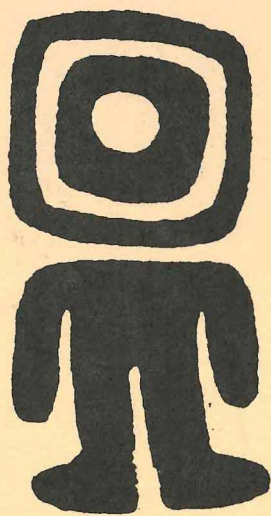


Southern Anthropologist



Volume 21, No. 2, Fall, 1994

Southern Anthropologist

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Department of Sociology and Social Work
North Carolina A & T State University
Greensboro, N C 27411

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Southern Anthropologist

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Southern Anthropologist is published three times a year (Spring, Summer, and Fall) and is distributed as a benefit to the membership of the Southern Anthropological Society. Annual membership dues: **Regular**, \$20.00; **Students and Retired**, \$12.00; **Joint**, \$26.00; **Annual subscriptions only**, \$10.00.

Address changes, membership dues, subscriptions, and communications relating to the Southern Anthropological Society should be sent to:

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Editor's Corner

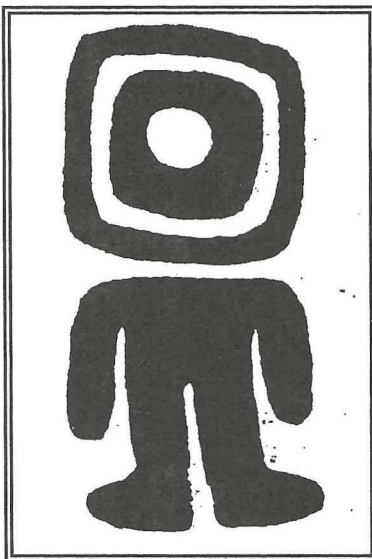
David M Johnson

Although you cannot see this from where you are reading, as I edit this newsletter I am trying to follow in the footsteps of Gif Nickerson, who has edited it for the past seven years and brought it up to the high standard that you are used to. I want to thank Gif for all the good work he has put into the *Southern Anthropologist*, and I will do my best to keep up his high standards. Stick with me and we will see if my shoe size grows to match his!

If you have suggestions for items to be included in the newsletter, including articles or ideas for kinds of items to be included, please write, e-mail or call me with them, so that the newsletter can be responsive to the needs and desires of the members!

This issue mostly contains material from the Spring meetings in Atlanta; included are minutes and financial statements from the Secretary-Treasurer, and the papers given by the winners of the undergraduate and graduate paper competitions.

Other material included points toward the upcoming Spring 1995 meetings to be held in Raleigh, N C; information from the Program Chair, Kate Young, is included, along with a call for papers and poster sessions.



If you wish to contact me, you can call me at (910) 334-7894 at A&T, or (910) 274-7032 at home; my surface mail address is:

David M Johnson
Department of Sociology and Social
Work
N C A&T State University
Greensboro N C 27411

My e-mail address is:
JOHNSOND@ATHENA.NCAT.EDU.

If you want to send material for the newsletter, my preferences are (in order):

(1) text or MS Word file on a Macintosh disk, with hard copy (my preferred way to get material).

(2) text or word processor file on an IBM (MS-DOS) disk with hard copy

(3) e-mail to address above

(4) hard copy only.

Material that is sent in electronic format is less likely to have my errors in it!

Deadline for materials for the Spring issue of the Southern Anthropologist is March 1, 1995.

Southern Anthropologist Staff:
Interim Editor: David M Johnson
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Photographic Enterprises
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Megabyte Johnson

President's Column

James M "Tim" Wallace

Re-entry problems aren't only for the Space Shuttle!

The Southern Anthropological Society is a place I call home. The first year I went to the SAS annual meeting was 1985. I had been to the Central States Anthropological Society meetings, the AAA meetings, LASA meetings, SfAA meetings and others, but it was here that I really felt at home and that I actually wanted to come back again. I volunteered for work right then and there (the Book Exhibit) and have never been sorry. Between meetings, my SAS colleagues have often called and I have been in touch with them over the year between meetings. The Southern Anthropologist has grown and become better and better. The edited volume of the Proceedings of the key symposium from the annual meetings I receive each year is always excellent and itself worth more than my annual dues. The SAS is student-friendly and has been a good place for students to get their first taste of presenting papers at professional meetings. Now, I have another reason for liking the SAS: it is good therapy for re-entry culture shock!

The problems associated with the return home after field work, the so-called reverse culture shock, is something not often mentioned in monographs or textbooks. For me, it seems to be getting

worse rather than better. Perhaps it is just me getting older, but I fear that is not the only reason. Even the 20 year old students who participated in the ethnographic field school in Hungary I led this past summer report that a month later they have yet to fully recover psychologically from the five-week sojourn in July and August; this, despite the fact that Hungary had its hottest summer on record with temperatures daily in the 90's without benefit of air conditioning, fans, and McDonald's. One student feels continuously tired, another finds life back home too boring, another is disturbed by his inability to focus on a single goal in his daily activities; another develops a distorted recollection of how good life was in Hungary (in spite of his oft-stated desire last summer July to leave Hungary as quickly as possible). In my case, I was always tired, irritable and secretly angry with my department for making come back to teach before I was ready. I had expected to feel some reverse culture shock, but I thought I would be able to keep it to a minimum, given my frequent trips abroad for fieldwork in recent years.

There are many books out now discussing fieldwork; there is even a book available now from the American Anthropological Association about the

hazards of fieldwork, but no mention is made of the hazards associated with re-entry. Based on my personal experience, it seems that there is at least one month of re-adjustment required for every two months spent abroad. Aboard, I am able to get over culture shock in about 2 weeks at most. Why is the re-entry adjustment period longer than the adjustment to culture shock abroad? I would be grateful to anyone who might have some prescriptions for reducing the intensity and duration of re-entry adjustment.

Let me share with you some of my own. First, plan to take a one-two week vacation as soon as you get back. Second, continue to work on your field data as soon as you return from your vacation and refuse to go to any campus committee meetings for the next two weeks (or the whole semester if you can get away with it). (Claim you are sick, because you are!) Third, rest as much as you can and do not worry about all the work you should be doing, because in your state you probably cannot be doing a good job on it anyway. Fourth, engage in non-work related diversions during the first month of your return such as, fencing, soccer, cross-country, singing, dancing, and other activities that are strenuous, allowing you to work off your frustrations with being back home.

Fifth and finally, stay in frequent contact with your anthropology colleagues outside your department, such as your friends in the Southern Anthropological Society, or in your state association, such as our Association of North Carolina Anthropologists. The persons in this category usually have little demands on your time and energy, are excited by what

happened to you and what you did, may be a little envious they were not able to get away and want to be in touch with someone else who was. I should add that this time I did not follow my own prescriptions with the exception of the fifth with the disastrous consequences I mentioned above.

I have been in contact with dozens of people I met through the SAS and each of them has been supportive and extremely interested in what I have been doing. None of them have pressured me to get something done for them or serve on a campus committee or write an abstract or report by tomorrow or any of the usual drudgery associated with academic life on my home campus. At the same time, the contact with them has brought me gradually back into my normal mode once again. At the same time, they represent individuals with whom I can share my sojourn experiences, something I usually cannot do with many of my campus colleagues, who are largely focused on the minutiae of campus life.

In sum, I am very happy that I am part of the SAS and consider it a singular honor to be entrusted with the Presidency. It is a great organization. One example of the willingness of the members to protect and care for the SAS is the example of the new Interim Editor of the Southern Anthropologist, David M. Johnson (NC A and T State U). When Giff Nickerson, who has raised the Southern Anthropologist to a higher level, resigned after about 7 years as editor, David stepped forward and volunteered to undertake the editorship for at least a year while the formal search for a permanent editor was completed. David has more

than ten years of desktop publishing experience, has been a member for the SAS since 60's and is the unofficial photographer of the SAS meetings. His late wife, Dr. Gloria Wentkowski, who died last March, also was an active SAS member.

I encourage you to stay involved with the SAS or become more involved. Some of the things you can do are: organize a session for the annual meetings to be held in Raleigh, NC, April 19-23, 1995; encourage your students to give a paper at the meetings and enter the Student Paper Competition; encourage your colleagues to join the SAS, volunteer for committee service or for an elected position within the SAS, write an article for the Southern Anthropologist, contribute to the SAS Endowment Campaign, attend the 1995 meetings, volunteer to host the 1997 or 1998 annual meetings. (In 1996, the Department of Anthropology and Geography, Louisiana State University, will host the meetings in Baton Rouge.) These are just a few of things you can do. I can assure that you will reap tenfold what you contribute.

As I mentioned above, after years of distinguished yeoman service to the Southern Anthropologist, Gifford S. Nickerson, NCSU, resigned from the post of Editor. He also recently retired from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. I know I speak for everyone in the SAS that we are truly grateful to him for the years of hard work, dedication and service to the SAS as Editor of the Southern Anthropologist. Now we are faced with the task of finding a new Editor. So, I am making a call to anyone in the SAS who might be

interested in serving in this position. Or perhaps you know someone who would be a good candidate. If you are interested, please send me a letter indicating your interest and experience as well as a current c.v. If you want to nominate someone please let me know her/his name and address. The new Editor would begin his three year term with the Fall 1995 issue, so it is important that interested persons contact me without delay. You may write or call me at:

Box 8107
 Department of Sociology and
 Anthropology, NCSU
 Raleigh, NC 27695-8107
 Phone: 919-515-2491 (o); 919-781-8655
 (h); 919-515-2610 (fax)
 Email: Tim_Wallace@ncsu.edu

So, for those of you who are recently returned from abroad, it is time for some re-entry therapy, get involved. Oh, by the way! Did I mention that getting involved with the SAS is also good therapy for people who have not recently been abroad? Well, it is; so, get involved!

Needed: SAS Newsletter Editor

We are searching for a new editor for the Southern Anthropologist. If you would like to be considered as a candidate for the editorship, please write to: Tim Wallace, President, SAS, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, N.C. State University, Raleigh, NC 27695. Enclose a c. v. and letter of application indicating your experience, interest and ideas. Deadline for applications is February 15, 1995.

Wanted: Assistance for SAS

If you are interested in serving in one of the following roles or committees within the S.A.S., please let us know.

You can write to Tim Wallace, President, SAS, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, N.C.State University, Raleigh, NC 27695.

Telephone is: 919-515-2491; email: Tim_Wallace@ncsu.edu.

The positions are as follows:

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Councillor _____

Secretary-Treasurer _____

Annual Meetings Program Committee
Chair _____

Annual Meetings Program Committee
Member _____

Annual Meetings Student Liaison
Committee _____

Book Exhibit Chair _____

Student Paper Competition
Committee _____

Mooney Book Award Committee _____

Endowment Campaign Committee _____

Mooney Award information

The S.A.S. awards a prize each year to the best book on the Southern ethnography or by an anthropologist working in the South. This the James Mooney Award. This year's winner was Leland Ferguson (S. Carolina). The 1995 winner will be announced at the annual meetings in April in Raleigh. Approximately 10-15 books are nominated each year. There is an opening on the Mooney Award Committee, starting in January 1995 to review the nominated books for the 1996 award. If you would like to serve on this committee, as soon as possible please contact Tim Wallace, S.A.S. President, SAS, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, N.C.State University, Raleigh, NC 27695. Telephone is 919-515-2491; email Tim_Wallace@ncsu.edu.



S A S 1995 Spring Meetings

The latest word from Kate Young, Program Chair

TOWARD THE RALEIGH MEETINGS (APRIL 19-23): THOUGHTS AND APPEALS FROM THE PROGRAM CHAIR

This Spring's Southern Anthropology Society Meetings in Raleigh, NC promises to attract an exciting and diverse array of anthropologists. This year's Keynote Symposium, Practicing Anthropology in the South, will bring together anthropologists practicing in fields ranging from health care to cultural conservation. The Keynote Speaker, Dr. Jim Peacock, President of the American Anthropological Association, will share with us his perspective on Applied Anthropology and the current trends of the discipline both inside and outside the University.

As the walls between the academy and the rest of the world crumble, students in particular are looking for new directions and applications for their training in anthropology. The SAS has always encouraged student participation and provided programs tailored to their needs and concerns (including The Student Paper Competition). This year Melissa Shrift, a University of Hawaii graduate student, will be the Co-ordinator for Student Activities. She is presently organizing a student panel, a round table luncheon, and more informal social occasions for students attending the

meetings. She can be reached at: Anthropology Department, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608, 704-262-2295

Another key issue which we hope to build on at upcoming meetings is the application of the anthropological perspective in our multi-cultural society. At the Atlanta meetings last Spring, the SAS leadership took several important initiatives focusing on race, ethnicity and the relevance of anthropology in addressing these issues. The AAA Committee on Anthropology at Predominantly Minority Institutions (CAPMI), under the leadership of Dr. Yolanda Moses, organized roundtable discussions and sessions which addressed teaching approaches in multi-cultural contexts. Many other sessions were devoted to race and ethnicity issues related to research findings in the area of health care in particular. SAS President, Pat Beaver, rallied enthusiastic support for the Endowment Campaign for Education and Outreach in the South. Some of the funds raised will provide for speakers in communities and colleges with no programs or course offerings in Anthropology.

Many of last year's participants in the discourse on race, and ethnicity have already volunteered to organize sessions for the Raleigh meetings. Dr. Mary Anne Medlin will organize a session on teaching

anthropology at historically Black colleges. Anthropologists practicing in health care fields have expressed interest in organizing a session on race and ethnicity as it relates to particular research problems and issues.

Cultural Conservation is another issue which has particular relevance in the South given the rich cultural heritage of this region. Several members have volunteered papers on cultural conservation projects and the process of establishing working partnerships with community members. Here in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill area Beverly Sizemore, Chris Walker and myself are organizing a panel on Anthropologists at Work in places other than social science departments. My hunt for applied anthropologists in this area has turned them up in such far flung niches as home consulting offices, medical schools, numerous research institutions, radio and television studios, behind the camera lens making films and at local literary circles reading from books based on their tales of the field.

Please contact me for more information on the sessions mentioned above or Tim

Wallace regarding the Keynote Symposium. I welcome your ideas on other topics and sessions you would like to participate in and organize. Send your abstracts and session proposals to Kate Young at the address listed in the announcement below:

Kate Young, Program Chair,
Anth./Soc Dept., North Carolina State
University, Box 8107, Raleigh, NC
27695-8107, E-MAIL
YOUNG@SERVER.SASW.NCSU.EDU
Phone 919-515-2491. Fax 919-515- 2610.

DEADLINE FOR ABSTRACTS - FEB.1.

Deadlines for Student Paper Competition:
ABSTRACTS - Jan.15; PAPERS - Feb.20.
Contact: Barbara Hendry, Soc/Anth.
Department, Landrum Box 8051, Georgia
Southern University, Statesboro, GA,
30460-8051. phone 912-681-5443.

Keynote Symposium abstracts also
DUE FEB.1. Contact Tim Wallace,
Anth./Soc. Dept., North Carolina State
University, Box 8107, Raleigh, NC
27695-8107. Phone 919-515-2491, email
Tim@server.sasw.ncsu.edu



SAS Endowment Campaign Update:

The Word from Pat Beaver, Campaign Chair

The three year Endowment Campaign for Education and Outreach in the South was kicked off at the spring meetings in Atlanta, and the little red campaign buttons ("I SUPPORT ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE SOUTH") will soon be collectors' items. This initial effort generated over \$11,500 in pledges. HOWEVER, the majority of SAS members have yet to make their pledges, so we are optimistic that we can double our first year's efforts during this second year.

In addition to pledges from our members, we plan to hold a SILENT AUCTION during the spring meetings in Raleigh, with opportunities for you to bid on FABULOUS TREASURES, consisting of ethnographic artifacts donated by you. In order to make this event truly successful, it will require that each member select appropriate items for the auction and bring them to the meetings, and bring your checkbook as well for the benefit of anthropology in the south.

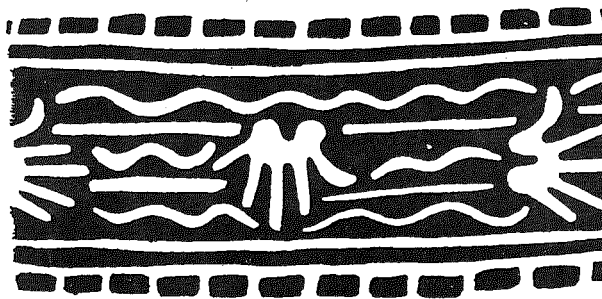
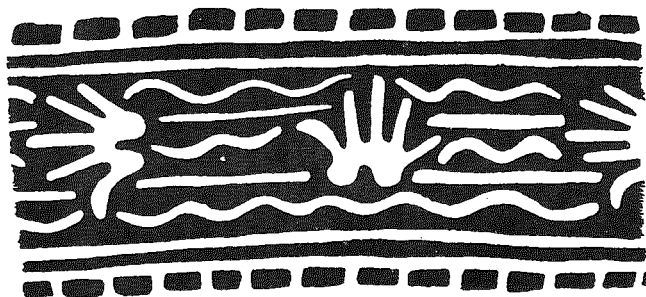
Remember: the purpose of the Endowment campaign is to support

student participation in the meetings and the student prize competition, expand the knowledge of anthropology in and of the South to smaller colleges and universities which do not yet offer courses in anthropology, bring the message of our discipline to minority institutions through a dynamic speakers bureau, encourage minority participation in the field and at our meetings, and reward outstanding scholarship in the anthropology of the South with the annual presentation of an enhanced James Mooney Prize.

Rather than wait to be asked at the meetings in Raleigh, take the time now to make a campaign pledge, or send a donation to the SAS Endowment in time for credit on your 1994 taxes.

Send pledges or contributions to:

Dr. Thomas Arcury, Campaign
Treasurer
Sheps Center for Health Services
Research
University of North Carolina at
Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-7590



Winning Entry 1994 SAS Graduate Student Paper Competition

Cultural Models And The Study of Aggression: An Examination Of The Psychosocial Origins Of Cambodian Violence

Alexander L. Hinton
Emory University

Previous studies of aggression have often been hampered by descriptive and explanatory reductionism. The result is an ongoing debate about whether given societies can best be characterized as "aggressive" or "peaceful." This paper addresses this problem by demonstrating that Cambodian cultural models foster a disposition towards prosocial behavior in everyday communal life (i.e., the "gentle ethic") and a propensity towards aggression in larger sociopolitical interactions (i.e., the "violent ethic"). Such contextual variation calls into question monolithic attributions of cultural "aggressivity" and provides the basis for a psychosocial explanation of the extraordinary violence that took place in Cambodia

Are human beings violent by nature? Debates about aggression frequently revolve around this question. Those who answer in the negative often point to nonviolent cultures as proof that such behavior is learned. Their adversaries ask: given the ethos of peacefulness that seems to predominate in these societies, how can we explain the often extreme acts of violence that also take place within them? Why do the "harmless" !Kung have such high rates of homicide? Why did the "peaceful" Semai become so quickly imbued with "blood drunkenness" when recruited into a war?

This question is particularly salient in Cambodia, the "gentle" land that was supposedly inhabited by nonviolent Buddhists who were courteous, friendly, and ready with a smile (Barron and Paul 1977; Schanberg 1980). Beginning in the late 1960s, however, the country was rocked by socio-economic unrest, civil war, foreign invasion, a *coup*, intensive

bombing, and, finally, revolution.¹ While up to six hundred thousand Cambodians died during these years, more than a million later died from disease, starvation, and execution under the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979). This type of devastation demands the attention of scholars. How could such extreme violence take place in a country like Cambodia?

The first section of this paper will point out how traditional studies of aggression have been hampered by descriptive and explanatory reductionism and will show how these problems can be overcome through a cultural models approach. I will then illustrate how this cultural models approach can help to explain the extraordinary violence that took place in Cambodia. In particular, I will demonstrate that the cultural models Cambodians use when interacting within a known community (i.e., relations with fellow members of a family or village) differ from those employed in larger

sociopolitical arenas (i.e., relations with a depersonalized "enemy" in military activity, law enforcement, or national politics). Cultural models foster a disposition towards prosocial behavior in the former context (i.e., the "gentle ethic") and a propensity towards aggression in the latter one (i.e., the "violent ethic"). Such contextual variation calls into question monolithic attributions of cultural "aggressivity" and provides the basis for a more complex understanding of the psychosocial origins of Cambodian violence.

Theoretical Background: Cultural Models and the Study of Aggression

Scholars have often approached the problem of aggression from one of four perspectives (Brown and Schuster 1986; Ferguson 1984; Heelas 1983; Howell and Willis 1989).² Social anthropologists, for example, have tended to view aggression as a form of "conflict" that arises from existing sets of structural relationships (e.g., Coser 1956; Evans-Prichard 1940; Gluckman 1955; Radcliffe-Brown 1952; Turner 1967). Drawing on biological, ethological, evolutionary or psychodynamic frameworks, other scholars have focused their attention on the genetic predispositions that lead human beings to aggress (e.g., Ardrey 1966; Chagnon 1968; Konner 1982; Lorenz 1966; Wilson 1975). More relativistic theorists have analyzed aggression in terms of the distinct values, norms, and symbolic understandings that are internalized in each culture (e.g., Bandura 1973; Howell and Willis 1989; Montagu 1978; Nordstrom and Martin 1992; M. Rosaldo 1980). Finally,

materialists have explained the origins of aggression in relation to competition for scarce resources (e.g., Ferguson 1984; Harris 1974; Rappaport 1968; Vayda 1976; Wolf 1969).

While such research has greatly increased our understanding of aggression, confusion arises when scholars assume that: a) acts of violence can be explained unidimensionally -- i.e., in terms of the perspective to which they adhere (explanatory reductionism), and b) this explanatory framework somehow reveals the "essential" character of the people in question (descriptive reductionism). The end result of these assumptions is an ongoing debate about whether culture "x" is "aggressive" or "peaceful." Thus we find the Yanomamo described as a "fierce people" by Chagnon (1968) and Harris (1979, 1984) -- but for different reasons (i.e., sociobiology vs. ecological materialism), and as a generally "peaceful" people by a symbolic anthropologist, Lizot (1985). Similar controversy surrounds the debate about the aggressivity of such people as the Semai (Dentan 1968; Konner 1982; Paul 1978; Robarchek and Dentan 1987; Wilson 1978), the Samoans (Freeman 1984; Mead 1928; Shore 1982), the !Kung (Draper 1978; Lee 1979; Thomas 1959), the Balinese (Bateson and Mead 1942; Belo 1970; Geertz 1973; Wikan 1990), the people of Tepoztlan (Lewis 1951; Redfield 1930), the Tahitians (Levy 1973; Sagan 1985), the Kwakiutl (Benedict 1934; Codere 1956), and the Southwest Pueblo Indians (An-Che 1937; Benedict 1934).

Currently, there is much agreement that this practice of typologizing cultures as either "aggressive" or "peaceful" is

inadequate (Brown and Schuster 1986; Howell and Willis 1989; Nordstrom and Martin 1992; Riches 1986; Warren 1993)³. As opposed to having a consistent set of beliefs and norms that can be characterized in such a reductive manner, cultural systems have been shown to contain competing and even contradictory values (Benedict 1946; Clifford 1988; Geertz 1983; R. Rosaldo 1989; Shore 1982). Scholars are calling for new theoretical frameworks that can account for aggression in a manner that is more context-sensitive, experience-near, and non-reductive.

Recent developments in cognitive anthropology provide a framework both for taking such multiplicity into account and for doing so in a manner that links culture to a theory of mind. In particular, a number of cognitive anthropologists have focused their research on cultural models, those "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of the world and their behavior in it" (Quinn and Holland 1987:4; see also Casson 1983; D'Andrade 1990; D'Andrade and Strauss 1992; Dougherty 1985; Holland and Quinn 1987; Hutchins 1980; Shore 1982, n.d.). Such scholars argue that much of our everyday social life is mediated by these knowledge structures that: are largely out of awareness (i.e., tacit understandings); are arranged hierarchically to escape the limitations of short-term memory (i.e., they can be economically packaged together or unpacked to form parts of other cognitive

models), and organize experience by filling in missing information, creating expectations, motivating behavior, foregrounding certain aspects of a situation, and providing a framework for people to remember, describe, and reconstruct their life events. In contrast to the descriptive reductionism of many past studies of aggression, cultural models research has illustrated that these learned patterns of thought and behavior are context-specific, have varying degrees of saliency for different actors, and can be mutually exclusive.

While such insights lay the groundwork for developing a more complex understanding of aggression, they have yet to be applied to the topic. This paper does so. It begins with the premise that cultural models vary across social arenas. Models foregrounded in one context may thus be inappropriate in and/or even contradictory to those relevant in other domains. I will demonstrate that in Cambodia: 1) different cultural models inform behavior in communal and larger sociopolitical interactions; and 2) the models salient in the former context promote prosocial behavior, while those prominent in the latter actively foster aggression. From this perspective, arguments about whether or not a culture is "aggressive" or "peaceful" lose meaning. Only by focusing research on complex social contexts can we begin to further our understanding of when, how, and why violence takes place. Context-specific cultural comparison remains possible within this framework; reductive typologizing does not.⁴

While powerfully informing much of what people do, cultural models are nevertheless just one of several factors that

generate behaviors like aggression. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Hinton 1993), such phenomena can be usefully conceptualized as the product of the interaction between various levels of organization (e.g., biology, social structure, economic and ecological conditions, psychology, cultural symbols). While each level of analysis can be legitimately studied alone, researchers must recognize that it embodies aspects of the other levels of organization. To achieve such explanatory pluralism, however, researchers must agree on the nexus at which these various factors interrelate. Debates about aggression have run into trouble because scholars have lacked such a common ground. Thus symbolic anthropologists argue that behavior is greatly shaped by shared symbols that are "out there," while biological anthropologists insist on the crucial importance of "internal" physiology. Because cultural models research locates knowledge structures in the minds of people, it provides a focus -- i.e., the individual -- for scholars to engage in more productive discussion about how behaviors like aggression arise from the interaction of different factors. Such a multidimensional perspective allows us move beyond the explanatory reductionism that has fostered cultural typologizing. This paper focuses on the cultural level of analysis -- i.e., it examines the many ways in which cultural models influence Cambodian behavior. It does so, however, in a manner that does not deny the importance of other levels of analysis.

Cultural Models and Cambodian Violence

Much previous research on aggression has focused on macro-level processes and thus portrayed individuals as if they are passively acted upon by larger forces (Nordstrom and Martin 1992; Warren 1993). Explanations for the violence that took place in Cambodia are no exception; scholars have tended to look at how political events, international affairs, socio-economic conditions, and historical processes led to "autogenocide" (Becker 1986; Chanda 1986; Chandler 1991, 1992, 1993; Chandler and Kiernan 1983; Haas 1991; Jackson 1989; Kiernan 1985; Ponchaud 1977; Shawcross 1987; Vickery 1984). While providing insights into the events that took place in Democratic Kampuchea (DK), these studies have been less concerned with the psychological, experiential, and affective dimensions of this violence.

Because it focuses on context and on the individual, cultural models research provides the basis for such an "experience-near" (Turner and Bruner 1986; Wikan 1990) view of Cambodian violence. By looking at how individuals strategically employ cultural models in different social arenas, for example, we can examine such aggression in a manner that takes into account tensions between ideology and practice, local struggles for power, micro-level forms of resistance, and/or the ways individuals negotiate meaning within fragmented and contested contexts (Bourdieu 1977; Das 1990; Giddens 1976; Nordstrom and Martin 1992; Taussig 1987; Warren 1993). In the section that follows, I will illustrate how a

cultural models framework is able to explain the violence that took place in DK in a manner that is rooted in the experience of micro-level actors.

In the fall of 1992, I conducted a pilot study in Cambodia.⁵ During this period, I was continually struck by both the friendly demeanor of Cambodians and their ostensible lack of conflict. While living with a Cambodian family, for example, I did not observe one exchange of anger of the type we might expect in the United States. No doubt such behavior is what led many people to characterize Cambodians as a "gentle" people who they would never have expected to have committed the atrocities that occurred in DK. Given the harmonious atmosphere that was so prominent in everyday life, I was surprised by the political violence that took place during and after my stay as the UN sponsored elections approached. Such observations, coupled with a subsequent literature review, demonstrated that while everyday communal interactions (i.e., relations with fellow members of a family, village, or local organization) are mediated by a "gentle ethic," those that take place in the larger sociopolitical realm (i.e., relations with a depersonalized "enemy" in military activity, law enforcement, or national politics) are often informed by a "violent ethic."⁶ During DK, the former cultural model was largely undermined, while the latter one was brought down to the local level. The result was a situation in which extraordinary violence was legitimated.

The Gentle Ethic

The Village (*phum*): The few ethnographies that were conducted on pre-DK village life are striking in their description of the harmoniousness of Cambodian village life (Delvert 1961; Ebihara 1968; Martel 1975). Over the course of an entire year, for example, Ebihara observed only a few significant intracommunal quarrels. This apparent lack of discord was largely due to the solidarity developed through cooperative labor exchanges, years of association, mutual aid, overlapping friendship and kinship networks, communal activities, and a sense of identification with and loyalty to a community (Ebihara 1968, 1990; Kiernan 1982; Vickery 1984). Individuals who transgressed social norms were subject to gossip, rumor, avoidance, and public censure. In a culture in which "face" (*muk*) is highly valued, the threat of such potentially shameful (*khmas*) consequences represented an effective control on individual behavior (Ebihara 1968; Ledgerwood 1990; Martel 1975; Ponchaud n.d.). Buddhism (*puttesahasnaa*) also promoted prosocial behavior among villagers. The temple (*wat*), for example, reinforced social bonds by serving as a center both of communal and religious activity and for the moral education for children (Carrison 1987; Chandler 1984; Ebihara 1968; Kalab 1968; Ledgerwood 1990; Martel 1975). While Cambodian villagers did not necessarily know the intricacies of Buddhist doctrine, all were familiar with basic moral principles like the *sul pram* which told them not to lie, steal, have immoral sexual relations, drink, or kill living creatures.

Such prohibitions were coupled with Buddhist notions of karma (*kam*) and merit (*bon*) that encouraged villagers to maintain harmonious relations (Bizot 1976; Chandler 1979; Ebihara 1968; Hanks 1962; Spiro 1982).

The Family (*kruasaw*): Like village life, intrafamilial relations appear to have been generally harmonious. Martel (1975:202) states that she observed only three significant familial disputes during the course of her fieldwork. Family members were tied together by economic production, daily social interaction, sharing, and joint participation in important ceremonies (Ebihara 1968; Martel 1975; Ponchaud n.d.). Familial harmony was also promoted by rules of proper etiquette (Chandler 1984; Ebihara 1968; Ledgerwood 1990; Martel 1975). Like Cambodian society in general, the family constituted a mini-hierarchy in which people were accorded differing degrees of respect depending on age and sex. Various folk-tales, didactic poems (*cbap*), and terms of "linguistic etiquette" (Geertz 1960) reinforced such patterns of appropriate behavior that could both regulate interactions and potentially diffuse conflict. While all of the aforementioned factors contributed to the "peaceful" nature of family life, individuals sometimes deviated from these accepted norms. The threat that familial spirits (*meba*, *cue cambue*) would cause an innocent member of the family to become ill when siblings quarreled provided a more proximate mechanism for curbing improper behavior (Choulean 1986; Ebihara 1968; Martel 1975; Poree-Maspero 1962-69). As in other Southeast Asian cultures (Hollan 1988), such values and practices fostered a

disposition towards prosocial behavior (i.e., the "gentle ethic") in the context of everyday interactions within a known community.

The Violent Ethic

Myth of the "Gentle" Land: Cambodia's history of violence against those defined as sociopolitical enemies began long before DK. During the Angkorian period, for example, "god-kings" led their troops into numerous battles against foreign states; both these external foes and any internal opposition were dealt with in a brutal fashion (Chandler 1992; Coedes 1968). Such activity did not stop with the decline of Angkor. Political violence was rampant during the nineteenth century and continued during French rule (Chandler 1984, 1992). The Khmer Issarak, in particular, were known for a style of ruthless violence against enemies that foreshadowed later practices of the Khmer Rouge (Bun 1973; Ebihara 1968; Vickery 1984). After independence, Prince Sihanouk reestablished the royal tradition of absolute authority (Becker 1986; Chandler 1991, 1992, 1993; Kiernan 1985; Kiernan and Boua 1982; Meyer 1971). Opposition to his rule was considered treasonous and dealt with accordingly. Captured communist rebels were said to have been "bound to trees with their stomachs cut open and left to die; others, hurled off the cliffs of Bokor, agonized for days; enemy villages were razed and the villagers clubbed to death by local peasants who had been set against them" (Ponchaud 1977:140). The actions of Lon Nol's military and police were not much different. Such evidence illustrates that

while a person might have been "gentle" within a known community, a different ethic often held sway in the context of larger sociopolitical interactions.

The Warrior Tradition: The origins of this tradition of sociopolitical violence can be traced back to Brahmanistic notions of status and function (Bit 1991; Chandler 1992; Coedes 1968; Ponchaud 1977). The "naturalness" of given social roles was embodied in the concept of dharma (*tam*), the "cosmic doctrine of duty in which each sort of being in the universe . . . has by virtue of its sort, one ethic to fulfill and a nature to express - the two things being the same" (Geertz 1983:196). This duty could vary across place and time. In one context it might thus be appropriate for a warrior to be respectful to his social superiors, while in another situation his dharma would require him to "smash the enemy" (*kamtuk khmang*) without hesitation. While the arrival of Buddhism significantly altered many aspects of Cambodian society, the warrior tradition was retained and even reinforced in some respects. By asserting that the king was the defender of dharma (*dharmaraja*), for example, Buddhism legitimated the use of force against enemies who threatened social order (Gombrich 1988; Tambiah 1976; Thion 1990). Buddhist concepts of karma, suffering (*dukkha*), and merit also promoted a certain degree of fatalism and passivity (Chandler 1979; Ebihara 1968; Ponchaud n.d.; but see Scott 1985). Such attitudes were reinforced by Cambodian proverbs, didactic poems, and folk-tales that encouraged people to act in accordance with their station (Carrison 1987; Chandler 1979, 1984; Ledgerwood 1990). One of the most popular stories

was the *Reamker*, the Cambodian version of the *Ramayana*. While set in a Brahmanical world of violence and duty, this epic also reflects Theravada Buddhist ideals (Chandler 1992; Jacobs 1986). Thus we find Kumbhakar(n) displaying proper respect towards his elder brother and king, Rab(n) while at court. On the battlefield, however, he fights his adversary to the death in accordance with his dharma as a warrior. In each domain, a different ethic predominates. Like the followers of Sihanouk, Lon Nol, and Pol Pot, Kumbhakar(n) was disposed to engage in acts of ruthless aggression against those defined as sociopolitical enemies.

The DK Killing Field

When examined in terms of the violent and gentle ethics, the origins of violence during the Khmer Rouge years become clearer. DK introduced a number of radical changes which undermined the predisposition towards prosocial behavior that previously characterized family and village life (Ebihara 1990; Ponchaud 1989). Buddhism was banned, familial sentiments were redirected towards the state, and the functions of villages were taken over by the cooperative. Religious and cultural values emphasizing social harmony were replaced by ones that glorified blood sacrifice, war, and revolutionary violence. Whereas people had previously observed patterns of etiquette that both regulated and could potentially diffuse conflict, they were now told that everyone was equal and that obedience was due only to "the Organization" (*Angkar*). Economic and ecological conditions that had previously

necessitated cooperation were rendered irrelevant by collectivization.

At the same time the gentle ethic was being undermined, the violent ethic was brought down to the local level. In order to facilitate the revolutionary fight to build and defend the country, daily activity was reorganized along military lines (Carney 1977; Heder 1980; Jackson 1989; Ponchaud 1977). Battles in the cooperative were fought against the elements and against internal foes. While dams and rice fields were tangible enough, class enemies were often difficult to identify. Local officials were placed in the uncomfortable position of being commanded to root out these internal "microbes" (*merok*) without criteria for how to do so. If such orders had to be obeyed, they could still be interpreted in different ways. The result was a great deal of local level variation in the pattern and scope of violence (Vickery 1984). In some areas, officials were moderate in their judgements and actions; in other locales, hard-line cadre would execute suspected traitors without hesitation or remorse.

Conclusion

As illustrated by events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, South Africa, Somalia, and the United States itself, violence is a subject of much concern in today's world. If we are to further our understanding of such phenomena, we must carefully examine the different contexts in which aggression does or does not arise. This paper has provided a theoretical framework for analyzing violence in just such a manner. As opposed to typologizing people as "aggressive" or "peaceful," this cultural models approach illustrates that the

way people switch cognitive codes across contextual arenas strongly influences when, where, and how much aggression takes place. Such a contextually nuanced perspective enables us to move beyond the explanatory and descriptive reductionism that has hindered much of the previous research on aggression. As opposed to remaining mired in a quandary about how the "gentle" Cambodians could have committed such atrocities, for example, we can see that cultural models fostered both "aggressive" and "peaceful" behavioral norms in disparate contexts.

Despite a recognized need (Chandler and Kiernan 1983; Ebihara 1990), not a single scholar of Cambodia has attempted to explain violence from this type of psychosocial perspective. The few ethnographies of Cambodia which exist (Delvert 1961; Ebihara 1968; Kalab 1968; Martel 1975) deal primarily with social and economic aspects of village life prior to DK. None focuses on aggression or ethnopsychology *per se*. In fact, while periodic and often brutal outbreaks of violence have taken place throughout Southeast Asia, few regional anthropologists have examined this phenomenon. In addition to contributing to our theoretical knowledge about aggression, then, the cultural models approach to violence delineated in this paper also stands both to increase our understanding of the extraordinary violence that took place in Cambodia and to fill in an important ethnographic gap in the literature on Southeast Asia.

(See next page for notes)

Notes

¹As we shall see, this tradition of violence actually dates back to the "god-kings" of Angkor (804-1431 AD.) who expanded the empire's borders far into what is now Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand. Following this period of grandeur, Cambodia entered a period of gradual decline which reached its nadir just before French colonial rule (1863). After World War II, increased feelings of nationalism fueled a popular drive towards autonomy. Prince Sihanouk used this momentum to achieve independence in 1953. During the next fifteen years, Sihanouk dominated the national political scene in the Kingdom of Cambodia. International events (e.g., the Vietnam war, the cold war) contributed to his downfall in 1970 when a coup took place. Lon Nol headed the newly formed Republic of Kampuchea until 1975 when his government was overthrown by the Khmer Rouge, the now infamous group of Maoist-inspired rebels. During the next four years (1975-1979), the country was reorganized along strict communal lines. Life in Democratic Kampuchea (DK) has been vividly portrayed by a series of autobiographies (e.g., May 1986; Ngor 1987; Picq 1989; Szymusiak 1986; Yathay 1987) and the film, *The Killing Fields*. Increasing border tensions eventually led to a Vietnamese invasion (1979). The Vietnamese army routed the Khmer Rouge and set up the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). After the Vietnamese army withdrew in 1989, the PRK renamed itself the State of Cambodia (SOC) and initiated a series of reforms to improve the country's image both within and outside of the country. This government held power until the recent United Nations sponsored elections (May, 1993). At the time of writing, Sihanouk has just been crowned King and a new government is being jointly run by Prince Rannariddh and the ex-leader of SOC, Hun Sen.

²Any analysis of aggression must first confront the problem of definition. As many scholars have illustrated (Howell and Willis 1989; Riches 1986; Siann 1985), terms like "violence" and "aggression" have been defined in such different ways that any attempt to confront the issue is like entering a "semantic jungle" (Bandura 1973:2). For the purposes of this study, however, it will be useful to propose operational definitions of the terms in question. Drawing on other scholars (Bandura 1973; Briggs 1978; Hollan 1986), I define aggression broadly as intentional behavior that results in personal injury and/or destruction. Such acts may be physical, verbal, or imagined; they can be directed either inwardly towards the self or outwardly at another person or object. Violence is an act of physical aggression. While there is no doubt these definitions can be criticized, they can nevertheless serve as a starting point for scientific inquiry.

³Actually, attacks on this type of cultural typologizing date back to criticism of the culture and personality school (see Barnouw 1963; Bock 1988). Nevertheless, while "most anthropologists have become highly suspicious of reducing socio-cultural complexity to 'types' (few today compare societies in terms of the shame-guilt contrast, for example), the tradition of designating cultures 'peaceful' or 'aggressive' remains in force" (Heelas 1989:255).

⁴It is important to recognize that the position being outlined here does not preclude comparing cultures in terms of the amount or severity of aggression that takes place within them. As opposed to assuming that such behaviors are somehow a "natural" part of a society, however, this framework asserts that we must specify the contexts in which such violence occurs. Not only does this shift escape cultural typologizing, but it also allows us to refine our understanding of the complex factors that contribute to aggression.

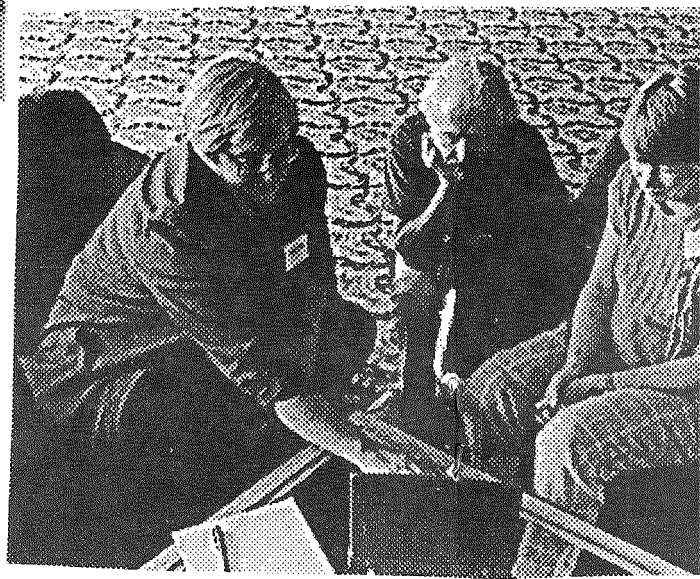
⁵This research was supported by funding from the Luce Foundation/SEAC, the Mellon Foundation, Sigma Xi, and a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship. I spent three months in Phnom Penh under the auspices of an agreement reached by the Social Science Research Council and the Cambodian Ministry of Education.

⁶It is crucial to recognize that I am here speaking of interactional contexts (i.e., social interactions

Some scenes from the SAS meeting Atlanta 1994



Changing of the guard: upper left has Mary Helms passing editorship of the Proceedings to Mike Angrosino; bottom left has Pat Beaver passing on gavel of Presidential office to Tim Wallace, while center photo shows Mary Ann Medlin showing off her laptop computer—are you wired yet?



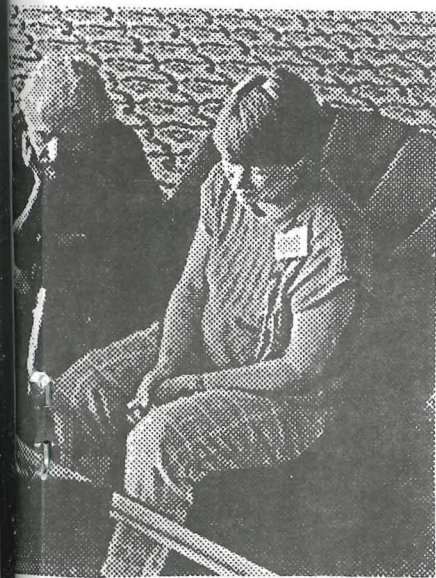
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he SAS meetings in a 1994

upper left has Mary
of the Proceedings to
left has Pat Beaver
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laptop computer—are



Photo above shows Marvin Harris calmly flaying Postmodernism, while below Marjorie Shostak discusses her revisit to Nisa



embedded in a culture-specific framework of background assumptions that are largely comprised of cultural models; see Goffman 1974 and Goodwin and Duranti 1992:3), not spatial domains, though I would argue there existed a strong correlation between the two in the case of the "violent" and "gentle" ethics in pre-DK Cambodia. The "violent ethic," for example, was applicable to relations with someone defined as a sociopolitical enemy. Because such people were typically encountered in war or politics, this cultural model was most salient in these larger sociopolitical arenas. Such enemies were much less frequently found in one's village. One might dislike or even hate another individual in the village, but this animosity invoked cultural models (e.g., gossip, black magic, indirect revenge) that differed from the violent ethic. While political assassinations sometimes took place in villages, these executions were usually carried out by members of the military or secret police. In general, local level interactions were informed by the gentle ethic. When meeting a fellow member of one's community, a person was encouraged -- and constrained by social controls -- to behave in a prosocial manner. (Daily interactions with fellow members of larger sociopolitical organizations like the army or police could also be characterized by such norms of deference and politeness; the "violent ethic" was typically directed at the "enemies" of these sociopolitical organizations). To say that daily communal interactions were frequently mediated by the gentle ethic, however, does not mean that acts of aggression never took place within the village or within the family. Informants have told me, for example, that domestic violence occurs in Cambodia. Moreover, if social controls failed, two individuals with a feud might fight. Perhaps because Cambodians did not have a great deal of experience with direct conflict (it is extremely infrequent), such fights were often severe, sometimes even lethal (Bun 1973). Finally, as should be obvious from what has been said, to act in accordance with the "gentle" ethic does not imply that a Cambodian never harbored antisocial feelings toward those to whom she or he was being polite. Like individuals in other Southeast Asian cultures (Hollan 1986; Wikan 1990), Cambodians work hard to prevent their peers from seeing direct signs of their negative feelings (Bit 1991; Ponchaud n.d.). The "violent ethic" and the "gentle ethic" thus refer to cultural models that are salient in given interactional contexts. I regard such models as "ideal-types" (Weber 1949) that are embodied in a set of cultural practices.

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Winning Entry 1994 SAS Undergraduate Paper Competition

**RETURNING TO THE WAYS OF OUR ELDERS:
A CASE STUDY OF INVENTED TRADITION AT THE
EARTH CENTER**

Catherine Marie O'Sullivan
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina at Asheville

Faculty Research Advisor: Dr. Heidi Kelley

A cement dome, concealed by large pine and oak trees, rests on the side of a shady mountain in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina. It is known to people who live in the area as The Earth Center.¹ This non profit organization, with church status, was created five years ago by a group of people dissatisfied with the progression of the Earth. The Center in Buckeye Cove is one of thirty centers around the world that form a "network." This network, connected by bands of "positive energy", was inspired by the vision of White Wolf, who identifies himself as a Cherokee shaman. His vision was brought to life by people who have found refuge and hope in the teachings and rituals of "Native American people". Hoping to rejuvenate their own lives and awaken the consciousness of others, they opened a "peace chamber" so that the public could join them in these rituals. These rituals, borrowed and reinterpreted from "Native American cultures" were rediscovered and modified in such a way that they may be celebrated in an Anglicized modern America. This is an example of an "invented tradition."

As our "postmodern" existence

increasingly marks human attitudes with ambivalence and anxiety, people remain in search of continuity and familiar ground. As a result many have turned to folk belief and customs because they evoke an idealized past which provides a source of comfort under the auspice of "the authority of antiquity". Hobsbawm elaborates on this idea stating that "invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition. . . and attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historicalpast" (1983:1).

During the course of my research, approximately six months, I observed these reinterpreted traditions and rituals (visions, laying on of the hands, and chanting) being used in the physical and mental healing of Earth Center participants. These healing techniques are often criticized and viewed as unconventional by the American medical establishment. The New Age movement has also been recognized by Native American people as another part in "the very old story of white racism and genocide against the Indian people," as

simply a way for white Americans to "escape responsibility and accountability for white racism" but still turn a profit by selling "sweat lodges, or sacred pipes ceremonies which promise to bring global and individual healing" (Smith 1994:70).

My first step was to find an informant at The Earth Center who would introduce me to other participants. This person was Sarah Morris. Most participants consider her the backbone of the Earth Center. It is on her land that the peace chamber was built and it is out of her home that the Earth Center is run. When I first called her on the phone, one morning in January, I explained to her my interest in the Earth Center and my plans for research. She chuckled and said: "Well honey, I'm not sure that I understand what you are talking about....I haven't had any coffee yet today. But come on over so we can talk and maybe I can help you out." She gave me directions to her house and I drove out that afternoon.

Driving down winding, dusty dirt roads in the heart of the Swanannoa valley, I found myself lost and very late for my interview. This was not a good start. When I finally found Sarah's house, after knocking on several wrong doors, I was greeted by Shamanie, a large and intimidating Wolf-Malamute (this only adding to my anxiety). To my relief, a small cherub-faced woman in her mid-forties and wearing a pink sweat-suit came to the door. She inhaled on her menthol cigarette then said with a rich mountain accent: "Oh Shamanie, hush. You think you own the place. Hi hon, you must be Cathie. Come on in." As I entered her large wood cabin, I noticed that it was decorated with "Native American" dream catchers, art, posters and various animal

skins. We sat down at her kitchen table, cluttered with Earth Center paper-work, ash trays and art supplies, to discuss my interests in The Earth Center. She turned to me and said: "Okay. So what was it that you were interested in?" I responded carefully so that I would not appear to be questioning her beliefs, "I want to understand why the Earth Center was created and what purpose it serves the people who attend weekly meetings." She laughed and said: "Honey, I've been everything from a minister's daughter, to a hippie-Jesus freak and a rebellious flower child. I did the eastern metaphysical thing for a while too but the Native American way really stuck with me. I connected with it, it felt right. So Bill, my husband, and I decided to build The Earth Center. My father donated the land and we found enough people interested that would support us. So we built it."

I attended my first chanting session the Sunday following our meeting. Since Sarah never explained to me what exactly occurred at the chanting sessions, I didn't know what to expect. I felt butterflies in my stomach as I drove into Sarah's "parking lot." I sat in my car and waited, hoping that others would come so I could watch what they did. After a few minutes a red car with a New Jersey license plate drove up and parked next to me. A man in his late twenties was driving the car. He looked over and smiled at me. As he stepped out of his car, I got out of mine. I awkwardly walked toward him and said: "Hi. Have you been here before? I don't really know what I'm doing or where I should go." He smiled and said, "Yeah, I come here all the time when I'm in town. My name is Jeff but I prefer to be called

Painted Feather." Painted Feather appeared very nervous— almost anxious. He was dressed in very dated 1970's attire and had a distant but warm look in his eyes. I introduced myself as we started up the long mountain path to the chamber. At this moment I decided to keep my identity as a researcher anonymous to all chanters so that I would fit in. He asked me questions like: "How did you find out about the chamber?" and "Why did you decide to come?" For a moment I felt as if our roles were reversed.

As we reached the top of the mountain, he pointed to the chamber and said "There it is." We entered the chamber and sat down on the bench closest to the door. Ten or twelve men and women were already inside. All of the participants were white, and appeared to be middle-class people. After a few minutes, five more people filed in, including Sarah (who only attended three chanting sessions throughout my research). I was relieved to see a familiar face. She put her hands in my hair, tossing it around and said: "Hey sugar." Tom, who was leading the chant that evening, welcomed everyone as they took their seats. The ritual was about to begin.

The Earth Center has attempted to create its own system of sacred symbols and rituals that binds together members and attracts outsiders. The symbols are reaffirmed and nourished throughout the ritualized chanting session. Before the chanting session begins, there is a round of sage burning. This is believed to purify the air as well as the people, ridding both of negative or toxic energy. The sage is lit by the chant leader who then places it in a large shell and fans smoke in the direction of each individual. Individuals "receive"

the smoke as an offering by grasping it with both hands and distributing it over their bodies and through their hair. Once this is done, the group is ready to begin chanting.

The ritual begins by "the calling in of spirits" to join the chanters in the healing of Earth. Although people generally call on "grandmothers and grandfathers" (spirits defined as Native American by the group), any spirit is welcome. During my first evening at the chamber, Louise who is an elder, explained to the newcomers that it is best to call on spirits close to you even if they are Christian spirits such as Jesus or Mary. This clearly is one of the areas in which the Earth Center negotiates with an Anglicized America by incorporating elements of the Christian tradition with "Native" traditions.

Spirits enter as the candles surrounding the "center hole" are lit. The six candles represent the four directions (North, South, East and West) and the "up above" and "down below" heavens. A seventh candle, in a large hole in the center of the room which is believed to lead directly to the center of the Earth, remains lit at all times. It symbolizes the "golden beam" of "peaceful energy" that is created by the chanting and directed through the "center hole" connecting all thirty chambers around the world together.² As the candle lighter lights the candle, she holds the candle up toward the ceiling (the spirit world) and calls on the spirits aloud or silently. Once the candles are lit, every one says "ho" which means the actual chanting is to begin. "Ho" is equivalent to the Christian "amen."

As the participants stand, they begin to mentally prepare for the conjuring of

positive healing energy. The participant begins to move collectively, in a circular motion, around the chamber. Drums and rattles are used in this part of the ritual to maintain a group rhythm. As they move, they chant the vowel sounds taught to them by White Wolf. The meanings behind each vowel sound embodies the essence of the peace chamber ritual. The speed and style of both movement and chant is left up to the individual. Some dance, while others walk. Some people sing the vowels in a slow drawn out manner and others sing them rapidly. Some may even choose to sing only one or two vowel sounds throughout the night. The end result is a beautifully eurhythmic intonation.

The purpose of the chanting ritual is to create a "vortex" or "whirlwind of positive, healing energy" through the vibrations of sound waves and movement. Earth Center participants believe that this energy emanates outwardly connecting all chambers around the world together to heal the earth.

This energy is also used inside the chamber to heal individuals. The individual to be healed lays on a mattress with her head pointed toward the "center hole." Still seated, participants chant the vowel sounds that appear in the name of the individual being healed. Jeff, or "Painted Feather", used this healing energy to restore balance in his life and to regulate his eating and sleeping cycles which had become irregular after his mother's death.

Participants come from miles away to help heal the Earth and in turn gain spiritual enhancement. This ritual is emotionally healing to individual participants because the chanters feel that they have contributed to the restoration and

betterment of the Earth, thereby making their own living conditions safer and healthier. Through participation in the Earth Center's rituals, individuals who once felt dis-ease and discomfort add meaning and purpose to their lives making them more fulfilling and gratifying.

When the elders feel the energy is strong enough, they will signal the group to stop and return to their seats by saying "ho." The group acknowledges the request and returns with a "ho." At this time the elders ask if anyone had a vision they would like to share with the group. The visions are a very important part of the chanting session. At the end of the chanting, a pep-talk by the elder, similar to this one given by Tom, is made: "Please feel free, anyone, to share your visions with us this evening. Perhaps someone would like to volunteer to share their's. (Pause)..Many of you have been blessed with the gift of sight and I believe you all should use that gift to itfullest potential. I myself do not have this wonderful power so I urge those of you who do, please use it tonight."

Visions are not only welcomed in the chamber but are also expected. While each aspect of the chanting session plays a key role in the overall functioning of the ritual, the vision is perhaps most vital because it makes the union of the spiritual and human worlds more concrete by explaining to the chanters what has occurred in the chamber that evening. This makes the invisible visible and gives meaning to the event.³ Positive visions act as confirmations for those attending while guaranteeing a secure place in the Earth Center hierarchy for the visionary.

In all of the chanting sessions I

observed, every vision was interpreted as positive and pleasing to the "grandmothers and grandfathers." One woman visualized a scroll suspended above the Earth (which was floating in purple liquid) being unraveled by two turtles. Inside the scroll read the word "Peace." To some degree these visions can be seen as the ancients' "stamp of approval." Positive visions confirm the chanters' actions and their reasons for being at the chamber.

Some nights there are long periods of silence, often broken with the words of an elder "It is okay to speak....no one should be bashful or ashamed. It is an honor to receive a vision... when you are ready please speak up". But I have observed that once someone does speak, it has a domino effect. In fact each vision description, over the course of the evening, becomes progressively longer, more descriptive, containing more symbols and meaning than the one preceding. One night, it was silent for almost five minutes before someone spoke. A woman mentioned seeing an eagle feather suspended over ocean waves. The next person to speak had seen two eagle feathers and water being poured out over the Earth by three "grandfathers." This went on for several minutes as people began sharing their visions, similar to the first but adding new details and more symbols identified by the group as "Native American". Finally, the last person to speak was a young woman. She said her vision had lasted the entire time of the chant. She thought she had been taken by one of the "grandfathers" to a place that "looked like one of the Dakotas or Arizona where they have vast areas of desert surrounded by barren mountains and tall pillars.' She said she was put on top of a pillar where

"several eagles flew around me. Above my head were two large eagle feathers and a medicine wheel. I then looked out to the land and saw water rushing all around as if it were washing the Earth." Her vision was the last perhaps because no one wanted to try to top it. When she finished speaking the chamber remained silent except for a few hushed voices saying "ho" showing that they were impressed or pleased with what they had heard.

When all of the visions for the evening have been told, the candle lighters return, one by one to blow out their candles and thank the spirits for coming. When all the candles have been extinguished the lights are turned on and excited chatter begins amongst the smiling and refreshed participants. The elders try to get their attention and silence them for a moment in order to thank them, once again, for coming and to remind them of the "green energy" (money) that they should leave in the basket by the door, as an offering in order to keep the chamber open and in service.

While The Earth Center, has its own set of values, symbols, traditions and customs, it is not totally unlike the dominant culture. It too has a hierarchical system which creates competition among its participants and often affects their actions. At the top of the hierarchy are the "true elders" or Native Americans who recognize themselves as healers, like White Wolfe. The native elders (not to be confused with Earth Center Elders) are held in high regard among the participants at the center. Participants link the native elders with authenticity and authority. When speaking of these elders, the participants glorify their presence and see

them as having special powers. Sharon, a chanter, said: "Every time White Wolf comes to town something happens. One year my refrigerator broke down and all the light bulbs in the house blew out, another year my water pipes busted and this year I found a job the day he arrived (after being unemployed for six months)." Laughing, she said: "I can always tell when he's close by."

Next in the hierarchy are the center's elders. Their titles allow them to attend exclusive meetings, participate in special ceremonies and conduct sacred rituals. Chanters recognize the elders' special privileges and may even desire their roles. The center's elders are hard to distinguish from the chanters. It took me a long time to figure out who was an elder until I made the mistake of sitting in one of their chairs. Their seats are covered with soft, fluffy white blankets (which come in handy on cold January evenings when it is only 10 degrees inside the cement dome).

The only way a chanter can move up to the position of "elder" is to show special interest in the center. This involves chanting on a regular basis, volunteering on work days, attending open Earth Center meetings and donating money to the center. This does not guarantee advancement but when the elders rotate these people will be recognized and considered for one of the positions. By getting closer to "Native" elders and by moving up in the Earth Center hierarchy, participants come to perceive themselves as becoming increasingly "authentic."

In addition, I have discovered through interviews that many people in the group proudly acknowledge having "Native blood," even if it is only a minuscule

amount. This is perhaps a way to legitimize their participation in Earth Center activities. Linda, an Earth Center elder stated: "I think someone on my father's side of the family was Cherokee and Steve, my husband, is pretty sure his great grandmother was half native." Even if this tie could not be traced through the family tree, members still found a way to identify with native ethnicity. Barbara, who studies Cherokee medicine and bead work said to me in an interview: "I am Scottish in this life but in my last life I was a Cherokee and the one before that. . . I'm pretty sure I was Crow."

As I have stated in my introduction, the Earth Center participants express disenchantment with mainstream American culture and believe the traditions practiced in America today are responsible for the destruction of the Earth. In order to stop our demise they believe "we must go back to a simpler way of life." They have turned to "Native American culture" for this very reason. Their view of a Native American way of life is rather naive, seeing it as homogeneous and simple, "lacking complexity and problems." It is precisely in the "simplicity" of this invented tradition that its appeal lies for participants.

I conclude that Earth Center participants, disenchanted with the current cultural traditions that surround them, have replaced them with new traditions that add purpose and meaning to their lives. I argue that the cultural significance of this "invented tradition" lies in the way it is used as a symbolic mode of resistance against a larger, more powerful culture that sometimes causes "dis-ease" among

participants, and the ways in which these people, through their participation at the earth center, negotiate modernity to create new identities and "healthier" lifestyles.⁴

Notes

¹ I thank Earth Center Elders for their invaluable time and for allowing me into their church to observe their culture. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of those concerned.

² A similar belief system in which beams of energy radiating from stones are used for healing purposes in Brittany has been explained by Badone (1991). She describes these Bretons as re-inventing Celtic healing traditions in order to define a distinctly "Breton" way of healing in contrast to "modern", urban French culture.

³ This accords with Geertz's description of the ritual process: "In a ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn out to be the same world..." (1973: 112)

⁴ The concept of social dis-ease is used by Scheper-Hughes (1979) to describe schizophrenia as it appears in the Irish village of Ballybran. Dis-ease occurs, she explains, when a culture becomes unadaptive.

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Southern Anthropological Society
General Business Meeting Minutes

April 28, 1994
Atlanta, Georgia

CALL TO ORDER: Welcoming all and complementing "our hosts for an outstanding, diverse meeting, including a fire drill," Pat Beaver, SAS President, called the 1994 General Business Meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society to order. She invited all share a moment of silence in memory of our colleague Gloria Wentowski who taught anthropology at Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina and who with her husband David Johnson are familiar figures at the society.

ITEM 1: Minutes of the 1993 Annual Business meetings were approved with the following corrections: in Items 7 and 8, change 1992 to 1993; and in Item 10, correctly spell Asheville, North Carolina.

ITEM 2: Financial Report. Daryl White, Secretary-Treasurer distributed copies of the annual financial report including the Financial Statement for the 1993 Annual Meetings in Savannah, Georgia and the Statement of Revenues and Disbursements for the Year Ending December 31, 1993. He noted that the 1993 Savannah meetings netted a bonus of almost \$500. This was a result of innovations by Local Arrangements Chair, Barbara Hendry, who got book companies to sponsor coffee breaks. The yearly fluctuation in numbers of meeting registrants and in membership seems to relate to where meetings are held; meetings in less easily accessible places have fewer registrants and membership goes up in years when meetings are highly attended. Membership falls into two categories, those who renew their memberships regularly and those who seem to pay dues only when they (occasionally) attend meetings.

The current costs of membership and registration were discussed. Daryl White noted that both membership and registrations costs have remained unchanged for many years, although costs of hosting meetings, of producing and especially mailing newsletters, and of purchasing copies of the annual proceedings from the University of Georgia Press for the general membership have increased.

Although registration costs have not changed, meetings costs have fluctuated greatly. It was suggested that those who host annual meetings should estimate expenses and set registration prices accordingly. With the approval and recommendation of the Executive Board, Daryl White proposed that membership prices be raised to \$25 for regular members and to \$15 for student, retired and unemployed members. The proposal was phrased as a motion, seconded, and passed.

ITEM 3: Elections. Noting that 65 members, which is approximately half of those who were mailed ballots, returned them, Daryl White announced that Hans Baer, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, was elected President and Harry Lefever, Spelman College, was elected councillor.

ITEM 4: Proceedings. Presenting her last report as Proceedings Editor, Mary Helms noted: (1) that volume 27 (on Southeastern archaeology, linguistics and ethnohistory and edited by Kwatcha from the 1992 meetings) will soon be ready to be mailed out to members; (2) that volume 28 (on religion in the South and edited by White and White from the 1993 meetings) is ahead of schedule; (3) that she will see these two volumes through to their publication; and (4) that the editorship transition to Michael Angrosino is well underway. In recognition of her outstanding service, Tim Wallace presented Mary Helms with a certificate.

ITEM 5: Newsletter. Pat Beaver announced that Gifford Nickerson has resigned from the editorship of *Southern Anthropologist* and acknowledged that "for seven years Giff has prepared a beautiful, informative, well organized, interesting and useful information vehicle for the society, and we are grateful for his diligence, aesthetic sense, and professional standards." She then noted that the newsletter is without an editor and invited anyone interested to inform the Board or incoming President Tim Wallace.

ITEM 6: Mooney Award. Reporting for committee chair, Hester Davis, Miles Richardson announced the 1993 winner, Leland Ferguson for the book, *Uncommon Ground: Archeology and Early African America--1650-1800*. Committee members, Hester Davis, Miles Richardson and Gil Kushner, have read 12 books nominated for the 1994 award and are in the process of reviews. Hester Davis would like this to be her last year as chair of the committee.

ITEM 7: Student Paper Competition. Noting that judges had reviewed 13 graduate and 12 undergraduate papers, that judges report more than half of each category are excellent to very good, and that all but three student entrants were expected in attendance at the meetings, Barbara Hendry announced student paper competition winners .

ITEM 8: Local Arrangements. On behalf of the Local Arrangements Committee, Daryl White reported a current registration of 138 (consisting of 85 regular and 53 student registrants), apologized for inconveniences suffered by the malfunction and/or absence of some audiovisual equipment, thanked student volunteers from Georgia State University and Spelman College, and claimed that the fire and fire drill had not been planned.

ITEM 9: Program Chair, George Armelagos, noted the diversity of papers scheduled for presentation, the appearance of several organized sessions and reminded all to attend the two plenary sessions with speakers Marvin Harris and Marjorie Shostak.

ITEM 10: Book Exhibits. Tim Wallace noted publishers continue to support the exhibit, there being 7 or 8 tables worth of exhibits this year.

ITEM 11: Endowment Campaign. Pat Beaver reported that following last year's initiative the Endowment Campaign Committee began working toward kicking off a three year fund raising campaign at this meeting, which will occur later in the evening. The committee consists of Carole Hill and Miles Richardson as honorary co-chairs--who have initiated the campaign with a solicitation of pledges from past presidents of the society--other members being Andrew Miracle, Pat Beaver, and Heidi Kelly, who has volunteered to work with student anthropology clubs. Also Tom Arcury has agreed to handle finances. Noting that pledges will be solicited during the remainder of the meeting, Pat asked members to also consider other ways to get involved in the effort.

NEW BUSINESS.

ITEM 12: Future Meetings. Tim Wallace announced that plans for the 1995 meetings to be held in Raleigh, North Carolina are underway, that the Key Symposium, "Practicing Anthropology in the South," will focus on applied anthropology, and that Kate Young will serve as Program Chair.

Pat Beaver announced that the Board received and approved an invitation for the 1996 meetings (which will mark the thirtieth anniversary of the SAS) from Miles Richardson who is organizing a meeting for Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The Key Symposium will be "Thirty Years of Anthropology in the South." With the reminder that Louisiana is famous for its hermeneutics, Miles announced a trip following the meetings to New Orleans and Mardi Gras: "Those who survive we promise to bring you back."

Invitations for the 1997 meetings were solicited.

ITEM 13: Pat Beaver expressed "great pleasure in passing the gavel to our incoming President, James "Tim" Wallace, Professor of Anthropology at North Carolina State University" and reminded all to welcome and honor Tim at the reception later in the evening. A motion was seconded and approved to thank outgoing President Pat Beaver for her service.

ADJOURNMENT.

Respectfully submitted,

Daryl White, Secretary-Treasurer

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1993 ANNUAL MEETING
 OF THE
 SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
 MARCH 24-27, 1993
 SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

REVENUES

Book Exhibit Fees		369.00
Book Company Coffee Breaks		400.00
Registration Fees		1933.00
Total		2,702.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Program Chair Expenses		718.66
Print Programs	633.09	
Other expenses	85.57	
Hotel Expenses		1,440.19
Two Receptions	933.09	
Exhibit tables	53.00	
Board Meeting Lunch	103.43	
Rooms for Student Help	305.76	
Total		2,158.85

REVENUES MINUS DISBURSEMENTS +543.15

OTHER MEETING RELATED EXPENSES

Student Paper Competition Awards	400.00
Mooney Award	500.00

Southern Anthropological Society
Statement of Revenues and Disbursements
for the Year Ending
December 31, 1993

REVENUES FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1993	1992	1991
Dues	1854.00	5139.00	2618.00
Paid for 1993----\$1642.00			
Paid for 1994----\$212.00			
Royalties on Proceedings	762.64	226.80	211.75
Proceedings Sales	---	60.88	---
Address Label Sales	---	20.00	---
1991 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	---	---	2920.00
Book Exhibits	---	---	310.00
Contribution from Southern Studies, University of South Carolina to honoraria	---	---	350.00
Onsite Activities	---	---	1370.00
1992 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	---	2656.00	---
Book Exhibits	---	125.00	---
Onsite Activities	---	540.00	---
1993 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	1933.00	251.00	---
Book Exhibits	369.00	---	---
Book Company Coffee Breaks	400.00		
Interest Income			
University of Kentucky			
Credit Union Savings Account	---	---	51.12
Bank One, Lexington, KY			
Certificates of Deposit	---	---	385.96
C&S/NationsBank, Atlanta, GA		92.14	70.75
Commercial Checking Account	4.05	---	---
Certificates of Deposit	213.16	---	---
Miscellaneous	---	5.36	---
TOTAL CASH REVENUES	5,535.85	9,116.18	8,287.58

DISBURSEMENTS FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1993	1992	1991
Newsletter	500.00	700.00	1300.00
Postage	347.22	118.36	96.04
Printing and Duplicating	124.74	82.67	64.62
License Fee	15.00	15.00	---
Corporate Seal	---	29.67	---
Officer Expenses	165.06	176.94	312.61
Bank Account Service Charges	60.04	---	---
1991 Annual Meeting Expenses	---	---	2732.27
1992 Annual Meeting Expenses	---	1525.51	500.00
1993 Annual Meeting Expenses	2158.76	277.97	---
Proceedings	1898.05	4485.03	23.03
Awards and Grants			
Mooney Award	500.00	500.00	---
Student Paper Prizes	400.00	400.00	400.00
Honoraria, 1991 Key Symposium	---	---	400.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	6,168.87	8,311.15	5,828.57
REVENUES OVER DISBURSEMENTS	-679.08	805.03	2,459.01

CASH ON DEPOSIT ON DECEMBER 31,	1993	1992	1991
NationsBank, Atlanta, Georgia			
Commercial Bonus Checking	7113.05	8,096.23	12,285.11
NationsBank, Atlanta, Georgia			
12 Month Certificate of Deposit			
(3.75%, Due 12/31/93)	2,595.09	2,500.25	---
24 Month Certificate of Deposit			
(4.65%, Due 12/31/94)	2,618.63	2,500.56	---
TOTAL CASH ON DEPOSIT	12,326.77	13,097.04	12,285.11



Southern Anthropologist

David M Johnson, Interim Editor
Department of Sociology and Social Work
North Carolina A & T State University
Greensboro, North Carolina 27411

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

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