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FROM THE FIELD

Structures for Environmental Action

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This article develops a typology of what we term "structures for action"—strategies, mechanisms, and means—used by local environmental groups to facilitate actions such as lifestyle shifts, civic protest, and environmental preservation. Based on data from nineteen groups in several states, we distinguish between *internal* structures that facilitate action for members of the groups and *external* structures that facilitate action among nonmembers and other groups. Within both internal and external structures, we identify three dimensions: knowledge, meaning, and praxis. Our typology of structures for action is designed to stimulate further research and to be useful for environmental groups, as well as for other social issue-oriented local groups that seek to be more effective.

Introduction

Local groups are active players in many arenas of sustainability and environmental action in the United States and abroad (Edwards 2005, Hawken 2007, Mitchell et al. 1992, Taylor 2002). Groups vary greatly in size and in ideologies, orientations, motives, background, and perspective (Cole 1992), but have made

significant and growing impacts on public life and awareness of environmental issues in many areas (Barlett 2002, Edwards 2005, Kitchell et al. 2000, Taylor 2002). Enabling this effectiveness is what Stevenson and colleagues describe as mobilizing structures, "the forms that social movement organizations take and the tactics that they engage in order to communicate a message and to press for political change" (Stevenson et al. 2007: 37). We use the term "structures for action" to refer to the organizational strategies, venues for participation, objects, and messages that local environmental groups employ to facilitate environmental action among their members, as well as among members of governmental agencies, business, and the general public (Stevenson et al. 2007: 37-8). Using data from a multi-year, multi-site research project and our personal experiences in working in and with environmental groups, we examine thirteen structures—strategies, mechanisms, and means—that assist people to take and continue action, whether as individuals or as members of the group.

The study of local environmental groups recognizes the importance of "multiple environmental identities" for group members (MacNaughten and Urry 1995: 216) and builds on dissatisfaction with the traditional trident of "litigation, lobbying, and technical evaluation" in understanding the broad range of organized efforts to protect and restore the environment (Cole 1992: 635 n.46). Less conventional channels of political action have drawn attention (Dryzek and Lester 1995: 328-29), but few studies have explored the operational functioning of local environmental groups (*cf.* Moberg 2001). Substantial research has examined individual attitudes (position, orientation, or bearing indicating an action, feeling, mood), values (relative worth, desirability, importance), and behaviors with respect to the environment (e.g., Aronson 1993, Dunlap 1995, Hansis 1995, Kempton et al. 1995, Kushins and Brisman 2005, Lam and Chen 2006, Paolisso and Maloney 2000, Ryan and Bernard 2006, Tanner 1980). Research that has focused on organizations either has considered *whether* (but not *how*) organizations have contributed to the development of environmental concern (Palmer 1993, Chawla 1998) or has been conducted at the macro level with the concentration on large, national organizations—their genesis, development, and interactions with each other (Costain and Lester 1995, Gottlieb 1993, Ingram et al. 1995, Shabecoff 1993).

The local environmental groups that form the basis of our work are small and medium-sized, issue-specific or place-specific, single-chapter organizations, such as watershed alliances and citizen groups. Though mainstream environmental organizations, such as the Sierra Club, were part of the original sample, we focus less on their work here since they are large, multi-issue, multi-chapter environmental law, policy, and advocacy organizations with a regional, national, or international focus.

In this paper, we take the local environmental group as our unit of analysis and separate the structures for action we found into two categories. *Internal* structures build the ability of individuals within the group to act. These actions may occur in their home lives, work lives, or in an even broader public arena. Physical structures

such as t-shirts or baseball caps, as well as group dynamics that build trust and confidence, help potentiate the action of the group's members. *External* structures support actions of individuals outside of the group by offering the physical means for nonmembers to take action (such as by placing recycling bins in public spaces), disseminating information to the public (and thereby bridging governments and citizens), and by coordinating legal and political action (such as publicizing and facilitating attendance at hearings and meetings or seeking and gathering plaintiffs for a lawsuit challenging a governmental act or omission).

To be sure, a fair amount of overlap exists: some internal structures can extend outward beyond the group; some external structures can help attract new members, who then strengthen the internal structures and help generate new internal and external ones. Despite the occasional blurry lines, we argue that the concept of "structures for action" can serve as a useful approach to understand how local environmental groups foster new behaviors and play a dynamic role in cultural change and political struggle with respect to the environment. We also hope this analysis will be useful for groups that seek to strengthen their actions.

After a note about methods, discussion of internal and external structures begins with a description of the Rock Creek Watershed Alliance, where we argue that the creation of a local environmental group serves both as a structure in and of itself, as well as a step towards the formation of other structures. After briefly sketching the genesis, development, and growth of this one group, we turn to three dimensions of environmental action that help us to understand both the internal and external structures we will present. We label these dynamic and interactive dimensions "knowledge," "meaning," and "praxis" and present brief examples for illustration. We note that the identification of a particular environmental issue or problem can lead to group formation, information collection, expertise development, and further problem identification—all facets or components of the "knowledge" dimension. Though each structure is presented separately, they may interact. For example, physical structures for action, such as wearing a baseball cap or displaying a yard sign, can cross dimensions by serving as an action, disseminating information, strengthening attachment, clarifying values, and fostering identity.

Turning then to external structures for action, we link the three dimensions of knowledge, meaning, and praxis to actions that spread beyond the group itself. Here we note how the content of information disseminated to those outside the group or the nature of actions undertaken by the local environmental group can influence the local environmental group's reputation and credibility, affecting its internal strength, recruitment, and ability to achieve its goals. We conclude with some comments on how this typology of structures can stimulate further avenues of research.

Methods

This analysis began with a comprehensive study led by Willett Kempton and Dorothy Holland of local environmental groups in North Carolina and the Delmarva Peninsula (a large peninsula occupied by portions of three states—

Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia—and bordered on the west by the Chesapeake Bay, and on the east by the Delaware River, Delaware Bay, and Atlantic Ocean).[1] Local environmental groups in these two areas were surveyed, revealing close to 500 community-based (i.e., non-institutional) environmental groups, as well as 120 high school groups (Kempton et al. 2001). These groups conduct a variety of activities to affect environmental practice and policy, including political action, education, land acquisition, habitat restoration, consumption management, and local monitoring. Sizes of the groups vary widely; of the 186 groups in North Carolina that reported their group sizes, the number of members ranges from 6 to 55,000. About a third of those reporting (46 groups) have fewer than 100 members, and only 10 groups in the North Carolina study have more than 10,000. For eighteen groups from the total sample (see Table 1), individual members and leaders were interviewed by Bunting-Howarth and Kempton, along with multiple research assistants.[2] Participant-observation included attendance at meetings and protests, visits to local fairs and festivals, and semi-structured interviews. We draw for this analysis primarily from the Delmarva Peninsula and North Carolina study, supplementing it with Barlett's Georgia experiences. All individuals are named here using pseudonyms.

Establishing a Group

Local environmental groups are formed from diverse motives and avenues of inspiration (MacNaughten and Urry 1995, Moberg 2001), but there are some common phases of the formation of such groups, and these phases link to the structures for action that have emerged in our research. The example of the Rock Creek Watershed Alliance in Atlanta illustrates a simple group formation process. This small group began in the context of much publicity and litigation about Atlanta's water quality treatment and combined sewer overflows. A node of four people began to get to know one another and to discover mutual interests in a local creek, in spreading awareness of environmental issues concerning water, and in fostering healthier water quality in the region. Through several meetings, the decision was made to create a new watershed alliance group. The decision flowed from information about other watershed alliances that had formed in the area and the benefits to them, but also from the enjoyment of face-to-face interactions and the building of trust. Subsequently, group members explored the ecosystem of the creek and received training in water quality testing provided by the county. These enjoyable activities built social capital among the members.

Closely allied with this social process was information sharing, as members pooled knowledge and clarified diverse points of view. Questions such as how to measure water quality, which homeowner actions have what effects on water quality, and what legislation and local ordinances are relevant were all engaged to develop a new body of knowledge and a new vocabulary. As the group developed and attracted new members, common value stances, attitudes, and frameworks of understanding emerged, although divergent values, attitudes, and worldviews also emerged and were accommodated. This dimension of group formation built shared meaning, along with shared knowledge. The collegiality, opportunities to exchange information, shared experiences, and common frames of meaning all supported loyalty to the group and a willingness to take action on its behalf.

The founders then moved to build more legitimacy for the alliance by choosing a name and a logo and developing a descriptive pamphlet. A mission statement was hammered out in larger meetings, with new members that were attracted by publicity efforts. A more formal structure for the group, including officers, a dues structure, and non-profit registration with the state, ensued. Street signs and flyers advertised public meetings, which in turn led to various activities: water quality testing each month, creek cleanups twice a year, park land acquisition, removal of invasive species, and public education efforts.

Embedded in this quick history of the emergence of a local environmental group are three intersecting dimensions: knowledge, meaning, and praxis. This tripartite distinction draws from the work on place attachment developed by Low and Altman (1992; see also Barlett 2005) and illuminates different dimensions in our review of structures for action. Information-sharing, for example, builds the group, but does not necessarily bring with it emotional ties or deeper meaning, either felt towards the group or towards the creek (see Louv 2006: 1). Knowledge can remain separate from meaning (as well as from action). Meaning, however, can emerge from factual knowledge or it may exist separately. The affective dimension is often fostered by the activities of the group—especially by seeing a great blue heron feeding in the creek, in the heart of the city (and near one's home). Emotional attachment or meaning may also precede the scientific information learned from the watershed alliance group. Thus, knowledge and meaning are separable, but often linked.

Action can likewise be seen as an outcome of sufficient knowledge, together with the values and ethical stances that support mobilization to action (Ajzen 1991, Blake 2001, Dietz et al. 1998, Oreg and Katz-Gerro 2006). But such a sequence is not essential; action can sometimes come first (Kitchell et al. 2000). For example, the father of a Boy Scout whose troop committed to a creek cleanup became involved in activities of the Rock Creek Watershed Alliance out of a desire for time with his son and with neither knowledge nor affective meaning attached to the creek work. Likewise, a teenager headed to the mall may value her friend's companionship sufficiently to be persuaded to attend a community hearing or rally instead, thereby becoming exposed to new environmental knowledge and meaning. Many are the stories of later leaders who began their careers through some unexpected action,

without benefit of knowledge or meaning with regard to a particular cause, both of which were developed subsequently.

With this overview of the three dimensions, we turn now to the nine structures we have identified that foster action among members of local environmental groups.

Structures to Action Internal to the Group

1. The group itself provides a structure to action in several different ways. First, face-to-face interactions can generate trust within the group and provide a container or support system, which can be crucial if the group coalesces around a controversial issue. At a more basic level, the group's name, mission, and logo contribute to a sense of belonging to an organized effort. Of course, groups may find this social process an occasion for conflict and dissention as well as creativity, but in order for the group to survive, some degree of positive social capital must emerge, and this fosters action.

We identify two additional ways that groups provide structures to action, each of which revolves around the *knowledge* dimension identified above.

2. Knowledge creation and then dissemination are usually critical early steps. Once an interacting group has been created, it shares knowledge and usually seeks to gather more. In Delaware, groups of citizens called EcoTeams formed to pursue lifestyles with lower environmental impact. Beginning with reading about possible personal behavior and lifestyle changes, group members chose individual experiments in altering daily actions. Members described their experiences in personal narratives at subsequent meetings, and these discussions created group knowledge about successful strategies to change lifestyles to reduce environmental impact. Dissemination of knowledge within local groups often involves emails and websites, newsletters, pamphlets, posters, news articles and other means of sharing information gathered with others in the group (and, of course, with others outside the group, to be discussed later). For the EcoTeams, dissemination took place through a newsletter to a larger group of members and in later team meetings.

3. Individual expertise is fostered through the group's activities, often by common readings, discussions, lectures or videos. Such events allow members to practice using the information they are learning and master the unique vocabulary of the issues they address. The HazTrak Coalition in North Carolina, for example, a group that monitored potential environmental hazards, expanded the group's expertise by recruiting as members of the board of directors different stakeholders, such as farmers and owners of recycling companies. They also invited biologists and chemists to provide expert opinions to educate the group in preparation for opposition to environmentally harmful activities. In this way, the expertise of members was strengthened, and the group as a whole became a clearinghouse for critical scientific information on environmental issues. Regardless of whether the information gleaned from such interactions, meetings, and "classes" contributes to the development of new structures, the simple acquisition of such information is crucial. Individuals begin to associate what they have learned with the local

environmental group, strengthening their commitment to the organization and interest in the issue(s).

We identify three other structures to action that are more related to the *affective, meaning-making component* of the local environmental group.

4. Problem recognition is a transition that occurs in an individual's understanding of a local situation, when the situation is redefined as something that requires action and acquires new meanings (Azjen 1991, Dietz et al. 1998). As group members become more educated about issues, the disjuncture between their values or worldview of how things ought to be and their perceptions of local realities leads them to discern a need to act. Simply defining an issue as a problem can be a helpful step toward action. For example, Rock Creek Watershed Alliance members became aware that the creekbed was widening and trees were falling in at a growing rate, as a result of runoff from impervious surfaces. Water quality testing also showed damage to stream habitats from erosion and scouring in heavy rains. This problem was addressed with the development of some guidelines for homeowners to help them adopt new land use practices in their yards to reduce runoff and allow more water to penetrate the soil during heavy rains. The watershed alliance also pointed interested citizens to the pamphlets and websites of another group that provided guidance for "rain gardens" that create boggy patches to slow runoff.

Development of new messages, rhetoric, and rationales are also ways that the group supports action by articulating and supporting values, attitudes, and understandings of the environment as a whole or the issues in question. The group's messages provide new interpretations or refine existing interpretations, thus supporting a new system of meaning. Kegan's (1994) work suggests that revised worldviews in this way foster coherent actions on behalf of others and reduce the mental stress of coping with an imperfect world. Articulating compelling rationales for action and rhetorics that express common values also attracts new members to the group.

5. Peer support is another important way that the group fosters action. Encouragement to speak out or adopt some new daily behavioral practice is crucial for many individuals to act in ways that make both an objective and subjective impact. For example, one member of an EcoTeam in Delaware told the group that taking her own reusable grocery bags to shop made her feel uncomfortable, because others would "look at her funny." When this individual heard of others' similar behaviors and experiences, she came to consider her actions in light of the group's goals and values. She began to experience greater comfort in the action and greater confidence in the importance of continuing it. Especially when the group's goals require members to violate societal norms, such as trust for authority and passivity in the public arena (see generally Corral-Verdugo and Frias-Armenta 2006), peer support and empathy can be crucial to developing the personal courage to act.

One group provided peer support verbally in public contexts. In a public hearing about expansion of neighborhood incinerators, they called out "Uh-huh!" and "Say it!" to encourage each other. Members of another group were called "rednecks" at

a public event, their opinions dismissed by local officials as ignorant and backward. At their next public meeting, group members showed their solidarity by all wearing red bandannas around their necks. Audible and visible cues to the group provided emotional support in their efforts.

6. A new identity is a final way that groups foster the actions of individuals. As certain frames and meanings coalesce, and as a group begins to attract new members and redefine local reality, an individual may come to develop a new identity that is supported and maintained by the group. The individual's new identity can subsequently support action both for other individuals and for the group as a whole. An example is one farmer in North Carolina who opposed a hog facility seeking a permit to locate next to her farm. Through talking at a HazTrak Coalition workshop with self-identified environmentalists, this individual came to redefine herself as more than just a farmer, but also as an environmentalist. The HazTrak Coalition, she said, "explained to me that everything I was doing was basically what an environmentalist is, because I care so much about the environment." Subsequently, at a meeting with United States Department of Agriculture inspectors, this farmer spoke out against disparaging comments about environmentalists and supported her remarks by claiming the identity both of farmer and of environmentalist. Other people in the room then spoke out and expressed similar sentiments. Thus, the common ground offered by HazTrak helped her adopt a new identity that encompassed dimensions of her caring for the land, which facilitated her public actions.

The identity of the Nanticoke Watershed Preservation Committee as an environmental conservation organization was reinforced (and the range of actions the group would tackle was clarified) when they decided that trash pickup along the riverbank was an appropriate activity to support better water quality. Concerns about increased traffic from a new industry, however, were held not to be consistent with the group's identity, and that action was rejected. Thus, collective identities serve as supports and boundaries, as individuals navigate the immense numbers of concerns that can claim their time.

Turning now to praxis, the concrete ways that groups foster action, we identify three other structures to action.

7. Physical structures, such as baseball caps and t-shirts, are common among environmental groups. These visible carriers of the group's identity, logo, or message help legitimize the willingness to act. They may operate in all three dimensions: conveying information, articulating important values and meanings, and signaling appropriate action. The Neuse River Foundation members wear blue baseball caps to public meetings to show support for environmentally friendly policies. Likewise, commercial fishers and their business allies in North Carolina display blue ribbons, wear blue caps, or North Carolina Fisheries Association t-shirts to show solidarity. These visible cues provide an outward expression of their cohesion and their commitment around measures being proposed, which may further strengthen the bonds between existing group members as well as attract new ones.

8. Financial or technical support is another tangible way that groups foster action. Office space, grant funding, access to GIS mapping, or other physical resources can shift a vague willingness to do something into a coherent effort. Watershed alliances commonly provide water quality testing equipment and chemicals, which make possible the collection of scientific data. In some instances, watershed alliances have offered access to computers to enable contributions to a statewide database on water quality.

9. Telling stories is a final and particularly effective means of potentiating action within the groups studied. Stories convey information, reinterpret meanings, and offer examples of successful action (Caduto 1998, Kitchell et al. 2000). Groups can certainly be effective with a dry, science-based approach to their missions, but the vitality and optimism found in some of the most successful groups is fostered by storytelling. HazTrak board members take turns at meetings telling their individual accounts of how they went from being upset about an issue to actually doing something about it. In one case, Linda recalled feeling helpless about a rubble landfill coming to her area. At first, she did not know to whom to turn, but she learned how to contact her county commissioners and how to make a case to the county; ultimately the site of the facility was blocked. Such stories communicate possible avenues for effective action and provide encouragement that success is possible. They allow individuals to identify with the speaker and overcome personal hesitations. Storytelling can also provide peer support, as with EcoTeam members who relate their personal experiences in reducing consumption, thereby encouraging other group members also to change consumption patterns.

These nine structures to action each affect different stages of an individual's mobilization to act. Though environmental actions emerge from a diverse (and punctuated!) series of steps, and vary greatly from individual to individual and within the same individual at different points of time and in different contexts, structures that support individual action by the local environmental group can be seen at various stages in the process of mobilization. A particular action requires some knowledge of the issue—fostered by the information created and shared within the group—which may lead to a well-developed expertise on the issue. A decision to act also generally assumes a more-or-less coherent value stance (attitudes, worldviews, or personal philosophy) on an issue, such that one concludes the action is desirable. Information about particular options to redress the problem must be combined with some of the skills needed—such as the ability to write a formal letter or to speak publicly or to organize a meeting. The group fosters an awareness and perhaps development of individual skills through its peer support and then galvanizes action through its physical structures.

Structures to Action External to the Group

Whereas the *internal* structures discussed above facilitate environmental action by individual members as members of the local environmental group, *external* structures support action outside of the group by offering means for nonmembers to take action. The same "dimensions" apply in this section as in the previous section, but the structures manifest themselves in different ways.

1. Physical Structures, such as public recycling bins, encourage new behaviors not only to group members, but also to community members who may not be aware of the group. The Newark High School Nature Society lobbied school administrators to place recycling bins in more numerous and more convenient locations. This provided a structure to reduce waste for all who moved through the school facility. Such a project can increase recycling behaviors with little additional knowledge, if students simply use the bins as convenient waste receptacles. Alternatively, the bins can convey both greater knowledge about recycling and the value of reducing the waste stream. In this way, bins can function as a means of *external* (as well as *internal*) knowledge dissemination (#2 above). They can also provide a form of peer support (#5 above): an individual seeing the bins may feel inspired or more confident to recycle at home even if he/she does not have anything to deposit in the bins at the moment of encounter. Likewise, many watershed alliances stencil painted fish logos near street storm drains, together with a warning against dumping trash or paint, since the site "drains to stream." Such a logo conveys powerful environmental information and may assist individuals in making other connections between their behaviors and their ecological footprints. On the other hand, they may be read as simply a legal warning against dumping paint or chemicals in the street. Both structures to action, however, regardless of what knowledge or meaning is conveyed to the passerby, do intrude on previous habits and offer an opportunity for change, both in behavior and in awareness.

2. Group networking is another way in which organizations contribute to the development of environmental concern and action by linking groups and facilitating communication across different communities of knowledge (Jasanoff 1997). Some local environmental groups attempt to *bridge the knowledge and expertise* of a state or federal agency with that of the local community. The Delaware Nature Society's Stream Watch program, for example, created a database of information on the health of Delaware's streams. Although sponsored by the Delaware Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Control, the data in the Delaware Nature Society's database were gathered by coordinated efforts of local community volunteers from the group and subsequently by members of other local environmental groups, such as the Newark High School Nature Society, the White Clay Creek Watershed Alliance, and the Nanticoke Watershed Preservation Committee.

Such bridgework among local groups and other agencies may be essential to the group's success and may forge common ground, but it may also serve confrontational purposes. In some instances, the local environmental group may simply function to *transmit information*, such as a new policy or practice that the state is attempting to try or implement. Green Delaware, a group concerned about new power plants and the status of clean-up efforts to reduce emissions from energy generation, gathered and publicized information by attending regulatory agency hearings and monitoring energy companies' plans and performance. The local group need not articulate a particular stance, but may simply *facilitate the flow of information* from the government or corporation to the people of the

region. In other instances, the group may function as somewhat of a *watchdog*, sounding the alarm once the state, federal, or corporate entity attempts to undertake an action of which the local environmental group disapproves. Here, the local group disseminates information, but also draws a distinction between state-sponsored action/inaction and local environmental group-sponsored action/ interaction. The HazTrak Coalition, for example, monitored potential hazardous waste deposit sites and reported law violations, publicizing each case, whether it involved governmental action/inaction or private companies. In the context of environmental justice, some local environmental groups *built networks with mainstream environmental organizations* with expertise in social justice and civil rights issues in order to build a broader movement or mobilization. In these ways— by bridging the knowledge and expertise of a state or federal agency with that of the local community; transmitting information that the state is attempting to try or implement; enabling and improving the flow of information; serving as a watchdog; and building linkages with mainstream environmental organizations—the local environmental groups effectively present multiple paths of environmental action to a broad community of nonmembers and members of other groups, facilitating their environmental action goals and/or building their membership base.

   3. Legal/Political structures to action: Most U.S. environmental law grants administrative agencies significant discretion in implementing particular legislation and provides interested parties with the opportunity to engage with these agencies in rulemaking. This engagement may include critiquing environmental impact statements, commenting on proposed regulations, participating in scientific advisory committees, providing data and information for agencies, and testifying at administrative hearings.

   For example, opportunities for public comment are required under the Coastal Zone Management Act, Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act, Endangered Species Act, Federal Land Policy Management Act, the Multiple Use and Sustained Yield Act, National Forest Management Act, and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, among others. These comments are not simply *pro forma*. The Resource Conservation and Recovery Act contains provisions for public comment and encourages the public to report to the Environmental Protection Agency any exposure to hazardous waste at treatment, storage, and disposal facilities. The Federal Land Policy Management Act requires the Bureau of Land Management to provide opportunities for the public participate in the formation and, when appropriate, revision, of plans and programs relating to the management of public lands. As a last resort, most of these statutes grant interested parties the opportunity to sue administrative agencies that fail to fulfill their legal duties (Beierle and Cayford 2002, Brisman 2007, Cole 1992, Mitchell et al. 1992).

   Environmental groups differ with respect to the types of public participation and environmental action in which they engage, as well as the stages in the legislative process. Some groups take an early, active and eager role in the comment process of a draft environmental impact statement; other groups enter later on, litigating

to challenge an agency's failure to consider public comments on the draft impact statement. Because of the cost and expertise required, local environmental groups may favor letter-writing campaigns to legislators, participation at public hearings, and other efforts at broad mobilization, while mainstream environmental organizations may opt for the familiar strategies of "litigation, lobbying, and technical evaluation" (Cole 1992, 635 n.46), mentioned at the outset of this paper.

Although outside the scope of this article, we note that direct action, legal and illegal, can also be part of political structures to action. Unlike the "environmentalist center," such as the Sierra Club and the National Resources Defense Council, which favor "conventional channels of political action" (Dryzek and Lester 1995, 328-29), more radical groups such as Greenpeace, Earth First! and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) prefer direct action (Manes 1990, Rosebraugh 2004, Scarce 1990). When group members chain themselves to logging equipment, block access to forests or ports, or destroy vivisection labs or SUV dealerships, their actions cross from the legal to the illegal realm. While such direct action obviously can serve to inspire and educate others to act (see Brisman 2008, 2009a), it can also serve as a means of knowledge dissemination, facilitating law-abiding environmental action in others. Finally, illegal environmental behavior may serve to strengthen the group identity of law-abiding local environmental groups, who can better delineate their mission goals and structures in comparison to more radical groups.

4. Reputation: As a group develops expertise and shares it publicly, it develops credibility with external entities such as local corporations or governmental agencies. Such a reputation supports the future actions of individual members and makes them more effective, while also enhancing recruitment to the group. Particularly in situations requiring scientific testimony, presentations of alternative accounts of current history (see #9 above), or disputes of fact, the past actions of a group can lighten the burden of current actions. An environmental group that has carried out past successful lawsuits or regulatory appeals is particularly well positioned to gain attention when it raises a new issue. Zoning meetings or interactions with government officials or corporate attorneys can be made very difficult when the reputation of the group is poor or not yet established. A strong reputation makes the group's comments and recommendations more legitimate to powerful actors on the local level. For example, the Delaware Nature Society recruits current and former government and industry employees to their advocacy committee to improve the group's understanding of governmental regulations and procedures and the environmental damage mitigation techniques used in their opposition of commercial, large-scale hog farms and rubble landfills.

Conclusion

Much of the research on environmental organizations has been conducted at the macro level with the concentration on large, national organizations. Research on local environmental groups has tended to center on *whether* (but not *how*) organizations have contributed to the development of environmental concern.

Taking the local environmental group as our unit of analysis, we used data from nineteen local environmental groups in North Carolina, Georgia, and the Delmarva Peninsula, and engaged in participant observation of their meetings and events. We identify both internal and external structures for action to facilitate engagement by their members and by other local citizens. Both internal and external structures contain three dimensions of environmental action: knowledge, emotion/affect, and practice.

In outlining thirteen structures, we have explored a typology for *how* organizations have contributed to the development of environmental concern. While our data have enabled us to distinguish organizational capacities, strategies to build participation, and new supports for identity, our data are insufficient to assess which structures are more effective. Although *problem recognition* was vital to the formation of the Rock Creek Watershed Alliance and *peer support* integral to the vitality of the EcoTeam in Delaware, the nature of each group (i.e., the issue or problem around which it forms or orients itself) may preclude some structures or make others more successful, and thus future study will be necessary to determine patterns of efficacy.

As activist readers and researchers explore further the intersections and overlaps of these structures, we expect that some groups will use a wider menu of structures and find them very effective. For other groups, a more limited palette will increase the likelihood of success. There may be principles or properties of the above-mentioned structures that affect the nature of their interaction; likewise, there may be a tipping point—a number or combination of structures that no local environmental group can support.

Finally, our paper suggests, but does not dictate, a temporal sequence to the formation of structures. For some groups and individuals, the dimension of affect will precede knowledge. For others, it will be the opposite. And for still other cases, some local action may be undertaken before the local group is even formed. But *physical structures* are unlikely to precede *group formation* and for some individuals—especially those involved in establishing the group—the physical structures will represent a logical continuation of *problem recognition*. For newcomers to the issues, we expect that the physical structures will trigger problem recognition and may lead to new individual and/or collective environmental action and new identities.

As greater environmental responsibility and awareness are emerging in many areas of the United States and strengthening momentum toward sustainability (Brisman 2009b), we hope our understandings can strengthen that movement. Perhaps other kinds of social issue-oriented groups may find our analysis useful as well. In addition to outlining the diverse structures for action, our goal is to encourage emerging groups to think about how to support their own efficacy. This review of structures may encourage a group to ask: "Do we need to network?" "Can we strengthen our expertise?" "Would we be better off in recruitment of new members with a cap or t-shirt or newsletter?" Groups that have disseminated information but experienced little mobilization to action might want to look at

the meaning-making dimensions of their work and the extent to which their social interactions build trust or social capital among members. "Is there sufficient time for story-telling?" "Are the group's activities fun?" and "What else can we do?" Such an outcome in praxis will enhance the meaning-making of this effort at knowledge dissemination.

Acknowledgements

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Table 1. Local Environmental Groups Studied

Blue Ridge Gamelands Group (North Carolina)
Citizens Unite (North Carolina)
Concerned Citizen of Rutherford County (North Carolina)
Delaware Nature Society
Delaware Sierra Club
Ducks Unlimited (Delmarva)
Earth First! (North Carolina)
Earthaven (North Carolina)
EcoTeam (Delmarva)
Green Delaware
HazTrak Coalition (Delaware)
Nanticoke Watershed Preservation Committee (Delmarva)
New River Fishing Association (North Carolina)
Newark High School Nature Society (Delaware)
Pamlico Fisherman's Auxiliary (North Carolina)
Ruckus Society (North Carolina)
Student Environmental Action Coalition (Delaware)
Tangier Sound Watermen's Association (Delmarva)

(from Kitchell et al. 2000: 3)

(Ad)Dressing Masculinity:
Male Cosplay Performance at Fan Cons

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The costumed science fiction, fantasy gaming, or anime fan, dressed as his favorite character, holds a place within the popular imagination as a "true" representation of the fan community, creating an image of this exotic other. That generalized image also contains stereotypes about male fans as being "unmanly" with regard to the understood conception of masculinity in the United States in general and the South in particular. I suggest that through cosplay, the practice of costumed role-play, male fans perform their masculinity in such a way that both acknowledges and subverts the dominant American conceptions while appropriating their power to provide meaning in the context of the fan community. Through participant observation and interviews at MechaCon 3.0 and MechaCon IV in Lafayette, Louisiana, I demonstrate how the performances involved in both the private creation and the public display of cosplay costumes by male fans embody this appropriation and transformation of Southern masculinity to become meaningful to male participants in the fan community.

Nerds, *geeks*, and *media fans* are names given to and often embraced by a voluntary community whose atypical tastes mark its members as different from those of mainstream United States society (Blake 2001:129). Fan culture, the term I use to identify this diverse group, is a community of consent emerging through practice where members enter into and congregate together because of shared interests, including various science fiction movie and television programs, fans of fantasy novels and role-playing games, video game fans, and manga/anime fans. Fan community membership involves certain practices: reading the text with close attention and a mixture of emotional proximity and critical distance; interpretive practices drawn from the realms of artistic, literary, and dramatic criticism; consumer activism asserting the right to make judgments about the direction of the favored text; and a creative nature expressed through fiction, art, filmmaking, filking (writing songs about fan interests through parody), and cosplay. The intense involvement of fans with such "disposable media" violates the bourgeois aesthetics

of mainstream society leading many to view fandom as childish, eccentric, and in some cases deviant. And no image of fandom holds a more poignant place in the socially imagined conception of the fan than that of the costumed media fan – the cosplayer (Jenkins 1992: 227-230, Costello and Moore 2007:127).

Cosplay, defined as "costumed role-play," is the performance of dressing as a particular character from any of the plethora of media that fans enjoy. While fans can and often do wear their costumes to events such as movie showings or to costume parties, the practice of cosplay finds its central importance at fan conventions, or Cons. As a participatory practice of convention-going, the first recorded instance of cosplay occurred in 1939 at the World Science Fiction Convention when Forrest Ackerman wore a futuristic costume (DragonCon 2007). During a Con, cosplay involves wearing the costume, posing "in character" for photographs, and, should one decide to enter, performing as the character in a skit during a masquerade or skit competition (Broussard 2008).

While fans of both genders cosplay at Cons, this work focuses on the strategies through which male cosplayers perform their masculinity. As Jenkins (1992), Blake (2001), and Hadju (2008) articulate through their analyses, mainstream United States society has deemed male fans to be unmanly due to a perceived submission to one or more popular media franchises (*Star Wars, Star Trek, Lord of the Rings, Dungeons & Dragons*, etc.) that have been deemed ephemeral by culturally-sanctioned analysts, through the cultivation of socially-devalued knowledge relating to the favored franchise(s), and a perceived lack of interest in "manly things" such as sports and sex. I will, however, argue that through the performance of cosplay, male fans acknowledge the existence of traditional, hegemonic masculinity in the United States that excludes male fans from being deemed "manly." Through the appropriation of its conceits and symbols, they reinterpret these in ways that are both meaningful to them as fans and that announce that they are "manly" and "masculine."

Theoretically, I draw upon Pierre Bourdieu's work on the cultural production of taste (1980), Henry Jenkins' ethnographic work on the practices of media fans (1992)*,* and Roger Caillois' work (1961) on play (particularly *mimicry*), which frees play participants from reality through the construction of a temporally transitory but real-at-its-present alternative reality (23), which as Henry Jenkins and others argue, allow fans to (at least within the temporal and spatial boundaries of the Con) create a new reality resonating harmoniously with their shared values (Jenkins 1992: 227-230, Costello and Moore 2007:127). Similarly, I incorporate the concept of symbolic inversion, whereby participants in festival take on roles, both socially and sexually, different and often oppositional to those they have in everyday life, and which while potentially reaffirming traditional hierarchies and gender roles (Babcock 1979, Ware 1995) can potentially undermine those social conventions (Zeeman Davis 1968:131) or at the very least present spaces for the articulation and dissection of concerns about social issues such as gender, sexuality, and racism (Jenkins 1992:283).

Additionally, I incorporate multidisciplinary studies on masculine identity and the performance of masculinity. Scholars like Peter Jackson (1991), Eric Segal (1996), Scott Kiesling (2005), and Athena Wang (2000) argue that masculinity is a social construction and that the form practiced by the dominant group is "hegemonic masculinity." Similarly, James Messerschmidt argues that masculinity (and femininity as well) is a public performance where individuals reproduce behaviors seen as masculine (or feminine) by others in the immediate situation (2004:4). In the United States, hegemonic masculinity, primarily that of Caucasian/Anglo-United States males, promotes dominance over one's self, one's emotions, one's environment, and others. Displays of United States hegemonic masculinity fall into two broad categories: physical ruggedness and sexual prowess. Physical ruggedness incorporates all forms of physical prowess: general strength, being an outdoorsman, martial/military experience, and an active involvement with organized sports. Sports fandom and participation have acquired almost religious status in the United States (Prebish 1984), and as Wes Borucki articulates, the martial arena of college football has become central to masculine identity in the South (Borucki 2003:478). I define sexual prowess as both the hegemonic superiority of male heterosexuality and the interest in, accumulation of, and desire to brag about conquests. Amid the multiplicity of masculinities present in contemporary western society, this hegemonic masculinity that asserts the physical, social, economic, and sexual dominance and prowess of those seeking to call themselves "men" has emerged as the primary social construction of masculinity and implicitly subordinates and marginalizes all other masculinities (Jackson 1991:201). The multiplicity of masculinities described in Jackson's article articulates two important points: that gender is a continuum of practices and attitudes and not a totalizing binary opposition and that the ideal conceptualized by the hegemonic form of masculinity occupies a position at the far end of the spectrum of masculinity and not the entirety of that spectrum.

One group marginalized through the dominant conception of United States hegemonic masculinity is the male nerd, geek, or fanboy. While membership and participation in the fan community is open to anyone, the general conception is that educated, middle class, white males fill the ranks of fandom and that females and non-whites comprise a small minority (Lancaster 2001:xxv). Henry Jenkins describes the popular conception of the male fan as being a brainless consumer enslaved by the media company, who devotes his entire life to the obsessive cultivation of worthless knowledge, possesses no social skills, is desexualized and/or feminized through involvement with the mass media, and cannot separate fantasy from reality (1992:10-13). Michael Blake comments that the marginalization of the socially ostracized in high school, which he terms "geeks," includes abuses that range from "petty humiliations to vicious assaults" (2001:127). These assaults, he argues, often go unreported because of the shame of victimization, perpetuating a silent acceptance of the hegemonic conception of male fans as "weak" and "unmanly" (2001:127-128).

Like Jenkins, David Hadju (2008) argues that many of these stereotypes found an early articulation in Frederic Wertham's *Seduction of the Innocents* (1954), when the psychiatrist argued that reading comic books led to juvenile delinquency. While most of Wertham's condemnations center on criminal behavior, he lists homosexuality – a violation of the hegemonic dominance of male heterosexuality – as a consequence emerging from interaction with comic books (1954:118). As Hadju notes, while the academic community challenged and contradicted Wertham's methodology and findings, the popular appeal of his work and a televised Senate hearing in which he was a central expert led to the creation of the Comics Magazine Association of United States's Comics Code which for several decades kept the content of comic books suitable only for young children (2008: 170, 290-292). The economic effect (loss of profit and distribution outlets) on comic book publishers then was similar to the effect of video game publishers who defy or refuse to carry symbols denoting ratings by the Electronic Software Rating Board. More recently, film critic Robin Wood (1986) argued that the rereading of media texts by fans is infantile and regressive, producing nothing, whereas rereading of high art produces new insights. Comedic performances, such as Triumph the Insult Comedy Dog's mocking *Star Wars* fans, describe the male fan as being "lonely men who have never even had sex" and who willingly wait "days, even months for just a taste of George Lucas' table scraps" (Milk and Cookies.com).

The stereotypes presented in such cultural discourses argue that male fans are "unmanly" due to a perceived submission to another and a perceived lack of interest in or aptitude for "manly pursuits". These interpretations of the actions and attitudes of male fans describe male fans as transgressing the aesthetics of hegemonic masculinity. According to the logic presented within the stereotype, male fans prefer to be indoors watching cartoons or movies or playing video games or *Dungeons & Dragons* instead of being outside hunting, fishing, or playing or watching sports. Similarly, adult male fans perform acts in public that are normally performed indoors by children, such as, when Triumph the Insult Comic Dog comments on a "rousing game of *Star Wars Risk* or *Stratego*," which is "normally played indoors by twelve-year-olds." Such transgressions subvert the "natural" understanding of what is masculine and what is proper behavior (Jenkins 1992:16-17). As Pierre Bourdieu comments, "The most intolerable thing for those who regard themselves as the possessors of legitimate culture is the sacrilegious reuniting of tastes which taste dictates shall be separated (1980:253)." While the interests of male fans transgress the hegemonic ideal of masculinity leads mainstream society to characterize the male fan as "unmanly," through my research, I will argue that through cosplay, male fans challenge this assertion that they are unmanly and recast the hegemonic definition of masculinity into something subservient to fan culture in general.

This is interview and fieldwork-based research. I conducted my participant observation field work at MechaCon 3.0 and IV in Lafayette, LA on August 3-5, 2007 and on August 1-3, 2008, respectively, as part of ongoing research into fan performance. During those two weekends, I conducted a total of six interviews

with male attendees at MechaCon as part of a larger group of eighteen interviews. Roughly two-thirds of my interlocutors are female; similarly, my daily visual survey of attendees suggests a similar female – to – male distribution. My male interlocutors range in age from eighteen to twenty-seven. Being a member of the fan community, researching at a Con proved both rewarding and challenging.   I wish to take a brief moment to thank my primary interlocutor Mary, a respected member of the community who travels the Con circuit judging cosplay competitions and holding panel discussions on cosplay and costuming strategies, for introducing me to all of the individuals I interviewed both at the Cons and outside of them. Having conducted my work under the auspices of the Institutional Review Board, I have given all interlocutors random pseudonyms to protect their identities. I wish to note that due to IRB constrictions, I did not interview anyone under the age of eighteen even though teenagers comprised a large portion of attendees at MechaCon both years.

As this article focuses on the strategies through which male cosplayers perform their masculinity, I do not include discussions regarding the performances of androgynous characters, *crossplay* – cosplaying as a character of the opposite gender – a practice that both male and female cosplayers participate in, or any strategies and practices of female cosplay performance. This work also does not include other genres of fan performance such as writing fan fiction, producing fan art, and making fan films. One such omitted genre, often analyzed by scholars, is that of "slash,"/"yaoi," or homo-erotic, fan fiction; I omit slash fiction from my analysis for two reasons. The first is that the production of fan fiction in general and slash in particular is largely confined to internet websites or to fanzines (fan-made magazines) and not a performance genre at a Con. Second, slash fiction is largely written by female fans, and as this work focuses on performance by male fans, it falls outside the realm of this text (Bacon-Smith 1986, Jenkins 1997: 175-177, Stasi 2006: 119-120). Discussions of such performances and genres are for other works at other times.

General Theory of Cosplay

Before delving into the specific strategies male cosplayers use in reclaiming their masculinity through performance, I wish to present certain assumptions that will be made in this paper for analytical purposes and to set forth a general theory of cosplay as both play and symbolic inversion. The first assumption is that cosplay occurs specifically at a Con; while fans do wear their cosplay costumes to parties and other events, cosplay proper is an embodied discourse "spoken" through performance within the spatial and temporal boundaries of the fan Con. While there are as many discourses spoken as there are speakers, one common theme of these discourses is that cosplay at a Con functions as a shibboleth – a symbol used to identify a person as a member of a group. For communities of consent, the use of clothing as a shibboleth connotes willing and willful participation and desire to be a community member often due to the time, expense, and attention to detail required to manufacture a costume (De Caro and Jordan 1984, Michael 1988).

The importance of this rests in my second assumption: The Con is a display event where fans announce their membership in the fan community through the performance of fandom specific actions (Abrahams 1982:304):   role-playing, gaming, engaging in discussions about the texts, and cosplaying. The image of the costumed fan is a powerful symbol both within fandom and in United States society at large of what makes this consent community unique and/or different, serving, therefore, as an important point of entry for the study of fandom, fans, and their beliefs. While some may wish to equate a Con with other costume events that share certain similarities (historical reenactments, Renaissance Festivals, etc.), and while cosplay at a Con certainly falls into the spectrum of costume events, I wish to draw an important distinction that the Con is not marketed as a tourist event open for the general public to come and watch the performance. Such tourist events often draw a sharp line between performer and audience, and no such division exists at a Con. Events hosted by the Society for Creative Anachronism (SCA) provide similar opportunities to perform communal membership as a fan Con; however, members of the SCA attempt to re-create the arts and skills of a general era as well as the social memories associated with that era and not perform as a specific character from a text known to members of the community.

Here I analyze cosplay as a form of mimetic play incorporating symbolic inversion that transforms the social world while incorporating the individuals involved into the group (Kapchan 1995:480, Michael 1998). As Roger Caillois says of mimicry, "it consists in the actor's fascinating the spectator, while avoiding an error that might lead the spectator to break the spell (1961:23)." As Mark, a nineteen-year-old male of Asian ancestry says, "You stay in character. People expect that. You're who you're dressed as. You're not you." Rocky articulates similar sentiments with the words, "I'm not me here. I'm Sephiroth. That's what's important." While cosplayers see themselves as performers, the performance does not occur without the audience (many of whom are other cosplayers); therefore, the performance arises from the interplay whereby all present enact the roles of performer-spectator simultaneously.   This simultaneous performance and interaction allows the mimicry play of cosplay to create "true social bonds" through the active participation and interpretation of both the fan audience and the fan performer that frees all present during the performance from the limitations of the prohibitions and clearly delineated role-boundaries imposed by cultural hierarchies (Babcock 1978:21, Ware 2001:225) while generating a sense of "what utopia would feel like" (Dyer 1985:222) and providing an ecstatic release that allows for the experiencing of childlike pleasures in a community that shares the deeply held values of all involved (Sadler 1969:3-5, Jenkins 1992:283).

Cosplay performance incorporates many symbolic inversions. These include female as male, male as female, human as anthropomorphic animal, young as old, old as young, pacifist as warrior, human as monster/undead/elf/dwarf/orc, and human as robot/android/alien. These inversions both affirm and challenge traditional notions about identity, race, and gender (Zeeman Davis 1968, Babcock 1979, Ware 1995). I argue that this initial affirmation acknowledges the existence

of the generally accepted, socially created fiction of proper behavior before the interpretation of that behavior becomes transformed into something else through fan performance. In this case, mainstream U.S. society's dominant, hegemonic conceptions of masculinity and its stereotypical conceptions regarding the gender and sexuality of members of fan culture become subservient to the values of fan culture. Fans incorporate and play with gendered conceptions that affirm the existence and cultural value of these concepts but also challenge their innate worth and suggest new, alternate models that provide meaning to the members of the fan community.

Physical Ruggedness

Physical ruggedness is one of the central traits of United States hegemonic masculinity. To be a man is to be strong, independent, and rugged. Weakness is decried through insult and mockery. As Deborah James' research reveals, male insults against other males link weakness with being "like a woman," and therefore, unmanly (1998:406). Ann Ferguson articulates, if one male wishes to show "supreme contempt for another," that male will accuse the other male of being a girl – an insult that places the insulted male outside the "in-group" of males and outside of the zone allowing for the access of social power and camaraderie that being "male" encompasses (2004:155). In choosing characters to cosplay, male fans often choose characters presented as being physically strong, rugged, and as having strong martial and/or military connection through which to perform their own masculinity.

Attending any Con will provide a plethora of such physical characters from the Jedi Knights/Sith Lords of *Star Wars,* to soldiers from various video games like *Metal Gear Solid,* to knights, samurai, and gun-wielding warriors depicted in comic books, video games, and manga/anime. Swordsmen are popular characters for male cosplayers, and the sword, like other weapons, has a history of being seen as a symbol of masculinity and masculine pursuits. Two of my informants, Brad and Rocky, cosplayed as Sephiroth, the villain from the video game *Final Fantasy VII.* Sephiroth, who stands nearly half a foot taller than the protagonist (Cloud Strife), has waist length silver hair, emerald eyes, dresses from head to toe in black leather, and wields a six-foot-long katana known as the *Masamune,* is the greatest general and most powerful warrior in the game world. Another of my informants, Harold, cosplayed as Auron, the gruff, silent Clint Eastwood-meets-samurai swordsman from the game *Final Fantasy X.*

None of these three are exceptionally tall and all have average builds. None possess any military experience, and Harold alone has martial arts training. All choose similar reasons for cosplaying as these swordsmen. Brad chuckled before responding of Sephiroth, "He's cool. I mean, he's evil and all, but he's cool-evil. Everybody's scared of him, because he can pretty much kill everyone with one swing of his sword. He's got a pretty face, but when you kick ass like he does, doesn't matter." Rocky replied of Sephiroth, "He's got power. He's in control. Even when he goes psycho and tries to destroy the world, everything he does is

calm and collected unlike Cloud who's all moody and brooding." And Harold says of Auron, "He's just got an aura of power – calm, cool, skilled."

Bob, a nineteen-year-old Caucasian male about five-feet-seven-inches tall with a stocky build, dressed as Naruto Uzumaki, the titular character from the manga and anime series *Naruto,* which depicts the quest of a hyperactive teenage ninja who seeks to prove to his clan that he is the most powerful. He kept his dark brown flattop hidden beneath a spiky blonde wig, held vertically in place by a piece of cloth with a metallic plate in the front and tied in the back in the style of martial artists. He wore a short-sleeved orange shirt over a long-sleeved black shirt that has an appearance similar to a turtleneck, orange pants, and blue sandals. Bob does not have any martial arts training, but he chooses to play as this young ninja because, as he says, "I feel like him sometimes. I get excited. I say dumb stuff. I mess up. Naruto does too, but things still work out at the end. Plus, he's a ninja. He's strong, powerful, he can kick butt in a way I never will."

Another of my interlocutors displays a similar appropriation of traditionally masculine symbols for fan purposes but places a regionally specific twist on both cosplay and this appropriation. Ray, who stands about six-feet-two-inches tall and has a powerfully resonant voice emanating from a sturdy frame, dressed as Boba Fett from *Star Wars*. A twenty-seven-year-old attorney from New Orleans, Ray replaced the battle-worn gray, red, green, and yellow coloration of the Mandalorian bounty hunter's armor with shimmering gold highlighted with black lines and black fleur-de-lis figures on the helmet and shoulders where the Fett clan image appeared. Colored to display his "devotion" to both *Star Wars* and the New Orleans Saints football team, Ray tells me that, "I'm not hunting Corellian slime [Han Solo] but a Super Bowl victory." Ray and two other members of the Blast Alpha Garrison attended MechaCon while on break from their duty "patrolling the levees to make sure that no Rebel scum bomb them and blame the Empire like they did during Katrina."

Here, fan creativity blends symbols of traditional masculinity (the hunter, militaristic violence, and sports fandom) with a fan's obsession over details and accuracy in costuming and textual knowledge, and a knowledge of and willingness to humorously engage stories that circulated in the wake of a tragedy. Through this synthesis of dominant and subjugated valuations, Ray not only appropriates symbols and traits of traditional masculinity but also incorporates notions of the masculine "analytical" mind in a way that displays the creativity prized by members of fan culture. This is accomplished through the synthesis of fan icons with a localized meaning that engages both general issues of masculinity (synthesizing football, hunting, and fandom) with regionally specific concerns such as the cause of the levee breaks after Hurricane Katrina (Jackson 1991: 200-202, Jenkins 1992: 279-280).

Construction methods, while used by male and female cosplayers, also provide a method for male fans to display their masculinity. While the sewing of a costume calls into mind feminine domestic skills, male cosplayers pride themselves on their sewing abilities and on their ability to work with more difficult and dangerous construction materials such as fiberglass and metal. For the head wrap of his Naruto

costume, Bob cut a piece of sheet metal to the right size with a welding torch and then shaped the resulting rectangle with a grinder. He says, "That impressed my friends – even those who think I'm not cool because I don't drink or like football. But here I was, this 'little cartoon boy,' doing 'stuff real men do,' as my friend Rob likes to 'joke'. And I was like, 'yeah, I do this stuff, but I do them for what I want – what I think is cool." Rocky, who fashioned his *Masamune* from fiberglass says, "I like working with fiberglass because it's dangerous. I wear a mask and all, but it's still dangerous and you got to plan, be focused, in control."

Sexual Prowess

Sexual prowess, pride in sexual conquests, and a strong libido are also seen as "natural" in traditional masculinity. To be truly masculine one must also be sexually attractive to women (Jackson 1991:201-203, Lips 2008:37). Engaging in heterosexual activity and exhibiting pride in sexual conquests are ways for men in United States to perform their maleness, displaying attitudes commensurate with those of the hegemonic definition of masculinity (Lips 2008:292-293). Cultural discourses, often comedic performances, present the stereotype of the male fan as an individual lacking both sexual desire and prowess. Henry Jenkins references a *Saturday Night Live* sketch where, at a *Star Trek* convention, William Shatner asks a Trekkie, "Have you ever kissed a girl?" (10). Triumph the Insult Comic Dog describes *Star Wars* fans as "...thirty-five-year-old men. Lonely men. Men who have never even had sex – not even with a Catholic priest," whose only sexual partner is a hand, and who are incapable of sexually pleasing a girl.

Contrary to the comedic cultural discourses discussed above, male fans do express an interest in sex and choose characters through which they can display their sexuality. Rocky admits sheepishly that he chooses to cosplay as Sephiroth because, "he's got way more fangirls than Cloud does." Rocky's statement that he chose to cosplay as Sephiroth because of the many "fangirls" displays a desire to been as sexually attractive to females; when I asked how important the "fangirls" were, Rocky replied haltingly, "They are – but they aren't. I mean – you know – it's – it's just [he sighs in frustration]. It's not the most important thing, but it matters, because it makes me feel good." Harold offers a similar statement of Auron, "Fangirls love to put him with all the chicks in the game, so I get to be kind of popular with them."

Ray also admits that Boba Fett's perceived sexual prowess drew him to the character. "He's cool, don't get me wrong. I mean, he's a bounty hunter. He travels the galaxy, stalking humans for money. Not nice, but a cool job and awesome armor. But he's got to be a ladies' man. You've seen *Jedi*, right?" I assert that I have many times. "Well," he continues, "you remember Jabba's palace, right? After Oola gets fed to the Rancor, you remember that little shot where they show Boba flirting with the three background singers? Han Solo may be a space pirate who gets a princess, but 'the Fett' gets three women – three women. Man, that's cool." When asked how that affects him and his performance, Ray laughs and shakes his head, "You got to know what it does for you. I mean, knowing how bad

Boba is just makes you feel cocky. I can easily walk with his swagger all day – even though I get tired, hot, and sweaty from this costume." While Rocky and Harold define the importance of sexual attractiveness in relation to the perception and reception of his cosplay performance by female fans, Ray defines this importance as being more of an internal identification that allows him to take a traditionally masculine attitude believed to be divorced from male fans and transform it into a creative drive that fuels his performance, encouraging him to continue wearing the costume even when heat and exhaustion make it uncomfortable.

By choosing characters that display traits traditionally associated with masculinity, Brad, Rocky, Bob, Harold, and Ray, like other male fans, appropriate those traits – such as physical ruggedness and sexual prowess – and recast them in ways meaningful to them as fans. Such displays, Eric Segal argues, prove central to United States masculine identity, such that males who do not display an interest in such activities are denied male camaraderie and even the right to be termed masculine (1996:635). Douglas Holt and Craig Thompson argue that men purchase things such as Harley-Davidson motorcycles and "mountain man retreats" so as to display and perform their own masculinity as being "rugged," "raucous," and "self-reliant" (2004:426). Through this appropriation of traits and attitudes traditionally defined as masculine and through practices that are physical and "dangerous" in nature, male cosplayers wrest the masculinity stripped from them by the popular conception of the fan (as someone who has neither the interest nor the aptitude for "masculine activities"), reclaiming and reshaping it so that it opens to that which it seemed to exclude: male fans are recast as being gendered masculine individuals.

During cosplay, male fans symbolically invert the "natural order" of masculine dominance, making traditionally masculine symbols and traits subservient to the traditionally subjugated and marginalized male fan (Davis 1968:127-128, Jackson 1991: 201-202). Through this mimetic display of "traditional masculinity" that serves as an embodied discourse announcing membership in the fan community, the male cosplayer, like Prince Adam of Eternia holding aloft the Sword of Grayskull and becoming He-Man, transforms into a being that Roger Caillois describes as possessing "all types of terrifying and creative supernatural powers" (1961:87, see also Sherman 1997) through which he becomes empowered to challenge the negative assertion that the he is neither masculine nor a sexual being.

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Teaching *Star Trek* as Anthropology

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The original Star Trek television show is a "natural" for teaching anthropology. Like all science fiction, the show is a reflection of contemporary concerns--a form of mythology. Beyond this, the original show relied extensively on anthropological theory and ethnography in the construction of its plots. The author's undergraduate course, described in this paper, aims to make students aware of these and also of the concerns of the nineteen-sixties (Viet Nam, the Cold War, civil rights, Hippies) that motivated many of the episodes. In the process, it illustrates how popular culture texts can be used in the classroom to engage students in ongoing anthropological debates and to demonstrate anthropology's enduring perspectives and concepts.

A good few years ago now, I was taking an introductory anthropology class through a review for their final examination. They were frustrated and so was I. Like many undergraduates they could not fathom "what I wanted," while I thought what was wanted was perfectly plain. In this stymied state I said that I wished I could be like that scientist in "The Ultimate Computer" who impressed his engrams on the computer he built. Then I'd impress mine on their brains, and we'd all be happy. "I've often thought," I added, "that I'd like to teach a course in the anthropology of *Star Trek.*" Instantly I had their attention. I had spoken lightly, but they took the idea seriously--and in a year I was, in fact, teaching that very course.

The *Star Trek* to which I was referring, and which I use in my course, is the original show. I yield to no one in my admiration for Patrick Stewart's Jean-Luc Picard, and I like his crew and his adventures too; but *Star Trek: The Next Generation* is psychological, not anthropological. The later iterations of *Star Trek* are increasingly political. These shifts almost certainly reflect more widespread changes in what Americans think has explanatory value. Tracing the relationship between the focus of the show and the interests of the public generally would itself be a fascinating study; but it is not one I have undertaken, so I cannot pursue it here. The important point is that the original show, with William Shatner, Leonard

Nimoy, DeForest Kelley, Nichelle Nichols, George Takei, and Walter Koenig, relies extensively on anthropological theory and ethnographic information for plots and characterisation of other cultures, and so it gives me a good basis for discussing a variety of anthropological topics. I designed the course to be a kind of introduction to anthropology, but one that relied on *Star Trek* episodes as well as anthropological sources. This does put some limitations on what one includes in the course, and so it is not as comprehensive as a normal intro course would be. Still, we manage to cover a lot of ground.

The course has two main parts. In the first, a survey of elementary anthropology, we focus on ethnographic method, ethnographic data, anthropological theory, and two particular anthropological topics. The second of these topics, the definition of the person, makes a transition between the halves, since it is important both to anthropology and to American culture, which is the focus of the second half of the course. It relies on episodes that refer to the culture of the sixties, and we approach the episodes as if they were mythic--that is, that they tell us metaphorically about America rather than being factual accounts. Each week we see one or two of the old episodes, and the students read relevant texts. Discussion is a *sine qua non* for the class as well.

The tripartite division is, obviously, arbitrary to a degree. Each episode has many aspects that merit attention in a course like this. The way I deal with the multiplicity of themes is to focus on each in turn but also, as the semester progresses, structure discussion so that we look back to established themes--as in one of those memory games (What Janey has in her Pocket, for example) where each player has to remember all the items the previous players have said and then add another. I also anticipate themes yet to come. Thus the class learns that the focus in any given week is just that, and not its entire relevance to anthropology.

A truism about science fiction is that it is really about the present, which is undeniably the case with *Star Trek*. As anyone familiar with the show knows, a major recurrent theme is its valorising a certain idea of the United States. It is implicit in pretty much all the episodes we watch in my class. Recognising the outright celebration of America (as in "The Omega Glory," for example) is easy, even for those who find chauvinism objectionable. More challenging--and more interesting to an anthropologist--is the complementary representation of the non-American, the alien--or, rather, representations, since for any given positive there are innumerable negatives. This, too, is a theme I stress throughout the course, since the episodes give us good visual examples of representations of "the Other." The *Trek* images, obvious and even crude as they are, allow students to recognise more refined and subtle representations of "savagery" in their ethnographies.

Star Trek as introduction to ethnographic methods, data, and issues

Since representation of the Other is central both to the show and to anthropology, we begin with that topic, and we approach it by four avenues: ethnographic method; ethnographic reporting; and ideas of savagery and civilization including cultural evolution which, of course, employs both concepts in its schemata.

As is well known, Gene Roddenberry designed the original show to be what we would now call multicultural. Daringly for the time, the bridge crew of the *Enterprise* included a black woman and a Russian. Having an alien as a significant officer was another expression of Roddenberry's determination to challenge racial and gender prejudices. In the same spirit, he invented the "prime directive" that the Federation, including the *Enterprise*, should interfere not at all in the new lives and civilizations they discovered. All this is exactly the kind of thing we insist on when we talk about ethnographic method: take them at their own valuation, figure out what's going on, don't make judgements, and don't interfere.

Ethnographic research--in however simplified a form--figures in almost all the episodes. Even when the crew are not in danger from the other life forms, the success of their mission depends on ethnography: how well, and how expediently, can the crew members figure out the situation and fit into it? Either someone knows the culture of the planet already (for example, in "Friday's Child"), or one or more of the principal characters must ask the right questions and use the answers to make the right choices--not unlike ethnography. Having established this point-- how we collect our data--we can refer to it repeatedly without further elaboration.

But these shows are instructive in another way. Despite the prime directive, the captain and crew more often act like arrogant colonials or zealous missionaries than humble anthropologists. My first task in the course is to focus on the requirements of field work and its difficulties, and to compare the anthropological standard with the actions of the *Enterprise* crew in this regard. The most satisfactory episode for this lesson, I think, is "The Gamesters of Triskelion," although I have also used "The Corbomite Maneuver" and "Space Seed." "Gamesters" begins with Kirk, Uhura, and Chekhov being whisked away from their transporter to a previously unknown planet, Triskelion, where they become slaves to mysterious beings called Providers. Their refusal to obey the commands of these masters results in physical assault and paralysing pain of a mystical nature. In order to escape, Kirk tries to find out as much as he can about the culture of the planet, questioning his "drill thrall," Shahna, until she too is punished, for answering him. Eventually Kirk secures their release by using the rules of their own culture to defeat the inhabitants.

In terms of ethnography, the insistence of the local people that the *Enterprise* officers conform to their way of doing things is very much like what the anthropologist goes through in the field, as the students learn from the assigned readings: a chapter from Margaret Mead's autobiography, *Blackberry Winter* (1972),[1] in which she describes going to Samoa--how unprepared she was for field work, how hard it was to find informants and to be accepted; and the passage from Napoleon Chagnon's *The Fierce People* (1968) that describes his unsettling introduction to the Yanomamo and his life among them. Both accounts describe situations analogous to those we see in "Triskelion." True, neither Mead nor Chagnon experienced mystically-delivered excruciating pain when they committed solecisms, but they did feel the chill of disapproval and even ostracism. The scenes between Kirk and Shahna have the character of interviewing an informant, and both reading selections mention the mixed blessings of such conversations. On

1   Full references to the required readings will be found at the end of this paper.

one occasion, Shahna's explanation is that "that is the way," a common answer in field work. She refuses to discuss the Providers, like an informant refusing to reveal cultural secrets--another problem in field work. For his part, Kirk has to explain alien concepts to a local person, which is something the anthropologist is frequently called upon to do.

It is interesting to compare Chagnon, for instance, with Kirk in this episode, since by his own admission Chagnon initially found the Yanomamo appalling. He did his best to isolate himself from them, even to the point of refusing to give them gifts; and he found that he had to adopt what he thought of as an unprofessionally aggressive manner in order to get along with them. Mead's situation was quite different, Samoans not being inclined to thrash each other at the drop of a hat, but she had analogous problems in making contact and being trusted. These professionals' difficulties and successes contrast nicely with Kirk's actions: each throws light on the other. As the class usually observes, his constant criticism of the Triskelian culture is not acceptable, but they also question Chagnon's reluctance to share and Mead's readiness to advise.

But "Gamesters" offers good opportunities to discuss representations of the Other, also, in that it depicts a society composed of captives from all over the galaxy, no two alike. They are ruled by entities whose form is glowing brains without bodies, a construct that epitomizes a certain image of the future, which is a different kind of Other. Kirk's bombastic challenge to these cerebral types implicitly insists on the rightness of the ideal American way of life: that people should be informed, independent, and usefully occupied. "Gamesters" has relevance also for our later discussion of ideas of the person in that it implicitly presents a whole person as one with both an active body and an informed mind.

One way to develop the theme of the Other is by discussing the concept of savagery. Here again, images of savagery are easy to find in the corpus; indeed, the show comes close to conflating "Other" with "savage." In episodes such as "Let that be your last Battlefield," "A Taste of Armageddon," "A Piece of the Action," and "Patterns of Force," where the *Enterprise* crew do not explicitly call the planet's indigenous population savage, nevertheless we can claim that they are because they identify might with right, a position the Federation opposes. In other episodes the identification is more obvious: the Yangs of "The Omega Glory," the miners of "The Cloud Minders," the Native Americans of "Paradise Syndrome," even the "bad" version of Kirk that appears in "The Enemy Within"-- all are verbally identified as savage, whether noble or ignoble. For the most part, though, these plots hinge on something other than the fact that some of the characters are savage. "Friday's Child" and "Galileo Seven," which I use in connection with this topic, do hang the action on the savagery of the indigenes.

"Friday's Child" has the *Enterprise* in an encounter with noble savages, the inhabitants of Capella IV, where the Federation hopes to establish a mining treaty. The mining deal with the Capellans is threatened by competition from the Klingons, who (unlike the Federation) are sneaky and duplicitous. Class discussion of the episode is devoted to identifying the "noble" savage characteristics of the

Capellans, based on the discussion in Bernard Sheehan's book *Savagism and Civility* (1981). These include a commitment to their own laws, a social hierarchy, and a deep sense of honor. What prevents them from being fully civilized are a preference for fighting instead of for more peaceful pursuits, a tribal rather than a state form of political organization, and a Frazerian notion of succession to high office by murdering one's predecessor together with his spouse(s) and child(ren).

"Galileo Seven," by contrast, explores the idea of ignoble savagery in a couple of ways. In this episode Spock and Sulu lead an away team to the inhospitable surface of a planet in a shuttlecraft called the *Galileo*. Among the crew members with them is an African-American man named Boma, who is both a sound scientist and a gracious humanitarian. In the course of the excursion tension develops between Mr Boma, who is too sentimental for Spock, and Mr Spock, who is too logical for Boma. (The significance of having a black man be the more "civilised" of the two would not have been lost on 1960s audiences.) Boma comes close to calling Spock a savage for the way he reacts to the death of one of the crew. At the same time, the crew are beset by true ignoble savages: creatures who communicate in grunts and cries, who seem to be governed solely by rage, and who hurl huge crude spears tipped (incongruously) with giant Folsom points. The episode plays off their seeming indifference to the fate of their fellows--their lack of social morality--against the humanity of Boma and the cold logic of Spock. As with "Friday's Child," the class relates these representations to Sheehan's discussion of savagery--ignoble, in this case--and to Mead's autobiographical description of the Arapesh, Mundugumor (Biwat), and Tchambuli (Chambri). Her disapprobation of all three groups is obvious; in fact, she strongly implies that they are themselves ignoble savages.

Ethnographic method and representations of the Other require a discussion of ethnographic data as well. The show does, admittedly, draw more heavily on history than on anthropology, but there is a sense in which both historical narrative and ethnographic reporting are the same thing. As an example of borrowing ethnographic material "Paradise Syndrome," which incorporates material from the ethnography on Native North America, is an obvious choice. But I also have them watch "A Piece of the Action," which, although ostensibly about Chicago under gang rule in the 1920s, owes a good deal to Japanese history. The intent here is to have the students be able to pick up on references to real cultures, past or present, even when heavily disguised. So, in this connection, we also discuss "Friday's Child," which we have already debated as an example of savagery, because of its close resemblance to the Bedouin and to ancient Sparta. We return to the issue in discussion of "The Apple," in which the culture owes a good deal to Polynesia.

"Paradise Syndrome" begins with a small landing party on a planet very like the northern hemisphere of the Americas, where they find inhabitants who turn out to be American Indians. This is not a case of parallel planetary evolution. The dialogue identifies them as coming from the Navajo, the Delaware (Lenape), and the Mohican, which Spock says are "peaceful" and "advanced" tribes although "too primitive" to understand space flight. They are on this planet because some vaguely

identified interplanetary group rescued them from probable extinction on Earth and put them in an environment where they can prosper and improve themselves. Our emphasis is on how the show has amalgamated material culture from different Native groups and, more generally, about how justifiable is their representation of such cultures. In fact, Navajo culture is not evident in this episode, and the only Northeastern Woodlands cultural items are one long-house and a birch-bark canoe. Most of the culture is Plains: tipis, buckskin clothing, geometric designs, the cradleboard, and so on. In order to give the students some idea of the original cultures on which the show is based, I have them read Curtis's short work on the Sioux (1975). We talk about reasons for adopting a generic Plains culture for this show and identify the origins of non-Plains cultural forms. A more ambiguous point is whether a show like *Star Trek* can, or even should, try to educate its viewers about real Native American life.

The other episode I use in this context is "A Piece of the Action." In this, the *Enterprise* goes to the planet Iotia to correct what they call cultural contamination brought by the Starship *Horizon* years before, when the Prime Directive had not been established. Reports have come to the Federation suggesting that this earlier visit interfered with the "normal" cultural evolution of these people, who are described as being "imitative." The *Enterprise* landing party finds that the gang culture of 1920s Chicago now dominates this planet. During the course of the episode they find that the "contamination" is some books about the period left behind by the *Horizon* crew. The real ethnographic parallel in this case, I argue, is not Gangland USA but Japanese history. At least twice, the Japanese have completely reorganised their culture by borrowing extensively from another culture. The first time that we know about was in A.D. 645, when they remade themselves in the image of China; the second, in 1887, when their inspiration was the western military-industrial complex. "A Piece of the Action" allows the class to talk about these radical changes in Japanese culture, which are addressed in the two readings for this week. One is the third chapter of Sansom's *A History of Japan to 1334* (1958); the other, an essay entitled "Japan and Western Civilisation," by Kuwabara Takeo (1983). And, like "Paradise," this episode provides material for talking about the nature of culture change and cultural evolution. At this point, we ask simply whether a thorough remaking of a culture is possible. In the Japanese case we have evidence that it is not. With that as a guide, the class are able to identify in this *Star Trek* episode evidence to suggest that it did not happen on Iotia, either.

Star Trek's lessons in anthropological theory

But talking about culture change is only a step away from talking about cultural evolution. *Star Trek* writers implicitly accept the validity of a Victorian cultural evolutionary model and, less obviously, a Radcliffe-Brownian functionalism as well. Most of the episodes we watch in the class show this, so that even without the two episodes we watch in connection with the specific topic of cultural evolution

we would have a good deal of material for discussion. I have two motivations in devoting so much attention to these theories in this class. One is to assist in that difficult task, getting undergraduates to recognise the theoretical framework of a narrative, whether academic or not. Even to students who have had a theory class, the theoretical assumptions of the *Trek* episodes are not as obvious as, say, the use of Plains Indians culture or the Biblical story of Eden, or references to the Vietnam and the Civil Rights movement. My other reason for drawing attention to evolutionary anthropology in the show is to counter some prevailing notions about culture promulgated by popular media generally: that it evolves in a predestinate way, that deviation from that path will spell disaster for somebody, that when one part of a culture changes the whole thing changes, that cultures "progress" and that those less "advanced" may justly be called "savage," and "improved," that culture is best understood either organically or mechanistically.

"Bread and Circuses" and "Patterns of Force," which are the main episodes for this topic, accept the Victorian cultural evolutionary model, and Radcliffe-Brown's functionalism may be discerned there as well. To help the students recognise the implicit theory, I have them read excerpts from Morgan's *Ancient Society* and Tylor's *Anthropology*, and Radcliffe-Brown's paper "On the Concept of Function in Social Science" (1935). Usually I give at least one lecture on anthropological theory as well. The two episodes have similar plots. In each, the crew encounters a planet with a culture remarkably like that of a period of earth history--ancient Rome in one case, and Nazi Germany in the other--both characterised by marked social stratification. On each planet an outsider has come to the indigenous culture--the captain of a wrecked merchant ship on one, a cultural historian on the other-- with unacceptable results. The merchant captain has seen his crew enslaved and sacrificed in the Roman games because he would not surrender his ship to the despot of the planet, while the cultural historian has introduced Nazism to his planet in an effort to create harmony and has instead brought about an oppressive dictatorship. On each planet, the dominant party decides that the *Enterprise* crew are dangerous and forces them into hiding, where they are befriended by the disadvantaged party. In "Patterns," the minority helps the crew overthrow the dictatorship; in "Bread and Circuses," the end of despotism is implied by the crew's discovery that the minority practice a form of early Christianity.

"Bread and Circuses" sets the action on a planet physically very much like Earth. According to "Hodgkins' law of parallel planetary development," which Captain Kirk invokes, physically similar planets produce similar cultures that evolve in the same ways. The dialogue might almost have been written by Morgan or Tylor (except they would have used four times as many words). When they arrive on the surface, Kirk asks Spock what era the people have reached, and Spock responds with a diagnostic list--no atomic energy yet, he says, but they do have radio communication, power transportation, and an excellent road system. Morgan's way of characterising cultural levels in terms of a list of items is apparent. Likewise, in "Patterns of Force," the inhabitants of the planet Ekos are described as having leapt several stages of cultural evolution, and the *Enterprise* crew conclude that

they must have had help to do so. As it turns out, they have. The visiting historian, Dr Gill, has remade their culture in the likeness of the Nazis, with disastrous results. The lesson is clear. Like the Victorians, the Federation (which is to say the writers, of course) regards cultural evolution as a kind of individual writ large, who must go through childhood and adolescence before becoming an adult. Skip a stage, and you have something unnatural.

A functionalist understanding of culture--which Morgan and Tylor themselves implicitly accept--is evident in these episodes, too, since both old-fashioned evolutionary anthropology and functionalism assume a necessary, i.e., functional, interrelationship among all the things present in a culture at any one time (e.g., radio communication, power transport, etc.), such that introducing one of these into a culture must result in the rest appearing also. In "Patterns," moreover, this idea is made explicit. Dr Gill's take on society is that it is like a biological entity in which "each cell...works for the good of the whole."

As it is never wise to create a vacuum and not provide some substitute for it, I spend some time talking about structuralism, which to me is a more than adequate replacement for the theories we have dismissed. To introduce this way of thinking, I have us watch "The Cloud Minders" because there is a structural analysis of *Star Trek*, which the class reads, that uses this episode in particular to make its point (Claus 1976); they also read Lévi-Strauss's essay about the structural analysis of myth (1968). A major point in my own lecture about this is the great difference between this kind of analysis, that relies on indigenous categorical definitions and the relations among categories, and the schemata of Morgan and Tylor or the functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown, which ignore indigenous meanings in favor of an Aristotelian system of classification. I try to have them see that despite the dubious excesses of Lévi-Straussian structuralism it really is a better way to understand cultural phenomena than evolutionism or functionalism.

We pursue this point further by considering a special case of structuralism, the symbolic representation of time. Time has always fascinated writers of fantasy and science fiction, and so it is hardly surprising to find several episodes about it in the *Trek* corpus. My concern is not the consequences of time travel or the literary challenge of resolving the paradox implicit in the idea, but rather the ways in which people codify a non-material aspect of existence and, in doing so, make it collectively comprehensible. "The Apple" and "The Return of the Archons" provide good examples for this topic. The class reads Leach's classic work on the subject, "Two Essays on the Symbolic Representation of Time" (1961), and an essay by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf that explores the relationship between the temporal and the atemporal in the Judaeo-Christian concept of Eden.

"The Apple," loosely based on the Genesis story of the Fall of Humankind, demonstrates the point in the first part of Leach's essay, "Cronos and Chronos." He argues that for many cultures time is neither unidirectional nor cyclical but oscillating, moving from one pole to another. This was true for the ancient Greeks, for whom time began with the establishment of contraries--most particularly, female as wife and male as husband. They saw time as a series of linked oppositions such

as busy-ness and idleness, night and day, sowing and harvest. With differentiation come movement from one pole to another and the consequent dialectical change without which there can be no time, and vice-versa. This sequence of events forms the plot structure of "The Apple." The *Enterprise* crew encounter the people of Gamma Trianguli living in a seemingly perfect, timeless place where sex, ageing, and death are unknown--a paradise like Eden. The static culture provokes an argument between McCoy and Spock, one that resonates with the issues of evolutionism that we discuss in other contexts. The doctor argues that something should be done because the culture inhibits growth; Spock responds that since the people are happy and healthy, they should be left alone. He loses the argument, though. Through the medium of sex--two of the local people observe Chekhov and his girl-friend necking, and begin to imitate them--time and change are introduced into the culture. The people's god, Vaal (probably a reference to the Canaanite god Baal), condemns eroticism. He orders the death of the visitors, who respond in the usual way by destroying the god. They justify this action--contrary to the Prime Directive, as Spock insists--partly on the ground that all people deserve the chance to make their own choices.

As with the Greeks, the people of Gamma Trianguli have not established that crucial--sexual--differentiation, and they so they experience no changes, whether physical or cultural. The first thing that happens when they take a step in that direction is death, or the threat of death. This point is part of Leach's argument; the essay by Fürer-Haimendorf makes it even more pointedly. He shows that the message of the expulsion from Eden--that is, if people engage in sexual intercourse they must necessarily die--is found in other, unrelated cultures as well. Both he and Leach contend that most, if not all, people equate sexual activity with the origin and the continuation of time and of change. Whether consciously or not, the writer of this episode has accepted these associations also.

The plot of "The Return of the Archons" also plays with an idea of oscillating time, and it illustrates the point that Leach makes in the second part of his essay, "Time and False Noses." He begins this essay by asking why people all over the world "mark out their calendars by means of festivals" (1961:132)--anything from the weekly Sunday roast to the annual, all-out inversions of Saturnalia or Carnival. Just such a festival seizes our attention at the beginning of this episode, which finds the *Enterprise* crew on Beta-3 trying to discover what has reduced Mr Sulu to a vacuously grinning automaton. Like Gamma Trianguli, this is a culture with no changes, no hostilities, no aggression or quarrelling, only harmony and peace. But there is a difference. Periodically there is what the Betans call the "Red Hour," during which the younger persons, at least, are required to commit every kind of mayhem. They go in an instant from insipid amiability to violence, destroying everything in their way and assaulting each other with a will. At the end of the period they all return to "normal," and it is as if none of it had ever happened. From an American cultural point of view this is equivalent to "venting," without which (it is widely, if erroneously, supposed) a person will become neurotic and probably suffer a psychosomatic disorder. The anthropologist sees this, though,

as an admirable example of the symbolic representation of time. The alternation between ordinary humdrum time and the periodic ceremonial reversals, like Hallowe'en and Mardi Gras, confirms the passage of time; in a way, it also creates it, in cases where the ritual is held to be the impetus for time to continue (as, for instance, among the Aztec).

Teaching anthropological approaches to power, authority, and freedom

These episodes provide material for discussion about two other important topics in this course: the opposition between *gravitas* and *celeritas*, and the proper relationship between the individual and society. The most extensive academic examination of the first of these, *gravitas-celeritas*, is that by Georges Dumézil, part of which I have the students read in connection with this discussion (Dumézil 1988). As he sets it out, *gravitas*, which may also be called authority, is the ordered, calm, predictable, social side of life, associated with the elders of society; but it is sterile and incapable of generating its own energy. For that, it relies on *celeritas*, which may also be called power: a violent, mad, dangerous, fecundating, energizing irruption of brief duration, accomplished by the youth of the group. Because that which is *celeritas* is dangerous if unchecked, *gravitas* limits it and, in the process, turns the energy to useful productive ends rather than destructive ones.

This relationship, one of the most important discoveries of anthropology, is a cultural universal; and as such it merits inclusion in any anthropology course. Its relevance to this course, though, lies not in its universality but in the fact that Americans have difficulty understanding authority and power and the relationship between them. Not surprising, then, that this ideological conflict finds expression in many of the episodes in the *Trek* series, even though it is never addressed explicitly. "Return of the Archons" is an excellent illustration of Dumézil's argument in that it contrasts the wild festival--obligatory for the young people of this planet, but not the elders--with the calm and order of what Kirk calls "normal" life. While a psychologising interpretation takes the "Red Hour" as a way of letting off steam repressed by the totalitarian rule, the anthropologist familiar with Dumézil's formulation will understand that this is a necessary revitalisation of the system. Without that brief violence, the whole world would succumb to entropy, slowing asymptotically to a near standstill.

The plot of "The Apple" represents this dyad in a slightly different way. For one thing, it emphasizes the relationship between authority and power more than that between rule and disorder. Vaal is clearly the authority, initiating action on the part of his followers, who therefore constitute the power in this relationship. At the same time, Vaal is himself powerful, punishing the wayward with bolts of lightning and nearly destroying the *Enterprise*. This conforms to Guénon's observation that authority encompasses power, since it must both authorize and bring into effect what it has authorized (Guénon 2001). In stressing the fact that the people of

Vaal have lived unchanging for millennia, the episode confirms the postulate that without periods of disorder, a society cannot reinvigorate itself. The *Enterprise*, in this case, provides the violent, fecundating irruption, first by demonstrating the pleasures of physical intimacy, then by removing the barrier to their enjoyment among Vaal's people, finally by assuring them that before long they will have "replacements" to look after. (The Captain, cravenly, does not warn the people of Vaal that with replacements comes death.)

Other episodes with obvious examples of these relationships include "Gamesters of Triskelion," where the Providers authorize combats and the Thralls carry out their wishes; "The Cloud Minders," where a similar relationship obtains between the people of Cloud City and the Troglite miners on the planet's surface; "The Enemy Within," in which the Captain is beamed up split into two opposed parts, or personalities--one "good," one "bad"--each in a different but identical body; "The Way To Eden," in which the young renegades who hijack the *Enterprise*-- individualistic and adamantly opposed to regimentation and direction--represent the *celeritas* to the crew's *gravitas*; and "The Trouble with Tribbles" and "I, Mudd," both of which show the dire consequences of power unregulated.

But more generally we observe that the hierarchy of the officers aboard the *Enterprise* represents these dyads also--or it should. Ostensibly, Captain Kirk is the authority, and he does indeed authorise everything that his crew does. The crew, including the deck officers, are the power to the Captain's authority, carrying out his orders with--usually--no questions asked. As my students are quick to point out, though, Kirk is a bad example of authority, always insisting on doing himself what he should delegate to others. No wonder that Americans have difficulty understanding the relationship between the two aspects of governance. In another regard, the triad Kirk-Spock-McCoy represents the relationship between *gravitas* and *celeritas*. Spock is, of course, the very model of the first. McCoy, the most emotional of the three, is his opposite if only for that reason. In this case, Kirk's effective moderation of rationality with sentiment, logic with emotion, mediates these extremes and justifies his status as Captain.

The other important theme relevant to "Archons" and "The Apple," the relationship between the individual and society, is another major concern of Americans. As such, it finds repeated expression in *Star Trek*. The worlds in these two episodes promote the collective at the expense of the individual. On Beta-3, everyone is "absorbed" into "the body," lofty language for brainwashing to rid a person of any tendency to individual action. The servitors of Vaal find themselves punished for attempts to do other than what Vaal has ordained. People on both planets seem to think that their own desires and interests--if they have any--are not only unimportant but may be positively dangerous to the good of the whole. And, predictably, both episodes challenge this totalitarian idea. During the Cold War, when *Star Trek* was conceived and aired, a critical difference between the Russians and the Americans was that we encouraged people to be themselves--"it's a free country," we were fond of saying, ignoring the fact that all that means is that Britain no longer rules us--and the Russians prohibited it. That made us great,

and them the losers. This kind of jingoism runs through the *Star Trek* episodes, of course. It is surprising, though, how often students claim to have been unaware of it.

Exploring the concept of the person

The relationship between individual and society is one aspect of the concept of the person, another important theme in this course. Many of the *Star Trek* episodes concern this very issue--in fact, it is common in science fiction generally, not to mention other literary genres. And it is certainly a subject of great importance to Americans, as the debates over stem-cell research, abortion, sex-changing, long-term coma, and human euthanasia show. We pick these up in our discussion of the four episodes we watch in connection with this topic: "By Any Other Name," "Spock's Brain," "Mirror, Mirror," and "The Enemy Within." Each plot hinges on some drastic modification to the person and its consequences, but in each case the modification differs radically from the others, so that as a set they provide interesting variety for argument.

The action of "By Any Other Name" begins with the *Enterprise* responding to a distress call. When the away team beams down to help, they find two human-looking people--Kelvans--who demand the surrender of the ship. Naturally the Captain refuses, and the crew discover that the Kelvans can interfere with the human voluntary nervous system and--when truly thwarted--reduce humans to fist-sized truncated cubes of something that might be mineral but looks like styrofoam. The Kelvan leader describes them as "the essence of all they were. Flesh, and brain, and what you call the personality distilled down into these compact shapes. Once crushed...this person is dead." He suits action to word, shockingly. The Kelvans themselves are in borrowed bodies, as the crew soon discover. They have cultivated their intellectual powers by deliberately suppressing emotion and sensory impressions. But now, in human bodies again, they are assailed by a variety of both, with predictable results including a fist-fight between the Kelvan leader and the Captain. In short, the episode presents a materialist view of the person in saying that the body and the senses inform the workings of the mind, and that even non-material qualities like emotions and personality can be reduced to a chemical compound.

As the title suggests, "Spock's Brain" also explores the relationship between mind and body. Here again there is an alien attack on the physical integrity of a member of the crew, in this case Mr Spock. They remove his brain surgically, leaving his body still alive--but not for long. Dr McCoy warns the Captain that without a brain to keep it going a Vulcan body will die within 24 hours, and so the *Enterprise* sets off in pursuit of the brain. They discover that the thieves have taken it to run their society and maintain the physical plant on which they depend. Spock's brain is alive and well, and it is also unquestionably Spock, even without the ears. It communicates with the crew in Spock's voice and with his unemotional logic. The episode suggests that a body without a brain is no longer a person,

since Spock's body is dying. We get the same idea presented metaphorically in that the society of underground women who installed Spock as their governor was also "dying" without a "brain" to direct it. But the show also suggests that the brain sans body--or, anyway, its original body--is still the person; more, that Spock himself has not changed as a person despite his brain now being part of a completely different "body."

"The Enemy Within" gives us yet another point of view, presenting the person as an alloy of virtuous and wicked rather than a conjoining of brain and body. At the beginning of the episode Kirk is beamed up split into two parts, or personalities, each in a separate but identical body. One comes up facing the camera, and is his "good" aspect; the other, his "bad" side, comes up with his back to us. Spock remarks with his customary acuity that this is "an unusual opportunity to examine the human mind." He might have observed with equal pertinence that Robert Louis Stevenson had anticipated these events by some centuries in "Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde," which also examines the relationship between the will to do right and the innate resistance to that inclination. Throughout the episode the two Captains perform appropriate activities: the "good" one keeps the log, obeys all the rules, and is generally a good example of Ruth Benedict's Apollonian man and Dumézil's *gravitas*. The "bad" one is destructive, hostile, violent, and in all respects Dionysian, or *celeritas*. The differences are so clear-cut that we can arrange them in classic dichotomous style:

"real" Kirk	"alter ego" Kirk
good	bad
virtuous	vicious (drunken, rapacious, violent)
rational	emotional (furious, savage)
selfless	selfish
social	egotistical
courageous	paranoid, cowardly
indecisive	decisive
physically weak	physically strong
slow	fast

The episode argues that both aspects are necessary to being an effectual person. The good, virtuous aspect is useless without the strength and decision of the bad, vicious aspect, which in turn is unproductive without the control and guidance given it by the good side. The argument represents a person as a microcosm of the forces that, according to Dumézil, influence the course of history and the structure of governments. Authority must control power, power must revitalise authority, or both will cease to exist.

"Mirror, Mirror" treats the question of the person in yet a different way. In this episode, a transporter malfunction causes the landing party to slip into a parallel universe, bringing their opposite numbers simultaneously aboard the *Enterprise*. The parallel universe is an evil Empire where intimidation and treachery rule and advancement depends on assassinating one's superior officer. It is in every way the opposite of the democratic United Federation of Planets. The "real" *Enterprise* crew members manage to blend in--Kirk even hoodwinks the mirror-Captain's mistress--and to ward off attempts upon their lives. The misplaced mirror crew, however, cannot adapt to the democratic, fair-play culture of "our" *Enterprise* and quickly find themselves in the brig. The situation is resolved by the mirror Spock, who realises that these three are not his own people and devises a way to reverse the transfer occasioned by the faulty transformer.

The action in this episode gives us a starting point for talking about the relationship between culture and personality--that is, in a sense, the person. Ostensibly these two universes have the exact same people in them--presumably their DNA is the same--but because their societies have evolved differently, they are themselves different. But how different? Kirk is still the captain on both ships; Spock too has the same position, and he is equally logical in both worlds; Sulu is still the helmsman--and so on. Drawing the contrast with the idea presented in "By Any Other Name," where the attitudes and reactions of the person are entirely a function of their physical characteristics and their senses, we usually have a very lively debate about nature vs nurture, sociobiology, and materialist vs rationalist approaches to understanding human beings.

To complement what these episodes say about American ideas of the person, the class read what some anthropologists have said about the definition of the person in other cultures. Readings include selections from Maurice Leenhardt's classic work, *Do Kamo*, which treats of the idea of the person in a New Caledonian society. The Canaques among whom Leenhardt lived had a very different understanding of the relation of brain, mind, soul, and body. Another study, also from the Pacific, is Simon Harrison's paper "Concepts of the Person in Avatip Religious Thought" (1985). In emphasising the power (efficacy) of the person as a creator and maintainer of social relations and, therefore, society, Sepik River societies are similar to American society. But, as Harrison's paper shows, we differ considerably in our ideas about what constitutes a person. While we think of personhood as monolithic, consistent from one context to another, the Avatip think of the person as multi-faceted, each facet appropriate to a different social context. I also have the class read the introduction to Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus*, which offers challenging ideas about equality, hierarchy, and the relationship of person to society. Countering both American individualism and the imagined totalitarian states of *Star Trek*, he argues that the person is "a more or less autonomous point of emergence of...a *society*"(1970:39). Christopher Crocker's paper about Bororo identity, "The Mirrored Self" (1977) which analyzes the relationship between the formation of a personal identity in a culture with "rigorous categorical limits on meaning, personal choice, and conceptual position" (1977:129)--very different from either the Sepik River or the modern United States. My intent in making

these assignments is to make the students aware of some of the anthropological literature on this subject and to throw into relief their own unexamined ideas about the nature of the person and realise that those ideas are cultural, not natural.

The study of ideas of the person bridges the two halves of the course. In the first part, we looked for what the show took from anthropology; in the rest of the semester, we talk about how it made use of contemporary American events: the Cold War, Viet Nam, the hippies, and the Civil Rights movement. My take on these is that we should understand them in the same way that we look at mythology. The original *Star Trek* is about the 1960s in the same way that mythology is about the culture that generates it, even when the mythic narrative includes events physically impossible, morally repugnant, or both. Like mythology, *Star Trek* is a collective representation. It deals metaphorically with American culture, and America in turn has made *Star Trek* so much a part of its culture that references to it may now go almost unnoticed.

Star Trek as mythical representation of U.S. culture and politics

The sixties talked about making love not war, tuning in and dropping out, going to San Francisco with flowers in your hair. But it was not all about irresponsibility. John F. Kennedy's inaugural exhortation to "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country" got a positive response. People adopted the motto "*Give* a damn," and they turned their attention to social work, the Peace Corps, inner-city schooling, and similar means of improving the lives of the unfortunate. Nowadays people like to recall the sixties as a halcyon time before things really started to fall apart. The reality, of course, is quite other. It was a violent decade and a frightening one. The Cold War and the real fear of Communism as a malignant force produced the Vietnam war, ruinous in many ways. This in turn contributed to the emergence of the hippies, who saw no point in trusting an authority that could embroil the country in such a mess and who refused to follow conventions that now seemed hypocritical. At the other end of the social spectrum, the Civil Rights movement also expressed profound dissatisfaction with authority and the status quo, insisting that rights were for all American citizens, not just those whose ancestors came from Europe.

Star Trek incorporated these concerns in its plots. I have several objectives in devoting much of the course to this material. One, which I have mentioned, is to have them see these episodes as mythology and, in so doing, come to appreciate my insistence that what we call myth, other cultures call history. Another aim is to make the decade more immediate for my students, who by this time are not just the children but sometimes the grandchildren of people who came of age then. Being so removed from that period, they do not appreciate what an exciting, anxious, dismaying time it was. The other objective is to have them recognise the serious side of the series. The students are naturally aware that current TV shows refer to contemporary issues, frequently of a trivial nature. They are inclined to see *Star*

Trek as almost a parody of itself--with good reason, I have to admit--and so they do not see the consideration of important and disturbing matters underlying the amours of Kirk and the verbal sparring of Spock and McCoy.

I begin the whole consideration of American culture with the Cold War because it was a contributing cause of the other topics we cover in this part of the course. The first episode we watch is "A Taste of Armageddon," in which two neighboring planets have been at war for over five centuries. Or so they inform the landing party from the *Enterprise*. The *Enterprise* people find this puzzling, as there are no signs whatever of fighting or destruction. The situation becomes clear quite quickly, however: the two planets attack each other by means of computers, which register a certain number of deaths after each attack. A treaty binds each government to ensure that that number of people is actually destroyed in "disintegration chambers." The most fearful sanction--that a real attack will occur--keeps both sides true to the terms of the treaty. The ruler of the planet explains that the system satisfies the innate predator in humans but does no damage to the infrastructure, so the survivors can continue to live prosperous lives.

The inhabitants of the planet, like the planet itself, have names ending in numbers, suggesting what is in fact the case: that they are all subject to the commands of their government in favor of the greater good (in this case, reporting to disintegration chambers when ordered to do so). Such a society recalls Russia, or what was popularly supposed to occur in Russia: a dictatorship with callous disregard for the suffering of its subjects, who must obey its every order without question. The war between these planets, in turn, recalls the Cold War itself--not that the U.S. and Russia ever came to blows directly, although the threat was always there. But like these two planets, they achieved a perpetual stand-off, each constructing yet more nuclear arms in order to deter the other from making the first strike. Kirk violates the treaty so that both sides will actually suffer the horrors of war, and consequently bring it to a speedy end. Indirectly the show offers a criticism of the posturing of the U.S. and Russia, for which there was no excuse. Both sides had been through a particularly bloody time not long before, and the Russians in particular had suffered grievous losses of life and damage to property. The episode suggests that the two countries ought to take a lesson from that and cease their constant sabre-rattling.

The reading for the Cold War is the first chapter of Stephen Whitfield's *The Culture of the Cold War* (1996), which describes well the atmosphere of suspicion and paranoia that pervaded the 1950s after the realisation that the Russians too had atomic weapons. The threat that there would be a World War III, following this discovery, and the resulting arms race affected the country well into the sixties--as "A Taste of Armageddon" makes clear.

From the Cold War it is an easy segue to the Vietnam War. In connection with that engagement, we watch two episodes, "A Private Little War" and "Omega Glory." The first of these is one of the most thoughtful of all the episodes. The action takes place on an Earth-like planet that Kirk had visited years before as a lieutenant. In describing its character to Spock and McCoy, the other members

of the landing party, he calls it a Garden of Eden and notes particularly that the inhabitants never fight among themselves, although they have arms for hunting. The *Enterprise* has come to the planet to try to secure exploratory rights, since it promises to be what McCoy calls a "medical treasure house." They soon learn, though, that things have changed since Kirk's first visit. Some of the population have abandoned nomadic foraging in favor of village life. They are armed now with flintlock guns that they have been given by the Klingons, who have also taught them how to make the weapons and supplied them with the raw materials. The intent is to have the villagers overcome and wipe out the hill people, who still follow the old peaceful way of life. Kirk decides that to allow this to go forward is intolerable even if his actions do contravene the Prime Directive. In order to redress the balance, he arranges for the Federation to provide the hill people with flintlocks too. Although they are initially reluctant to change their way of life, they come to see that it is necessary. It is a decision neither Kirk nor the hill people take lightly; as the Captain says in the closing scene, it is not what he wants, but what has to be.

The dialogue makes an explicit mention of Southeast Asia in the twentieth century, linking this episode to the Vietnam War. Initially the United States supported the South Vietnamese against the Communist North, backed by Russia, China, or both. The U.S. feared that the better-armed Viet Cong would crush the (allegedly) pro-democracy southerners unless the latter also had up-to-date weapons and military training, which we decided to provide. The results were disastrous for the United States, and not much fun for the Vietnamese either. The dialogue of this episode conveys the opinion that although participating in this kind of escalation is necessary, it is a wretched business--as we now know.

"The Omega Glory" is intellectually the opposite of "A Private Little War." So far from being thoughtful, it is chauvinistic to the point of kitch; and it gives a completely different opinion about the Vietnam war. The plot is not unlike those of "Bread and Circuses" and "Patterns of Force": the *Enterprise* arrives at the planet Omega-4 to find that the captain of another starship, the *Exeter* (whose crew have all died of a local infection), has violated the Prime Directive by interfering in the culture of the planet. There are two societies on this planet: one an Asian-looking people called Kohms and the other a northern-European-looking folk called Yangs. These two have been at war for generations. Until recently, the Kohms had dominated the Yangs, but when Capt. Tracey arrived that balance was shifting. He provided the Kohms with phasers to help them maintain their superiority. At this point Kirk and his party appear and express disapprobation of Tracey's actions. He explains that the Yangs are true savages, incapable of speech, rationality, affection, or loyalty; their overcoming the Kohms would be unnatural. The Yangs eventually attack the Kohm village and overcome it, and apparently the whole Kohm polity too. The Yang leader, having discovered Kirk's finer points whilst they shared a prison cell, invites him and his people to the audience chamber, where they are allowed to see the Yang holy relics. The first is the American flag. The Yang leader begins to mutter mystic-sounding words which turn out to be a garbled version

of the pledge of allegiance. Kirk realises that the Yangs are Yankees, the Kohms Communists--only on this world, the Communists won the conflict in Southeast Asia. He discovers also that the Yangs have largely forgotten the true meaning of the flag, the pledge, and above all the Constitution, access to which they limit severely. In a fine patriotic speech (until one remembers that Shatner is not himself American, but Canadian), Kirk explains that the core American tenet, democracy, means that the Constitution is meant for *all* the people, not just the leader and his inner circle. We are left to assume that the Yangs will remain dominant on this planet because of their renewed awareness of equality and the American way.

The reading about Vietnam is Book II of Neil Sheehan's gripping *A Bright Shining Lie*, in which he traces the growing awareness that those in charge of the war were duping the American public about the course of the war and its prospects. Sheehan discusses the strengths of the Viet Cong versus the weaknesses of the South Vietnamese, and offers explanations for why the attempt to contain Communism in Southeast Asia was a failure. This first chapter gives an historical context for the conflict, beginning with the Chinese occupation of the area, moving on to its settlement by the French, to the determination of Ho Chi Minh to rid his country of the French presence after the disappointing results of the Treaty of Versailles, the consequent entanglement once again with the Chinese and the Soviets and, eventually, the confrontation with the United States.

Concurrent with the escalating war abroad was the burgeoning internal conflict over civil rights in this country. "Let that be Your Last Battlefield" is an episode manifestly about the Civil Rights movement--or, more accurately, about the utter futility of racial hostility. Here again aliens invade the *Enterprise*: two men, each of whom has a completely white side and a completely black side. They appear separately. The first identifies himself as coming from the planet Charon, which Kirk says is in the "southern part of the galaxy"--a subtle sign that we are, indeed, talking about the Civil Rights movement. The newcomer emerges almost at once as a racist himself, condemning the white and the black members of the crew for being "monotone." Shortly after his arrival a second black-and-white man appears. The crew's assumption that they are friends receives a rude correction when the second says that he has been pursuing the first, who is a fugitive from justice. The arguments they let fly at each other are full of the rhetoric of contemporary black/ white dialogue: that those who enslave do so to benefit the slaves, that slavery can benefit neither slaves nor owners. Asked why they are so bitterly inimical when they're just the same, one of the men refutes the suggestion by saying that the other is obviously inferior because he is white on his right side instead of being black, as a superior person would be. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the race issue, and it makes a good point. But the two men do not see it so. They manage to transport themselves down to their own planet, which the ship's sensors discover to be barren of life except for these two men. Although the episode ends there, it gives us to understand that they, too, will shortly perish. The lesson is clear. Without racial co-existence, we too will destroy ourselves.

"Last Battlefield" gives us a lot of material to discuss. Naturally, we talk about

persistent racial discrimination in the country. But first, I spend some time telling them about the nonviolent civil rights movement, and I ask them to read three chapters from Taylor Branch's brilliant study of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Parting the Waters*, in which he describes King's move towards non-violent civil disobedience. I also point out that although we still have some considerable way to go in eradicating race as a way of thinking about people, nevertheless half a century has seen some significant changes. As I write this, Barak Obama--who describes himself as bi-racial, although the media call him African-American--has been elected the 44th President of the United States with a clear majority of the popular and the electoral votes. In the fifties and sixties, some people wished that this might happen, but who seriously thought that it would happen this quickly? Changes that are closer to home for my students are evident, too. They remember the election of the Honorable Douglas L. Wilder to the governorship of Virginia, the nation's first elected black governor. In many Virginia cities, including Richmond, city governance is both black and white, black often dominating. On the Mary Washington campus, African-American students and white mingle freely; there are interracial friendships and even couples. The students take this kind of thing for granted, which is heartening. They also complain, with justice, that we should be more diverse than we are. But I remind them that only forty years ago the campus was lily-white and interracial marriages were illegal in Virginia. As we work for further improvement we must not lose sight of the real changes that have occurred.

"The Way To Eden," *Star Trek*'s treatment of the hippie movement, is a good contrast to the civil rights episode. The latter is unremittingly grim and despairing and the end is tragic. "Eden" has lighthearted moments and suggests the possibility of reconciliation between the hippies and authority. The plot has a group of young renegades under the leadership of a somewhat older man hijacking the *Enterprise* and making the crew fly them to a planet they call Eden, where they can do their own thing and not be bothered by social expectations or disapproval. Their leader, Dr Severin, who is based on Dr Timothy Leary, preaches a hedonistic anarchy. The hijackers are in all ways the opposite of the *Enterprise* crew--they are apparently unregimented, they wear loose revealing garments no two of which are alike, they keep no regular hours, they abhor bureaucracy and hierarchy, and they seem to have no notion of duty. Some of the crew find them appealing, but the Captain considers them regrettable, and not just because they have taken his ship. He can do nothing to thwart them, though, and eventually they arrive at their destination: a beautiful planet that is fatally toxic to anyone who ventures on to its surface. Dr Severin dies almost at once. The *Enterprise* crew manage to rescue his shaken followers, and promise to take them somewhere they can be looked after. If nothing else, we learn that a lack of discipline leads one to a sticky end.

Part of the discussion of this episode involves talking about what real hippies and their way of life were like. The episode, I have to say, is not very informative on that score. The actors are self-conscious and awkward, and the music fails to achieve a true sixties rock sound. *Hair* is a much better representation of life among the drop-outs. And so is Joan Didion's revealing essay "Slouching Towards Bethlehem," which I have them read. One of the things we talk about is the extent

to which this kind of life really gives people "freedom" to "do their own thing"; another is whether we can call this a society, or a sub-culture, if the rule is that nobody has to pay attention to anyone else, ever. Do we, can we, find Durkheim's moral person in Haight-Asbbury? The episode allows us to revisit earlier themes as well, such as the representation of the "other" (in this case not fearsome aliens, but revolutionaries) and the relationship between *gravitas* and *celeritas* that we touched on in connection with "The Enemy Within," "The Apple," and "Return of the Archons." The article "Social Hair," by Christopher Hallpike, considers these matters, if somewhat obliquely. I ask them to read it because of the long loose hair--especially for men--that was the hallmark of the hippies. Hallpike's analysis argues that a tight, constrained hairstyle--e.g., the tonsure, braids--indicates that one is an obedient member of a society; while a loose, formless hairstyle identifies one as a rebel, someone outside society. Interesting discussions result from what is, for many of the students, a novel revelation.

Coda

For the last two episodes we watch, "I, Mudd" and "Trouble with Tribbles," I identify no anthropological or American theme in the syllabus. As episodes, they seem to be intended to amuse rather than point a moral, and they make an agreeable finish to the semester. But they do have anthropological messages for those who will see them, and on the final exam one question asks the students either to offer a feminist critique of "I, Mudd" or to analyse "Tribbles" in terms of Mauss's theory of exchange. Whether I get any responses to the second depends on whether the students have had economic anthropology, since I do not discuss Mauss in this class--that would give away the answer. "Tribbles," afflicted as it is with pawky humor, nevertheless does illustrate Mauss nicely. The crew of the *Enterprise* adopt the tribbles, who then take over the ship, feeding on everything edible. They appear to be entirely parasitical until they reciprocate by revealing-- however unwittingly--that the grain intended for the relief of a new colony has been poisoned and that one of the "Federation" people is a Romulan spy. In "I, Mudd," Harry Mudd, of "Mudd's Women," has got himself on to a planet populated entirely by robots programmed to serve human masters. When the *Enterprise* arrives, he is the only human they have to serve. He has caused innumerable female robots to be made, most of them completely interchangeable, to respond to his lecherous whims. They are themselves under the control of a male robot named Norman. It is a feminist's nightmare, in spite of the fact that by the end of the episode we learn that the robots actually have a good deal of control over their "master."

The course is a lot of fun to teach and--I think, and hope--to take. The more experienced students get practice at applying what they already know; those less familiar with anthropology learn about it in a way perhaps more memorable than the standard lecture-and-discussion class. But beyond wanting to enlarge the anthropological knowledge of my students in this course, I hope that they will realise that one may be as it were habitually anthropological, not just about the grand aspects of their lives but equally about something as seemingly trivial as an old television series.

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FROM THE FIELD: STUDENT ESSAY

Expanding Access to HIV Testing in Northern Minas Gerais, Brazil

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Brazil serves as a potent example of a nation striving to meet the public health-care needs of a complex and diverse society. To evaluate how a public hospital in Montes Claros, Brazil has attempted to reconcile HIV/AIDS outcome gaps, this study examined aspects of the demographic profiles of public health clients receiving HIV exams in the largest city in Northern Minas Gerais at two respective sites. Age, sex, and residential neighborhood for clients tested for HIV during an eight month period in 2007-2008 at HUCF and CTA were statistically compared. In comparison to CTA, the population served by HUCF included more women, people from rural areas, and youth (ages 10-16). These populations, who face inequities in access to HIV services on the national level in Brazil, were more likely to access testing at the hospital. This case study serves as an example to other municipalities of how it may be necessary to offer public health care services at diverse sites in order to provide access to target populations.

Introduction

This applied anthropological study took place in a complex industrial society, specifically in a city that has tripled in size due to waves of rural-to-urban migra-

tion over the past two decades. Our international research collaboration focused on a public university hospital serving the municipal and regional needs created by mass urbanization. Through participant observation in the laboratories and collaboration with on-site staff, the need to define the impact of the new Immunology Division on HIV+ clients in the municipality and region was identified. Dr. Jones has been collaborating with professors and researchers in this hospital since 1995, when she lived in the medical residency at the hospital and taught classes in medical anthropology at the corresponding university, the State University of Montes Claros (UNIMONTES). She has returned to study, teach and conduct research at the hospital seven times since then (two years total). Julia first met our collaborators during a service learning abroad program in 2007 led by Dr. Jones, and has returned three times (four months total) to conduct participant observation, data collection, and collaboration with our international partners.   Through our meetings, we continuously defined and redefined our goals based on our collective needs, desires, skills and knowledge bases. In the course of these sessions we chose to focus on evaluating whether the massive expansion of the public university hospital had increased access to HIV testing for populations at high risk for social exclusion.

The Inter-American Development Foundation has clearly established that addressing diversity in meeting the social and economic development needs in multicultural and highly unequal societies is a major challenge. Brazil is widely known in development circles as the prime 20th Century Latin American example of a country with a complex process of unequal economic development. The exploded landscapes of the megacities of the industrial Central region, including cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and Sao Paulo, feature architectural feats of size and glamour, global business and style, and fashionable neighborhoods that are often encircled by massive *favelas*, or legally and publically unrecognized neighborhoods where poverty and poor infrastructure reign. Rural-to-urban migration is often seen as the culprit, bringing massive waves of national immigrants who often arrive without familial, educational, or financial support. These immigrants may be seen as racially distinct or as ethnically similar to peoples who are already in discriminated groups (indigenous, afro-descendent, rural). Stigma and oppression, as well as a lack of structural capacities to meet the needs of urban population explosions, have led to great inequalities in access to social and public services, such as healthcare.

Merrill Singer, a prominent medical anthropologist, argues that a "discussion of specific health problems apart from macro level political and economic issues only serves to mystify social relationships that underlie environmental, occupational, nutritional, and experiential conditions" (1986: 129). These conditions are inherently connected to the inequalities pervasive in Brazil's health care, specifically in regard to sexual health and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. There is growing recognition among social and hard scientists alike that the AIDS epidemic is not merely a biological or behavioral problem, but an epidemic manifested in cultural frameworks. This understanding is imperative in countries such as Brazil, containing the largest

population in Latin America and a third of all its HIV cases – by 2006, 620,000 cases of HIV/AIDS (KFF 2008).

Brazilian academics, public servants, and politicians are well aware of these and other inequalities, as issues of inequity served in many ways as the impetus for the reestablishment of the Brazilian democracy and development of the new constitution at the end of the 20th century. Ex-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a dependency theorist and one of the first Brazilian presidents after the return to democracy following Brazil's second military government (1965-1985), has often been quoted as stating that "Brazil is no longer an underdeveloped country. It is an unjust country." This lack of justice lies in the inequalities that exist in this country of contrasts. Though Brazil boasts one of the ten largest economies in the world, it also claims the most unequal distribution of income of any nation except South Africa (Advameg 2007). This economic stratification was the background for the new democracy in 1985, and the Brazilian Constitution of 1988; the latter specifically addressed inequalities in health care access by claiming that health care is not just a basic individual human right, but a responsibility of the country. *Sistema Único de Saúde* (SUS), a publicly-funded, rights-based health care policy, was the instrument by which to carry out the Constitution's promise of reconciling such inequalities. Despite SUS's success in serving 60% of the population, inequalities in health care access have been perpetuated, due to structural violence, exclusion, stigma, and ultimately, access. This case study presents evidence that in order to include certain potentially at risk populations, public officials need to consider factors affecting access.

In the past decade, the AIDS epidemic has rapidly grown into inland Brazil and smaller, rural municipalities, expanding beyond the large cities where the problem was first recognized and condensed. This trend of the spread of the virus into rural areas corresponds with the tendency of the epidemic to spread rapidly in contexts of high poverty. According to Kerr-Pontes, "structural factors such as economic underdevelopment and poverty, population mobility and migration patterns, social stigma, and gender inequality are heavily associated with the spread of AIDS in Brazil" (2004: 320). Unfortunately, these same factors that cause vulnerability and lack of access also perpetuate it, creating an inescapable, cyclical patterns of structural violence, such that the more marginalized a population is, the lower the probability of change in behavior causing vulnerability (Scheper-Hughes 1993). Consequently, the spread of HIV is disproportionally rapid among already marginalized populations (Pisani 2000).

Testing for HIV, including aspects such as test location and wait period for result, is essential to control the spread of the virus. In order to combat HIV, it is imperative to not only understand the inequities of access and the populations most vulnerable to contracting HIV due to structural violence, but also design infrastructure and health care processes surrounding HIV prevention and control that address such inequalities. We hope that our findings help illuminate part of a process, based within a combined public university and healthcare setting that is successfully addressing issues of social inclusion within Brazil's larger movement towards social development.

Review of the Literature

This study demonstrates how anthropological habits of thoughts and practice, especially those based in collaboration, can be applied to understanding disease and healing processes on macro-levels, such as within the context of national healthcare systems. Macro- and micro-scale forces in Brazil have excluded and increased HIV vulnerability in certain populations. "Structural violence is violence exerted systemically – that is, indirectly – by everyone who belongs to a certain social order" (Farmer 2004: 307). From Farmer (2005) to Lockhart (2008), anthropologists have increasingly used the term "structural violence" to address how history, political economy, and biology all interact to cause and perpetuate inequities in access, underdevelopment, poverty, racism, and the spread of AIDS. Despite its all-encompassing effect, structural violence affects populations differentially, and thus it is essential to recognize where the macro-structural forces manifest into sufferings of specific populations.

Women

According to the 2007 AIDS Epidemic Update in December, there are approximately 33.2 million people living with AIDS, 46.4% of which are women. In Latin America, there are approximately 1.6 million people living with AIDS, 32% of which constituted women in 2007 (KFF 2008). In the past 17 years, the percentage of females living with HIV among all adults in Latin America has jumped approximately 10%, and the ratio of females to males continues to rapidly increase. According to the CTA, in Northern Minas Gerais alone, since 1993, there are an estimated 602 new HIV cases, 45.8% of which are women. The AIDS epidemic is clearly an immense problem within Brazil, particularly as it increasingly affects women in areas such as northern Minas Gerais.

Though AIDS has predominantly been recognized as a "disease of men" due to the 2:1 male-female ratio of infection in Latin America, the HIV/AIDS epidemic is evolving into a less gender specific disease as the rates of male infection decrease and the rates of female infection increase (Frasca 2003, Santos et al. 1998). For example, the male to female ratio for global HIV cases changed from 29:1 in 1985 to 4:1 in 1993 to 2:1 in 1998, and continues this converging trend (Haddad 1996, Santos et al. 1998). These trends are augmented in Brazil, where since 1991, AIDS has been the leading cause of death in females aged 20-35 (Haddad 1996, Santos et al. 1998).

Not only are women are more vulnerable to contracting HIV biologically through vaginal and anal mucosa, the high concentrations of HIV in sperm, and the greater surface area exposed to bodily fluids in females' reproductive systems, but women are further at risk due to economic, political, and cultural conditions (Frasca 2003: 14). Brazil serves as a powerful example in which "national events such as political transition from military to civilian rule, extension of international capital markets into the hinterlands, and mass urbanization have profoundly altered social rela-

tions including gender roles" (Rebhun 2004: 183). These changes have resulted in increased structural and literal violence against women, most dramatically represented by the relationship between female servants and men from landholding families. Only a few decades ago, lower status households in rural Brazil were able to establish ties to economically stable landholding families via sexual relations between high status men and low status women, ultimately leaving women at the sexual mercy of men (Rebhun 2004). This legacy continues as perpetuated male dominance allows for differential access to power (Farmer 1999).

In Brazil, female sexuality is seen as both a dangerous force that needs to be controlled by men and a resource that a woman can use to ensure her economic survival (by enticing a man to support her). However, this economic dependence results in a further heightened susceptibility to contracting HIV. Gregg (2003) argues that since their sexuality is a valuable commodity, women may choose to underestimate medical warnings against risky sexual practices and thus be even more vulnerable to contracting sexual diseases. Furthermore, women who reach higher levels of independence by working outside the house and acquiring a steady income are viewed as more likely to be unfaithful by family and husbands alike, encouraging males to remain the sole source of income. Furthermore, Frasca states that Brazilian women are "less able to refuse sexual relations, are frequently victims of sexual violence and coercion, depend economically or emotionally on partners who often maintain additional sexual contacts, are culturally indoctrinated to serve or accept abuse, and are kept ignorant of matters involving sexuality" (2003: 14). This occurs within a context in which short-term, informal cohabitations are becoming more common, and male infidelity is prevalent (Rebhun 2004). Therefore, the cultural construction of gender roles dictates that as long as a male takes care of his family or short-term partner economically, infidelity is tolerated and accepted (whereas it is denounced if committed by women) and women are disempowered from protecting their reproductive health.

The disparities between women and men are further augmented by certain aspects of health care access. Despite the free distribution of antiretroviral drugs and protease inhibitions to all Brazilians starting in 1990, the AIDS mortality rate in women has only decreased 22%, where the rate of decrease amongst men is 36% (Santos et al. 1998). Furthermore, it has been indicated that women access public health services at later stages in illness than men (Santos et al. 1998). By the time women are diagnosed or receiving treatment in a hospital, their states of the illness are usually much more progressed than the average man's due to the fact that HIV positive women are less visible to AIDS organizations and their access is more limited to public health services. Due to these trends, the burden of HIV/AIDS is falling more heavily on women.

Rural residence and poverty

According to Farmer, "it is easy to document a growing 'outcome gap' between rich and poor and show that it is caused in part by differential access to increasingly effective technologies" (2005: 20). Due to increasingly unproductive land plots, competition for space, fluctuation of prices of agricultural products on the

global market, debt and dependence on private traders, and support of capitalist enterprise by the state, rural households are often more vulnerable to economic stress (Lockhart 2008). This stress is of particular prominence in the rural areas in and surrounding Montes Claros, where the cost of living is high due to the disparity in values of exported raw agricultural products and importation of processed foods between Montes Claros and the capitol city of Belo Horizonte. Forty percent of the rural population of Northern Minas is estimated to be living in poverty (Corrêa et al. 2004). Notably, "the spread of HIV epidemic among lower education as well as low-income populations is one of the most prominent characteristics of the current Brazilian AIDS epidemic" (Eyer-Silva 2005: 953). Not only does economic stress result in rural to urban migration, considered a strong diffusing factor for HIV, but also increased vulnerability of rural women from migrant communities (Kerr-Pontes 2004, Guimarães et al. 2007). Rapid influx of rural migrants against a fixed number of skilled labor opportunities is correlated to unemployment, crime, shortage of goods and services, and poverty. Poverty and lower socioeconomic status is undeniably a growing risk factor for unsafe sexual practices and higher vulnerability to contracting HIV. This tradition developed from poverty is perpetuated from one generation to another, continually placing rural residents at greater risk for contracting HIV.

Trends in the demographics of the HIV population also indicate that there are an increasing number of cases in smaller municipalities in Brazil. Smaller Brazilian communities and rural areas often lack the comprehensive health infrastructure and education to encourage healthcare access and HIV diagnosis, and patients from these areas are less likely to benefit from non-governmental organizations. For example, financial, transportation, and childcare issues may prevent individuals in rural communities from going to health clinics for testing, risk-reduction education, and condoms (Farmer 1999). In fact, despite the creation of free national health care in 1994, a significant minority of Brazilians still do not have access to health services. In a study including 34,239 individuals from 112,434 households across several Brazilian municipalities, 24% (8,338) did not have adequate access to healthcare (Mobarak 2003). The lack of resources and perceived need can lead to manifestation of large populations of undiagnosed individuals living in rural communities or municipalities (Eyer-Silva 2005). Furthermore, these individuals may be less likely to access HIV testing and treatment due to confidentiality issues that arise in small communities, which may further perpetuate the spread and diagnosis of HIV (Guimarães et al. 2007).

Youth

According to the president of Population Research Institute, a non-profit research group whose to expose human rights abuses and encourages programs to help the poor become agents of their own development, "AIDS alone is devastating the heart of [countries afflicted with the HIV/AIDS epidemic], affecting people in the prime years of not only their economic production, but the prime years of reproduction" (Armas 2004, cited in Farmer 2005: xxvi). Though the median age of the HIV population in Brazil has remained in the thirties for many years, this num-

ber is steadily decreasing as the younger population's vulnerability to contracting HIV increases. In 2006, 41.1% of the sexually transmitted HIV cases in Brazil occurred among men between 13 to 24 years old (KFF 2008). Much of this trend can be attributed to the same issues of inequity of access that plague women and those from rural areas. According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, in Latin America, sexual health and HIV/AIDS education are not readily accessible for young people and teenagers (2008). Furthermore, though the trend of increasing cases of HIV+ youth can be partially attributed to lack of sexual health education and accessibility of condoms, the initiation of sexual behavior at a relatively early age is also a factor. In 1996 in Brazil, the average age of first sexual experience was 16 years and 4 months for girls and 15 years and 3 months for boys, and an estimated minimum of 60% of adolescents between age 16-19 were sexually active (Corrêa et al. 2004).

In a country in which the majority of the population is Catholic, purchasing condoms is not only stigmatized but forbidden by the Church, as it is considered to be a sign of pre-meditated sex. Furthermore, adolescents without a strong sense of community affiliation are less likely to have the support and guidance necessary for a healthy lifestyle and foresight in actions, which can be manifested as a lack of intimate, monogamous relationships and heightened risk of HIV infection (White 1999). Particularly among teenagers living in poverty, HIV is generally regarded as a comparatively inconsequential problem in the context of day-to-day life (Lockhart 2008). Conflicting messages given by the religious establishment and by the media (where sexual references are pervasive) are the background for unprotected sex among teenagers, further perpetuating the vulnerability of HIV contraction in this age group.

Teenage girls are particularly vulnerable as nearly a third of the 330 million girls and young women (ages 10-19) in developing countries are married by age 18 (Clark et al. 2006). In Brazil, a quarter to a third of young women marry in their teens. Married adolescents have high rates of HIV infection due to frequent unprotected sex with men of an older age and the false perception of marriage as protection from HIV. Clark et al. reported that 26% of female teenagers (ages 15-19) who were unmarried but sexually active had had unprotected sex in the previous week, and 13.1% had had more than 2 sexual partners in the past year (2006).

Methods

Context

This research was conducted over a period of five weeks in the summer of 2008. The main objective of this study was to explore demographic variables of individuals who received HIV tests in the past year in the university hospital HUCF (Hospital Universitário Clemente de Faria) and at the sexual health clinic, Centro de Testagem e Aconselhamento (CTA), both in Montes Claros, Minas Gerais, Brazil. Following participant observation and informal interviews with laboratory staff, statistical analyses were conducted to compare demographic profiles of those receiving the HIV tests at these two locations. The results of this comparison were

evaluated in the context of those populations most affected by HIV in Brazil, in order to find any correlation between the demographic profiles of those receiving HIV exams and those in most dire need of HIV diagnosis and care.

Location

The state of Minas Gerais in southeastern Brazil includes 89 municipalities of 1.5 million inhabitants, a number rapidly increasing each year (Guimarães 2007). In the past decade, Brazil's urban populations have prodigiously grown due to rural to urban migration in search of better-paying jobs and educational opportunities. This increasing trend is particularly present in the northeast region of Minas Gerais, which experienced the largest urban population increase in the country in the 1980's (Kerr-Pontes 2004). Despite the existence of 56 large cities in northern Minas Gerais, there are only three centers for HIV testing and counseling, including CTA. Besides these centers, HIV exams are only conducted in private and public hospitals, which in many cases, are required to send the tests to private biomedical laboratories for analysis.

One of these public hospitals is HUCF, located in the largest city in northern Minas Gerais (Silva et al. 2007). This university hospital is the only all SUS (free to the public) hospital in the city. Due to several factors including a large migrant population and growing urban poverty, Montes Claros is experiencing the HIV epidemic intensely first hand. CTA provides HIV exams for over 750 patients per year, and HUCF hospital's biomedical laboratory conducted 353 in 2008. The hospital conducts exams for patients from over 145 different neighborhoods and several different cities outside of Montes Claros. Prior to late 2006, due to a lack of resource availability, HUCF did not conduct HIV tests within their own laboratory but rather sent blood samples to a biomedical laboratory in Belo Horizonte, the state capital, approximately 206 miles away. This resulted in a wait period of several days before the results of the HIV exam returned to HUCF, during which time the patient would be interred in the hospital. Not only did this process take an emotional toll on patients isolated from family, but this was a deterrent for populations unable or unwilling to leave home and familial obligations for days or to receive an HIV exam indiscreetly. Furthermore, by sending the exams to Belo Horizonte, the hospital lost an available hospital bed for days and paid approximately 18 American dollars ($37.50 Brazilian real) per HIV exam.

Due to these economic and humanitarian issues, HUCF established its own immunology sector in late 2006, allowing the biomedical laboratory to conduct HIV tests within the hospital. Not only did this allow for HIV diagnosis within hours, but it saved the hospital approximately 12 American dollars ($24.50 Brazilian real) per HIV exam. Since this is a new program in a rapidly expanding hospital, it is imperative to examine how on-site HIV testing has impacted the populations served, particularly in order to show the need for such a program in other hospitals currently without such testing capabilities.

Research Team/Personnel

The research team for this project consisted of an international collaboration between a faculty member and student from Elon University in North Carolina and staff members from HUCF in Montes Claros, Brazil. This bi-national team worked together on this project via e-mail for several months prior to and after data collection. Julia Elinor Roberts is an Honors Fellow at Elon University, who first visited the site as part of a Study Abroad program in 2007. Her mentor, Dr. Kimberly Marie Jones, a medical anthropologist, has conducted research, led study abroad groups, and taught periodically at UNIMONTES HUCF since 1995. Luçandra Ramos Espirito Santos, the director of HUCF's biomedical laboratory, was integral in hosting the meetings, orienting the Elon team to the laboratory, providing the initial database and other pertinent materials, and finding international references. Mauro José Guedes Roque, a biochemist in HUCF's laboratory, played an integral role in interpretation, collecting and analyzing the database, and orienting the student to basic laboratory procedures. Marise Fagundes Silveira, a statistician for HUCF, conducted the statistical analyses for the database. Amaro Sérgio Marques, director of the human relations efforts at HUCF, helped coordinate the project. Collaboration began in the spring of 2008 and continued for a year. During the initial meetings, the research question was refined to focus on the hospital's desire to examine the demographics of the clients accessing the new HIV testing service. June and July of 2008 were spent on site conducting participant observation in the laboratories and collecting and analyzing data from the first year of HIV testing at HUCF and the corresponding year at CTA. Julia returned to Montes Claros in summer 2009 to discuss and analyze findings with on-site collaborators.

Data collection and analysis

As mentioned, before, during, and following data collection the international team met face to face several times and corresponded via email, allowing us to communicate needs, concerns, and the direction and status of the research. Preparatory work including IRB acceptance in the United States and in Brazil with the assistance of Amaro Sérgio Marques, allowed for effective collaboration in Brazil. Kimberly Marie Jones and **Luçandra Ramos Espirito Santos** would be the principal facilitators of the face to face meetings, helping to frame the data collection required. With the help of **Mauro José Guedes Roque**, I collected the patient name (which were later replaced with numbers), sex, age, neighborhood (or city, if outside of Montes Claros) of residence, and test result to enter in a database and summarize. With the assistance of **Marise Fagundes Silveira**, these values were then input into an SPSS file for all the HIV tests from the past year. This software was then used to compare the demographic profiles of clients received HIV tests at the hospital and sexual health clinic CTA using statistical analysis with qui-squared tests, chi squared tests, and p values. Meetings during and following data collection continued to assess the story behind our data, the questions behind our research analysis, and the ways this research may contribute to HUCF and contribute to the anthropological community. Jones and my consistent presence in the hospital and

team meetings allowed for rapport and comfort that greatly facilitated the team's ability to work together and each individual's capacity provide insight from drastically different perspectives toward a common goal.

Results

These results bear great importance, not just for anthropologists, but for professionals involved in health care processes and infrastructure, as they demonstrate one possible way for public institutions to overcome structural violence – not only in Brazil, but also in other countries with stigmatized populations. Since research has identified groups of particular risk for disparities in access and health care outcomes, it is essential that public facilities respond by modifying infrastructure to maximize availability. As discussed, sex, geographic resident, and age can all have significant impacts on access to health care services and consequent outcomes due to their unique cultural implications. Our results indicate that other public hospitals should look to HUCF as a didactic example and consider offering on-site testing. Not only did HUCF's expansion allow for previously marginalized populations to access HIV testing, but by percentage of HIV tests, HUCF included more positive patients than CTA by 3.6% (Figure 1).
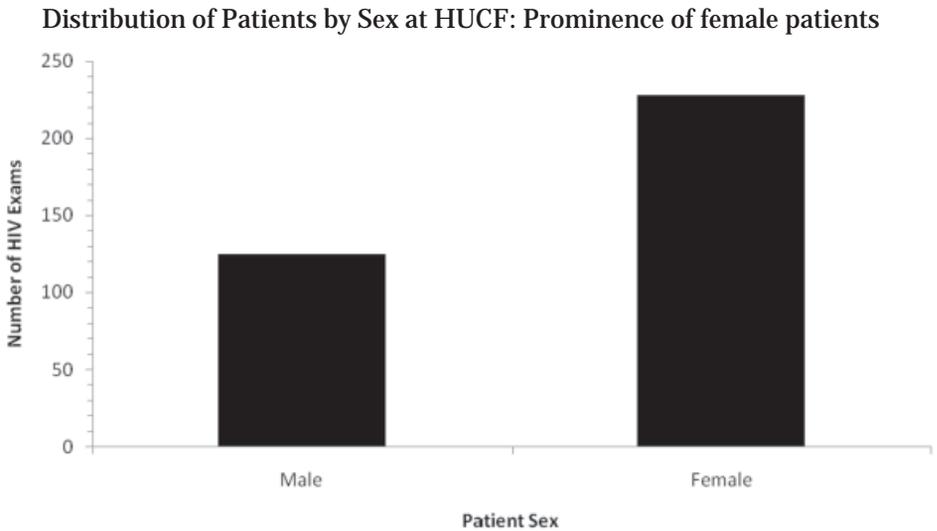
Distribution of Patients by Sex at HUCF: Prominence of female patients

Figure 1

Distribution of Patients by Sex at HUCF and CTA:
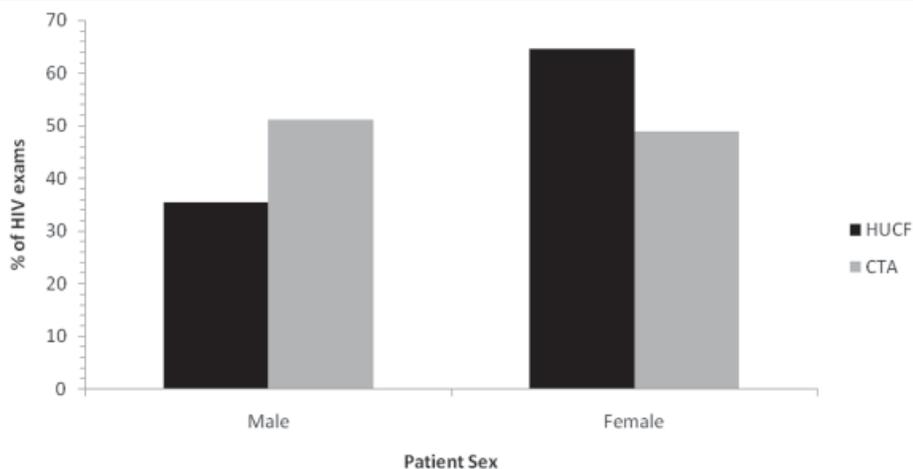**Prominence of females at HUCF**

Figure 2

HIV Exams: Sex

In order to ensure sustainability in the response to the HIV epidemic in Brazil, it is essential to consider how modifications to infrastructure and health care processes surrounding HIV prevention and control address inequalities among women. Facilities that offer HIV testing must ensure that women can readily access services, from education to testing. Among all the HIV tests conducted in the past year at HUCF, a majority (64.6%) were women (Figure 1). Though CTA's population also included a substantial number of women (48.9%), it is important to note that HUCF served a significantly higher percentage of women (Figure 2). Despite the fact that CTA has been one of the principal sources for HIV exams in the regional area, the expansion of on-site HIV testing at the public hospital offered testing to more women who previously could not stay at the hospital for a test result (they could now use the hospital's free public transportation to the hospital for a test, whereas this is not available for CTA), were deterred by the lack of privacy perceived at a sexual health center, or faced other difficulties. Our results also bear importance when viewed in respect to the test results. Among the 4.8% of positive tests for HUCF, 58.8% were male compared to the 33.3% in CTA, though this difference was not statistically significant. Though HUCF was testing more women than CTA, its population included more positive men, which is of particular importance since male to female transmission is more likely than female to male (Table 2). Not only have men been referred to as the principal vectors of the virus, but women simultaneously have been more vulnerable to contracting the virus due to structural and literal violence.

Results of HIV Exams at HUCF and CTA:
Prominence of positive results at HUCF

Exam Result	HUCF	CTA	Total
Negative (n)	336	754	1090
Negative (%)	95.2	98.8	97.7
Positive (n)	17	9	26
Positive (%)	4.8	1.2	2.3
Total (n)	353	763	1116

Table 1

Distribution of HIV+ Diagnoses by Sex at HUCF and CTA:
Prominence of HIV+ men at HUCF

Sex	HUCF	CTA	Total
Male (n)	10	3	13
Male (%)	58.8	33.3	50
Female (n)	7	6	13
Female (%)	41.2	66.7	50
Total (n)	17	9	26

Table 2

Distribution of HIV+ Diagnoses by Residence at HUCF and CTA:
Prominence of patients from outside Montes Claros at HUCF

Residence	HUCF	CTA	Total
Montes Claros (n)	8	8	16
Montes Claros (%)	47.1	88.9	61.5
Other City (n)	9	1	10
Other City (%)	52.9	11.1	38.5
Total (n)	17	9	26

Table 3

HIV Exams: Location

Geographic residence plays a significant role in availability of resources, access, and consequent outcomes in health care. The level of development (indicated by job availability, salary ranges, public and private investments, and quality of public services) varies in rural and urban areas. In Brazil, a country notorious for significant economic stratification, these geographic differences lead to striking contrasts, prominently represented by the poorer *favelas* and rural areas that reside beside rapidly developing, highly populated cities. Of all the HIV tests conducted at the university hospital, 17.6% of patients lived outside Montes Claros, despite the fact that only 6% of the city´s population lives in rural areas. This percentage was much higher than that for CTA. Despite the fact that CTA serves a broad population, only 3.1% of residents came from outside of Montes Claros (Figure 3) (Silva et al 2007). Also, among the 4.8% of positive cases in HUCF, 52.9% were outside of Montes Claros, greater than the 11.1% for CTA, though not of statistical significance (Figure 3). Yet these results are important in that the expansion of on-site HIV testing at HUCF has reached a population that not only has been acknowledged as at risk, but also has been previously underserved through the former options for testing in public hospital(s) or the sexual health center.

Distribution of Patients by City of Residence at HUCF and CTA: Prominence of patients from outside Montes Claros at HUCF
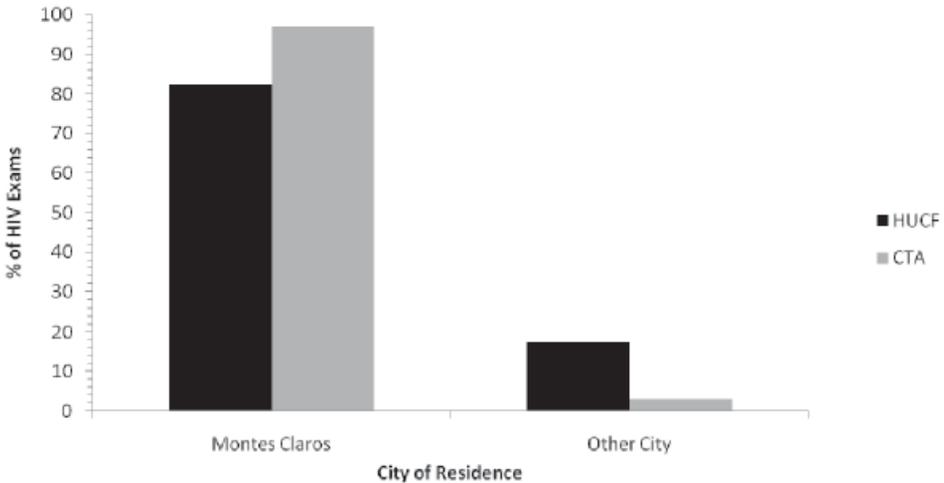
Figure 3

Distribution of Patients by Age at HUCF and CTA:
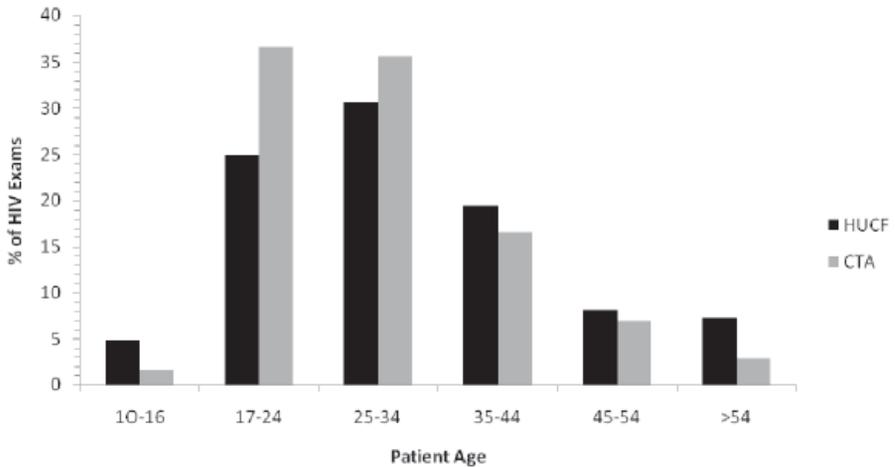Prominence of youth (ages 10-15) at HUCF

Figure 4

HIV Exams: Age

The age of an individual has a significant effect on the timing of sexual activity, education level, belief in the value or importance of testing, and other factors inherently related to HIV risk. Our results from HUCF and CTA indicate that the majority of patients seeking HIV tests are between the ages of 17 and 34, with CTA conducting more tests within these age ranges. Since CTA offers and conducts a significant number of HIV tests and is a recognized sexual health center in the community, it is evidently readily accessible and acceptable to access within this young and mid-aged population. The significance of our results is that HUCF's population contained more children and teenagers aged 10-16, more adults aged 35-54, and a significantly highly number of elders aged greater than 54 (Figure 4). This indicates that HUCF is reaching youth who are at risk due to intricately related cultural factors, as well as elders who are at risk due to HIV's perception as a "young person's disease" and other complex variables. The availability of on-site, more private testing at the public hospital allowed for these two previously underserved groups to be included.

Conclusion

Reconciling inequities in access is one of the most pressing issues in health care and represents a battle not solely grounded in medicine, but in human rights. According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25, everyone has the right to "a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including... medical care and necessary social services" (1948, p. 7).

Article 27 further argues that everyone has a right to "share in scientific advancement and its benefits" (1948, p. 7). These rights are undeniably applicable to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Brazil: it is a *human right* of all its citizens, whether female, poor or young, to freely and practically access HIV testing.

These issues of access and inequity are inextricably connected to cultural context. According to Farmer, structural factors from economic status to location and demographic factors from sex to age can be viewed as "vectors that converge in the bodies and lives of individuals" such that a higher convergence of factors correlates to higher risk of contracting disease (1996, p. 91). In the case of HUCF, with the newly established on-site HIV testing, the hospital successfully served individuals with such a high convergence: HIV positive men, women, people from rural areas, and youth. The ability to offer on-site HIV testing and immediate results in a more discrete location provided access to populations previously underserved due to financial, transportation, and childcare issues that prevented these individuals from using the off-site service at the hospital or going to the sexual health clinic for testing. Not only did the new on-site laboratory at the hospital serve more women, children, and residents of rural populations than CTA, but it had a greater percentage of positive exams.

These feats of closing the "outcome gaps" are of particular importance for HUCF and other hospitals serving HIV-afflicted populations, since access to HIV diagnosis, treatment, and care as such services are often less accessible to stigmatized sectors. Since HUCF's mission is to "serve as a center of reference for specific areas of action" including HIV, this case study serves as indication that the hospital is successfully reaching this goal and further providing didactic models to similar health care facilities (Silva et al. 2007). HUCF may also now serve as a reference for international collaboration, as this research is an example of a successful research team that was able to collaborate across geographic and cultural borders through anthropology. Communication, patience, and understanding allowed us to breach linguistic and cultural barriers through anthropological professionalism. In order to combat the HIV epidemic, it is essential that other public facilities use HUCF as a didactic example for its ability to reach marginalized, previously underserved populations through infrastructure modification. If other facilities can replicate such expansion of access, it would help us to better understand how modifications to infrastructure and health care processes surrounding HIV prevention and control can address inequalities. Ultimately, this case study demonstrates one possible way for public institutions to overcome structural violence not only in Brazil but in other countries with stigmatized populations.

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Spatial Mobility and Cultural Capital: Latino Students at Emma Elementary

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Using participant-observer methodology, I studied Latino students at a Buncombe County, NC, elementary school in the months of February through April 2007, looking for qualities of relationship formation and interaction as mediated by three principles – spatial mobility, cultural capital, and social proximity. These three dynamics were used to analyze the distinct environments of the classroom, lunch, and recess and explain motives as well as tendencies in the students' interactions. The amount of social proximity and the necessity for cultural capital were found to be in an inverse relationship with the amount of spatial mobility available. The varying levels of these dynamics in the different environments dictated with whom fifth grade Latino boys engaged in interactions. The interactions were highly stylized and demonstrated power, as well as linguistic, dynamics. However, significant demonstrations of racial prejudice were not expressed.

On my first visit to Emma Elementary, I stood at the head of the joint cafeteria/auditorium at the beginning of lunch, overwhelmed and dumbfounded at the perplexing, free movement of the kids. Groups swirled about, formed and separated faster than I could keep track of. My mind raced and my sense of equilibrium was disturbed— how am I going to make sense of this? Everything I had expected was topsy-turvy: the children showed no clear preference for interaction besides whoever was around them; there was no sense of ethnic, gender, or racial difference and thus no visible social inequalities. Even in seating, I didn't see any clear predilection by ethnic or gender lines – everyone was talking to each other, and loudly. I didn't even know exactly *what* I was looking for.

Thus began my introduction into ethnography. I had made, what felt like at the time, a disastrous choice to study children. All I could see were a bunch of kids acting like atomic particles bouncing off each other, and almost at the same speed. Over time, however, I grew not only to appreciate them, but also to understand them (or so I think). While hanging out with them during class, lunch, and recess, I got an insider's view at what actual rules and principles defined their experiences.

As a participant-observer, I behaved myself according to the way the kids were expected to act. In the classroom, I sat quietly and listened; at lunch, I sat down and stayed, not talking until the kids were allowed to; and at recess, sometimes I played, sometimes I just sat apart and watched. Through my seemingly innocuous research, I found that there are three coordinating axes of meaning that these children used to decide where to sit, what to say, and how to act. Several dynamics emerged, such as cultural capital – the ability to have common knowledge and to know how to use it. Spatial mobility, the freedom of movement available to them, was also important. Lastly, social proximity – the level of diversity the children are faced with in their interactions – is an important factor in understanding their interaction.

I have focused primarily on Latino[1] students, because they have a very particular relation with themselves, their peers, and their heritage. They are young and in-between. Their parents hail from a Latino culture and may not speak English. The Latino students' peers have presumably been raised in America, and only know English. The Latino students are liminal: they are both their parents' heritage(s) and their American socialization, and yet they are neither fully in one or the other. I have noticed in my research, more times than I can count, Latino students in the American school atmosphere striving to be accepted while still defining themselves as "Latino." The explosion of the Latino population in the US, particularly NC, means that this generation of children is going to definitively shape Asheville's future. To that end, I have sought to determine what factors come into play in relationship formation, interaction, and self-identification. My theory centers on how linguistic and cultural knowledge mediate these concepts through perceived options and company present.

I am investigating directly how the constructed environments of the classroom, lunch, and recess facilitate certain types of interaction among and across groups. I reason that the more the schools incorporate these Latino students, the better equipped these and all other students will be at interacting and functioning in a multi-cultural world. I am also indirectly looking at the style of education, which will determine how included Latino students feel, how much confidence they will have in the promise of a better life through education, and the variety of life choices they will have.

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1 The terms "Latino" and "Latino" share as perilous and insult-laden history as the terms "Negro" and "Black." Much like the latter two, the former have come in and out of favor throughout the years, but more so than the latter, the debate is still strong. Latino focuses on the long and continuing history of racial, ethnic, and cultural blending, as well as contemporary identity. Hispanic, on the other hand, connotes one's ties to the Spanish that conquered and colonized South and Central America. It emphasizes the language of the colonizer, the presence of Spanish culture, and for some, implies the painful history of domination. As the main "Latino" identifier I am using is speaking Spanish, I at the same time wish to distance myself from this debate because it is not immediately relevant to my topic, as I want to take a side because identity is something that will be very important in the lives of the children I have been studying. Thus I have chosen to use "Latino" out of respect, although I am not trying to make an argument that homogenizes culture or language.

Contexts

Whereas Asheville is 76 percent White, 18 percent Black, and 4 percent Latino out of a population of nearly 69,000, Emma Elementary is 58 percent White, 19 percent Black, and 22 percent Latino. Emma Elementary is markedly situated in an area with a concentration of Latinos. In the 2000 Census, North Carolina was listed as the state with the fastest growing Latino population, at nearly 400 percent over the previous ten years, while White growth was 14 percent and Black growth was 19 percent. Much of this growth has been fueled by new manufacturing and service sector growth and has attracted mostly young, unmarried Latino immigrants with little education from Mexico. Meanwhile, the poverty rate grew from 19 to 25 percent and the average annual earnings of an illegal worker were $16,000.

Emma school is situated in West Asheville on Louisiana road. It is an old school, having undergone many transitions, the latest additions being a large brick wing and two trailer classrooms out back. Near it are several trailer parks and subsidized housing neighborhoods, including the Woodridge apartment complex where I did my tutoring. Suffice it to say, the area is poor. According to Chad Upton, the Vice Principal at Emma Elementary, 75 percent of the students are on the Free/ Reduced Price Lunch Plan, which is demonstrative of their low economic status. The school teaches Kindergarten through 5th grade and has about 500 students with an average of 80 students per grade. The class size is typically 20 students, and as I demonstrated earlier, there is a concentration of Latino immigrants in the area, leading to a 19 percent enrollment rate at Emma. ESL students are pulled out of class for half an hour several times a week and given an individual appointment with an ESL teacher. However, the 4th and 5th graders are at a disadvantage, having a shortage of teacher's assistants to aid the teachers. The main identifier I used to describe someone as "Latino" was hearing them demonstrate a proficiency in spoken Spanish. To maintain privacy and anonymity, all students' names in this paper have been replaced with pseudonyms.

The teacher whose classroom I observed was Ms. Sherie Ryan-Bailey. Although she has only been teaching for five years, last year she was voted Best Teacher at Emma. I e-mailed her asking questions about the administrative approach to achieving equal education for Latino kids, and she responded:

> The administration is very sensitive to the needs of the Latino community – all correspondance is written in Spanish as well as English--interpreters are available all day long to communicate with parents for short visits or conferences. We treat all students as people who can learn and students are immersed in content and in class activities. We scaffold learning with tutors and with pull out ESL instruction. Teaching is impacted because we are required to have extensive training in dealing with children who do not have English as their first language. Language goals as well as content goals guide each lesson that we teach. We use many strategies to help kids understand

content – particularly we rely on visuals which are more prevalent in our classrooms due to the need to bridge the language gap. We also rely heavily on hands on activities – experiences that have more meaning for kids learning the language.

Ms. Ryan-Bailey is a wonderful teacher and teaches beyond all my expectations of what's required of elementary school teachers. Her enthusiasm is infectious and her zeal for educating the students is apparent in her abundant energy, compassionate joke-telling and discipline, and the amount of time she spends with individual students. She is an enchanting teacher, keeping the kids occupied with 5-10 minute activities, always moving onto something new and infusing each new project with mystery and excitement. I've seen her progress from a writing assignment to a spatial-drawing activity to a multiplication blitz, and the kids are electric and beautiful. I remember once not being to help being drawn in to the challenge of memorizing a strange geometric shape and then drawing it from memory. I chuckled to myself with glee at the communal "ohhhh" of recognition the second time she flashed the geometric shape on the overhead projector – these kids were so absorbed, so involved!

Terms

I use three terms to describe the relations of Latinos amongst themselves and to other children. First, *social proximity*. This is how much diversity the children encounter in each arena and is determined by their amount of *spatial mobility*. Spatial mobility is how much freedom the students have to move about at will. *Cultural capital* is what defines relations between any given number of individuals. Here, it is the knowledge of culture, language, norms, or any skill set, which can be used to one's advantage. Particularly important also is the knowledge of how to use one's cultural capital, especially in dominant-subordinate relations. A related definition would be that of "social capital," as defined by Robert Putnam, "social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them." (Putnam 2000:19) Although I do not follow that definition strictly, the ability to use cultural capital effectively does make possible and lead to relationship formation.

Tied in with cultural capital is the highly relevant dynamic of linguistic competence. As I will demonstrate, linguistic competence can be used in relations of power as an inclusionary/exclusionary mechanism which defines not only available discourse and courses of action, but who one can effectively associate with. Bourdieu's definition of cultural capital is relevant here (Bourdieu 1977:40,81,85,187). Cultural capital, as Bourdieu uses it, is the series of habits and dispositions that comprise a resource which the individual can use to gain profit, whether socially, academically, or economically. Bourdieu emphasizes the "success" component of having and using capital, but I will also study available options according to the amount of cultural capital one has as well as ways of

dealing with having less capital than those around. Cultural capital is divided into three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital is understood as a "skill" taking time to learn. Objectified cultural capital is an object such as a book about pirates which necessitates a certain amount of embodied capital to understand it. Institutionalized cultural capital is when, say, Ms. Ryan-Bailey recognizes Carlos' hard work and gives him an "A," a grade and type of capital which is external and distinct from the individual. (Weininger & Lareau, 2008)

In this paper, I also use the terms "insider group" and "outsider group." By this I do not mean any kind of political statement about dominant society. Rather, I mean by these terms the relationship of individuals to one another – if they associate in the same clearly, even if only briefly, defined group, then they are insiders to each other. If the individuals interact across group lines, then they are outsiders to each other. Cultural exclusiveness plays a role in shaping the composition and nature of interactions within and between groups. In this way, identity determines who is considered an insider and who an outsider. As the kids interact, the cultural boundaries as well as intersections of a symbolic order become clear. George Ritzer writes, "the symbolic order is a supra-personal structure of preexisting social determinations. It is the sphere of culture and language. We are born into it, and it gives us our name and tells us what race, class, gender, and other social categories we are." (Ritzer 1997:134) I would add to this that this order is not fixed; these children are discovering themselves, and will continue to be, especially in middle and high school. I argue that they will, to some extent, redefine their social categories as well as what it means to be part of them.

The Classroom

The basic structure of class, lunch, and recess provide different levels of spatial mobility – for example, in *class*, spatial mobility is low and the children have to do what the teacher says; spontaneous interaction is at a minimum due to behavior constraints. In Ms. Ryan-Bailey's classroom, I have observed many hours of general classroom instruction, but for the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the reading group that Carlos is a part of. I will write about how his cultural and linguistic aptitude constructs his available options for discourse and action. I seek to elucidate my earlier theorizing on the power of language as an inclusionary/ exclusionary mechanism which defines who one can effectively associate with as well as available discourse and courses of action.

Carlos wears glasses and his hair is cut in a crew cut. He usually wears a Gap hoodie and his fingernails are cut short. His skin is the color of a buttery pecan and he reads very well, carefully and clearly enunciating, "horrified astonishment." He reads consistently and conscientiously, but is not as smooth as a native speaker. Carlos is very studious and pays a lot of attention, but it seems to me that he has to process what Ms. Ryan-Bailey is teaching linguistically before he can conceptually. Thus, one time when he was called upon to answer, he seemed on the verge of

saying something, but then meekly passed on it. I couldn't tell if he knew what she was asking, was afraid to give the wrong answer, or is simply shy.

Oftentimes, when I arrive in the classroom, the kids are set up in their reading groups. These usually consist of 4-5 kids sitting together at a table reading a book together. Different groups read different books, presumably at different levels, but the groups are composed of the same individuals class to class. This particular group is composed of Carlos, the Latino kid with the innocent and attentive demeanor; Eddie, a White red-head who is soft-spoken but sarcastic, and not immediately willing to smile or express interest; Laura, a light-skinned African-American girl who is very proper and clean-cut, and Susie, a very shy and mousy White girl, who usually has to be prompted to speak.

Where Spinach is "Loathsome."

On one particular occasion, I sat down near Carlos' reading group and watched them interact just before Ms. Ryan-Bailey sat down. Carlos was talking anticipatingly with Laura and Susie about the book on pirates and the climactic scene they left at last time – the fragile female protagonist was bravely climbing a 180' mast. When Ms. Ryan-Bailey showed up, she praised the kids for doing such a good job listening and responding to each other, answering questions, and specifically mentioned Carlos for catching some important detail in the book that she had missed herself. This, too, was framed in the reality of the EOG, "If you understand the EOG like you do this book, *you're going to be on fire.*" Ms. Ryan-Bailey is able to focus entirely on this group because there are three other teacher assistants in the classroom reading with other groups. Throughout the 45 minutes of reading and comprehension, Ms. Ryan-Bailey regularly stops and asks the students in the group what a certain word means or about the significance of what's going on.

Carlos, being functionally bilingual, though not as comfortable as a native speaker, reserves his speech for when he is confident in his answer. For example, Ms. Ryan-Bailey asked the group what "loathsome" meant – while other students offered definitions approximating the disagreeable nature of the adjective, Carlos offered "mad" with a smile. Clearly, he feels encouraged and comfortable; Ms. Ryan-Bailey nearly always makes sure to prompt him for his opinion on the question. He even made a joke about spinach being "loathsome." Other times, it seems he can't think of an answer that demonstrates comprehension of the story. When Ms. Ryan-Bailey asked the students in the reading group what the rough and tough pirates on the ship would do to determine whether the pitiful woman could stay, Carlos reiterated someone else's answer, "They'll give her a test to see if she's worthy enough." Although it wasn't exactly an original opinion, this answer still demonstrates comprehension of consensus, though maybe not of American norms of how to measure a person's worth. Carlos also understood "rigging" as a place, though couldn't say specifically what it is.

Analysis. This style of working in small groups, whether it intentionally mixes ethnicities or not, encourages discourse and communal work on comprehension. The kids, even if not explicitly friends, come to know each other intimately by hearing each other's ideas, playing together, and getting momentarily involved in the liquid flux of groups and their conversations.

What I have noticed in observing this specific reading group is that Carlos tends to take a slight backseat to the other students, exhibiting more humility than confidence. Sometimes, I see that he's excited when offering his answer, and it seems to be because he's happy to feel like he knows what answer is expected. That is when he feels as much of a "normal" student as everyone else; at other times, all the novel facets of this culture and his own linguistic outsiderness behoove him to sit, watch, and try to figure out what is going on. However, given his comfort with the language (embodied cultural capital) and Ms. Ryan-Bailey consistently encouraging his participation, he is incorporated into the classroom education and social atmosphere. He explores the new vocabulary words and the reading comprehension, using his English proficiency as a tool to figure out what the other students think and what the right answers are.

Carlos is successful at interpreting a text about pirates, an instance of objectified cultural capital, because of his *skill* at the English language. His is a case where a Latino student has managed to function successfully in a monolingual classroom. He has bypassed the linguistic power dynamic by becoming proficient in the dominant language, although he still lacks proficiency in knowledge of the dominant culture. As an individual, without the crutch or support of other Latino students, he has circumvented his own cultural and linguistic handicap and functions quite productively as an outsider-cum-insider.

Lunch

At *lunch*, spatial mobility is at "medium", given the children can sit with any other students, even from different classes, as long as they're in the same grade. My experience has paralleled Barrie Thorne's, who studied gender relations among elementary school students, "I found that students generally separate first by gender, and then, if at all, by race or ethnicity." (Thorne 1993:33) Boys and girls would sit in gender-exclusive groups next to each other, and I rarely recorded an instance where the 5th graders sat completely mixed, as if without regard to gender. Lunch is held in the cafeteria, which is also the auditorium. On one side of the room is the stage; on the other the line feeding behind the wall where food is served. Parallel to the stage, along the two side walls, are five tables twenty feet long that seat about twenty kids. The tables are set close enough that the children are in very close proximity to each other. Strung on the walls are flags from a variety of countries as well as a reminder to wash hands.

Once students have sat down, they are expected not to get back up, not to interact any more than surreptitiously across tables, and to behave according to the dictates of the colored cups. The first ten minutes, the yellow cup is face down,

which means, "No talking, eat your food quietly." After that time has passed, a teacher informs the students they can switch the yellow cup with the red one underneath it. The red cup symbolizes twenty minutes of verbal play until recess. As individual seating selection proceeds, children get organized in ways they might not organize themselves. Different groups of kids happen to sit at the same table because that's where their friends are. But, the limited mobility of lunch behooves them to stay where they've sat, which fosters an open space for communication across group, ethnic, and gender boundaries.

Here two kinds of social capital, bridging and bonding, will be demonstrative (Putnam 2000:22-23). Bridging social capital is inclusive, involves making connections outside of one's group, and leads to broader identities and reciprocity. Bonding social capital, on the other hand, is exclusive, inward looking, and tends to reinforce "exclusive identities and homogenous groups." (Putnam 2000:22) I will speak of cultural isolation and how that plays out in the formation and interaction of groups of 5th graders at lunch.

Another lunch one temperate day in April, I went through the lunch line, grabbing fried chicken (which my teeth later discovered was more "fried" than "chicken"), salad, corn on the cob, and a chocolate milk. Chocolate milk has been a standard for me ever since I was a little kid, and I remember looking forward to it at lunch (some things never change). After paying, I scanned the cafeteria/auditorium quickly, intending to decide quickly where to sit so as to best observe and interact with Latino kids. I did not want to be seen by the kids scrutinizing where to sit lest my deliberate decision offend someone. The group of three Latino boys that I had witnessed sitting together another day were only two now, but were sitting next to a group of two White boys. I sat down next to both groups, in the middle, but not exactly between them (interaction across tables is normal and frequent). Soon after I sat down, the other Latino boy of the, in my mind, infamous trio sat down next to me and another White boy sat down on the other side. At this point, the kids were in two groups, two Latino boys to my left and one across and to the left, two White boys, one across from me and another across and to my right, and the last to my right. A diagram follows:

Figure 1
Lunch Table

Me: X
Latino boy: O
White boy: W


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O          W  W


O    O    X    W
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To be honest, I was a little intimidated by the Latino boys – I desperately wanted their approval and feared being shunned, ignored, or simply disregarded. I also knew I might offend some other kids whom I had sat with before – however, I did not want to become set friends with any one particular group, and thus be divisive. Either way, the group of people I had sat with last time was mixed up and dispersed among the tables. Throughout lunch, I mostly observed and laughed at the White and Latino kids' antics at my table – they were such cute little hellions.

The Fried Chicken Fiasco

For the first ten minutes, we sat all together, eating our lunch quietly, because the yellow cup of silence was plainly visible on the table. Once informed by the patrolling teacher that we could switch it to the red cup, we were allowed to talk and interact. However, when I sat down, the Latino boys were already talking in Spanish to each other and one of the White boys was trying to bargain to get another's fried chicken for his own sloppy joe. The boys sat together, but apart. They were at the same table, interacting, but in very specific ways – in ways that they wouldn't communicate with others in their own group. For instance, the one White boy, we'll call him Calvin, tried briefly and noncommittally to get one of his White friends' chicken, who then gave some sort of final "no," at which point Calvin turned to Julio, a chubby and gossipy Latino kid. He pestered Julio, but only in ways that to me seemed noncompetitive, friendly, and self-teasing desperation. After saying, "no" and laughing with Calvin so as to discourage hard feelings, Julio offered the White boy next to me his chicken for the White boy's sloppy joe. Calvin, dismayed and playfully shocked, snatched the chicken en route and only barely tried to keep it from Julio's reach. This could have been for several reasons – either he, too, wanted to make friends rather than enemies, respected Julio and his Latino boys group, or understood rules of fairness and was kind and smart enough to know that he wasn't in the right and acted accordingly.

Calvin returned the chicken after a couple warning grabs from Julio (Julio later informed me that he had licked the piece of fried chicken that he had traded for the other's sloppy joe). Then Calvin said, "Hey! Watch this, I'm going to go to the next table (a parallel table) and try to get their chicken!" Carlos, one of the Latino kids I'm observing in the classroom, said, "Tell them you're a starving orphan!" to which Calvin responded in joking desperation, his eyes on the other table, "But they wouldn't believe me!" All of the White boys, myself, and the Latino boys laughed at that. I was so elated to watch the two groups interact in a form of intimacy that, although not existing on such close terms as chosen friends, was borne of daily proximity to, and interaction with, each other. Calvin went, was reprimanded by a teacher, and returned to our friendly, comradely laughter. I argue here that the two distinct groups of boys were *bridging* gaps by communicating on common lines (trading chicken) while still remaining within their groups, reaffirming their identities and *bonding*. When the Latino and White boys weren't interacting across groups, they were speaking amongst themselves in Spanish and English, respectively.

On the Outside

However, interactions also took on a manipulative tinge. After Calvin repeatedly failed to trade his sloppy joe for a piece of fried chicken, including from myself, (I disassociated myself from responsibility, "I am so hungry, I'm going to eat everything on my plate."), he proceeded to try to get a girl's attention the table

parallel to ours that Calvin, sitting across from me, was facing. It was the table behind me. He essentially ordered Eugelio, who was sitting to my left, to get the girl's attention. Eugelio did, but the girl only paid the briefest attention to Calvin's horseplay, who was trying to lean so far back that he disappeared from view. Calvin told Eugelio to do it again, which he did, but another girl said loudly and clearly, "Leave her alone!"

Eugelio, an otherwise prideful and self-confident boy, was complicit in the demands, and sheepishly did what Calvin commanded. It seemed he deferred to Calvin, the White boy, because he wanted to be friends, he wanted to interact and be accepted by the out-group. I remember being that submissive and feeling outside the regular group when I was their age, but I guess I must be aware of and beware the bias of assuming my experience is theirs. Either way, in this and other interactions, I argue that language as cultural capital is instrumental in power relations – who gets ordered about, who lets themselves be ordered about, and who can effectively represent and affirm themselves. "To possess the capital of authority necessary to impose a definition of the situation.. is to be able to mobilize the group by.. officializing.. a private incident." (Bourdieu 1977:40) Knowledge of the "other's" topics of interest and how to use one's capital are secondary to the requisite of speaking the tongue.

In this instance, Eugelio, apparently not knowing what Calvin was up to more than joking about, deferred to Calvin because not to would have been rendering Calvin's antics powerless – they required a reaction from the girl whose attention he was trying to get. Furthermore, notice that it was Eugelio Calvin turned to, not just for his proximity (sitting next to me and closest to the opposite table), but his handicap in not being as proficient in English as Julio and Carlos, the other Latino boys at the table. Not having the requisite embodied cultural capital to communicate effectively, Eugelio chose to submit to the "insider" language, that spoken at the school and society here, as well by his two Latino friends who speak English proficiently. Calvin first tried to get Julio to get the girl's attention, but Julio responded in Spanish in a quick mutter. Calvin retorted, "What?! I don't understand you!" Quickly, Carlos smiled and responded, "He's speaking Japanese." Calvin retorted again, "I don't speak Pokemon!" drawing laughter from all the boys present, except Eugelio, who looked like he was trying to figure their interaction out.

Claiming the Outside

Although he responded in Spanish, all at the table knew Julio spoke English well and clearly, and I suggest that his decision to respond in Spanish illustrates another power dynamic – establishing Calvin as a linguistic outsider. What is also interesting is that Julio seems to be much less assertive than Eugelio. However, Julio has the advantage of social as well as cultural capital – Julio can speak English and can interact across groups whereas Eugelio cannot, albeit through the

awkwardness of an interpreter. The second time Eugelio tried to get the girl's attention and another girl said, "Leave her alone!" Calvin snorted and chastised Eugelio, saying, "Eugelio, you ticked her off!" Eugelio, not understanding, played along and mimicked Calvin's gestures, raising his arms in mock frustration. Afterwards, Carlos explained to Eugelio in Spanish what Calvin had said.

Eugelio's lack of response was shocking to me – it seemed he was going back through the previous five minutes with the new explanation in mind. And yet, even after being informed of how Calvin had treated him, he still didn't show any distaste in his eyes or attempt to offer a rebuttal. The situation had already passed and his inability to operate smoothly in English had prevented him from giving a retort or challenge when Calvin was bossing him around. Additionally, given Eugelio's tied tongue, Calvin was able to renounce responsibility – he blamed Eugelio for pissing off the girl even though he himself was the one telling him to get her attention, and he also got Eugelio to perform all the punishable crimes – reaching and talking across tables.

Analysis. Thus, the ability to communicate effectively is a tool of influence, if not power, and in places where social interaction is so crucial, can be wielded and used to take advantage of others with a language handicap. However, what works for one can work for another – Calvin also suffered a language handicap – the Latino boys could interact and communicate with each other distinctly and secretly. They could form a coherent, focused group, even if any one of them couldn't operate in the society's dominant language. This is an example of how the two way street of cultural capital counteracts the dominant-subordinate relations among the fifth graders. Although the Latino students didn't have enough mobility to exclude themselves from the other-cultured students, they had enough mobility to form a cohesive group. Thus their own cultural capital fortified them despite their otherwise isolating cultural "otherness".

Yet, not all relations take on an oppositional nature: in an environment such as Emma Elementary, the kids are in such close proximity to each other that they form relationships even across linguistic barriers, encountering and transcending difference. The kids always interacted on friendly joking terms while I was there. I have yet to see a verbal, let alone physical, fight. Suffice to say, the overall mood is intentional cooperation as expressed through playfulness. That said, the amount of intimacy and respect shared varies from in group to out group relations. Eugelio could only be assertive among his Latino friends because he could convey himself in words convincing. When interacting with Calvin, of society's "in group," Eugelio deferred, perhaps because he wanted acceptance, but also because he couldn't facilely challenge Calvin. How much the kids get to express who they are (Carlos' joking about the "poor orphan" and Eugelio's assertiveness deferring to respect) and their available courses of action (Julio refusing to do Calvin's bidding and Eugelio's submission) are directly bounded by their ability to interact competently with each other.

Recess

Recess has essential total mobility. The children are free to go anywhere on the playground they wish, which has sufficient space that, if desired, a group of kids can isolate themselves without normally coming across another group of kids. The children are allowed to go anywhere on the playground that they please, which consists of a jungle gym and swing set apart from the soccer field, baseball field, and open space (typically used for football/tag/etc.), which essentially share the same space.

Here the kids can interact with who they please, and on the part of the Latino boys, ethnic identity takes precedence. While Latino girls spend equal amounts of time in both strictly Latina girl- and mixed ethnicity-groups, the boys immediately congregate by one of the soccer goals after the two or three full classes do their compulsory laps around the field. The only times I have observed the White and African-American boys playing football mix with the Latino boys were the first time I witnessed recess, where soccer had gained a brief popularity and the day I myself switched from playing football to soccer in the middle of a game. Otherwise, the five to eight Latino boys associate together by a single goal, only loosely playing a soccer game, mostly talking and sporadically engaging in one-on-one competition. In this way, the Latino boys focus on bonding social capital, reinforcing their exclusive identities.

More than a couple times, I played on the playground with the kids. On one occasion, I at first played football because I had promised I would to the kids I sat with at lunch. However, I felt like I was missing important opportunities for research while running around with the African-Americans and Whites playing football, so after fifteen minutes, went to play soccer with the kids who were all Latino except for one White girl playing as goalie (who did really well – she had guts). Electing to play defense on both teams, sticking close to the goal, I admired their handy footwork and tried to play in an as agile and gentle way as they did, but couldn't for my rough and slower movements. After ten minutes of that, the kids I had been playing football with came over, to my delight, but very noticeably stuck to the outskirts, playing together and not daring to enter the skilled Latino soccer players' territory. Perhaps also they didn't want to be shown to be inadequate to their friends and to the outsider-group. What sticks out in my memory were the unique compositions of the groups playing each sport. Whereas the soccer players were all-except-one Latino males about twelve years old, the football players were composed of one African-American boy, one African-American/White girl, one obese White boy on crutches, a couple other White boys, and a boy who claimed he had Cherokee/Irish/African-American ancestry.

When Play Begins

This distinction by ethnicity is only apparent once the playtime part of recess has begun – when the kids are hurriedly walking to the playground from the lunchroom or walking their laps, they interact and laugh together, joking and

playing, seemingly without any inhibition or preference for comrade. But after they have fulfilled their necessitated sharing of the same space, they segregate themselves consistently by play. The larger groups made possible by recess don't do as much cross group interaction, I theorize, because they are not stuck in one place, nor forced to share a space such that they would be interacting regardless of whether they intended to or not. The children are allowed to be more mobile and can elect what to do with themselves.

Effectively, they are given space, both physical and social, to create their own interactive environment. That they do not constantly interact across groups doesn't mean that they would rather not to. I argue that they simply take advantage of this "free time" to engage in freedoms they are otherwise prevented from appreciating. Beverly Tatum writes:

> We need to understand that in racially mixed settings, racial grouping is a developmental process in response to an environmental stressor, racism. Joining with one's peers for support in the face of stress is a positive coping strategy. The problem is that our young people are operating with a very limited definition of what it means to be Black, based largely on cultural stereotypes. (Tatum 1997:3)

Although Tatum specifically mentions Black students, this theory works for Latino students as well. But, rather than because of racism (which is less deterministic at twelve years of age), social comfort and common understanding explain why the Latino boys hang out together at recess. The Latino boys segregate themselves because there they feel safe to share themselves and can do so naturally, without the impediment of linguistic or cultural deficiency. Girls, on the other hand, are more social, maybe because of mutual cultural norms encouraging interaction. While the White and African-American boys also segregate themselves away from the girls and the Latino boys, they will also sometimes divide themselves along ethnic boundaries.

Analysis. The abundance of space both provides for and fosters purposeful group formation, and while it doesn't impede intergroup interaction, it certainly doesn't force it. Thus, the kids' natural proclivities become apparent and facilely realized. The playground offers the children free reign on where they go and who they play with – distinctions and alliances express themselves freely and automatically, albeit mostly in physical form. There is not so much verbal interaction and even chastisement across groups, but where kids place themselves on the map of the playground expresses in a physical way who they feel most comfortable with, who they're willing to play with, and who they have no interest in playing with.

Conclusions

I theorize that these different arenas, with their different levels of *spatial mobility*, dictate how much importance cultural capital plays in stylizing interactions. *Social proximity* plays a role in determining where kids move and/

or what kind of cultural capital they will need to use. *Cultural capital* is a form of competence here, where knowledge of language, culture, and interaction norms is a valuable tool to gain friendship, social acceptance, and respect. In situations where individuals had little cultural capital, and therefore competence, I witnessed Latino as well as White kids being manipulated, excluded, and teased. The style of teaching and treating Latino kids directly affects how much cultural capital they are encouraged, and need, to have. Thus, education plays a direct role in how Latino kids form relationships, are treated, and to what extent they are acculturated to White and African-American norms, and vice versa. Putnam writes that "the level of *informal* social capital in the state is a stronger predictor of student achievement than is the level of *formal* institutionalized social capital." (Putnam 2000:300) Putnam argues that the level of "social trust" and the frequency with which people connect informally is even more closely correlated with educational performance than time spent at church or meetings.

While the Latino students need a lot of cultural capital to succeed, function, and interact in a classroom where the dominant language and culture is English, they can choose to isolate themselves at recess because they don't have to function in the dominant cultural mode. Lunch is an interesting meeting point between the two where groupings based on ethnicity and cultural heritage are apparent, but groups still interact in a kind of social play. The kids from different cultures explore each other, picking out what is good and funny to say while they interact in very particular ways. There is a clear differentiation between "us" and "they," but rather than in an oppositional way (which these kids have yet to develop), it manifests itself in modes of discourse as dictated by comfort level. The children's interactions range from kind and playful, when their comfort level is reasonably high, to dismissive when they are uncomfortable. Of course, this is also mediated by the size of different groups, if either group has a member with the cultural capital of the outsider group, and what subject matter is being discussed.

The different arenas necessitate different levels of cultural capital to succeed depending on how much *proximity* to each other there is and how much spatial mobility is available. In areas of high spatial mobility and low intergroup proximity such as recess, one only needs enough cultural capital to interact with one group, while in areas of low spatial mobility and high proximity to those of a different cultural heritage, such as the classroom, cultural capital is a necessary requisite to success in academics as well as social relations. However, only a certain amount and certain kinds of cultural capital are necessary; a student can still retain his/her individuality while performing cross-cultural interaction. Giroux argues that students must become *border crossers*, meaning that they engage in border studies, those "points of intersection, where different histories, languages, experiences and voices intermingle amidst diverse relations of power and privilege." (Giroux 1992:29)

While talk of football may be restricted to the White and African-American kids, trying to trade one's sloppy joe for another's piece of fried chicken is cross-cultural – it is common to all groups. These meeting grounds are where growth

and spontaneous interaction occur. While on the playground the Latino boys play soccer, the White and African-American boys play football, and the girls of various ethnicities move from single ethnicity groups to pluralistic groups, the lunch room puts all the students in a healthy proximity to each other that encourages exploration and interaction. The kind of interaction there is usually among *groups* of cultural similars, whereas in the classroom it is more often between individuals. Thus, there exists a higher need in the classroom for students to have English-speaking, American cultural capital so that they can function socially and succeed academically. In addition to that, supportive teachers are crucial: much of Carlos' exuberance can be traced to Ms. Sherrie Ryan-Bailey's success at teaching as well as incorporating him.

The varying levels of available mobility bring about and allow certain kinds of interaction, as mediated by linguistic and cultural aptitude. The Latino children's level of competence and comfort in the dominant culture and language both prohibits and allows interaction across social boundaries. Linguistic ability does not necessarily signify cultural aptitude, and even linguistically apt students such as Carlos can be excluded for their cultural deficiency while students such as Eugelio, who are unable to speak English, are cut out almost entirely from respectful and purposeful interaction. The available mobility of recess allows these hindrances to be transcended and rendered ineffective, although the classroom attempts to teach English competency and encourage inter-ethnic association. This, however, does not necessarily result in ethnic identity taking a back seat to selective relationship formation, mode and style of interaction, and budding self-identity. Where the Latino kids exist on the continuum of cultural and linguistic proficiency indicates (1) their available options to interact with, and succeed in, the various environments and (2) their various levels of necessitated submission to cultural and linguistic dominance.

Furthermore, the more successful the school is at fostering cross-cultural interaction, the more the Latino kids and their culture will be accepted, understood, and serve as a meeting ground for other cross-cultural interaction. Tatum writes, "We educators must begin by asking what images are being reflected in the mirror of our institutions. Does that reflection affirm the identities of all our students or just a few?" (Tatum 1999:551) Ideally, the atmosphere would be one of "open minds" and fluid communication: children learning from each other, moving away from society's current one-way street. I am glad, for one, to have witnessed many steps being taken in that direction at Emma Elementary. Through an equality of education we can finally achieve not just the equality in society that we seek, but a sense of common understanding and productive coexistence.

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