dated to roughly 4200BP. Undated intertidal and surface finds, however, may precede the Yuquot occupation, and McMillan compares these finds to Old Cordilleran and Microblade tradition assemblages from elsewhere on the coast. Geological processes in the region are briefly reviewed, and may account for the poor visibility of earlier sites. Though archaeological remains from Yuquot do demonstrate continuity of occupations over perhaps 4000 years, other early deposits from Shoemaker Bay, Little Beach, and Ch'uumat'a show affinities with Locarno Beach assemblages, suggesting later population replacement or cultural assimilation in the region. This is also evidenced in linguistic and oral historical data summarized by McMillan. Generally, this early period of West Coast occupation shows the early establishment of aspects of the ethnographic Southern Wakashan pattern, demonstrating highly maritime adaptations and some evidence of the development of status differentiation.

Chapter Five follows directly from the previous chapter, considering the period from 2000 BP to 200 BP, ending at the time of first European contact. This period is represented by more archaeological sites and more complete data sets, allowing consideration of social and ideological dimensions of West Coast culture, in addition to technological and economic aspects, leading to the creation of "ethnographies of the past." The increased number of sites evident in this period is interpreted as representing population increase, which may in turn be linked to the development of active whaling, which is discussed in some detail. McMillan's emphasis on an holistic approach is particularly evident in his discussions of aspects of social organization, including warfare, trade, and status distinctions, and ideology or cosmology, as

these cultural characteristics are only represented by scarce archaeological evidence, if any, and thus rely on other sources for clarification. This is exemplified by McMillan's discussion of trade. Nuuchahnulth territory is known through ethnographic accounts to be one of the major sources for the widely traded dentalium shells, though these shells are very poorly represented archaeologically.

Regional variations in artifact assemblages within the West Coast area are also evident in archaeological materials from the past 2000 years, again contrasting with the homogeneity described by Mitchell (1990). Examples of this variability include a significantly greater proportion of ground stone artifacts from the more northerly sites (Yuquot and Hesquiat) contrasted with an overwhelming dominance of bone and antler artifacts at more southerly sites (T'ukw'aa, Ch'uumat'a, and Ozette), and the continued uniqueness of the Shoemaker Bay site compared to other West Coast sites. Despite this variability and the distinctiveness of Shoemaker Bay, however, there is a tendency in the post-2000 BP period for more southern West Coast sites, including Ch'uumat'a, to resemble the contemporaneous deposits from Yuquot. This is argued to represent a southern movement of the Wakashan culture, spreading into Barkley Sound by 2000 BP and later moving across Juan de Fuca Strait into the Makah region. The relatively late establishment of Wakashan culture on the Olympic Peninsula suggested by this model contradicts the arguments of Croes (1989), who suggests, based on the analysis of basketry from the Hoko River wet site, that a Wakashan presence is evident at Hoko River by 3000 BP.

The final two chapters of the book provide an account of the historic period and a description of the contemporary Nuuchahnulth, Ditidaht and Makah. European contact was first made in 1774 in the study area, and was followed by the warfare and disease epidemics that characterize the contact period throughout the Northwest Coast and the Americas as a whole. Population decrease from these factors, as well as economic incentives resulting from the maritime fur trade, resulted in amalgamation of local groups into the larger political units witnessed ethnographically. This process is described in detail for Barkley Sound and Nootka Sound, where political amalgamation is argued to have begun prior to European contact. Of particular interest in larger Northwest Coast theoretical discussions is McMillan's argument that the control of larger territories by smaller political units that occurred in the historic period resulted in the ethnographic pattern of seasonal rounds. The dynamic nature of West Coast culture during this period leads McMillan to caution that ethnographic records may be misleading and as such other sources should also be considered, though temporally persistent cultural features such as technologies recovered archaeologically may be interpreted through ethnographic analogy. The final chapter provides a brief description of the recent history

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and current state of the West Coast groups, emphasizing the resistance of the aboriginal cultures in the face of attempts at assimilation and cultural suppression.

Generally, McMillan provides a very well organized, well written, and well illustrated account of the archaeology and general cultural history of the Nuuchahnulth, Ditidaht, and Makah. The interest that McMillan generates and the very readable nature of the writing will appeal to the specialist and the non-specialist alike, while the exhaustive coverage of the subject matter and the equally exhaustive list of references will be of particular use to students of West Coast culture. Furthermore, the general themes and issues discussed by McMillan as well as the methodologies employed are tied in to the larger Northwest Coast picture, and thus are of interest to those working elsewhere on the Northwest Coast and beyond. Continuing work of McMillan and his colleagues, such as the current Tseshah Archaeological Project (eg. Frederick *et al.* 2001), will continue to provide additional archaeological data for the region. As such, I look forward to further publications from McMillan.

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