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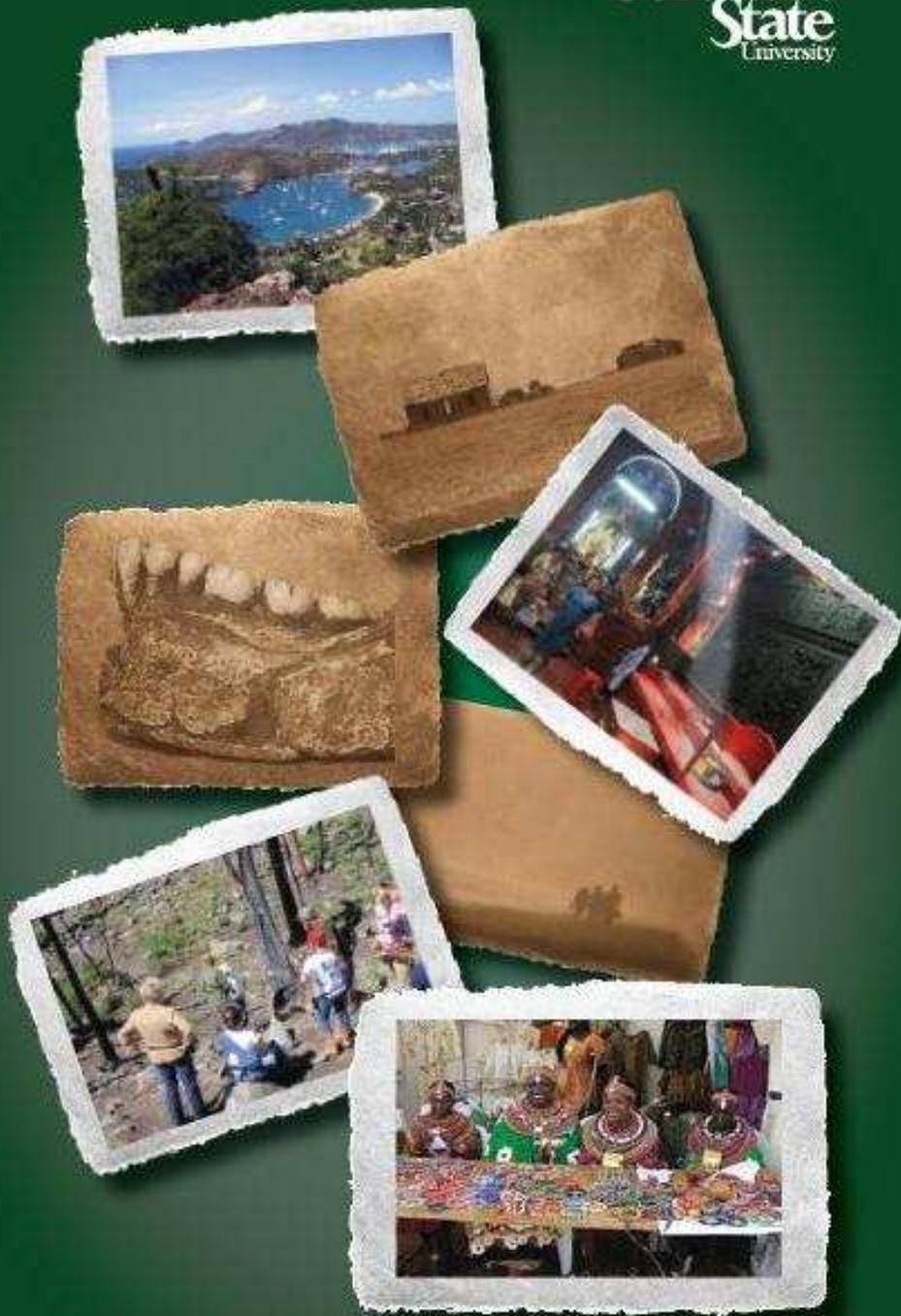
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Table of Contents:

I. Archaeology and Biological Anthropology:

Literature Reviews:

Original Research:

II. Cultural Anthropology:

Literature Reviews:

Original Research:

Editors' Note:

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iv

Comparison of the Violence between the Pre-contact Northern and Southern Plains

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Abstract - *The Great Plains for centuries has been an area of great cultural diversity, even before contact with Europeans. This diversity is true for conflict, as well. Violence in the Northern Plains was distinct from violence that was occurring in the Southern Plains during the pre-contact period. There is extensive evidence in the archaeological and bio-archaeological record that confirms this view. In the Northern Plains there are numerous sites that exhibit fortification systems at the site. There is a great quantity of evidence of intense trauma inflicted on individuals as a result of violence. In contrast, the Southern Plains show minimal to no evidence of defense and the evidence of violence on human skeletal remains is also nominal. A comparison of the two regions will aid in developing a more complete understanding of the cultures and causes of conflict in each region and their relationship to each other as a whole. As with all research it is important to recognize the limitations that inevitably accompany such explorations of the past, so as to mitigate their influence on the data.*

Introduction

Conflict has a long history on the Great Plains and there is considerable evidence of violence occurring during the pre-contact period. This conflict was variable throughout the Plains. There were considerable differences between Northern and Southern Plains as evidenced in the archaeological record. Several sites in the Northern Plains give evidence of defensive structures and intense warfare, while many of the sites in the Southern Plains lack such structures and violence seems to be smaller in scale.

This paper only focuses on a small portion of the whole concept of conflict among groups of people. It concentrates on the

actual acts of violence and defense from such acts. It serves as a tool to facilitate broader questions on warfare and may lead to the more conceptual questions of 'why.' Understanding conflict may in turn help give insight into culture as a whole. The information provided below is necessary because many times concepts like culture, ideals, and general knowledge are not always strictly tangible items that can be preserved and when there is something tangible it may not be preserved. In cases such as these, researchers must rely on other information to form inferences.

The Pre-contact time frame is distinguished by several different broad periods, including the Paleo-Indian, Archaic and Late Prehistoric. These sub-divisions are often broken down further into terms like early, middle and late, or special terms like Woodland, Plains Village, Middle Ceramic or Coalescent. There is some disagreement when delineating these periods among archaeologists, biological anthropologists, and many other professionals. Since this is not the main focus of this paper, not much space will be spent on justifying the time frames used. What is important is whether the information being considered occurred before contact. Such terms and dates are used as supplemental material to give an added dimension to the sites being looked at.

There are two main aspects that one needs to examine in the archaeological record in order to determine whether or not violence occurred at a site and to what extent. One factor to be considered is the makeup of the settlement patterns, population distributions, architectural features (i.e. fortification systems) and village destruction. Features of defensive structures include "moats, palisades, bastions and use of strategic features in the natural terrain" (Owsley 1994:334). The presence of any one or a combination of several can be a major indication of anticipated violence, and perhaps the intensity of such acts. The settlement patterns and population distributions are connected to fortification features. Sites with housing structures smaller in number and spaced moderately apart, relating to population size, can indicate a low level of violent occurrences.

Evidence of burnt structures is also used as evidence for violence. Though, just observing that a structure has been burnt can be problematic. There are a couple of other factors that could be

attributed to an event such as this: a natural cause, as from prairie fires or from lightening; an accident (perhaps from hearths within the structures or intentional fires to get rid of various species of vermin); and an intentional burning of the dwelling because of the mortuary practices that are affiliated with the groups that inhabited the site at the time of the destruction of the structure (Brooks 1994b:318). Because of this potential for confusion on what contributed to the burning of the structure, this evidence should be used in combination with other factors. The previous stated aspects are essential in reinforcing that a burnt structure was a result of conflict, as well as bio-archaeological evidence.

        The other major aspect that lends itself to the determination of whether conflicts occurred in the archaeological record is the biological aspect. Human skeletal remains are an excellent source of information about the lives and deaths of individuals and populations. The focus in this paper is what evidence can be found in the bio-archaeological record that indicates some sort of trauma, and more specifically, whether this trauma is a result of some violent act against another person or group of individuals.

        There are several ways in which trauma can appear on skeletal material and can denote violence. Broad depression fractures, especially on flat bones like the skull or the scapula are indicative of blunt-force trauma. Cutmarks can also be very informative and there are two types that are of interest here. One such type results from stabbing by way of knife or knife-like object and from a projectile point. This type manifests itself as "a V-shaped notch in the margin of a bone, such as a rib, or a small lenticular depressed fracture on bone surfaces" (Olsen and Shipman 1994:384-385). These can be hard to distinguish from each other, unless a piece of the knife or a projectile point remains lodged in the bone. The other type of cutmark usually seen is in the form of incised lines across a bone, like scoring on pottery. These lines can point to specific acts of violence. Mutilation or the removal of certain bones as trophies are a couple of causes and scalping is another well-known one. Nadeau's definition of scalping: "the forcible removal of all or part of the scalp" has been used both by Owsley (1994:335) and Holliman and Owsley (1994:350) when dealing with this aspect in

3

the archaeological record. "Scalping marks are typically a series of short, straight or slightly curved marks, around the crown of the head" (Olsen and Shipman 1994:384). These marks are usually restricted to the frontals and parietals and sometimes the temporals and the occipital. Similar marks are made when defleshing the skull during mortuary practices but with defleshing there tends to be more cutmarks and they would also occur on the facial area as well as the scalp area (Olsen and Shipman 1994). Because it can be hard to distinguish between mortuary practices and acts of violence, Olsen and Shipman (1994) created a table (Table 1) as a guide.

Table 1. Characteristics Associated with Secondary Burial and Conflict

Secondary Burial	Conflict
1. Partial Skeleton	1. Mostly complete skeleton
2. High cutmark frequencies: Up to hundreds of cuts	2. Few cutmarks: Often less than 20
3. Defleshing marks on cranium	3. Scalping marks on cranium
4. Mandibular marks common	4. Mandibular marks usually absent
5. Postcranial cutmarks abundant	5. Postcranial marks infrequent
6. Patterned orientations and distribution of postcranial marks	6. Variable orientation and distribution of post cranial marks
7. Type of marks: cutmarks, scraping, enlarging of foramen magnum	7. Type of marks: cutmarks, chop marks, ax wounds, blows, embedded flint, stabbing or projectile wounds

Archaeological Sites

Northern Plains

The Northern Plains is usually separated from the Central Plains at the Nebraska - South Dakota border. It consists of 3 regions; the Middle Missouri, Northwestern Plains and the Northeastern Periphery. The major river system in this region is the Missouri River, which flows in a south-east direction to converge with the Mississippi River (Blakeslee 1994:11-12). The majority of the region is semiarid. It is basically a grassland area with a lot of short grasses and bunchgrasses (Visher 1916:90). Some grasses that are found throughout the region include wheatgrasses, needlegrasses, and blue

grama grasses (Barker and Whitman 1988:268).

In the Northern Plains there is extensive evidence of fortification systems and other settlement factors to help support the idea of intense and frequent conflict in the area. Many of the sites are found in North and South Dakota in the Missouri River Trench with some other sites distributed elsewhere. Numerous sites with these features appear during the Plains Village 1 and 2 periods. Prior to these periods, the evidence for warfare is scant, and there are no defensive structures in the archaeological record. During the Early Middle Missouri variant many villages were compact. They also included surrounding ditches and many times palisades with bastion intervals. Later during the Terminal Middle Missouri variant the villages tended to be larger, but still well-fortified (Blakeslee 1994:18&24). Some specific sites have been able to give an idea as to how extensive some structures were.

Several villages in the Grand-Moreau region of South Dakota were fortified in the late Extended Middle Missouri variant suggesting conflict with other groups in the area. Most of the fortified villages are found along the northern edge, giving an indication of where the conflict was coming from (Owsley 1994: 335&342). Also during the Middle Missouri tradition, the Dodd Village and the Swanson site were fortified. They both had a deep ditch "so oriented to detach a rugged spur of the river terrace from the surrounding area. The village was thus bounded by a steep, defensible slope on three sites while the fourth was protected by the ditch." There may also have been a stockade that surrounded the villages entirely (Caldwell 1964:2). The Brandon site in eastern South Dakota is a great example of using natural terrain as a defense. It is located on a flat-topped ridge right above the Big Sioux River, making access to the village limited. Fortification was only needed on the side that was exposed to the rest of the area. The Mitchell site, also in South Dakota, shows fairly elaborate fortification and actually contains two ditches like that seen at Crow Creek. Evidence of a defensive tower occurs in the north at the Smiley-Evans site in South Dakota (Zimmerman 1985:86).

The Crow Creek Site during the Initial Coalescent tradition of the Plains Village 2 period (Blakeslee 1994:23) was a large site. It

5

is located on the east side of the Missouri River near the confluence of Crow Creek and Wolf Creek in south central South Dakota. It covers almost eighteen acres (Willey and Thomas 1993:228; Kivett and Jensen 1976:1). This village's location was selected with defense in mind. The creeks to the west and south-eastern borders contain terrace bluffs that were excellent for preventing easy access to the village from those directions (Willey and Thomas 1993:230). The other sides just needed some artificial fortifications to completely enclose the village. On the northern border of the village there is a fortification ditch that spanned 1,250 feet. This ditch includes ten bastions that occurred at evenly spaced intervals. This outer ditch extends from a bluff at Wolf Creek and ends at a Crow Creek ravine. Its depth varies from six to twelve feet, and its width ranges from fifteen feet to fifty feet. The inner ditch nearby extends from a ravine on the east side and terminates 250 feet farther to the northwest. Only two bastions were observed by researchers, but it is believed that they spanned the entire length at one time. On the south side of the village there is a third fortification ditch. It is shallower than the other two ditches and is about 375 feet in length. Researchers again believe that it once contained bastions because of its wavy path, but there is no specific evidence for this. The number of housing structures within the village amount to at least fifty and a great many of them were burnt (Kivett and Jensen 1976).

Another site in South Dakota is the Fay Tolton site that occurred during the Initial Middle Missouri variant of the Plains Village 1 period. This site is large, with at least thirty-three housing units within. It is surrounded by a fortification ditch. Upon excavation of a portion of the ditch, no direct evidence of a palisade was uncovered. Two houses were also excavated in 1957 along with the portion of the ditch, so named House 1 and House 2. They are positioned on the southern side of the site and were found to have been burnt (Hollimon and Owsley 1994:346).

In regards to all these sites in the north, it is clear that there has been some intense preparation for conflict. It is clear that issues of violence were at the forefront of people's minds when establishing and constructing their villages. Turning to the South Plains, a different scene can be revealed from the archaeological sites found there.

Southern Plains

The Southern Plains border begins at the southern edge of the Kansas River system, and also includes "the western portion of Oklahoma, north-central Texas and the Texas panhandle, the eastern foothills of New Mexico, and southeastern Colorado" (Brooks 1994a:33; Owsley and et al. 1989:111). The area is characterized by prairie grasslands and sparse wooded areas near the stream valleys. The more densely wooded areas are restricted to the eastern edge of the Southern Plains. The center of the region consists of high plateaus with wind-constructed playa lakes and sand dunes. There is a diverse mixture of topography in the western section, which includes mesas, plateaus, volcanic areas and outwash materials (Brooks 1994a:33-34).

In the Southern Plains, the occurrence of defensive structures is less distinct. Fortification ditches are scarce in this region. The Edwards I site and the Duncan site in west Oklahoma of the Edwards Complex are two of the few that had circular trenches surrounding the villages, but lack evidence of bastions and palisades (Brooks 1994a:46). The Washita River phase in Oklahoma has no evidence for defensive enclosures (Brooks 1994b:320). What the evidence does show are possible defensive lookouts and burnt housing structures. During the Antelope Creek phase several sites are located on top of mesas or buttes. The Arrowhead Peak site is found on a butte just above the Canadian River and Landgrin Mesa and Mesa Alamosa are located on mesas also near the Canadian River. Lookout Ruin is on a mesa in the Antelope Creek floodplain in Texas. The same is true of two Buried City complex sites; Handley Ruin and Parcell (Brooks 1994a:39&41).

These strategic uses of high natural settings by the Antelope Creek people may be for defensive purposes. Elevated positions give the village a vantage point for spotting potential conflict and it also limits access to the village. On the other hand, the reasoning behind these positions may have nothing to do with defense. These sites are near streams and rivers and floodplains; fertile land with which to grow their crops. Monitoring their land and harvests is a possible explanation for these locations. This second idea gains plausibility because of the fact that these sites lack other concrete fortification

structures or bio-archaeological material indicating violence or anticipation for conflict. Although, it should be reported that in past studies these sites in the Southern Plains have been considered defensive outlooks by several anthropologists and archaeologists (Studer 1931; Texas Historical Commission 1984; Marmaduke and Whitsett 1975).

Evidence of burnt structures is seen on the Southern Plains as well and has been recognized as events of raiding. The Footprint site is an example of one such occurrence. This site is located on a terrace at Big Canyon near the Canadian River. Subterranean Structure 1 has been identified as burnt intentionally with human skeletal remains recovered from within. There are several other instances of burnt structures all located near the Alibates chert quarries. A couple of inferences have been recorded as to the causes of these events. One suggestion involves conflict between two or more groups in the vicinity of the quarries for the rights to use and the power to control this area as an important natural resource. The other is that these sites were used so often because of their location to this natural resource that the probability of accident or mortuary burnings increased dramatically (Brooks 1994b:318). Within the Zimms complex the evidence of burnt structures is even more unclear as seen at the Zimms and Hedding sites. The data shows minimal evidence of conflict as the cause but there is also not much else that indicates any other potential causes either (Brooks 1994b:319).

When comparing the data from the Northern Plains and the Southern Plains in terms of architecture and other settlement factors it is quite clear that the intensity and frequency of violence in the north exceeds that in the south. It has been shown that fortification systems occur quite frequently in the north and this evidence is unquestionable. Sites like Crow Creek and Fay Tolton are exceptionally good instances, with their size and great preservation of the areas. Crow Creek, in fact, embodies all factors when looking at settlement issues. It is large in size, and there is an aggregation of the population with compact housing structures placed in very close proximity to each other. Those who occupied the site used the natural terrain and reinforced less defensible sections with manmade fortifications so the village was completely contained within

defensive parameters.

In the south, the evidence is not quite so clear. Edwards I and Duncan sites have potential trenches and several of the other sites are noted in elevated positions, but the evidence is far from concretely indicating intent of defense preparation or acts of conflict. There tends to be more than one plausible explanation for the situations in the Southern Plains. The Footprint site is the only one that has unequivocal evidence for conflict seen within the settlement parameters as burnt structures.

Settlement patterns and defensive structures are important in exhibiting anticipation of violence. Burnt structures can indicate conflict as well, although in many cases it is less definitive. The use of bio-archaeological material is one of the best indicators of actual acts of violence against individuals and groups. The next section goes into detail about what kinds of evidence are seen in both the Northern and Southern Plains.

Bio-archaeological Material

Northern Plains
In the Northern Plains there is extensive evidence of violence, observable within the bio-archaeological record. The Blasky Mound in the Fordville Mounds in North Dakota of the Late Woodland cemetery complex gives researchers evidence of scalping (Williams 1991). The Anton Rygh Site in South Dakota during the Plains Village 2 period shows evidence of violence on two individuals. Burial 4859 is a female exhibiting signs of two blows, one on the posterior part of the right parietal, zygomatic, and mandible and the other on the left mandible. This woman also shows signs of scalping. Burial 13 has either a knife or projectile point wound that can be seen on the ventral surface of the ribs and there are cut marks on the distal end of the femur (Olsen and Shipman 1994:384-385). There is evidence of healed scalping wounds at Anton Rygh as well, which indicates that conflict with this group of people was not an isolated incident and therefore points to reoccurring acts of violence (Hollimon and Owsley 1994:350). Violence, in fact, may extend as far back as the Archaic. At the Bahm site in North Dakota a ten year

old child was recovered with what is thought to be unhealed scalping wounds, as was an adult. This evidence is a bit ambiguous because there is other evidence for the mortuary practice of defleshing as well (Williams 1994:97).

The previous sites mentioned only contain one or two individuals with traumatic injuries. The next two sites have more individuals involved. The Fay Tolton site, mentioned earlier, has substantial evidence of violence. Five individuals have been recovered; two adult males (Burials 2 and 3), two adolescent (possible) females (Burials 1A and 1B), and one child of unknown sex (Burial 1C) from two houses which are burnt. Burial 1B shows signs of burning on the left parietal and has a portion of a projectile point still embedded in the distal end of her right tibia. Burial 1C also was burnt on the cranium, as well as at the distal ends of the left and right radii and ulnae. The child's hands are missing and there is considerable controversy over whether or not they were intentionally removed for "trophies." Burial 3 is missing the cranium, the mandible and a few of the cervical vertebrae indicating that this individual was decapitated. Burial 2 shows signs of two healed depressed fractures on the cranium and the child shows substantial necrosis from scalping. These two lines of evidence suggest repeated violence in the area and against this group of people (Hollimon and Owsley 1994; Zimmerman 1985).

The next intensive site is the Crow Creek site as mentioned above. There has been extensive research about the Crow Creek Massacre, which occurred at about 1325 AD. An excavation of the ditch revealed hundreds of commingled villagers. Using the number of right temporals, researchers estimate that the greatest minimum count is 486. It is believed that this represents sixty percent of the total village population. The population of 831 was calculated using Roberts' formula based on historic accounts. Human remains were recovered from two beds; A and B. About ninety percent of the remains exhibit evidence of scalping by cutmarks on the frontal portion of the cranium and there are two skulls that show healed scalping wounds. This number may be on the conservative side because it is possible to scalp a person without leaving any cutmarks on the bone. Depressed fractures at the site are exhibited by thirty percent of the remains. There is the possibility of tongues being cut

out as evidenced by cutmarks on the ascending ramus of the mandible. Decapitation is seen at the site from cutmarks around the foramen magnum and the first two cervical vertebrae. As much as a quarter of the remains may have been decapitated (Willey and Emerson 1993:244-259; Zimmerman 1985:108).

The remains that have been examined in the north are definitive evidence for conflict. Several sites have high numbers of trauma-inflicted individuals in relation to the total number of remains recovered. This indicates that conflict was intense and some instances can be considered large scale warfare.

Southern Plains
Within the Southern Plains there are also several sites with bio-archaeological material indicating violence of some kind. There are several instances within the Antelope Creek phase that help reveal conflict that occurred within the area. Big Blue Cemetery, Handley Ruins and Footprint sites all have burials that show projectile points as either being embedded in a human bone or at least in direct connection with the remains (Bovee and Owsley 1994:360). Of the three sites within this phase, the Footprint site offers a great deal of skeletal evidence to be studied. There are three burial pits located within Room I of a burnt structure that contain at least seven people according to Lintz (1986) but earlier research by Green (1967) suggested that there were twenty-one: eleven adults, six sub-adults and four infants. The remains are disarticulated and dispersed among the three pits. Some portions of the bone are charred, which could either have been a result of burning the structure or because of intentional cremation during the group's mortuary rituals. These individuals may or may not have been the subject of a violent end, but the ten or eleven disarticulated crania that were also recovered in a pit in the same structure most likely were. These crania have been interpreted as trophy skulls, with one of the skulls exhibiting a healed puncture wound on the left side of the cranium. There was also a projectile point found beneath one of the skulls. These crania are not associated with any post skeletal remains. Violence most likely occurred at one point in this village, but the only evidence that comes close to being concrete is the disarticulated skulls. The site of

Antelope Creek 22 shows two adults; one male and one female, with trauma. The male exhibits a perforation in the right scapula, and the female has a perforation on the sternum near the lower portion. There is some dispute about whether or not these were a result of conflict or from other unnatural means (i.e. accidental injury) (Brooks 1994b:317-318).

The Buried City complex and the Zimms complex in the same region as the Antelope Creek phase occurred in overlapping timeframes. These two complexes are small and less complex in comparison with Antelope Creek, but there has been some evidence of violence occurring within them. The Gould Ruins site is associated with the Buried City complex and there are possible arrowpoints embedded in a burial (Brooks 1994a:41). At the Wickham #3 site of the Zimms Complex, there were three burials that were recovered. One individual is an adult male with a projectile point wedged in the sternum and in the right humerus there are fragments of another projectile point. A reexamination of the wounds on the right clavicle, right scapula and a rib, once thought to be a result of a third projectile point, was changed to reflect postmortem damage. A second individual shows evidence of scalping by way of cutmarks on the cranium (Brooks 1994b:318).

During the Washita River phase there are several sites that reaffirm violence occurring in the Southern Plains. The Grant site contains skeletal material of fifteen individuals and only one of them exhibits any sign of trauma related to conflict. This individual has a fracture on the left parietal. There are no radiating fractures associated with this blow which indicates that is was not too severe. It is believed that it was not the cause of death (Owsley and Jantz 1989; Brooks 1994b).

The Heerwald site in west central Oklahoma has a single burial pit that contains a young adult female, a child of unknown sex and a near term fetus. Between the ribs of the adult, researchers recovered a large Harrell-type projectile point, near the lumbar vertebrae Bovee and Owsley (1994). Also, still embedded in the first lumbar vertebra is a smaller projectile point. At the upper part of the adult's torso is a damaged scapula, and a notch in a rib where a third projectile point most likely entered and exited. On the cranium of the same individual are thirty cutmarks on the frontal, five on the right

parietal, four on the right temporal, ten on the occipital, and eleven on the left parietal. They all exhibit a horizontal orientation that was described as a "rough circle" (Bovee and Owsley 1994:357). The child of undetermined sex shows no evidence of violence, but was buried hastily along with the adult female and fetus, indicating death at approximately the same time.

The other Washita River phase site worth mentioning is McLemore where fifty-five people were found. Of these fifty-five people only three show any sign of trauma on the skeletal remains. There is one adult female with an arrowpoint situated in one of the thoracic vertebrae. The other two individuals exhibit fractures on their skulls which were first thought to be caused by violence, but upon reexamination the cause was changed to the effects of post-deposition (Brooks 1994b:319).

The Nagle site in central Oklahoma is different in that it is strictly a cemetery site with no association with any sort of habitation, and the human skeletal remains are not indigenous to the area. It is believed from the items that were placed in the burials with the people that they are a group of Caddoans, most likely from the Spiro site in eastern Oklahoma. There are twenty individuals at Nagle: four adult males, three adult females, three adults of undetermined sex, three sub adults, and seven children and infants. It is believed that this group of people represent refugees from the Spiro site. Researchers believe this because the skeletal remains show malnutrition and infectious diseases, in addition to the types of burial goods. There is only one individual, an adult male (Burial 10), which lends evidence to violence. He was found with four arrowpoints stuck in his torso, one in his lower left leg, and was scalped (Brooks 1994b:319-320; Bovee and Owsley 1994:359-360).

Probably one of the oldest sites in the Southern Plains that has been recovered and exhibits possible trauma as a result of conflict is from the Archaic period, and is located in Oklahoma. This site is called the Gore Pit site (34Cm131). It contains the buried remains of a female. On the cranium there are two semicircular fractures on the right parietal. These fractures may have attributed to interference in the middle meningeal artery, which in turn may have resulted in the death of this female (Keith and Snow 1986). This is

only one site in the Archaic in the Southern Plains, but it is possible that as new sites are recovered and sites with human skeletal remains are examined, new evidence will emerge to shed light on the situation of conflict in the Archaic.

Discussion

When studying violence and conflict between individuals and groups in the archaeological record it is important to look at the whole picture. An awareness of the geographic location and culture is important in understanding the causes of such conflict, as well. It is important to address all factors as best as possible when trying to interpret what is present in the archaeological record and attempting to make broader inferences based on that evidence. Being conscious of limitations and problems is vital in any research.

There are several difficulties that impede research when dealing with the archaeological record and some that are strictly related to conflict. The archeological record itself is incomplete. People of the past made and used plenty of items that do not preserve well. To make matters worse there are conditions climatically and geologically that can easily degrade perishable items. These products may have been vital to understanding that culture, and in this case, conflict. Another immense problem is that the archaeological record is vast and it is practically impossible to recover and examine every site and every piece of bone or material culture. This limited data is one way in which perceptions of conflict in the Plains can be distorted. In the case of the Southern Plains, Owsley et al. (1989) explain that conflict is not as apparent because comprehensive organized studies have been lacking in the area, so the full extent of conflict is not known. It is entirely possible that with new archaeological research adding to the database that the perceptions could change.

Another major problem, in terms of the bio-archaeological record, is that not all trauma related to violence can be seen on the skeletal material. It is entirely possible for wounds to be subjected to the soft tissue and miss the skeletal material. For example, a person may have been stabbed without the blade ever coming into contact with the bones, so when the skeletal remains are recovered and

examined there would be no evidence of such violence having taken place. Hamperl (1967), in fact, was able to show that scalping an individual does not always leave cutmarks on the bone. This lack of evidence is a serious hindrance in the recognition of violence.

Lastly, a major problem occurs during the examination of the skeletal material. Some researchers upon initial inspection do not recognize evidence of trauma related to conflict. Owsley (1989) mentions that many researchers have not been able to recognize cutmarks as evidence for scalping. Perhaps this is just an oversight or misinterpretation, but this mistake can cause the numbers to be skewed. On the opposite end of the spectrum, it is entirely possible to interpret trauma as resulting from conflict when in fact it may be due to some other factor. This was demonstrated at the Wickham #3 site and the McLemore site.

Conclusion

Comparing all the instances of the Northern Plains to the Southern Plains from the preceding information helps to get an idea of the difference of intensity in conflict between the two. Both regions, of course, exhibit signs of conflict and there are instances from sites in the north and the south of repeated violence against groups as evidenced by healed wounds. Anton Rygh and Fay Tolton in the north and the Footprint site in the south are examples of this, however in terms of intensity the northern region exhibits this better. Just from the sites stated previously the north shows more sites that exhibit signs of scalping; five sites in the north versus two sites in the south. The same relation is seen with sites that exhibit blunt force trauma; three sites in the north versus one site in the south. The sites with remains exhibiting trauma from some type of projectile point, however, are exhibited more frequently in the south, with only two sites in the north and six sites in the south. In terms of the number of individuals displaying trauma resulting from conflict, the Northern Plains far surpasses that of the Southern Plains. In this paper, all the sites in the south have only one or two individuals that show evidence of violence, even when the total number of individuals at the site far exceeds that number. This can be seen at McLemore

where one individual out of fifty-five gave such evidence. It is the same for Nagle (one of twenty) and Grant (one of fifteen). In the north there are quite a few sites that have only one or two individuals showing conflict-induced trauma, but there are also instances like that of Crow Creek and Fay Tolton. At Crow Creek, 486 of the suspected 831 residents of the village (sixty percent) were killed and mutilated. At Fay Tolton there were only five individuals found, but all of them showed signs of violence.

This paper focused on two very necessary aspects in the archaeological record for documenting such acts; various factors relating to the settlement and the bio-archaeological material. Combining these two important aspects give researchers an idea about how frequent and how intense conflict was during the pre-contact period. Violence here is not a new or a European contact phenomenon. It has a much longer history, and the Northern and Southern Plains give credence to that, as is evidenced with the Bahm and Gore Pit sites. Even more, this conflict was variable prehistorically. The sites drawn on here and the evidence highlighted show that in the Northern Plains conflict was not only occurring at a higher frequency than the Southern Plains, it was also more intense. In the north there are substantial fortifications at multiple sites. Groups often employed more than one method of defending their villages. Crow Creek, for example used the natural terrain on the banks of the creeks it was positioned between and the exposed parameters were transformed with ditches and bastions and may or may not have had palisades. However, in the south, defensive lookouts were the closest things to concrete evidence of anticipation and preparation for conflict.

The bio-archaeological record pertaining to conflict is also extensive. Using the types of trauma detected at these sites and quantifying them as well as looking at the fundamental number of individuals found at each site helps to reinforce the architectural data. Most of the evidence shown here comes fairly late in the Prehistoric period, and is mostly from the Plains Village period. The Bahm site and Blasky mounds are the oldest. There are a number of factors that contribute to their causes and why there are so few but these kinds of questions are not within the parameters of this paper. Although this is a vital question when attempting to gain an idea

about conflict on a broader scale, this is not the place. It is multifaceted and many aspects may lack preservation in the archaeological record and can only be inferred. Thomas Biolsi (1984:143) was correct in saying the causes are "neither…exclusively cultural nor…exclusively ecological." Culture, migrations, natural resources, and a vast many other factors go into any explanation.

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Mother Culture or Sister Culture: Development of Complexity in Mesoamerica

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Abstract - *The debate of the sister culture theory and the mother culture theory of Mesoamerica is finally approaching the light at the end of the tunnel with INAA and PTSA analysis. We now have a better understanding of the Pan-Mesoamerican cultural patterns archaeologists once contributed to Olmec ideology.*

Introduction

Further understanding of the Olmec phenomena will help archaeologists understand the rise of civilization in Mesoamerica and elsewhere. I will analyze two theoretical approaches to comprehend the development of the Olmec and their influence to the rest of Mesoamerica. One approach is the cultura madre (mother culture) theory, meaning that the Olmec society was the first complex society to develop in Mesoamerica and that it set the foundations for the civilizations that followed. This logic is primarily led by Jeffery P. Blomster, Hector Neff, Michael D. Glascock, Richard A. Diehl and Michael D. Coe. Another perspective is the Primus inter Pares (sister culture theory), which argues (a) that the Olmec did not have a centralized power and (b) the Olmec and their neighbors were complex sociopolitical entities. The second is primarily led by Ken F. Flannery, James B. Stoltman, David C. Grove, and Joyce Marcus. I prefer the second vision because new pottery analysis reveals that Formative Mesoamerican chiefdoms were trading with one another and that a number of early Formative societies reinforced each other's development to create a some-what unified Pan-Mesoamerican cultural pattern and symbology. I will explore text of both theoretical perspectives of the authors mentioned above.

Background

The term Olmec embodies both an artistic style and a culture. It was first derived and applied to an ancient art style by art historians, which included ceramics, jade figurines, wood carvings, obsidian, and iron-ore mirrors and rock sculptures such as colossal heads, alters and stele. What defined the Olmec art style was a suite of traits and motifs that occurred on artifacts distributed throughout Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize (Arnold 1995). All artifacts with dragon and/or jaguar like characteristics were erroneously labeled as Olmec. These artifacts have not been found evenly throughout Mesoamerica. For example, certain monumental sculptures are unique to the region the Aztec called the Olman, "The Rubber Country", at the time of contact. The monumental structures consist of many colossal heads and alters made from basalt rock (Diehl 1996). The ceramic that have come out of the Olmec heartland have not preserved well compared to pottery from other sites in Mesoamerica (Arnold 1995).

The cultural core of the Olmec is in present day Veracruz and Tabasco, Mexico (Diehl and Coe 1995:11-12). This region features great agricultural productivity, but lacks raw mineral resources. Since the Olmec did not leave a written language little is known about the language or regions they occupied. It is unclear if the Olmec formed a single ethnic group or nation. From the various sites archaeologists have identified as Olmec the landscape appears patchy as if made up of loosely integrated chiefdoms—"societies based on hereditary differences in rank, in which the chief's authority extends to satellite communities" (Flannery and Marcus 2000:2). It is important to emphasize that chiefdoms are not a monolithic category as Flannery et al (2000) suggest, they come in many different forms.

The Olmec culture developed during the Early and Middle Formative also known as the Pre-classic periods (1200 to 600 B.C.). There is evidence to suggest that chiefdoms in the Olmec heartland developed a well defined division of labor system during the early Formative. The division of labor included craft specialization. The Olmec and most of Mesoamerica exchanged a large variety of finished goods and raw material such as greenstones, feathers, and

exotic goods prized by local elites, as well as ideas, beliefs and symbols (Diehl 1996).

The notion that the Gulf Coast was the crib of civilization for all of the "Mesoamerican Civilizations goes back more than half a century, when archaeology was in its infancy", but the sister culture theory is much newer (Flannery et al 2000:1). There are many reasons why this debate has gone on for so long, but with the development of new technology archaeologist have been able to determine that pottery was exchanged between regions. No previous ceramic chemical or mineral comparison had been done between the Olmec heartland and other Mesoamerican sites prior to 2002 and was led by Neff, Glascock, and later joined by Blomster (Neff 2005).

Methods

I felt that neo-materialism (which encompasses neo-evolution) would be an appropriate theory since I'm analyzing what scholars have said about the Olmec; as well as other Mesoamerican Formative chiefdoms to better understand how these societies interacted with each other. According to McGee and Warms (2008: 265) "neo-evolutionists were primarily interested in the origins of culture phenomena," in particular the climb of civilization. Furthermore, archaeologists were interested in identifying stages and the complexity of material culture (in the form of ceramics) on which most of these authors in these two schools of thought focus.

I focused on the ideas of a small number of scholars who I felt were closer to the debate. My intention was to consider an equal amount of literature from multiple perspectives to better understand the debate and then decide on who has the best argent.

Analysis

First, I analyzed the claims archaeologists made about Formative Mesoamerican pottery. I also analyzed other evidence from the Veracruz-Tabasco area of central Mexico, in particular, the Puebla, Morelos, Guerrero and Oaxaca area. Flannery and Marcus (2000) affirmed that they are "confident that the Valley of Mexico, Puebla, Morelos and Oaxaca and various parts of Guerrero, Chiapas and

southern Veracruz-Tabasco had chiefly societies by 1150 B.C." based on ten lines of evidence (Flannery and Marcus 2000: 3).

Figure 1. Olmec sites or sites with Olmec influence: 5-7. Guerrero 8 Puebla; 9. San José Mogote, Oaxaca; 12. Tres Zapotes; 13. San Lorenzo 15. La Venta; the Tuxtla Mountains would be in the light green.
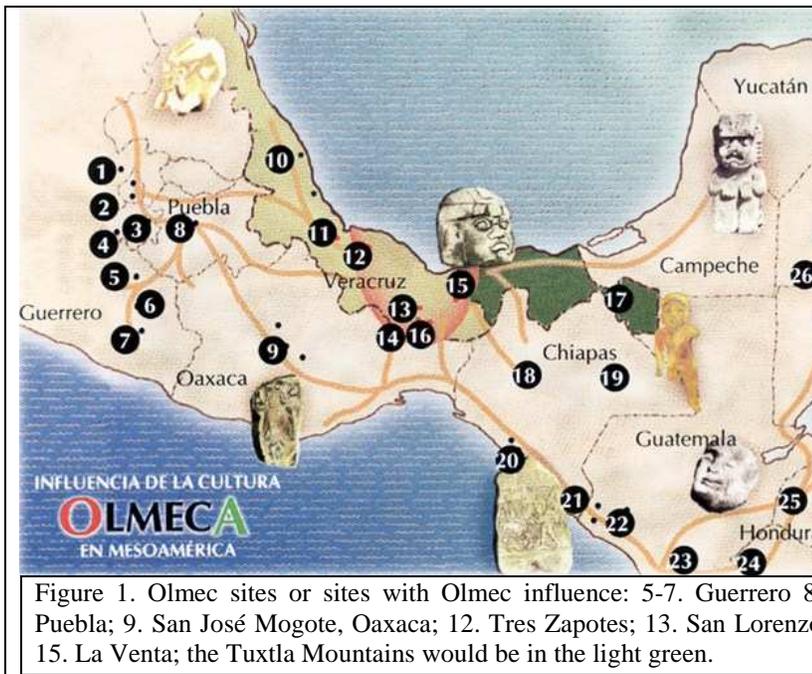
I will first start off with the most popular ceramic analysis, described by Flannery et al. (2005), Neff et al. (2002, 2005, 2006a 2006b), Sharer et al. (2006), and Stoltman et al. (2005) because the results bring us closer to an understanding of the trade relations during the Mesoamerican Formative period. Sharer et al. (2006: 91) laid out the three most common ways to do sherd analysis. The simplest technique required a 10X hand lens and pliers to create freshly broken cross sections. After analyzing, one would end up with "grouped types, vessel shapes, surface treatment, colors, decoration, or other meaningful variables that cover a specified region during a specified time period" (Sharer et al 2006: 91). The second technique was the petrography analysis (PTSA); it consisted of looking at the mineralogical composition and compared it to bedrock geology of the local site or region. Finally, instrumental neutron activation

analysis (INAA) was the most costly since it looked at the chemical composition of an artifact. Sharer et al (2006: 92) stated that this was commonly used "when you [knew] which question to ask of which sherds" or when fine or little ware was found in the pottery and insufficient mineralogical detail was available to categorize ceramics into groups.

Literature about the last two forms of analysis created great controversy due in part to bias in the analysis and misinterpretation between researchers' work attached to either side of the Mesoamerican origin debate. Neff and Glascock and Blomster joined to interpret INAA results in 2005, the original sample contained 944 sherds of which only 725 were used with an additional data set. Neff et al. (2005) concluded that San Lorenzo was exporting pottery to other areas of Mesoamerica but receiving little, if any, in return. This earlier work was greatly criticized by Flannery et al. (2005), Sharer et al. (2006), and Stoltman et al. (2005) because pro-sister culture archaeologist believed that Neff et al. (2005) analysis had substantial problems. Criticisms included selection bias, statistical problems, and manipulation of study results to favor the mother culture theory. Some of the biases are described in Neff et al. (2005) article and others are made apparent in their methods.

Neff et al. (2005) state that "the sampling procedure was not random. [That sherds were selected] to have both local production and possible imports." The way Neff et al. (2005) handled pottery samples has been controversial. When looking at the methods page provided by Neff et al. (2002) we see that San Lorenzo makes the largest portion of the sampled sherds in any particular area in the sample. A large percent of those were dismissed as unassigned to source because they could have been contributed to more than one site and thus controversial (Neff et al. 2005). Flannery et al. (2005) argued that any one of those 48 sherds could have suggested a higher trading pattern between San Lorenzo and elsewhere. In addition, Flannery et al. claimed that "Blomster inflated his sample with [too many San Lorenzo sherds (as seen in Figure 2) and] pottery types irrelevant to the model, including undecorated local storage wares […] however a different strategy was used" in the valley of Oaxaca and the Basin of Mexico (Flannery 2005: 11219). According to the descriptions of the sherds this stamen seems to hold true to some

extent, the descriptions for San Lorenzo's pottery seem to be very simple compared to the rest of the sample. On the other hand Neff et al. (2002) used samples collected by different graduate students working on their dissertation and the sampling techniques are unknown.

Furthermore, sister culture theorists argue that when Neff and college's (2005) "data set [was] separated from their un-described reference collection and subjected to multiple discriminate function analyses, the results tend[ed] not to support a model of Olmec one-way trade" (Flannery et al. 2005, Stoltman et al. 2005). This mysterious data set was described by Neff et al. (2005) as containing 80 sherd samples from Etlatongo and San Lorenzo. Flannery and colleges (2005) are right despite that S1 is mentioned in the 2005 report by Neff et al. no details of the description are given. I believe that this would help us to better assess the 80 sherd sample from Etlatongo and San Lorenzo. With no other information to draw on, one might wonder why an additional sample was needed to complete the analysis.

The last source of controversy as pointed out by Flannery et al. (2005) was that Neff et al. (2005) stated that the motifs in carved gray ware had been linked with the dissemination of the social, political, and religious institutions of Olmec when archaeologist were able to prove the origins of symbols. In addition when looking at the potter descriptions given in the INAA, I notice a common trend for the Oaxaca sample; if the chemical composition of a sherd matches that of Oaxaca the common description of that sherd is most commonly "were jaguar" and/or "fire serpents" but when the chemical compound is local to San Lorenzo or Veracruz only "fire serpent" designs are described (Neff et al. 2002. I wonder about the origins of the "were jaguar" motif, since they were mostly described as local to Oaxaca and this is not mentioned in the 2002 or 2005 reports by Neff et al. It is uncertain that my observation has statistical significant but I believed it was a valid observation.

Figure 2. INAA analysis as presented by Neff et al (2002 and 2005). A greater number of ceramic appear to be contributed as local to San Lorenzo.
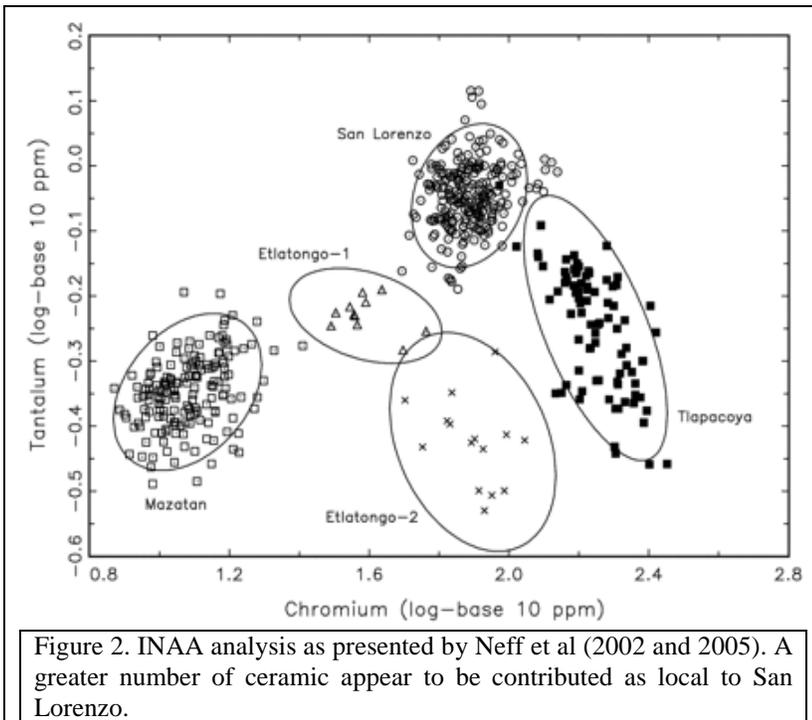
To confirm the findings of Nett et al. (2005), Stlotman et al. (2005) used PTSA to reanalyze a small portion of the sherds previously used by Nett et al. (2005) because they felt that too many sherds were left unassigned (Flannery et al 2005). Stlotman and associates found that indeed trade was two-way and that PTSA could "sometimes overturns the results of INAA" an example will be discussed later (Stoltman 2005:11214). Although, PTSA was criticized to have too small of sample sizes to draw an accurate conclusion Stoltman et al. preformed a blind sample with the help from other Mesoamerican archeologist. Stoltman and colleges (2005:11215) argue that they wanted to provide an alternative approach were "the undescribed reference collection is excluded and no sherds are unassigned."

Ceramic analysis that has not caused much controversy has been practiced for centuries in the Basin of Mexico by Grove (1996). It is hard to get primary context material in the basin of Mexico

because most Formative sites are looted or covered with later architecture. Therefore the analysis of sherds left behind by looters or found in graves is of great importance for this area. Like many anthropologist Grove believed that graves had abundant information about an individual, including their social rank, society and time period. Because of this reason, Grove (1996) argued that about five percent of the pottery found in graves from these sites was Olmec in style and the rest was local.

For example, Grove (1996: 108) argues that in the Las Bocas site situated in western Puebla, ancient citizens created a unique ceramic style that included a variation of the Olmec ceramic. The archaeological data for western Puebla and Morelos showed no sign of colonization from the Olmec since most of the pottery was local; on the contrary, it suggested that the Olmec and western cultures were exchanging ideas which is not a new idea even for archaeologist supporting the mother culture ideas (Diehl 2004).

Grove (1996) identified red-on-brown pottery that he considered to be locally made because it differentiated from the Olmec style. Some of the ceramic in graves were "exotic forms" like stirrup pots, but most of them were plain pots, lady figurines and an occasional Olmec vessel (the number of vessels correlated to the political importance of the individual). A number of different ceramics seemed to have been used by most people, so the variety was there. The only difference was the quantity of vessels (Grove 1996). The greater number of pottery found in graves suggested that the ceramics might have been made "locally" and the percentage of foreign vessels found with elite individuals might imply the trade connections with other chiefdoms.

One of the most studied Early Formative sites other than San Lorenzo is San Jose Mogote in the Valley of Oaxaca. It has been thoroughly investigated on several occasions for more than three decades (Neff et al 2005). As suggested by Flannery and Marcus (1976b: 374-383), pottery analysis indicated houses at San Jose Mogote had a unique distribution of the black and white "fire-serpent" and "were-Jaguar" symbols. Grove (1996: 109) suggested they served as an important social marker. He argued that the Olmec style pottery served the local and regional social network, which probably provided an explanation for social roles in Olmec pottery

and other parts of Mesoamerica. It is likely that the exotic trade offered elite groups a more defined social status since large architecture was limited in San Jose Mogote (as pointed out by Neff et al 2005).

Chiefly material evidence was better preserved in the southwest portion of Mexico. Niederberger (1996) worked in the southwest regions of Guerrero and the Basin of Mexico; I will first describe the work done at the Basin of Mexico. During her investigation she found that by 1250 B.C. the greater Tlatilco culture had evolved from an egalitarian community to a greater sociopolitical power in the basin. Tlapocaya was situated on an island in the southeastern part of the valley's lake system (Saunders 2004: 19). Fully equipped with ground-like pottery, followed with more sophisticated kinds of figurines, some with defined interest in duality themes. It might be plausible that the duality themes started in the Tlatilco cultural area but archaeologists don't have sufficient evidence to conclude such a possibility.

Niederberger (1996b) found three cultural phases showing no Olmec influence. During this early greater Tlatilco phase, over three hundred burials were excavated and each was accompanied by pottery goods that included "figurines sometimes of monstrous figures with three eyes, two heads, or wearing masks" (Saunders 2004: 20). This earlier phase (pre-Ayotla, Zohampolco, Nevada) of Tlatilco was very different from Olmec style art. Some of the ceramics found were polished jars, plates and vessel in the shape of fishes and other zoomorphic designs (Saunders 2004).

In later Formative ceramics, Niederberger (1996b) was able to identify a clear change into an Olmec ceramic style during the Manantial (1000 to 800 B.C.) and Telepan phase (800 to 700 B.C.). Neiderberger argued that Tlapocaya/Tlatilco might have been "colonized" because of the clear distinction between the former and the later ceramic styles. In addition, Olmec style disappeared from the archaeological record during the end of the Telepan phase (Niederberger 1996).

It seems reasonable to consider that Tlapocaya was colonized by the Olmec around 1000 B.C. since it would have been the climax point for the Olmec. Data shows a clear Olmec influence during two mid phases of development in Tlatilco that disappeared

29

after 700 B.C when Olmec influence diminished due to the decrease in power of the Olmec civilization. It also does not seem plausible that the Olmec were the primary influence in the development of Tlapocaya and Tlatilco or its surrounding areas because sociopolitical complexity developed before Olmec influence.

Stoltman and colleges (2005) point out that using a range of cultural material to prove one's point is better than one line of evidence. They argue that performing INAA on pottery is not as useful as performing it on rocks or other materials where people cannot alter the chemical structures of an artifact. Stoltman et al. ask us to consider, "what the Mexican custom of soaking maize in lime water might do to a pot's calcium levels." In addition pottery samples from the Gulf heartland are poorly preserved compared to other parts of Mesoamerica. For this reasons it is important to look at other cultural materials; especially when there is strong evidence to suggest that some motifs and other cultural symbols appear earlier in multiple cultural areas other than the Gulf cost.

Other lines of evidence include iconography presented in preserved artifacts, I will mention two examples in particular the "were Jaguar" motifs and the Magnetite mirrors. Former work in the Olmec regions suggested that Olmec-style motifs appeared earlier in the Oaxaca region than they do in the Gulf regions, this has been argued for centuries and is know backed up by INAA (Grove 1996: 27); suggesting that at least some of the Olmec iconography originated in Oaxaca. In addition pro-sister culture anthropologists argue that the magnetite mirrors were first produced in Oaxaca and later became popular in the Olmec region because Magnetite ore is abundant in the Oaxaca area. Archaeologists have magnetite artifacts from the Oaxaca area and we see then represented in some of the great Olmec monumental structures in the Gulf. Some archaeologists argued that as early as 1150 B.C. craft specialization for shiny mirrors made from local iron ore were later distributed and made popular in the San Lorenzo site (Saunders 2004). In addition, Grove argued that there was no exclusive evidence that monumental art was first initiated by artists trained in the Gulf coast (Grove 1989a: 130-131; Benson 1996: 27). The origins of monumental structure can be argued all day, but archaeologists have not developed a method to date sculptures.

We do know that the Gulf heartland was a breadbasket when it came to agricultural profits, but it lacked many raw materials that had to be imported. Pro-mother culture theorist suspect that basalt rock from the Tuxtla Mountains was transported in to the Olmec capitals to build public architecture and art (Diehl and Coe 1995). San Lorenzo has yielded more than seventy stone monuments unique to the core area. The inventory includes colossal heads, three table-top alters (thrones), and a bewildering array of human and animal portrayals including zoomorphic and anthropomorphic depictions (Diehl and Coe 1995: 15). No attempts to explain this phenomenon exist.

It is important to note that monumental structures have been found outside the Gulf coast for the Early Formative. Chalcatzingo is in the Basin of Mexico, this site was an important intraregional and interregional trade center and, along with San Jose Mogote, it developed a rectangular platform-mount architecture. Grove (1996) argued that the Middle Formative marked the transition to an Olmec influence in that for the first time Chalcatzingo followed the basic canon of Olmec monumental art, specifically the La Venta art monuments. Despite the La Venta influence, Chalcatzingo monuments remain unique.

Conclusion

Based on recent investigations of the Formative sites and new radiocarbon dates we are able to conclude that there are indeed other sociopolitical complex cultures throughout Mesoamerica as early as the Olmec; culture like Tlapacoya, San Jose Mogote, Las Bocas, Tlatilco and many more. They are indeed unique cultural areas with some unified Pan-Mesoamerican characteristics. Furthermore, ceramic analysis suggests that at least some formative chiefdoms were trading with one another.

Cultural influences are complex and difficult, especially when trying to decipher the past. But like the majority of archeologists including some that follow the sister culture ideals, when looking at diverse evidence, ideas and material culture had to have been transferred between cultures. Exotic goods do not flow in one direction. We are finally identifying the true origins of Pan-

Mesoamerican culture with the help of numerous cultural materials, such as ceramics that once were contributed to the Olmec. Flannery et al (2005: 11219) goes as far as to suggest that trade was one of the primary factors for the rapid development of Mesoamerica but that is entirely another topic.

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Communication Strategies to Promote Archaeological Site Stewardship

Susan M. East

Abstract – *Due to accessibility and visibility of archaeological sites, looting and damage have occurred throughout the Great Plains of North America. In response to site disturbance the use of communication strategies to promote archaeological site stewardship will build local credibility and promote an interest in cultural capital. Through multiple avenues of outreach archaeological stewardship will be presented to the public. Three avenues of communication include local classes, site tours and lastly more overall complete stewardship programs. Outcomes of these communication strategies will promote a wider public knowledge of archaeological methods, an increased awareness of laws concerning archaeological materials, and the tools necessary to guide memorable interactions between site stewards and the public. The integration of archaeology and public outreach creates effective communication strategies that emphasize the incorporation of archaeological heritage into the perspectives of local community identities.*

The Great Plain's history goes back thousands of years; the vast landscape has seen hardship, times of plenty and all in between. From prehistoric inhabitants to familiar current communities, the Great Plains has yielded its resources to a countless number of people. The continuous use of land has allowed for a rich archaeological record and has ingrained an identity and fascination of Great Plains archaeology into many, including professional archaeologists and the public. This common interest has lead not only to the discovery and study of important archaeological sites but has also led to the looting and disturbance of archaeological sites as well.

The looting and damage caused to archaeological sites has been occurring for many years and with increasing accessibility and

visibility to more areas across the Great Plains archaeological sites are still at risk. By measuring site disturbance it is clear that current site management strategies are not working. Yet, using updated communication strategies with the public, site stewardship can be promoted in which continued looting and damage can be prevented by building values of local credibility and promoting an interest in cultural capital. Through multiple avenues of outreach, archaeological stewardship will be presented to the public. Three avenues of communication include local classes, site tours and lastly more overall complete stewardship programs. Outcomes of these communication strategies will promote a wider public knowledge of archaeological methods, an increased awareness of laws concerning archaeological materials, and the tools necessary to guide memorable interactions between site stewards and the public. The integration of professional archaeology and public outreach creates effective communication strategies that incorporate and emphasize a deep rooted interest of Great Plains archaeological heritage into the perspectives of local community identities.

In a1999 study, 1,016 adults 18 years of age or older were interviewed across the continental United States about their perceptions of archaeology (Society for American Archaeology [SAA] 2000). When asked, "over half (57%) of the respondents said they supported laws prohibiting the haphazard removal of arrowheads found on public property for private use" (SAA 2000). Despite these poll results it is estimated that if current trends continue "98 percent of all archaeological sites will be destroyed by the middle of the 21st century" (Cameron 1994: 6). These statistics bring up many important questions: why are archaeological sites being disturbed and what are the motives behind site disturbance? Although the answers to these questions are complex and possibly unattainable, two contributing factors to site disturbance throughout the 20th century can be attributed to an increase in development and accessibly to more remote areas and a higher demand for "primitive and prehistoric art" (Cameron 1994: 6). Since European expansion into the areas of the Great Plains, archaeological site disturbance has become a pastime for families and even entire communities. Arrowhead hunting and artifact collecting for personal use still occurs today, and has had a rich past throughout the area of the Great

Plains. For example, in the Four Corners area, an estimated one third of the 137,000 recorded archaeological sites on federal lands have been disturbed by looting (Cameron 1994: 13). Hunting and ranching activities throughout the 19th and 20th centuries on the Great Plains have also contributed to potential damage and looting of archaeological sites. So what are the motives of the public behind site disturbance and looting? Public motives can be complicated yet necessary to understand when trying to find solutions for archaeological site looting and damage. Much public opinion of Native American material culture is that artifacts are considered primitive art. The desire for "primitive and historic art" is popular and has been in high demand for hundreds of years. These uninformed perceptions from the public can be disastrous in the case of site protection, in that they allow artifacts to lose their importance as being keys to understanding the past and in turn there is less consideration of an artifact's provenience and cultural identity (Cameron, 1994:13). These perceptions are important to understand not only the public's motives in understanding archaeology but also the motives of professionals, amateurs and collectors. According to a survey asking amateurs, professional archaeologists and collectors whether or not artifacts are important in yielding information about the past, a majority of participants agreed, that artifacts are important in learning about the past and that most of the participants were interested in those artifacts (Kinnear, 2008). In conjunction to this question the survey also asks participants if they are more interested in the artifacts themselves, than what the artifacts can tell them about the past (Kinnear, 2008). The results of the survey according to Kinnear, shows that most individuals including amateurs, professional archaeologists and collectors are more interested in what the artifacts can reveal about the past, rather than just the artifact by itself (Kinnear, 2008). This survey shows that the motives of archaeological interest of these individuals whether it be a collector an amateur or professional are similar and are worth exploring to understanding how these motives can lead to positive site stewardship and decrease site disturbance.

The detriments of archaeological site disturbance can range from minor disturbance to complete destruction of a site. One common form of site damage that has been occurring throughout the

Great Plains for generations is site looting and collection. Site looting and collection of archaeological artifacts can also range in severity. Yet, it is important to note that even the slightest amount of damage to an archaeological site, whether from looting or any other means can drastically change the interpretation and study of that site. When artifacts are looted or disturbed, knowledge is lost and they can no longer be used as a source for research or as a link to the past for a nearby community. Despite these differences professional archaeologists, students and communities are all affected by site damage and looting.

By using archaeological methods site disturbance can be measured and can reveal the extent of disruption. While attending the 2008 Colorado State University field school, the team arrived at an archaeological site in North Western Wyoming, in the Absaroka Mountain Range. Because the site had been burned in a wildfire two years previously, it was left visible and susceptible to damage. After a fire sweeps through a site the artifacts are left in ashy dirt, are extremely visible to the eye and can be altered extensively by even the minimalist amount of damage. Yet, before any of us entered the site area for study, footprints of two individuals were noticed. These footprints were easily identified and covered a vast portion of the site. The site had several hearth features spread across the area. From what was identified by the footprints the individuals had tied up their horses and proceeded to walk through the site, and actually disturbed a feature by digging in it with a stick in hopes to find artifacts (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Archaeological feature dug up with stick

Whether or not these individuals looted any artifacts is unknown, but their disturbance to the site was strongly evident. By using archaeological methods the crew was able to analyze the site disturbance in hopes to understand more about the perpetrators. The methods used in measuring the site disturbance included taking Trimble GPS locations of visible footprints, taking photographs, measuring and recording foot size and orientation . To keep continuity, four measurements were taken of each visible footprint (Figure 2). From this data collection I was able to generate a map of the footprint disturbance across the site (Figure 3.)

Figure 2: The four measurements taken of each visible foot print
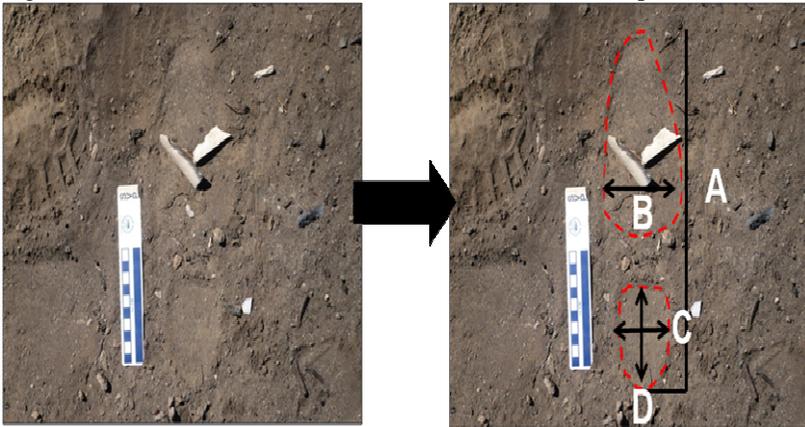
Figure 3: Footprint Disturbance Map: damage mapped using recorded UTM coordinates
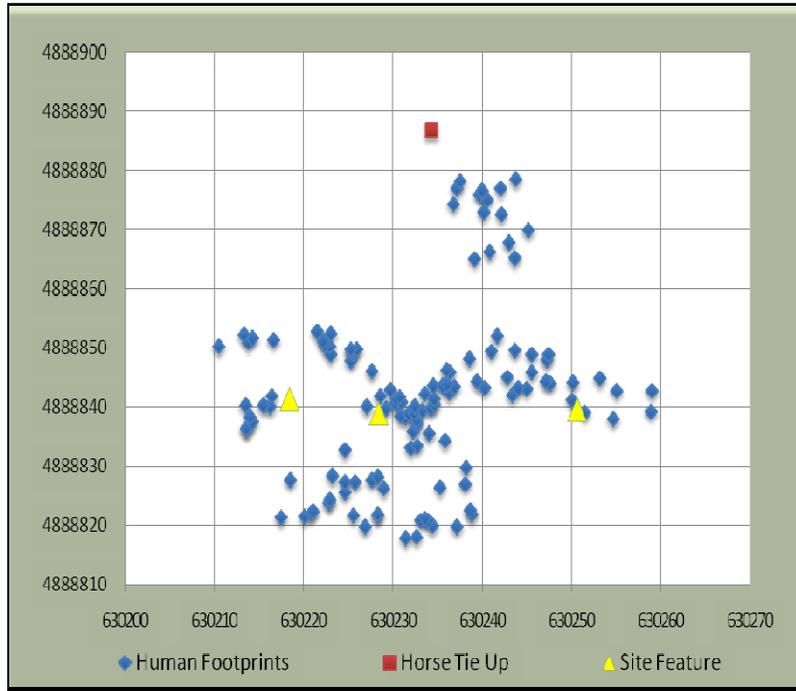
By measuring this example of site disturbance, it was clear that the management strategies in the area and likely in other areas are not working. Illegal looting and disturbance continue to happen, often without reprimand or concern. Due to this, stereotypes that promote unconcern for site protection are perpetuated throughout local communities. To deter these stereotypes and motives throughout communities, new strategies are needed. The integration of professional archaeology and public outreach is the important and needed step in archaeological site protection. This integration is crucial in understanding the similarities and differences between the public's view of archaeology and the professional's view of archaeology. If those similarities are integrated, the interests of archaeology on both parties can be combined and can in turn celebrate the preservation of archaeological sites and the knowledge

of the past. By opening this communication, local community members can be informed, connected and can have authority to promote the protection of sites in their area. The three types of communication strategies that integrate professional archaeology with public outreach include local classes, site tours and lastly complete stewardship training programs for local community members. It is with these communication efforts that site stewards not only promote site preservation, but also become the vital keystones that hold up the balance between professional archaeology, local identities and local values.

The objective of local classes is to create an informal setting where discussion and questions are praised in a friendly atmosphere conductive to critical thought and learning. Access to information is a vital step in training potential site stewards and the public. Often the public is unaware of the laws regarding cultural materials. For some on the other hand, knowledge of laws is not a deterrent of continued looting. For these members of the public it can be difficult to persuade them to stop looting and collecting sites. Because of this, potential conflict of opinion can arise between a community member and a professional archaeologist. Many looters and collectors feel that they do have a right to artifacts for their own personal use. These differences in opinion are unavoidable, but can be dealt with through education and a common interest in archaeology. Through this common interest, the classes will be able to offer variety of topics and can be used to form ties between the public and professionals. Topics discussed in the classes would include brief overviews of archaeological history, professions in archaeology, techniques of analysis and lastly archaeological ethics and laws. From the variety of classes, the overarching theme will guide the public to understand that archaeological sites are important, interesting and are nonrenewable sources that once destroyed are lost forever (Lopinot 2002: 92). In terms of teaching the classes, professional archaeologists, vocational archaeologists, or even community members can be used as lecturers. As new site stewards are trained and educated, over time they too will become involved in the teaching process to the community.

The overall outcome of community classes is to inform the public and inspire potential site stewards. The classes are meant to educate and show the relevance of archaeology to the public in hope to recruit help to promote local site protection. This system of education has worked in the past in other areas and if started in communities across the Great Plains, these classes could increase the awareness of site protection. In Arizona, the Arizona Archaeological Counsel developed weekend workshop programs for precollege educators. The lessons presented easy to follow lessons plans on archaeology that could be used in the classroom. The outcome of this program is to teach large amounts of people about archaeological values and the importance of archaeology (Cameron 1994: 17). In Canada, archaeological resource centers were created in order to educate the public and were used in the public school system (Cameron 1994: 17). These examples of education opportunities often were geared towards high school students and younger. Yet, these programs had great success involving the young public in education about archaeology. These classes can reach an even farther audience by targeting middle age and older generations. For example, the Colorado Archaeology Society welcomes membership from both avocational archaeologists and professional archaeologists who are often times in the older or middle age generation. The Colorado Archaeology Society (CAS) sponsors the opportunity for the public and amateur archaeologists to take classes through the Program for Avocational Certification (PAAC). These classes are taught to avocational, professional individuals who are interested in archaeology. Organizations like CAS allow for community members to be involved in not just classroom settings but it also gives members the opportunity to be active in hands on workshops, adopt-a-site programs and the option to participate in annual statewide conferences on archaeology and related topics (CAS Webpage). These opportunities provided through CAS allows for these community members to be apart of teams that analyze and classify artifacts from private archaeological collections and also to apart of excavation teams with professional archaeologist supervision (CAS Webpage). By involving and educating the public through organizations similar to CAS and the Arizona Archaeological

Counsel, the outcome of this education will allow for interests to be captured and can result in a community of site stewards.

The objective of guided tours at archaeological sites is to provide background of the natural landscape as well as the importance of the site and its cultural materials. Site tours are extremely important in gaining support and interest from the community. Often archaeological field methods are portrayed in the media as digging for lost treasures and human burials in which the fancy and rare finds are whisked away to exotic museums. Although the discovery of an important archaeological find is exciting, these misconceptions are often far from the true scope of archaeological field work and analysis. These stereotypes of what archaeologists do in their field work can lead to negative relations between a hesitant community and professionals. By showing the public just how archaeologists do their work in the field, those previous perceptions can be broken down and replaced with more accurate insights. Site tours will involve a group of community members to visit an archaeological site near their community. Guided by professional and/or vocational archaeologists, the public will be able to get a first hand tour of a site. They allow for community members to participate in hands on activities with professional archaeologists. By showing archaeological methods like dendrochronolgy, bone analysis, feature analysis and so forth, the public will be able to break down preconceived notions of archaeological work. Potential site tours will be given as a chance for locals to learn about the sites closest to their communities.

The outcome result of site tours is to emotionally connect the public with a site and to show actual archaeological methods. The key to emotionally connecting the public to a site is presenting the site as a necessary addition to an important natural landscape. Often the people of communities are proud of their natural landscapes, the beauty that those areas represent and are willing to protect forests and natural areas close to their homes. On site tours, archaeological sites can be compared to the natural areas that are already valued. These types of emotional connections used to tie the protection of natural landscapes and archaeological sites, increases the incentives to preserve the area and its cultural heritage. Showing the public

archaeological field work first hand allows the public to see that archaeologists also value the natural landscape and often use ecology in the process to understanding and interpreting archaeological artifacts and sites. As a part of the 2008 Colorado State University field school, the team held two public site tours. The first tour, a women's group local to the area, came out to visit a large stone circle site that the team was currently working on. The group had already attended a few locally held lectures about the basics of archaeology and archaeological methods before coming to the site. The group of visitors was immediately impressed with the scenery that the site was located on. The tour was intended to create awareness of the site and to recruit possible site stewards. Our team of students talked about the significance of the site and gave examples of our methods for measuring the rings. Even in the process of explaining the site, the visiting group found another stone circle under our feet. The visitors were shown the data that we had been collecting and the relevance of studying these stone circles. Many were impressed and surprised by the actual work of archaeologists. After explaining the importance of site protection, many of the visitors expressed that they were unaware of the ramifications of site disturbance and looting. The second guided site tour was at an entirely different area and site. The tour focused on showing how burned areas of wilderness leave archaeological sites easily visible and susceptible to damage. Once again different kinds of archeological methods were explained to the group. One visitor even helped core a tree for a quick dendrochronology lesson (Figure 3).

Figure 4: Guided Site Tour "Dendrochronology Lesson"

The visitors were impressed that environmental factors were being used as well as artifacts to study the site. Both guided site tours were a success, and I believe that they both accomplished their goals. The first group was educated on site protection. This group is certainly promising in that they can become local stewards and spokes people for the site's protection. The second guided tour also was successful in showing the interconnectedness of nature and archaeological sites. By explaining our methods and techniques of study, the visitors were able to have a better understanding of the happenings in their local wilderness area. The locals of the group had pride for their wilderness area and were able to accept our presence in that area after understanding that we were there to protect not only the landscape but the landscape's cultural heritage too.

The last form of communication to the public, involves the combination of both local classes and site tours with the addition of necessary technical skills. The objective of more complete stewardship programs is to give stewards the training, tools, skills and credibility necessary to promote archaeological site protection and the authority to promote memorable communication throughout their local communities. The training programs would have multiple component classes, where basic archaeological techniques would be learned. Training courses would include basic archaeological history and methods, GPS training, and experience in answering difficult questions about archeological laws and ethics. The classes held for multiple weeks would allow for the site steward trainee to receive a certificate of their achievements upon course completion.

The outcome of complete stewardship programs is extremely important in the preservation of archaeological sites across the Great Plains region. The program goal is to give the informed community member the tools necessary to become an actual site steward of a site in their area. This site steward would actually become responsible to help manage preservation of the site. A trained steward will have the appropriate training on archaeological ethics and laws. This will ensure that stewards are spreading knowledge about archaeological site protection. They must be informed on laws and will need to contribute information to law enforcement parties if looting activities

occur. This is such an important communication strategy between professional archaeologists and stewards, because it gives credibility to local community members, and it promotes an overall more valued local identity. More often than not, professional archaeologists cannot continually return to sites to check for signs of damage. Yet, sites stewards can go out into sites periodically; armed with knowledge and simple archaeological tools the site steward becomes the expert on protection and provenience of artifacts within a site. Through research for these communication strategies I found by giving the public credibility in a field like archaeology is important in breaking down the barriers between professionals and looters. One example of how this communication strategy has worked extremely well is the case of the reformed collector. I spoke with a man this summer, in which for the majority of his life had a deep love of artifacts and their history. Despite his knowledge of laws and regulations this man continued to loot artifacts from archaeological sites. Through asking him questions, I came to find out how he became a reformed looter to an extremely valuable site steward. He said he knew it was illegal, but wasn't educated on all the ramifications of his actions. He also didn't know that he could be involved as a valuable resource in protecting a site. He was able to spread his experiences throughout the public and looting communities, and because he received credibility from the professional community, he is now a vital spokes model for site protection. He experienced all three of these communication strategies with professional archaeologists and is now a well informed citizen armed with the necessary tools to not only protects sites from damage but also find new sites. This type of program has not only worked in this case but in other areas too. In Arizona, a program simply called "Site Stewards" has trained volunteers. The volunteers patrol sites, record conditions, and monitor sites for any signs of looting or vandalism. The stewards report damage to the sites to the appropriate land managing agencies. These site stewards have been extremely important in their area and have in turn promoted site importance and preservation in Arizona. Also from their efforts they have created more public sensitivity and awareness to the detrimental effects of archaeological site looting (Cameron 2004: 19).

Due to increases in accessibility and visibility of sites throughout the Great Plains region, site damage and looting is a continuing problem. Throughout this project I have asked questions about the reasons and motives behind why archaeological sites are continuously being damaged. Although there is no straightforward answer to these questions it is important to note these questions when building strategies that deter site damage from occurring. Because site disturbance has been continuing throughout communities, I came to realize that the strategies of the past weren't working. In previous plans to curb site disturbance the public has been offered only rules and laws to follow with limited access to archaeological information and education. Often site protection is presented to the public, as a "just say no" to looting slogan. This slogan only tells people that looting archaeological sites is illegal. After talking with reformed looters, and interested community members I realized that this type of attack wasn't working and instead was being ignored altogether by most. Based on evaluating the public's motive and noticing what doesn't work, it was clear that newer and more updated communication strategies were needed in order to start protecting archaeological sites. By integrating the field of archaeology and the field of public outreach, new sets of communication strategies are possible. By means of actual field research, measuring site disturbance and talking with the public I found that the key to newer communication strategies is to actively involve both the public and professional archaeologists. By using public outreach the goal of these communication strategies it to infuse archaeological ideals into communities. Also this type of combined disciplines is beneficial in promoting sciences like archaeology to the public. By infusing appropriate values and tools, communities can begin to value the archaeological record as a cultural commodity. Communities can protect the landscape's cultural heritage and the public can begin to understand past use of the landscape and can insert archaeological preservation and awareness into their own local identities. This experience of integrating public outreach into archaeology, has allowed me to explore a niche that can be extremely important to the field of archaeology. For the scope of this paper these conclusions I have made are only based on my own preliminary and small scale

study of the affects of public outreach that are already in place and a study on the types of public outreach that can be offered in the future. For future research there is much to be learned from participant surveys, experimental outreach programs, and different communication strategies and also there is always more knowledge to be gained in understanding the motives of the public alongside collectors, amateurs and professional archaeologists. The communication strategies that have been used in this project include local classes, site tours and stewardship training programs. The goals intended from these strategies are to give the public education of archaeological importance, emotional ties with sites and to build the credibility behind local site stewards.   Through integration of archaeology and public outreach these goals are obtainable and are drastically needed to promote archaeological site stewardship. Cultural resources are a nonrenewable source, and without new strategies to improve site stewardship and protection awareness, the public and the field of archaeology are at of risk losing these resources forever.

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The Myth of "Choice": Sex Trafficking as Exploitation in Thailand

Heidi Espe

Abstract - *This paper explores the economics of the sex trafficking industry in Thailand. In the context of a contemporary market economy, a formalist economic framework assumes that everyone is an equal player making rational decisions to advance their position in the market, and profit maximization serves as their primary motivation in their engagement with the market. These assumptions fail to recognize the human suffering and exploitation inherent in sex trafficking as an industry. Applying the Marxist concept of exploitation brings these human considerations to the fore. Additionally, a Marxist critique reveals the inequalities and power structures that facilitate this industry's perpetuation. There are specific cultural and religious factors that make Thailand a probable place for the sex trade to flourish.*

Introduction

When profit becomes the primary or sole motivation in one's economic activity, it may blind those who are making a profit to the exploitation they are causing. They are acting according to the logic of the market, responding to demand with a profitable supply, and assuming that everybody else involved is equally making rational economic choices. The forced sex trade industry is a grave example of what occurs when economic actors with power and capital overlook the lack of freedoms and choices of others. What results is a concept that is not accounted for according to market assumptions, that is exploitation. In recent decades, these market forces have spurred the unprecedented growth in human trafficking for the purpose of forced prostitution, without considering the exploitation inherent to the activity.

       This paper will initially apply a formalist framework to help explain the dynamics of what is driving human trafficking industry.

However, it is incumbent upon the academic and global communities to also consider what the formalist presuppositions are ill-equipped to recognize: human exploitation. A Marxist critique will make this apparent and help to interpret how victims are affected by sex trafficking, as well as how and why the system is upheld and perpetuated. Although the industry occurs on a global scale, the specific case of Thailand will be considered, as it is a hub for the commercial sex industry. There are various economic, cultural and religious reasons contributing to its acute involvement in the sex industry. These will be considered in this paper.

It is important to distinguish between forced prostitution specifically, and the commercial sex industry at large. Human trafficking is defined by Kevin Bales as "forcing and transporting people into slavery" (2005:126). While there are an estimated 500 thousand to one million prostitutes in Thailand alone, potentially only one in 20 of these women is enslaved as a forced prostitute, or has been trafficked into prostitution. Although the rest may be forced into prostitution due to economic constraints, the majority of prostitutes has more control over their work activity, and is less exploited, if they entered prostitution on a more "voluntary" basis. These two different sectors of the industry are related, and they tend to be stratified along socioeconomic lines regarding both the prostitutes and consumers (Hsieh and Chen 2004:144). That is, impoverished, uneducated women typically make up the population in brothels where sex is available for 40-100 Thai Baht for half an hour with a prostitute (approx. US$1-4) (Beyrer 1998:133). Women in these brothel situations have been sold and are indebted to brothel owners. They are controlled by the brothel pimp or madame and subject to violence, extreme economic exploitation, rape, and abuse among many other atrocities (Bales 1999:30, 43-44).

Human trafficking is a specific facet of the sex industry. Understanding the broader context in which trafficking occurs is important to provide a more complete picture of the entire system, the forces involved and the interconnections between the different parts of the whole. The theories to be applied, however, will pertain more specifically to sex trafficking than the commercial sex industry as a whole.

107

Theoretical Framework

Various assumptions, which undergird formalist economic theory, are pertinent for understanding the sex trade. The first is that all people in society are rational individuals, making critical decisions to advance their position in the market economy. Directly linked to this first assumption is that the market is the primary mechanism by which one is able to engage the economy. Advancing one's security in the market (via making a profit) takes priority over social relations, because it is assumed that everyone else, who start at the same place, are equally calculating how they can make a profit (Popkin 1979:18-23). The market has its own logic, in that as it determines what is profitable, an individual is justified in pursuing any means of tapping into what it has as potential for gain.

As this relates to human trafficking for commercial sex, James Mercy says, "…the primary motivation for sexual trafficking is economic gain" (2006:310). There are many economic actors involved in the trade who could be considered as providing a supply for a particular demand by which they make a profit. By market standards, they are entrepreneurs, successful capitalists making reliable investments. Money, in this sense, has become the overriding determinant of one's market activity. This is reinforced by the Thai cultural ideal that contributing to the economic growth is a moral act (Bales 1999:52; 2000:11).

What this interpretation fails to acknowledge is that rational decisions based on a wide array of options is not always realistic because not everybody has options. All people involved are not starting from the same point. Those with capital automatically have power and advantage over the impoverished. Prostitution is rarely, if ever, a profit-maximizing "choice." More realistically, it is a survival strategy in the absence of alternative options (Shifman 2003:131). It is not possible to put sex trafficking into reduced economic terms, as the formalist interpretation attempts, and represent an accurate picture of the situation. Applying this reductionist framework evidences an obvious lack of consideration and concern for the people involved. Marxist critique of capitalism can be aptly applied in order to recognize that in sex trafficking, women and sex both become commodities for exploitation (Marx 2001:111).

Additionally, exploitation of enslaved prostitutes means exponential profits to investment ratio for the slave owners with little to no compensation for the prostitutes themselves. Personal results for the trafficked women include, in Marxist terms, mystification regarding false contracts and promised jobs; alienation from family, community, culture, society and themselves; and false consciousness due to being enculturated into a brothel, dependent on a pimp and fearful of authority, such as the police. Finally, corrupt power structures (or the ruling class) uphold and reinforce the sex trade in great part because they profit from it (Marx 2001:113-14; 2003:80).

It should be noted that the case of forced prostitution could, at times, fit into one of the areas overlooked in Marx's examination of production relations and wage labor. Trafficked individuals are oftentimes, but not always, wage-less, unfree laborers in the informal sector (as opposed to the wage laborers in formal relations of production). This perhaps serves to emphasize the degree to which sex slaves are exploited (Miles 1987:53). Additionally, prostitution is an industry of a non-material commodity, namely sexual relations, rather than a material product (Mies 1986:141). Though imperfect, a Marxist analysis provides useful tools to analyze the reality behind the massively profitable sex trafficking industry. This is a helpful starting point to direct policy and legal structures toward sanctioning the industry and recognizing the human cost involved in profit.

Commercial Sex in Thailand

A Historical Overview
It is important to trace the development of commercial sex in Thailand in order to see how deeply embedded and normative it is in the country's history. The roots of prostitution in Thailand go back at least to the 14th century, when men routinely slept with many different women including their wives, minor wives, concubines and prostitutes (Morrison 1992:146). In the 15th century, laws were enacted that structurally subjugated women to men in society. It was not uncommon at that time for men to sell their wives, or parents their daughters, into prostitution because of debt, acquiring extra income or as a gift to their lord. Wealthy men would commonly purchase secondary wives by which they would gain higher social

status. Peasant men on journeys for their masters, and immigrants, in particular, created the demand for commercial sex by frequenting these women sold into prostitution by they husbands or parents (Muecke 1992:892).

In more recent history, commercial sex began to flourish in the context of the Vietnam War. American soldiers were stationed in Thailand (mostly the northern region), and the "Rest and Recreation Industry," a euphemism for commercial sex, developed as a response. Realizing the lucrative nature of the industry, organizations such as the Thai government, the WB, IMF and USAID encouraged the further expansion of the tourism industry into the 1970s for the purpose of economic development in Thailand. The direct implication was the sex tourism industry (Mies 1986:137-138).

At the time, this was occurring in other East and Southeast Asian countries as well, particularly in the Philippines. However, the Philippines began to fight the corruption inherent in the sex industry, targeting child prostitution and trafficking. Traffickers then moved operations primarily to Thailand, where there was less risk (Phongpaichit 1999:82). The tourism industry in that region increased by 25 times from 1960-75. Single Japanese men comprised the bulk of the new tourist influx in Thailand, as consumers of these "services," or organized sex tours. Further demonstrating the boom in the sex tourism industry is that 71.1% of all tourists in the 1970s were men (Yokota 2006:115; Mies 1986:137-139).

Contemporary Context

As demonstrated, men's engaging in commercial sex has been common for many centuries in Thailand. Such activities used to be reserved as a privilege of the wealthy. In the latter part of the 20th century, however, rapid economic growth in Thailand transformed socioeconomic demographics, and in turn created a much wider demand for commercial sex. Those who had been poor laborers before suddenly had disposable income that allowed them to partake in "elite" entertainment pastimes such as visiting prostitutes, though they were still limited to "lower-class" brothels (Bales 1999:40).

Economic growth was concentrated in major cities in Thailand causing a trend of urbanization and a disparity between rural and urban incomes. This was most punctuated in the north of

Thailand, a region primarily of poor farmers (Muecke 1992:892). A stronger national economy corresponded to higher prices for goods and supplies. Government price controls on crops, however, left farmers in a position where their expenses were higher, but their profits remained stagnant (Bales 1999:40). Poverty dwelled among country peasants in that region. They found themselves in a vulnerable position, as did their daughters, to traffickers capitalizing on the urban commercial sex boom (Phongpaichit 1999:97). These economic changes contributed to the growth of the sex trade, as did specific elements in the Thai cultural landscape that will be examined next.

Cultural and Religious Factors
There are several cultural factors and practices that make Thailand and the north of Thailand, in particular, prone to participate in the sex trade, and in commercial sex, generally. Factors already mentioned include the normalcy of polygany among men, which still occurs in contemporary times, as multiple wives correspond to high social standing. Additionally men, and only men, are expected to have promiscuous sexual habits, even within marriage (Beyrer 1998:27). One survey revealed that up to 90% of Thai men say they began their sex lives in a brothel and 80-87% of men admit having had sex with a prostitute at some point (Bales 1999:45). Statistics such as these reveal the cultural normality of men purchasing sex. Women, on the other hand are expected to uphold sexual principles of restraint, maintaining virginity until marriage and monogamy within marriage.

Prostitution, in this context, is viewed as a profane and 'dirty' profession, in opposition to expectations of what a woman's sexuality ought to be. Juxtaposing these assumptions creates a cultural paradox. If women must be sexually chaste and men must have frequent and multiple sexual experiences, a sub-group of women is necessary to fulfill men's sexual "needs." This still allows for "upstanding" people to ascribe to the ideal of feminine chastity (Beyrer 1998:27-28). Further protecting these ideals is the high cultural priority on extensive privacy in one's personal life. Questionable sexual practices are thus protected from social scrutiny because they are shielded from the public eye.

111

Theravada Buddhism is the religion practiced by 95% of Thai people, and there are several principles it espouses which may lead to acceptance of one's participation in commercial sex use. A tenet of the religion is acceptance of one's lot in life, including extreme forms of suffering. Suffering incurred in this life is a reflection of karma from a previous life, and it must be accepted as destiny, and part of an individual's path to Enlightenment. This form of Buddhism also contributes to the asymmetrical relationship between women and men, by creating a contrast between them and their sexuality. Women are viewed as unholy, corrupting and worldly while men are seen as holy, otherworldly and able to attain Enlightenment (Bales 1999:38-39). Karma, or the notion of good works done in previous lives contributing to one's social status in the current life, is assumed to be lesser in women. That is why they were born into a lower status, female. The assumption that women are inferior to men allows for a more objectified view of them, and creates a context by which one is able to understand widespread commercial sex use in Thailand (Muecke 1992:893).

Another cultural factor specific to northern Thailand, is a strong sentiment that girls, more than boys, are indebted to their parents and expected to repay them for giving life and raising them. This perspective held toward daughters allows parents to justify selling them into different forms of servitude, including prostitution because they believe their daughter owes them. This is true for the abjectly poor under dire circumstances, struggling to survive. However, it is also true for relatively poor families desiring amenities and technologies newly available in Thailand, such as TVs and video players. If they do not sell their daughter, they are not able to afford such modern luxuries (Bales 1999:38-40). Marx observed this trend in his own context, noting the influence of the desire for market goods had "reduced the family relation to a mere money relation" (Marx and Engels 2003:90). The daughter is one commodity, exchangeable for another. The cultural obligation girls are under to repay their parents ironically allows for prostitutes to be considered more virtuous if they send earnings home to their parents, despite the profession's disgraceful nature (Beyrer 1998:27).

These various historical, cultural and religious explanations set up a situation in which the presence of prostitution and sexual

112

trafficking in Thailand can be comprehended. These contexts illustrate how the possibility of sex trafficking exists in Thailand. Translating this into who is vulnerable to trafficking and what the actual process is in terms of supplying the sex industry with women, are questions that must be considered next.

The Supply of Prostitutes

A common scenario can be presented, which represents the chain of events resulting in women becoming brothel slaves. Starting in rural, mostly northern villages, "brokers," or the initiators of trafficking, enter villages and promise jobs in the city for a peasant family's daughter, for example as a domestic worker or waitress. Brokers target those who are uneducated and impoverished, and therefore highly vulnerable. Monetary advances, which can be equivalent to the annual income of a poor peasant farmer, are made to the woman's family in exchange for her and an agreement promising her labor in return. This becomes the beginnings of her debt bondage (Muecke 1992:895). In this transaction, the parents sometimes know that they are selling their daughter into prostitution, but they are so desperately poor that they do not have any other options. Other times, a lack of knowledge about trafficking means that the families believe they are truly being offered a viable opportunity to mitigate their poverty. Framed in this context, families perceive it as acceptable to engage in an agreement with the broker.

Thus, a false contract is put in place. This is used as a protective device for the broker, who is then able to represent the trafficked woman as a legitimate "employee" before authorities. The terms are not upheld or applicable to benefit the woman being trafficked, however (D'Cunha 2002:34). Despite the illegality of trafficking across Asia, legal forces rarely prosecute trafficking. Traffickers sway authorities by giving bribes. It is more common that the woman being trafficked will be subject to ill treatment by police, than protected as a victim of a crime. This is especially true for foreign women who have been illegally brought into Thailand, from Burma or Cambodia (Beyrer and Stachowiak 2003:113).

The deceptive contract mentioned above stipulates a woman's indebtedness to the trafficker, which is proportionate to the money advanced to her family, and then extorted by high interest

rates. The balance of her debt will continue to grow as she is trafficked, bribes are made along the way to corrupt police, and she is eventually sold to a brothel. She will be forced to pay this back in "labor," despite the fact that the contract will not be honored even if she does work off the debt. This is an example of "contract slavery." It is the second most common form of slavery today by which "accepted systems of labor relations are used to legitimate and conceal slavery" (Bales 1999:25; 2000:13). As Marx saw it, false contracts served the process of commodification by denying the humanity and objectifying those agreeing to them. In this regard, "Marx's work is essentially demystifying. It discovered that behind the veil of things lie hidden relations between men. Mystification was thus linked with alienation in its most acute form: reification." (Camatte 2006:91).

A Marxist Interpretation

Exploitation
As has already been stated, formalist economic theory assumes that everyone is an equal player engaging the market. However, it has become clear that the poor are at a disadvantage in their engagements with more powerful actors, such as brokers. This is because of their economic desperation, lack of education and lack of choice. The abuse of power that began in a village, procuring a vulnerable woman for another's economic gain, leads to brothel prostitution and sexual servitude. Once a trafficked woman reaches the destination brothel, she is subject to many different manifestations of exploitation, another observation Marx saw as normative to capitalist labor relations. This exploitation includes no ownership over her body or labor power. She is denied basic freedoms, such as being able to leave the building and she is subject to abuse, rape, diseases and intimidation (Mercy 2006:302).

It should be remembered, though, "for Marxists, although physical violence may be terrible, the worst sort of violence is structural—that is, the violence done to human beings that stems from exploitative and oppressive relationships of production" (McGee and Warms 2008:612). This is the case for a woman working in a brothel, where the physical violence she experiences is

114

wrapped in with structural violence. Her earnings are out of her control. She is charged for all of her living expenses by the pimp, including rent, food, contraceptives, makeup, clothing, and medication for illnesses or STDs. She is also charged for condoms, which are supplied freely to brothels by the Minister of Health in an effort to combat the spread of HIV, yet condoms are, in turn, resold to clients. She is forced to service anywhere from three to nine clients a day, and any resistance will be met with violence. She will begin with an approximate debt of at least 10-20 thousand Baht. Each client she services will pay between 100-400 Baht, however after the pimp's extortion and her expenses, she is left with no more than 15 Baht (70 cents) per client to pay down her debt (Beyrer 1998:130). In this situation, the prostitute is alienated from her own labor earning power. She no longer has ownership over her own ability to produce. She is completely subject to forces outside of herself and exploited by those forces (Marx 2003:80). An example of earning and expenses from a case study of a brothel in Thailand can help depict the exploitative earning power of this industry. The average brothel has between 10 and 30 prostitutes; the chart below is an example of a brothel with 20 prostitutes (Bales 1999:53).

Monthly Income & Expenditures (in Baht) for the Always Prospering Brothel**

Outgoings (per month)	Income (per month)
Rent, 5,000	Commercial sex*, 1,050,000
Utilities & bills, 2,000	Rent paid by prostitutes, 600,000
Food & drink, 45,000	Sale of condoms, 70,000
Pimp's salary, 7,000	Sale of drinks, 672,000
Cashier, 7,000	Virgin premium, 50,000
Cook, 5,000	"Interest" on debt-bond, 15,000
Bribes, 6,000	
Payments to taxis etc., 12,000	
Beer & Whiskey, 168,000	

TOTAL, 257,000	TOTAL, 2,457,000
(US$10,280)	NET PROFIT: 2,200,000 (US$88,000)
*Average 14 clients per day at 125 baht per client for 20 prostitutes for 30 days	

**Chart taken from Bales 2000:114

Profitability of Exploitation in Commercial Sex

> "It is true that labour produces wonderful things for the rich—but for the worker it produces privation…It produces beauty—but for the worker, deformity." (Marx 2001[1844] :114)

The reason this industry continues to grow, despite its illegality and great human cost, is because of how lucrative it is. Economic actors involved include pimps and employees at the brothel such as bookkeepers and cooks; brokers and agents who are short-term slave owners (those initially procuring village women and trafficking them to the brothel); and brothel owners (the capitalist entrepreneurs, it could be said) who are the investors, slave owners and greatest profiteers. Brothel owners are typically successful, middle-aged businessmen, engaging in what has been termed "arm's-length capitalism." Being one step removed from the reality of forced prostitution frees their conscience from culpability. No social recourse is suffered from their investments, either, because it is a part of their private life, and respected as such in Thai culture. They may even have friends invest in their "business" who remain entirely ignorant of the fact that they are part slave owners. It is also unlikely that they will ever meet any of the prostitutes they own, even though they will profit off of their labor (Bales 1999:48-51).

What distinguishes this type of slave-ownership from previous forms in history is that while prostitutes are entirely subject to and controlled by pimps, they essentially remain responsible for their own care, and are disposed of when they are no longer profitable (Williams 1999:153). Because there are so many poor, vulnerable women, they are seen as commodities of which there is a high supply. This hearkens back to the Marxist idea of a "disposable industrial reserve army," (Marx 2003:163) allowing for growth in the

116

commercial sex trafficking industry. Kevin Bales (1999:25) describes this new dynamic in contemporary slavery:

> "The new slavery mimics the world economy by shifting away from ownership and fixed asset management, concentrating instead on control and use of resources or processes…Transnational companies today do what European empires did in the last century-exploit natural resources and take advantage of low-cost labor –
> but without needing to take over and govern the entire country. Similarly, the new slavery appropriates the economic value of individuals while keeping them under complete coercive control-but without asserting ownership or accepting responsibility for their survival. The result is much greater economic efficiency: useless and unprofitable infants, the elderly, and the sick or injured are dumped…In the new slavery, the slave is a consumable item, added to the production process when needed, but no longer carrying a high capital cost…Mirroring modern economic practice, slavery in this respect is being transformed from culturally specific forms to an emerging standardized or global form."

Commodification and False Consciousness
In the process of this new slavery, commodification occurs in many different forms, and by many different actors involved. This is reflected in the experience of a brothel slave. Women become controlled objects. They are manipulated and dehumanized so that they lose power over their own thinking and lose perception of reality. Resulting is what Marx described in the Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859)*, that social relations determine people's consciousness, or interpretation of reality (2003:65).

Similar to the Marxian idea of false consciousness, there is a distinct psychological process through which women go as they enter and become enculturated into a brothel. At first, they are in shock at the reality of their situation and want to go home. They are raped, abused, broken down and degraded. Pimps reinforce the impropriety of their current "work," in order to make them feel that they would not be accepted if they did go home. Pimps also force prostitutes to become addicted to methamphetamines or other drugs that reinforce their dependency. At this point, women know they could not leave

the brothel and they fear the rejection and danger they might face if they did. Eventually, after more time, they may contract diseases and become deeply disillusioned, and they again want escape from their desperation (Shifman 2003:128). Being deceived and abused in these ways can result in posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). If they do ever leave brothel life, it is difficult for a former sex slave to ever regain psychological health and autonomy, given the manipulation she suffered (Bales 2000:31). After providing labor, though not freely, the prostitute has nothing of herself remaining. She has been alienated from herself (Marx 2001:114).

At the most rudimentary level, forced prostitution and commercial sex in general, turn women into commodities for sexual use, and sex into an object available for a price. In the case of Western and Japanese tourists, their wealth and self-perceived cultural superiority imbue a sense of carelessness. They feel at greater liberty to visit commercial sex workers, something they would never do at home. As sex can be purchased virtually anywhere in certain cities across Thailand, including massage parlors, brothels, bars, night clubs, hotels, restaurants, temples and coffee shops, the accessibility makes it feel more acceptable (Yokota 2006:122-125). Tourists also have the impression that the experience would be more "exotic" with a beautiful Thai woman than it would be at home, and further, there are seemingly no strings attached (Mies 1986:140).

For local Thai men purchasing sex at brothels, it provides a sexual outlet. Underlying this is the cultural perception that men need sex and variety in their sex life in the same way that they need food; it is a biological necessity. Additionally, utilizing commercial sex is a common social outing for men. They go in groups, beginning the evening in a bar and finishing the evening in a brothel. This is a semi-regular social activity for many men, meaning that it probably does not occur every night but on special occasions or every so often simply for fun. This is acceptable, and in fact, preferred, to men having secondary wives, which would be an alternative sexual outlet. Having a minor wife involves a financial burden, so prostitutes are a lower-maintenance, favored substitution (Morrison 2006:150).

As mentioned above, the sexually trafficked women are also objectified into vehicles of profit, for both their families, as has been

described, and all the others involved who benefit from their enslavement. Kevin Bales (1999:76) says:

> "Thai culture, as we have seen, has always treated women and sex as commodities to be bought, sold, traded, and used. Yet concubines and polygamy are historical patterns; these old cultural forms of sexual exploitation have been transformed into new business opportunities, as Thailand embraces the world of twenty-first-century business and economics."

This "twenty-first-century business" model is enticing to investors because of its low start-up costs; low risk of return; and reliable, high profitability. If a slave owner pays 100 thousand Baht to purchase a new prostitute, he will recover those costs in two to three months, and then make sheer profit off of her work after that. If he resells her to another brothel, his gain is further increased while she is forced into reentering debt bondage (Bales 2000:113). Additionally, the actual low investment (purchasing a trafficked woman is relatively cheap) and quick recovering of investment capital means that abusing, disposing and replacing these "commodities" is not a problematic loss (Williams 1999:148).

Corruption & The Superstructure
Marx observed that real, historical, economic conditions constituting society form the foundation of the legal and political superstructure. This, in turn, leads to forms of social consciousness. Social consciousness can be described as an ideological framework based on material conditions by which society views the world. In other words, economic conditions form the basis of political structures and the ideology of a given society at a given time (Marx 2003:65). The sex trade is no exception. Both trafficking and prostitution are illegal in Thailand. From a human rights standpoint, they are atrocious. This begs the question, why do legal and political structures allow human trafficking for commercial sex to continue and proliferate in Thailand? Answers have been suggested earlier that history, culture religious and economic factors have contributed to the sex industry's development in Thailand. Additionally, authoritative structures in

Thailand are similar to the rest of the economic actors who have interests vested in the sex trade. There is a profit to be made.

Prostitution has been illegal in Thailand since 1960. The "Entertainment Places Act of 1966," however, indirectly validated the sex industry. This law allowed for women to render "special services" to men in registered entertainment venues. A legal paradox resulted: the "entertainment" industry was government-supported while the activities inherent to this industry remained illegal (Bales 1999:75). Further demonstrating the government's involvement in developing sex tourism is the encouragement the Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand gave in October 1980. He promoted the idea to regional officials to enhance their tourism markets through beautiful scenery and by integrating "certain entertainment activities which some of you may find disgusting and embarrassing because they are related to sexual pleasures" (Santi Mingmonkol in *South-East Asia Chronicle*, no. 78 In Mies 1986:138). Though sex tourism itself is not synonymous with sex trafficking, sex tourism's growth created an environment that has contributed to sex trafficking. The two cannot be disassociated.

Because of its involvement in the industry, the government's stance on prostitution has been one of default ambivalence. Government officials do not want to uphold their own laws against prostitution because they benefit from it and have even promoted it. The response thus tends to be avoidance (Muecke 1992:896). With the outbreak of AIDS in Thailand the government has tended to blame commercial sex workers as carriers of the disease and the source of the epidemic. This attribution of blame is a mentality that places guilt on the powerless and further marginalizes a vulnerable population. The biological reality is that HIV is transmitted from men to women far more readily than from women to men (Muecke 1992:896). This ideological stance of blaming the victim has ramifications in the legal realm. Trafficked prostitutes, being "illegal" by virtue of their work as prostitutes, are more likely to be prosecuted or coerced into giving bribes to police than are those who traffic and hold them at brothels (Beyrer and Stachowiak 2003:113).

This highlights the connection between corruption and trafficking. If legal authorities enforced the laws in place, trafficking would become more difficult (though probably not impossible, still).

120

Bribes are given to police, and they commonly have free use of prostitutes. In fact, this occurs for anyone with the authority to shut down a brothel, if they chose to assert it, including government workers (Williams 1999:4). Related is the fact that trafficked women fear the police. Ultimately, those in power uphold and perpetuate the slave trade "system" by protecting their interests tied to the brothels and slave owners (Bales 1999:63). Ironically, the police corruption and government indifference reflects the reality that they have, to a degree, lost the ability to control what occurs within their borders. The "authorities" are sometimes unable to assert their authority over the organized crime rings which oftentimes run human trafficking on a wider, global level (Bales 2000:19; Phongpaichit 1999:74).

There have been several laws enacted in Thailand in recent years that appear to be the government's attempt to extend protection to prostitutes and trafficked persons. The "Prevention and Suppression of Prostitution Act of 1996" bans using minors (persons under 18 years) for prostitution, and also to places the legal burden on commercial sex clients and prostitute owners rather than the sex workers themselves. Additionally, in 1997, "Measures to Prevent and Suppress the Trafficking of Women and Children" further mandated protections to victims of trafficking rather than criminalizing them (Arnold and Bertone 2002:38). However, these laws tend to be difficult to enforce, and it is scarcely done. A Marxist interpretation of these corrupt power structures recognizes the class distinctions between those who perpetuate and assist in growing this illegal industry over those who suffer by it. There are those with the ability to control and affect policy and those subjected to the exploitation resulting from the policies or lack thereof.

The Global Context

Human trafficking and forced prostitution is prominent in Thailand. However, it cannot be extracted and isolated from the global existence of the trade. Human trafficking for commercial sex is a global, multi-billion dollar-a-year industry. It occurs in virtually every country in the world, including the U.S. Trafficking is intricately tied to migration, which also occurs on a global scale. Migrants are easy for traffickers to exploit because of their

vulnerability if they are poor, do not speak local languages or are in the destination country illegally (Beyrer and Stachowiak 2003:110). For example, Eastern European women are trafficked into Western Europe for work in the sex trade, as are Burmese women into Thailand and Thai women to Japan (D'Cunha 2002:36).

The reality of an increasingly interconnected world with globalization means that one aspect of the economy in one country cannot be detached from the rest of the global economy. Human trafficking in Thailand is no exception. This is evidenced by the example of sex tourism, which caters to Westerners and foreign Asian men**.** Additionally, many brothels and slaves are owned by transnational crime organizations (Phongpaichit 1999:74). Without the interconnection of international demand with localized supply and profit, commercial sex in Thailand would be radically different.

Standing for Equality

The application of a Marxist critique on the market-driven sex trafficking industry does not extend to the point of prescribing a solution to the problem. However, through the various Marxist criticisms of the industry's exploitation, several implications can be inferred leading to different paradigms able to act as correctives. First, are the obvious human rights violations inherent in trafficking. From the standpoint of public policy, human rights standards can be called upon in order to influence countries and politicians to take a stand against trafficking (Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948).

This directly pertains to the second point, that of a lack of political will. Governments have chosen to ignore this industry and as a consequence, it is low risk, high profit and therefore, rampant. The reasons for the Thai government having done this have been examined, but that does not explain many other governments, including the U.S. The sex trade, being as profitable as it is, is not invisible. There are huge amounts of money being made, and the trail of these dollars could be followed, leading to prosecution and new precedents, which would result in the repenting of the negligent attitude governments have had towards the issue.

Finally, returning to the first point of human rights, there is the issue of inequality. Poverty is the source of vulnerability and hence, the supply of women being sold and trafficked into this trade. The gross exploitation trafficked women experience can find no excuse in a market explanation. Without socioeconomic development on a broad scale, in addition to changes at the policy level, there will always remain a vulnerable class for the wealthy and powerful to prey on and exploit. Michael Blim (2005) argues that seeking equality is the appropriate response to this situation. Blim (2005:51) states that people act according to what they value, and if equality is at the apex of their values, then they will act in pursuit of equality. Thus, one final argument can be made that foregrounds the role of personal responsibility and self-reflexive evaluation of the values upheld in one's own market activity. Without this, there will continually remain actors willing to ignore the exploitation they cause and by which they profit, instead of seeking equality for all people.

Conclusion

There are many explanations as to why the sex trade occurs, and this paper primarily focused on that of opportunity for gain in the market. A formalist explanation of prostitution was revealed as inadequate in that it fails to recognize the disadvantages and powerlessness of impoverished peoples. Therefore, a Marxist interpretation reveals the exploitation that becomes necessary for human sex trafficking to exist and bring profit to wealthy capitalists. Assessing the exploitation inherent in the industry also reveals the mystification, commodification and alienation that occur for trafficked prostitutes. It would seem that an activist response is appropriate in terms of seeking out ways to alter the superstructure, perhaps by enhancing political will for governments to disengage from the profiting and propping up the industry.

Ultimately there is no choice for victims of human sex trafficking. They are subject to others, whose decisions and actions hold power over them. Without the exploitation of this industry being acknowledged and the superstructure challenged, it will

continue on without apology, continuing to make people wealthier and more powerful while further subjugating the weak and poor.

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124

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Milk Bottles and Beach Boys: Female Sex Tourism and the Transmission of HIV in the Caribbean

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Abstract - *Female sex tourists represent a small but growing number of sex tourists, as more women seek sun, sea, sand, and most importantly, sex, in the Caribbean. The commodification of sex in the tourism industry increases the risk of HIV transmission and it is important to understand how tourism imagery, racialized conceptions of Caribbean masculinity, dominant community values and global and local power inequalities contribute to HIV transmission in female sex tourism. Female tourists' conceptions of sexual-economic exchanges with Caribbean men emphasizes 'romance' tourism and sexual empowerment, both of which serve to mask the social, political and economic inequalities inherent in these exchanges. However, it is also important to consider the perspectives of male sex workers, which emphasize greater agency in sex tourism as a profitable economic activity. Female sex tourism lies at the crossroads of global gendered and racial inequalities, and while exploitation may go both ways, acknowledging the unequal power relationships between Western women and Caribbean men can dispel the myths of 'romance' tourism and decrease high risk-taking behavior in these exchanges.*

Introduction

HIV/AIDS is a disease of poverty, targeting the most impoverished and disempowered people of the world, and its transmission is perpetuated by global structural inequalities that restrain the ability of those people to prevent and treat their illnesses. HIV prevalence is growing rapidly in the Caribbean, where the tourism industry fosters the growth of sex tourism through the objectification of Caribbean bodies that casts local men and women as racialized, sexualized individuals. Female sex tourism presents an extreme example of the

127

objectification of Caribbean masculinity in which feminist discourse, touting female sexual empowerment, ignores the power inequalities inherent in sexual-economic exchanges between female tourists and local men. The ignorance encouraged by this discourse, the informal nature of sexual exchanges in female sex tourism, and the high-risk behavior produced by the "vacation mentality" of women all contribute to an increase in unprotected sex and a greater risk for HIV transmission. It is important to understand the perspectives of both female sex tourists and male sex workers in order to view how global gendered inequalities intersect with global social, economic and political inequalities in female sex tourism. The understanding necessary to improve HIV awareness and prevention strategies is inhibited by the tourism industry and the stigmatization fostered by dominant community values, both of which will be discussed below. While female sex tourism presents a complex case of the exploitation of both female tourists and male sex workers, it is crucial to acknowledge that this form of female sexual empowerment serves to mask global and local power inequalities which further facilitate the transmission of HIV in the Caribbean.

There are many different types of sex tourism, and many cases of exploitation. The practice of child sex tourism, for example, is a particularly abhorrent form of sex tourism. This paper addresses primarily sexual-economic exchanges between adult female sex tourists from Western countries and adult male sex workers in the Caribbean. It is a classic case of postcolonial dominance of core countries over peripheral regions through the services Caribbean locals provide for tourists. Yet female sex tourism is also very much a gendered issue; a case of the Western feminist movement seeking to empower feminine sexuality while male sex workers seek to assert Caribbean masculinity in sexual exchanges with Western women. How these interactions manifest themselves has implications for how HIV is transmitted in female sex tourism.

HIV/AIDS

The impact that HIV/AIDS has had on the world's poor is staggering. The World Bank (2008) estimates that the number of people living with HIV/AIDS is approximately 40.3 million. In Africa, seventy

percent of hospital beds are occupied by AIDS patients (van Niekerk 2002:144). Wickens (2003:163) reports that the age bracket with the fastest growth rate of HIV infection is between ages 18 and 30 years, the most economically productive years in many developing countries. Paul Farmer (1999:79) emphasizes that diseases like HIV are a product of structural violence; the "historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces [that] conspire to constrain individual agency." Many factors today contribute to the transmission of HIV, such as increased trade (in bodies as well as other commodities), migrant labor, urbanization, man-made and natural disasters, traditional and changing patterns in sexual behavior, political insecurity, gender inequality, lack of access to treatment for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and poverty (Farmer 1999:146; Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:169; van Niekerk 2002:143, 145).

McCombs (2007:73) states that "…the commodification of sex brings with it the increased threat of HIV." Prostitution is a major area of concern in the discourse on HIV/AIDS. Most often, prostitution is framed as a problem for female sex workers who have sex with male clients for money, food, or other gifts. Women are often forced into prostitution because of economic disparity, and sex work may present one of few labor opportunities available to women. While many women are aware of the dangers of STI transmission in sex work, they often have little choice because of a need to feed themselves and their families. Women point out that the best way to prevent contracting HIV is by accessing safe employment, as stated so simply by one woman from Durban, "poverty makes prostitutes of us" (Susser and Stein 2004:137; 142).

Yet women are not the only ones who engage in sex work. Men and boys also act as sex workers for male and female clients. Male sex workers are often faced with the same structural inequalities and economic disparity as female sex workers. Due to global gendered inequalities, there are important differences to consider when examining the interaction of structure and agency with male sex workers versus female sex workers. This paper will examine the increased risk of HIV transmission in female sex tourism in the Caribbean in order to better understand these interactions.

Sex Tourism and the Caribbean

> "[Sex tourism] illustrates the global repositioning that is occurring between postindustrial and postcolonial societies, where Black and Brown bodies become (or continue to be) the sites for the construction of (white) North American and Western European power, wealth, and well-being." (Kempadoo 2001:58)

Defining sex tourism is fraught with difficulties, such as the need to distinguish between tourists' intentions and their actions, and the informal nature of sexual exchanges between tourists and locals in the Caribbean. Carter and Clift (2000:6) give a seemingly straight-forward definition of sex tourism as "travel for which the main motivation is to engage in commercial sexual relations." This definition, however, overlooks those tourists who do not travel to a destination with the purchase of sexual gratification as their main goal, but do engage in sex tourism. There is a small but arbitrary difference between tourists who travel with the explicit intent to engage in sex tourism and those who are simply open to a sexual adventure, and are able and willing to pay for it. In both scenarios, however, the tourist is a sex tourist. In addition, to define sex tourism based only on the behavioral intent of the tourist tends to hide the power inequalities that are inherent in sexual-economic exchanges between a foreigner and a local, regardless of the tourists' perception of the exchange.

Another barrier to defining sex tourism is the nature of sexual-economic exchanges between tourists and locals. In the Caribbean, sex tourism tends to take on a more informal nature. In lieu of an actual exchange for cash, sex tourists often purchase gifts of clothing and food for their sexual partner. With increased economic disparity it has become more common for local women and men to seek more informal, conjugal unions for a long period of time with foreigners who make multiple visits. These relationships help locals with rent and grocery bills and provide invitations for temporary and even permanent stays in the tourist's host country. These interactions make it difficult to determine sexual-economic exchanges and define exactly who is, and is not, a sex tourist. For the purposes of this paper, all women who engage in sexual relations

with local men are included in the analysis, as these exchanges are all embedded in the gendered, social, economic and political realities in which they occur.

"Sex tourism exists everywhere" (Oppermann 1998:153). Tourism is an industry that provides access to the market economy throughout the world, especially in regions where individuals struggle to gain access to cash. Every type of tourism, whether mainstream, cultural, nature, adventure, or otherwise, requires the commodification of a destination's land, people, material and symbolic culture. As Wallerstein (1983:16) states, "the historical development of capitalism has involved the commodification of everything." Tourism is embedded in capitalism; while it provides access to the capitalist market economy, it also places limitations on how residents can obtain the resources necessary to care for themselves and their families. Residents may find that in order to participate, they have little choice but to market aspects of their own cultural identity, history and spirituality. As an industry that operates under the economic rationality of capitalism, few aspects of daily life are exempt from the market value that tourism places upon a destination.

The commodification of all aspects of life has an impact on Caribbean culture, as it does everywhere else. The Caribbean is a classic example of irresponsible tourism development. Large-scale businesses are owned exclusively by the wealthy upper class or by foreign companies. Resort-style development encourages the importation of food, management, and other supplies from outside the region. The opportunities available for locals usually come in the form of low-wage, low-skilled wage work as maids or bartenders, or small scale entrepreneurship in the form of vendors and shop owners. In many cases, there is a very distinct divide, physically and symbolically, between the tourists and the locals. This division tends to hide the often rampant poverty present in popular tourism destinations. The division serves both the tourism industry that wishes to ignore the inequalities operating in the destinations they profit from, and the tourists who travel for 'sun, sea, sand and sex,' who may not consider the global structural inequalities that make their vacation so affordable.

131

The tourism industry can play a major role in how tourists view local men and women. Images promoted by the tourism industry in commercials, brochures and other media objectify local people and landscapes using sexual innuendos and imagery to attract tourists to the idea of a "romantic getaway." This includes exoticized and sexualized conceptions of local men and women who then become available for purchase. In the minds of many North American and Western European men and women, "romance tourism" becomes an opportunity to have a fun, cheap sexual adventure with an exotic "other." The Caribbean becomes a playground for wealthier people of the world to relax and indulge, while the "the labor and racialized-sexualized bodies of Caribbean women and men constitut[e] primary resources that local governments and the global tourism industry exploit and commodify to cater to, among other things, tourist desires and needs" (Kempadoo 2001:50).

In the Caribbean, tourism puts foreign tourists, often wealthy and white, in direct contact with locals, often poor and black, who many times serve tourists in order to put food on their tables. The nature of these interactions can be very postcolonial; a perpetuation of the dominance that the North has had over the South for centuries in the Caribbean (Kempadoo 2001:40). These interactions can cause a great deal of anger and resentment toward tourists, as can be seen in the depiction of a Haitian waiter in the film 'Heading South':

> "When [my grandfather] talked about "the white man," he really meant Americans. The invaders, occupiers, people who dared to tread on Haitian soil. If he knew I was a waiter for Americans, he'd die of shame…This time the invaders aren't armed. But they have more damaging weapons than cannons: dollars! So that everything they touch turns to garbage."

The North's historical dominance over the South has other impacts as well. In Caribbean culture, there is a preference for 'white skin,' and a desire to associate oneself with 'whiteness.' This has major implications for a healthy cultural identity. The interaction of historic political, social, economic and gender inequalities in the Caribbean also affects how male sex workers and female sex tourists view their interactions with each other.

Barriers to HIV Prevention in the Caribbean

In the Caribbean, adult HIV prevalence was approximately 1.6% in 2007, with 300,000 people living with HIV/AIDS. Unprotected heterosexual intercourse is the primary mode of transmission, with higher rates of infection in commercial sex workers (World Bank 2008). Growing awareness of the HIV epidemic since the 1980s has encouraged increasing research in sex tourism (Carter and Clift 2000:5). Yet, while much of the literature mentions that sex tourism increases the risk of HIV transmission, there are very few studies that quantify this risk. In the Caribbean in particular, there are major barriers to the development of adequate HIV research, awareness campaigns, and prevention and treatment strategies.

The first major barrier is the tourism industry itself. As tourism is the Caribbean's most important source of income, multinational hotels, airlines and other companies wield significant political power. It is not in the tourism industry's interest to talk openly about high HIV prevalence in the Caribbean. A major HIV awareness campaign could result in a slight decrease in tourist arrivals.

The second major barrier to HIV research and awareness in the Caribbean is the dominant community values, which are often tied to teachings by and the socio-political influence of the Catholic Church. The Church must approve all educational materials used in schools and, as such, the Church disapproves of any sexual education beyond teaching abstinence before marriage and monogamy after marriage. The Church also has power in determining and influencing political priorities. For example, teenage sex is a taboo topic within the Church, which makes it difficult for teenagers to access condoms and other forms of birth control. As one local male puts it, "you have to understand certain aspects of our culture or our religion. The fathers and mothers don't accept that their children carry around condoms. They don't accept that young people have [sexual] relationships…" (Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:177). In addition to premarital sexual activity, strong traditions of homophobia in Caribbean culture encourage some people, including policy makers, to continue to mistakenly view HIV as the homosexual disease of the 1980s. This misidentification of HIV as a strictly homosexual

133

disease, in turn, encourages the stigmatization of people living with HIV and limits grounded discussions concerning prevention and treatment. With respect to prevention strategies, Caribbean cultural values that center on macho ideals tend to value male virility and sexual dominance, which result in a portrayal of condoms as a challenge to masculinity and decrease the likelihood of condom use. In the Caribbean, these social and cultural factors result in limited access to and knowledge of risks associated with HIV and prevention programs (such as condom use). Young people are often not aware of the risks of HIV or prevention strategies, which reduces the likelihood of condom use once sexually active (Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:183).

While these barriers have their origins in the cultural, political and economic contexts of the Caribbean itself, other barriers to HIV prevention and treatment stem from foreign women's misconceptions of Caribbean destinations and Caribbean men. An analysis of the feminist discourse on sexual empowerment is crucial to understanding how the risk of HIV transmission occurs in female sex tourism.

Mummies and Milk Bottles: "Vacation Mentality" and Sexual Empowerment

> "A practice largely shrouded in secrecy, female sex tourists have been flying first class to get foreign ass for decades. Is it exploitation or just a rad vacation?" (McCombs 2007:70).

> "These women - known as mummies in Egypt (a reference to their sometimes advanced ages), Shirley Valentines if British, longtails in Bermuda, yellow cabs in Japan, and Stellas (if black) or milk bottles (white and ready for filling) in Jamaica – are paying for it, or at least exchanging meals, clothes, gifts, and plane tickets for it." (McCombs 2007:72)

It is important to understand how female sex tourists view their sexual exchanges with local men, and why they participate in sex tourism. As McCombs puts it so well, female sex tourism "encompasses women of every class, race, and age, and a whole range of travelers from seasoned veterans of the foreign sex scene to

dabblers in international nookie" (2008:70). Female sex tourism first became popular in the 1960s, which saw Western European women traveling to Italy, Spain and Greece to have sex with local men (Phillips 2008:201). The incidence of female sex tourists has increased with the arrival of mass tourism. Today, McCombs (2008:71) reports a very conservative estimate of 24,000 women per year engaging in casual sex with local men while traveling.

Possibly the most distinguishing factor between male and female sex tourists is the distinction made between 'sex tourism' and 'romance tourism' (Taylor 2006:43). While this paper does not acknowledge any true difference in these forms of tourism, female sex tourists certainly do. Even within explicit sexual-economic exchanges, women are more likely to define their relationships with Caribbean men as 'romances,' and are unlikely to consider their partners as sex workers (Kempadoo 2001:48). While most sex tourism in the Caribbean is of a more casual nature, female sex tourism is even more informal and difficult to recognize. In female sex tourism, gifts of food and clothing are much more likely to be exchanged in place of cash. On the other hand, female sex tourism might also involve extended stays, multiple visits, children, or marriage, increasing the potential for intimacy in what was originally an indulgence in romantic fantasy or sexual pleasure.

Women who tell their tales of sexual adventure abroad often contrast it to their lives at home. Generally, in the tales of home, women in Western countries speak of their success in empowering themselves in the workplace and at home. In exchange for empowerment, however, women have sacrificed the chivalry and romance that may be lacking in their relationships with Western men. At the same time, women's marginal success at home has not totally relinquished the power that men have over many women through personal rejection and sexual dominance. For older women especially, they often report feeling too old and too fat, and are sick of not feeling attractive to Western men (McCombs 2007:5). On a webpage dedicated to documenting women's sexual adventures abroad, an article titled, "Oh, Oh, Those West Indian Men!" (Ilaw 2008) describes the drastic difference many women experience when they travel to the Caribbean:

135

> Strolling along downtown Nassau, minding my own business, when this dude jumps off a moving bus and rushes up to me. Startled, I asked him what was up, and he kissed my hand and said, 'You just so pretty, I had to say hello to you.' He pointed to the sky-high water tower behind us and said, 'Men would jump off dat tower for a girl like you.' (Even if it was a crock, I sure ain't never had no brothers in New York jump off a speeding subway train to rap to me.)

In macho Caribbean culture, Western women get a kind of constant sexual attention that many women lack in their daily lives. It makes them feel sexually attractive. Marianne Ilaw (2008) goes on to encourage other American women to get a taste of the flattery she has experienced abroad:

> If you've never been to the islands, you're in for an unrivaled experience. Whether you're sixteen or sixty, slim or stout, sophisticated or shy, you'll return from your trip agreeing that if Caribbean men could bottle and sell their charm, their finesse, and their sex appeal, the region's sluggish economy would soar. Be safe, and don't take it seriously.

While one of the goals of this paper is to challenge feminist discourse on the subject of female sex tourism, it is important to recognize that women can often be victims in female sex tourism. A desire to feel attractive and find 'romance' in an 'exotic' destination like the Caribbean can lead to deluded notions of love that local men take advantage of in order to gain cash, gifts, passports and foreign citizenship. One particular instance of this was posted on 'Online Mail' in 2006, describing the marital union of an overweight, homely retired woman to a Gambian man, who subsequently emptied their savings account and disappeared nine months into their marriage (Knight 2006). A Beau Monde Press article wrote a critical response:

> This just goes to show how off-base many of the critics of female sex tourism are in their charges that Western women "exploit" foreign men. There is plenty of latitude for a conniving man to take advantage of these women's loneliness and con them into a rather heart-breaking situation.

Despite these arguments that warn against casting female sex tourists as unconditionally exploitative, feminist discourse is essentially contradictory in its argument that female sex tourism brings sexual empowerment to women. There is obvious contradiction in the desire of women to be seen as sex objects, taking sexual harassment as flattery. Likewise, despite the arguments that women seek romance, while men seek sex, sexual empowerment for many of these women occurs by feeling powerful in relation to local men, who are subordinated by their lower socioeconomic status. Taylor (2006:49) argues that the control women enjoy in sexual-economic exchanges with local men is the same as that exercised by male sex tourists with local women.

While some may feel that a double standard in regards to male and female sex tourism is well deserved, double standards continue to mask the inequalities inherent in sexual-economic exchanges between female tourists and local males. Essentially, foreign men are perceived to be the exploiters of local women as 'sex tourists,' while women are perceived to be pursuing companionship as 'romance tourists.' For men, sexual exchanges with local women, women who are economically disempowered, reasserts their dominance as males and care-takers in an age where male dominance is being challenged in Western society. For women, sex tourism expands the movement for feminist empowerment in a region where they can control men through their economic power. For both men and women, this sense of sexual control is obtained so easily (and cheaply) only because they dominate locals in their social, economic and political power. Yet, female sex tourists continue to fail to see that these sexual-economic exchanges with local men have become possible through the "global economic structures that empowered them to enter into very particular kinds of sexual relationships with local men" (Taylor 2006:50).

To further examine how female sex tourists view male sex workers, it is useful to engage in a core-periphery dialogue, versions of which may manifest themselves in the minds of female sex tourists. In nearly five hundred years of colonial dominance of core Western countries over the periphery, the attitude has been that people in the periphery are backward, less civilized, and closer to nature (Dennis 2008:15). Tourism brochures often encourage this

attitude by emphasizing the "other" concept based upon depictions of exotic, dark-skinned, and scantily-clad natives with strange languages and religions. This concept of the "other," whether exotic, noble or primitive, becomes a way of viewing sex workers in periphery regions like the Caribbean that many women adopt subconsciously. An excerpt from the film 'Heading South' depicts how three female tourists understand their attraction to local men on a resort in Haiti:

> Sue: At home, black guys don't interest me. Here they are really very different.
> Brenda: It's true…you're right, I don't know why. Is it because they're closer to nature? Is it the sun? Anyway, they're more…gracious.
> Ellen: The big difference, sweetheart, is that here you see them stripped to the waist.

Dennis argues that "one of the most pervasive of the ideologies, protocols, and social practices developed to maintain and justify the core's exploitation of the periphery was Orientalism, the Western depiction of the colonized 'native' as soft, passive, savage, and childlike" (2008:16). Male sex workers are often perceived as being 'clean' and 'natural,' and therefore uninfected. Female tourists report feeling safe with their escorts because they exhibit the flattery and chivalrous behavior they miss at home, while also citing a greater feeling of companionship with local males because they appear to be more feminine (Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:178). Taylor explains the concept of "gendered Orientalism" in female sex tourism when she states, "through the lens of racism, then, Caribbean men epitomize the romantic ideal – they are more like women, even as their 'animalistic' attributes make them more like men than white men" (2006:49).

Despite what may seem like an obvious exploitation of global inequalities by female sex tourists in order to engage in unequal sexual relationships with local males, "victimization is a highly gendered concept, making it difficult to discuss ways in which men might be sexually exploited by women" (Taylor 2006:45). Female tourists who engage in sexual-economic exchanges with local males while traveling take advantage of unequal power

structures, whether they are aware of it or not. Yet caution must be used when assigning male sex workers a victimized identity. A closer look at the literature on male sex workers in the Caribbean may challenge assumptions of structure with assertions of agency.

Beach Boys: Exploitation…or Dream Job?

A male sex worker in the Caribbean may go by many names, some of which include: rent-a-dread, beach boy, rastitute, the Foreign Service, gringuero, hustler, gigolo, beach bum, and sanky panky (Kempadoo 2001:49; McCombs 2007:72; Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:170). Most likely, he is between eighteen and thirty-five years old, of low socioeconomic background, and has a secondary level education (Phillips 2008:170). Male sex workers are referred to commonly as 'beach boys' because they are seen working almost exclusively at tourist resorts and other popular tourist beaches (Kempadoo 2001:55). A beach boy can range from a young teenager renting chairs on the beach while earning small gifts from his sexual exploits with female tourists, to an experienced "veteran" of the trade, who may have one or more long-term relationships with wealthy female tourists that have enabled him to own businesses, which afford him a comfortable living (Phillips 2008:203).

Authors often cite the views of sex workers regarding their employment as primarily an "economic activity" (Kempadoo 2001:46). In many cases, sex work offers a more flexible, more profitable, and less hazardous form of employment than other wage work available in underdeveloped regions. In the film 'Heading South,' a statement from a young female sex worker to her friend echoes this sentiment:

> Look at the people around us. Like my sister: Maryse, the live-in maid, who has to sleep with her boss, and his son! Your cousin Mackenson fixes tires on the sidewalk, and gets insulted, all day! So tell me, you and I…were we made for that? No. Am I right? (Benjo 2005)

There are important differences between male and female sex workers, particularly in the context of Caribbean culture. It should

not be assumed that female or male sex workers are self-employed and retain all the earnings from their work, however, male sex workers are much more likely to be entirely self-sufficient and retain all the benefits from sex work. While women are more likely to identify themselves as sex workers, men do not typically define their labor as sex work and are more likely to acknowledge the "incorporation of sex work into their range of income-generating activities" (Kempadoo 2001:52). Like the difference between female and male sex tourists, there is a severe double standard operating between female and male sex workers that empower actors in different ways.

In the postcolonial environment of twenty-first century Caribbean, there are more than economic incentives for Caribbean men to engage in sexual-economic exchanges with Western women. Female sex workers are considered whores and unfit for marriage; they are often ostracized by their communities. For a male sex worker, on the other hand, the ability to employ his body, seduction methods, and cultural knowledge to engage in a sexual relationship with a Western woman brings success in the assertion of his masculinity and a rise in status among his peers (Phillips 2008:207). The hegemony of Caribbean masculinity is not challenged by male sex work. Instead, sex work provides a role through which men can associate themselves with Western women in a way that liberates them from their traditional subordination to white masculinity, if only temporarily. Within this cultural context, spaces of empowerment for female sex workers are most likely to be defined in economic terms, while empowerment for male sex workers is defined in terms of gender and sexuality (Kempadoo 2001:49). This is not to say, however, that male sex workers do not profit economically from their activities.

Male sex workers can often make more money in their trade than at any other wage work available to them. It is this very fact, however, that illustrates that most men participate in sex work because they lack access to other, better forms of wage work. The case of the male sex worker in the Caribbean is not a clear cut one of structure or agency. It is crucial that the global and local power inequalities that make sex work the 'best' option for many men never be concealed under arguments of agency, sexual pleasure, or

feminine or masculine sexual empowerment. And yet, emphasizing the social problems associated with sex tourism "obscures other dimensions of the everyday lives of female and male sex workers in the region, such as their own agency and subjectivity…and their hopes and aspirations, with the consequence that whole arenas of social life have been overlooked" (Kempadoo 2001:41).

It should be emphasized that male sex workers are not always the ones who are exploited in these sexual encounters. Local men can be predatory, taking advantage of unsuspecting women, getting them drunk, and pressuring them into unprotected sex. They can rob women, delude them into believing that they love them, and 'take them for all their worth.' Observations of these men, sunbathing on the beach, being fed and clothed by foreign tourists, and then taken into the bedroom for sex, make it difficult to recognize exactly who is exploiting whom. It seems likely that in many cases, exploitation goes both ways.

It is unusual, and sometimes difficult, to imagine the ways in which men are sexually exploited by women (Taylor 2006:45). At the very least, like other forms of tourism, sex tourism results in a cheapening of cultural identity through its commodification and purchase on the global market. At the worst, he is an objectified, racialized masculinity, selling his body because of economic disparity.

HIV Prevention in the Context of Female Sex Tourism

HIV/AIDS is essentially a "phenomenon of poverty" (van Niekerk 2002:145). Like tuberculosis and malaria, what some view as a purely medical problem is also a problem of structural inequalities in a world system that prevents the poorest regions from accessing treatment, as well as the basic amenities necessary to prevent illness (Farmer 1999:128). While many are confident that epidemics like HIV/AIDS cannot be controlled without a breakdown of these inequalities, it is also important to act immediately to ease the pain and suffering of the sick in any way possible and to slow the growth of HIV transmission around the world (van Niekerk 2002:143).

In the Caribbean, like other regions of the world, HIV transmission can be decreased through an improvement of general

nutritional status and an increase in safe employment opportunities (Farmer 1999:144). While treatment for current STIs is crucial to preventing further transmission, many barriers to accessing treatment are related to the stigma attached to those diseases by Caribbean society. Sexual education and HIV awareness are currently lacking in the Caribbean because of dominant community values that make such topics taboo, especially among children (Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:177). Those who contract HIV are stigmatized, which prevent many from seeking treatment for their condition, increasing the risk of transmission to their sexual partners and eliminating the possibility of improving their own health.

Formal sex workers in the tourism industry are more likely to be aware of the high-risk nature of their employment for contracting HIV/AIDS. But the more casual nature of female sex tourism, where explicit sexual-economic exchanges are less common, presents a different context for high-risk behavior. Men who do not consider themselves "sex workers" are less likely to bother with HIV awareness campaigns or condom use. Similarly, women who do not consider themselves "sex tourists" may not believe that awareness campaigns apply to them, especially if they are not honest with themselves about how "open" they are to spontaneous sexual adventures.

It is important to understand the mentality of female tourists that engage in risk-taking behavior such as unprotected sex with strangers. Wickens (2003:164) uses "action space" to explain that, for a tourist, casual sex with an exotic stranger is a thrilling adventure that is a very dramatic contrast to their everyday life. Action spaces "allow for risk-taking within the moment, while the tourists will always be able to return to the security of 'real life'" (Wickens 2003:164). Young women travelers are highly vulnerable to STI transmission due to the adoption of a "vacation mentality" which causes them to have a high frequency of unprotected sex with available local men and other tourists, many of whom have had multiple sexual partners (Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:172, 175). This vacation mentality causes women to fail to plan ahead when engaging in spontaneous casual sex. One foreign female resident describes female tourists' risk-taking behavior:

> "[the foreign women] just get swept away in the moment and they're on holiday and everything's easy and it's fun…It's just a situation ripe for problems." (Romero Daza 2008:178)

In female sex tourism, the best, most immediate strategy to prevent the transmission of HIV is condom use. There are several barriers to condom use in the context of female sex tourism in the Caribbean, including alcohol, lack of condom availability and the increased intimacy that occurs with extended days and repeat visits. Here again, the informal nature of sexual-economic exchanges between foreign women and local men complicates HIV prevention. Several authors explained that while condom use was common during explicit sex-for-money exchanges, when a sexual relationship became more long term, condoms were likely to be discarded (Kempadoo 2001:47; Phillips 2008:209; Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:171). As Romeo-Daza and Freidus explain, "the ability to openly discuss and to insist on the use of condoms is inversely related to the level of intimacy in the relationship" (2008:171).

Many sexual exchanges begin at night, in the bars, discoteques and beaches of tourist resorts. Women are often intoxicated, which has been linked to a failure to use condoms (Phillips 2008:209). Intoxication and a failure to plan ahead are exacerbated by the fact that condom availability is lacking in many Caribbean towns. Often condoms are only available in a few convenience stores in town, which are often closed in the evenings. At the bar, women may engage in foreplay with local men. By the time they realize that condoms are not readily available they are intoxicated and likely to engage in unprotected sex (Romero-Daza and Freidus 2008:176, 179). One female tourist explains:

> "I don't know what it is. I don't know if [men] assume that they don't need [condoms] but nine times out of ten the girl will be so drunk she will just give in." (Romero Daza 2008:179)

Recommendations

Increasing the availability of condoms in tourist areas, bars, and discoteques is the most efficient way to prevent HIV transmission in female sex tourism. Condom machines as well as educational

materials in bathrooms can, at the very least, remind female tourists that despite the magic and romance of their exotic Caribbean destination, their actions can have negative consequences. Emphasizing responsibility among these women to protect themselves and their partners is important. Tourism destination and female sex tourism websites, and centers for travel like airports and cruise ships, can also educate women in their home countries to the difficulties of obtaining condoms at their destination, encouraging them to bring their own. Providing free educational materials and condoms to sex workers can also increase awareness (Schoepf 2004:123). Targeting tourists and sex workers specifically may also ease the misgivings of the community regarding widespread condom availability.

However, targeting sex workers specifically may fail to reach many men who, as discussed earlier, might not identify themselves as sex workers. Therefore, in order to reach all people involved in sexual exchanges, perhaps a larger goal should be to decrease the stigma attached to HIV in the Caribbean, in a culturally respectful way, which prevents many of these recommendations from being implemented. As Green emphasizes, it is better to "…build on existing local beliefs and practices, rather than to ignore or challenge them" (1999:75). By casting sex work and HIV as results of poverty, instead of moral depravity, more avenues for addressing HIV prevention and treatment can be opened to Christian leadership in the Caribbean.

In the context of female sex tourism, perhaps the most essential way to decrease risk-taking behavior among female tourists is to break down the feminist discourse that masks the inequalities that exist in these sexual-economic exchanges. When these power inequalities are recognized, the notions of Caribbean masculinity that women embrace become more obviously racist. When these inequalities are acknowledged, female sex tourism becomes less about female sexual empowerment, and more about the structures that allow women to achieve empowerment through the control of another marginalized group.

Conclusions

The perspectives of female sex tourists and male sex workers contribute to very informal and often spontaneous sexual-economic exchanges that encourage unprotected sex, increasing the risk of HIV transmission. Several factors contribute to this behavior, including racialized conceptions of Caribbean masculinity, a lack of awareness and availability regarding condom use due to dominant community values, and the economic interests of the tourism industry. The feminist discourse on 'romance' tourism and sexual empowerment encourages a "vacation mentality" that masks global and local power inequalities, contributing to the tense interaction of race, gender and sexuality in female sex tourism. Increasing condom availability in tourism sectors and acknowledging the unequal power relationships inherent in female sex tourism can help to decrease risk-taking behavior in these exchanges and slow the transmission of HIV in sex tourism.

Phillips (2008:202) has declared that "sex tourism in the Caribbean is the crossroad at which race, gender, and the politics of sexuality intersect." This crossroad makes the analysis of female sex tourism an intriguing study of how Western affluence and shifting gender roles push foreign female tourists to interact with local men in tourism destinations. How these interactions impact both local residents and foreign tourists in the process of culture change is an important question for future anthropological study.

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Microcredit: The Implementation of a Universal Development Structure and Cultural Change

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Abstract - *Microcredit emerged as a popular "grassroots" development strategy and tool in the fight against poverty in the 1990s. Since then, it has received strong accolades, such as the recognition of Mohammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank with the Noble Peace Prize, and criticism from anthropologists and development practitioners alike. This paper will argue that while microcredit may be a semi-successful approach, it does not necessarily fully embody a grassroots approach to development. Instead, microcredit has become a universalized structure that promotes capitalist integration. This paper seeks to address both the positive and negative themes that have emerged in ethnographic literature, as well as to understand the implications of imposing and adapting a universal development structure in a variety of different contexts.*

An Introduction to Microcredit

Microcredit has been hailed as a grassroots policy tool that was created in response to the failures of macroeconomic policy (Woller and Woodworth 2001:16; Snow et all 2001:1). MFIs (Microcredit Financial Institutions) have become increasing popular since the mid-1990s. Currently, more than 7,000 MFIs exist worldwide, reaching more than 16 million economically marginalized people (Sharma and Buchenrieder 2002:221). Microcredit institutions offer small loans to those who would normally have little access to formal credit markets, particularly in rural areas. There are many kinds of microcredit organizations, ranging from very small to large in scale. One of the most important distinctions between MFIs is whether they offer an integrative or a minimalist credit program (Woller and Woodsworth 2001:27). An integrative credit program offers not only

loan assistance, but also community support services such as business education. Minimalist credit programs are becoming increasingly popular; in these cases, the MFI offers only a loan program. The variability in types of microcredit programs can, at least partially, help account for the variability of results associated with these programs.

Microcredit, as a systematic poverty alleviation strategy, began in 1976 with the formation of the Grameen Bank. Since then, the Grameen Bank has been held up as an immensely successful example (Bhatt and Tang 2001:49). However, it was not until the Microcredit Summit in 1997 in Washington DC that microcredit took center stage in development discourse (Rahman 2004:30). Since the mid 1990s, almost all development projects have a microcredit component in what has been ironically labeled "microlending evangelism" (Rahman 1999:15; Rogally 1996:100). MFIs almost universally loan to women, replacing the "income-generating" activities of the 1970s Women in Development (WID) debate as the primary female-oriented poverty reduction strategy (Fernando 1997:154; Rahman 1999:16). These income-generating activities often ignored the relationships between gender and social, economic and political inequalities; they thus reproduced inequalities and appeared to be only adding onto the burden of poor women (Fernando 1997:154; Rahman 1999:16). Thus, the sudden success and promise of microcredit projects in the alleviation of poverty and empowerment of women led to their broad scale implementation. "Empowering women by means of credit-based micro-enterprises through the institutional mediation of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) appears to be a well-established development orthodoxy of the 1990s" (Fernando 1997: 151). However, many social scientists and development practitioners fear that microcredit initiatives often have many of the same failings as the income-generating activities of the previous generation.

Microcredit had been studied and deliberated upon by many different disciplines. Of the studies done, economic and development studies have generally been the most plentiful and positive toward microcredit programs. However, many of these studies have been accused of being interested in the success of microfinance but not in the participants themselves (Hospes and Lont 2004:3). Economists

argue that this is because, as with many development projects, it is difficult to measure the impact of these microcredit projects on a person-by-person basis. Therefore, economists have generally focused on the long-term sustainability of the MFI as the measure of success. However, anthropologists, geographers, political economists, and sociologists have joined in the discussion of the impacts of microcredit within the last ten years adding much needed ethnographic analysis on the effects of microcredit.

As previously mentioned, many microcredit initiatives have shifted their focus to long-term financial stability. As microcredit has become increasingly more profitable, MFIs have gotten larger in scope and in number. Even well-established microcredit organizations such as the Grameen Bank have been accused of making this shift to a focus on institutional and financial sustainability (Rahman 1999:132). This shift has been so obvious that even mainstream media, such as the *New York Times,* has remarked upon it. In the article, "Problems for Microfinancing in Mexico" a large MFI is discussed as having the "healthy profit" of 80 million last year and is compared to "big business" after going public in April (Malkin 2008). The Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP), secretariat of World Bank, has helped in this institution building process by providing international tools to judge if a loan is safe enough to be potentially profitable (Rahman 2004:38). This shift has been at least partially a response to donor demands and has led to a decline in educational and social aspects of MFIs (Fernando 1997:165; Lewis 2004:30).

Because of the decline in educational and social support aspects of microcredit initiatives, many social scientists would argue that this shift has had negative implications for communities (Mayoux 2001: 448). Despite the noticeably negative impacts that have accompanied this shift, many would argue that this does not stop MFIs from marketing themselves as grassroots and committed to ending poverty, or as anthropologist Aminur Rahman (2004:39) writes,

> "But, in spite of the evidence which shows the trade off between these two objectives- poverty reduction and financial sustainability- both donors and most lending institutions still

subscribe to rhetoric of microcredit which maintains that it promotes poverty reduction while allowing for the financial sustainability of the service providers."

Thus, even though there is an obvious trade-off between financial sustainability and the ability to reduce poverty, many MFIs have chosen to focus on long-term financial success and institution building.

Theoretical Implications

Microcredit has also been subject to critique on a theoretical level. Many argue that microcredit has shifted the responsibility of poverty alleviation back onto the poor (Banerjee and Duflo 2008:334). Additionally, others suggest that microcredit is a tool to strengthen neoliberal policy. The core tenants of neoliberal policy are those of free trade and free markets supported by strong, privatized entrepreneurship. In giving the poor the duty of their own poverty alleviation and in focusing on entrepreneurship, it is not difficult to see how one could argue that microcredit embodies and supports a neoliberal approach to development. Whether it does this or not, there is no doubt that microcredit supports assimilation into market-centered capitalism, or what will be called "capitalist integration" for the rest of the discussion. While there are several reasons for this, the most tangible is the accruing of financial debt, where a borrower must produce goods in order to pay back her loans.

In the article, "The Imposition of a Global Development Architecture: the Example of Microcredit," Heloise Weber discusses microcredit as a universally applied development structure (Weber 2002). She argues that microcredit performs a dual function in that it both supports liberalization of financial services by paving the way through the unification of public and private authority and serves as a political safety net for implementing neoliberal reforms through its disciplinary measures (Weber 2002:541-543). She argues that in her Bolivian case study, "the dual function of microcredit minimalism serves well to sustain as well as facilitate the liberalization agenda from the "bottom-up" (Weber 2002:548). These neoliberal policies then function to sustain poverty (Weber 2002:555).

151

Several other individuals supported this understanding of microcredit, even unintentionally at times, such as economist Sophie Mills in her discussion of the Kuyasa Fund, a housing MFI (2007). She suggests that microcredit initiatives "sit easily" with South Africa policy because it "takes neo-liberal macroeconomic perspective despite some calls for more radical approaches to addressing the country's widespread development problems" (Mills 2007:457-458). In a Marxist influenced analysis, political economist Jude Fernando (1997:177) writes about this phenomenon:

> "What we witness today is not only the subversion of women's interests by the imperatives of development, but also the failure of NGO mediation to bring broad-based institutional changes desired even by the proponents of neoclassical models, because the type of capitalist development taking place does not show significant changes in existing forces of production and relations to production. This pattern of capitalist development tends to weaken the material bases of traditional authority relations, leading to the growth of social inequalities."

Thus, many contend that microcredit strengthens an exploitative neo-liberal approach to development. In addition, it has been argued that microcredit promotes capitalist integration through the spreading of capitalist values and morals. As a value set, microcredit is based on the principle of self help and not dependency, firmly embodying capitalist values and perhaps contributing to some of its popularity in development circles (Copestake et al 2001:81). These values clearly promote capitalist integration.

Anthropologist Anna Tsing argues in her ethnographic work, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection,* that universalized knowledge is often understood differently, creating gaps in shared comprehension and thus friction (2005). Microcredit, as an overarching structure, embodies several forms of universalized knowledge. These include the universalized values inherent in neoliberalism, such as self-help and the importance of bureaucratic business structures, in addition to other ideas such as female empowerment and the positive effects of social capital. These do indeed appear to come into conflict with not only on-the-ground

reality, but also localized knowledge, creating this friction addressed by Tsing.

Ethnographic Case Study: The Grameen Bank

The Grameen Bank, of all microcredit institutions, has been perhaps the most written about it. Ninety-five percent of those who take out loans with the bank are women, and the bank encompasses over 40,000 villages, over half the villages in Bangladesh (Rahman 1999:1) Most studies, such as that of Shanidur Khandker, have found that the Grameen Bank is successful, especially in rural areas that resist sustainable financial institutions (1998:145). In this study, published for the World Bank, it was also found that the Grameen Bank had raised household income and was thus fulfilling its mission to fight poverty (Khandker1998:148). Most other studies, as previously developed, have been done by economists and focused on questions such as the size of the loan and loan repayment (Rahman 1999:9). In order to receive a loan from the Grameen Bank, women participate in a "circle banking" system where they rely on each other to repay their loans and support one another in this process. In addition, women must pledge the "Sixteen Decisions" which are supposed to empower development, including: education, banning dowries for children's marriages, building better houses, and the use of pit latrines (Rahman 1999:89).

In a particularly valuable case study of the Grameen Bank, anthropologist Aminur Rahman conducted research in a study village of Pas Elashin during two field seasons (1999:53). Using a theoretical framework reliant on James Scott's public and hidden transcripts, Bourdieu's "theory of practice," and Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Rahman 1999:41), Rahman produced very different results from the work of many previous economists which, while being supplemented with other ethnographic case studies, will be used to discuss the following areas of friction: the enforcement and reliance on preexisting structures, the feminization of debt, the negative face of social capital, violence against women, struggling with a bureaucratic Western model of institution, ignoring the very poor, empowerment, and the effect of microcredit on children.

153

The Enforcement and Reliance on Preexisting Structures

There are several things about the way the Grameen Bank operates that suggests that it is relying on the very structures it is supposedly combating to function as a sustainable institution, such as patriarchy: "Grameen culture exists in the larger structure of 'patriarchy' that consequently retrenches patriarchal hegemony and reproduces new forms of domination over women in society" (Rahman 1999:51). For example, ninety percent of the bank's staff are men; women loaners are required to call these employees "sirs" (Rahman 1999:5). In addition, seventy-two percent of women loan recipients are sent there to get loans by a male relative (Rahman 1999:76). Women also reported that seventy-eight percent of loans are used by their sons and husband and, in sixty percent of the cases, the loans pass directly to them (Rahman 1999:109). As women often have more vulnerable positions in Bangladesh society that are reliant on their connections with men as wives and mothers, women often are at the mercy of their husbands as to how their husbands spend their loans. For example, one woman took out a loan and felt powerless to stop her husband from spending the money on a cassette player (Rahman 1999:112). However, the debt burden was born by her alone. If the husbands who have made their wives take out loans die or have an accident, which frequently occurs in rural villages in Bangladesh, women are once again left holding the debt (Rahman 1999:114). These programs therefore rely upon and enforce women's responsibility to the household without challenging patriarchal structure: "Nevertheless in many ways the programmes were reinforcing women's responsibilities for household expenditure without enabling them to challenge unequal rights" (Mayoux 2001:439).

In addition to patriarchy, the Grameen Bank can inadvertently support the dowry system, which they vehemently attack by requiring that women do not participate in it as a condition of their loans. However, no matter what the intention of the Grameen Bank, researchers have found that women often take out loans to pay for their children's dowries, often in marriages to bank employees (Rahman 1999:93-94). This reliance and support on systems the Grameen Bank is trying to eradicate has been remarked upon by

other researchers as well: "The ostensible successes of microcredit programs are a result of the reproduction of the very cultural, political, and economic institutions that are considered responsible for the marginalization of women" (Fernando 1997:176). Thus, it appears that the Grameen Bank reproduces and relies upon the systems they oppose, particularly the patriarchal system, to succeed.

The Feminization of Debt

In addition to be reproducing patriarchal systems, it is possible MFIs, such as the Grameen Bank, actually cause the feminization of debt. The Grameen Bank purposefully recruits women because men are considered difficult to work with and do not repay loans (Rahman 1999:73). As men often take over the loans women take out while women carry the debt burden of these loans, this system can actually be oppressive for women, or as Rahman argues, "The program extends credit to men, men take control over women's loans, or loans are used to meet the emergency consumption needs of the household. In this system, women borrowers often lose control over their loans but bear the consequences of the debt burden in their households and loan centers" (1999:ix). As women borrowers are vulnerable, they can get "trapped in the system" and fall into a cycle of loan recycling (Rahman 1999:3). These inherent problems have only been exacerbated with the new focus on financial stability, as bank managers admit to having the "hidden agenda" of striving for substantial profit margin (Rahman 1999:136). In fact, this debt cycle is often encouraged for the institutional stability of the MFI (Huq 2004:50). Thus, it is possible that the feminization of debt can be inadvertently created and supported by microcredit institutions.

Violence against Women

Given the obvious connections that MFIs have to patriarchal systems, another contentious area is whether MFIs encourage or discourage violence against women. Since young women without high status are more likely to be beaten, it has been argued that microcredit institutions can protect them by increasing their standing with their husbands:

"Although it is not clearly known what causes men to be violent, findings indicate that the probability of a woman to be abused increases if she is young, illiterate, and poor. Although age, delayed marriage, education and standard of living were major determinants of violence against women, the participation of poor women in microcredit-based economic activities seemed to create an enabling environment for them to negotiate with their spouses and modified their relationship." (Hadi 2005:187)

However, others have reported that violence has increased for some women loan recipients of the Grameen Bank. Some women claim less verbal aggression from their husbands, but as many as sixty-nine percent reported an increase in verbal violence. In addition, another thirteen percent reported an increase both in physical and in verbal violence (Rahman 1999:121). This violence, physical or verbal, occurs when women do not fulfill their expected domestic roles and conform to gender expectations: "The violent behavior by the husband is justified when [a] wife fails to conform to traditional role expectations" (Hadi 2005:185). For example, one woman was beaten after she failed to make dinner due to her required attendance at a bank meeting (Rahman 1999:120). Although an almost equal amount of women reported decrease in violence, it is possible that, "Women's control over their loans- a defiance of the patriarchal ideology- undermines men's authority in the household. Women may be victimized as a consequence (Rahman 1999:126).

The Negative Face of Social Capital

The women banking circles of the Grameen Bank are a structure that has been repeated all over the world. They theoretically rely on social capital as a "tool that enables poor, marginal people to organize themselves" (Smets and Bahre 2004:217). In fact, many studies have found a positive correlation between social capital and the improved economic performance of MFI loan recipients (Gomez and Santor 2001:945). It has even been argued that loan circles can rebuild social capital in post-conflict areas, such as Guatemala (Bebbington and Gomez 2006:128). However, it is has been found that the social capital which is supposedly empowering women can

also bear negative consequences in loan circles, leading to coercion based on unequal power relations (Smets and Bahre 2004:218). Despite this, there has been very little discussion of these problems (Mayoux 2001:426). In general, women reported that they did not like feeling monitored by their peer group in this manner (Fernando 1997:171). In the case of the Grameen Bank circle, women in Bangladesh are entrenched in a culturally significant honor system called *Ijjat* (Rahman 1999:75). This honor system puts women under very close scrutiny in their community, a vulnerable position for those that cannot afford to pay back their loans. For example, Rahman reported that when a woman could not pay back her loan, she was brought to the loan office by her peers. She was so embarrassed over this incident that she ended up hanging herself (Rahman 1999:75). Thus, reputation can act as a control mechanism, and "social capital works well when one of its main weapons is losing face, but also it can involve threats of violence and other drastic sanctions such as the confiscation of goods (Smets and Bahre 2004:232).

Power dynamics within the loan circle can also be very oppressive for women. As outsiders often consider villagers a poor, uniform group, this has also been ignored. Often, in fact, the Grameen Bank has cultivated relationships with and been used by elites (Fernando 1997:168). These elites often can coerce members of their groups into paying back their loans, even if they do not have the money, or can punish them if they do not. For example, one woman had to take an extra day to repay her loan. In retaliation from another group member, her husband was fired from his job, as he worked for the angry woman's husband (Rahman 1999:103). Instead of facing this pressure, women will sometimes flee from their home village with their families instead of paying the loan back. Not only does this disrupt the lives of the debtors, but it also puts an extra burden on the loan circle which is now responsible for their loan (Rahman 1999:83). These group dynamics need to be studied before a group circle structure is implemented, in order to keep leaders from taking advantage of it, because as it stands, "microcredit groups were seen to reinforce existing hierarchies and inequalities" (Wright 2006:168). Internal power dynamics should, therefore, not always be understood as positive in loan circles.

Struggling with a Bureaucratic Western Model of Institution

One area of tension for women is the bureaucratic, inflexible model of institution under which MFIs normally operate. For example, women participants frequently do not understand how the Grameen bank runs and the organizational structure under which it operates (Rahman 1999:134). In addition, it appears that the lack of flexibility in loan repayment can be a challenge for women: "women consider the lack of flexibility in the terms of loan repayment a great burden" (Fernando 1997:174). This inflexibility is related to the bureaucratic Western model of business under which the banks operate. Often under the pressure to pay the loan back in the immediate, women are forced to sell their goods, like produce, cheaper than they normally would (Fernando 1997:174). In a case study of PULSE, an urban group-based microlending organization in Zambia, it was found that while fifty-eight percent of borrowers felt better off after taking out their loan, thirty-eight percent felt worse off (Copestake et al 2001:89). This was often related to inflexible group loan enforcement (Copestake et al 2001:95). In addition, positive effects on income appeared to happen after the second loan, but were not found with the first. This suggests that the business training and financial help only paid off for those who were able to navigate this bureaucratic bank model successfully, as seen by their repetitive borrowing (Copestake et al 2001:87).

Ignoring the Very Poor

In many cases, it has been found that the poorest individuals in a community often do not participate in and are sometimes made worse off by microcredit initiatives (Rogaly 1996:100). In fact, many MFIs purposefully target those around the poverty line, not those significantly under it (Sergio Navajas et al 2002:168). In the Grameen bank example, widows and unmarried women, who are by far the poorest and most marginalized within the community, are unable to receive a loan because the bank will not lend to households that have no male within it earning income. This phenomenon among MFIs is similarly found in many NGOs: "NGO programs benefit women who already have relatively better access to resources due

158

their dependent relations with the powerful members in their society" (Fernando 1997:175). In the Zambian case study, it was found that the very poor could not make the initial payments and thus were not considered for loans. These excluded individuals found that their coping strategies were undermined in the long-term by MFIs (Copestake et al 2001:90). In a case study of two microcredit programs in Thailand, there was "strong evidence that, similar to the previous efforts to deliver financial services to the rural poor in developing countries, the programs surveyed are not reaching the poor as much as the relatively wealthy" (Coleman 2006:1624). Thus, this exclusion of the very poor appears to be common for MFIs.

The exclusion of the very poor has been justified by those who argue that the very poor do not, or cannot, save. However, this has been refuted over and over by anthropologists who understand gift giving and reciprocity often as a way of building security networks as a form of saving (Dzingirai 2004:96). Despite this, exclusion remains bad enough in the microcredit industry that it has been formally termed "leakage" (Woller and Woodworth 2001:24). As the wealthy members of the community join in microcredit, they can join committees or lead circles to "use their position to borrow significantly more from the village bank" (Coleman 2006:1624). This only creates further inequalities in villages and among microcredit participants.

Not only are just the poor excluded, those who are frequently discriminated against in the society are often barred from participating in microcredit programs. As these members are frequently financially marginalized as well, this compounded discrimination can often have grave negative effects for these community members. Women with disabilities are frequently one such group. Disabled women are often considered bad risks and thus excluded because of lender prejudice, despite their huge need (Lewis 2004:31). In case studies in Zambia and Zimbabwe, it was found that disabled women are poorer because of societal stigma and barred from participating in MFIs by the community members that worked with these microcredit programs because of community prejudice (Lewis 2004:33). Some NGOs that work just with disabled women have tried to fill this gap by providing microlending services; however, it has not been enough (Lewis 2004:32). As microfinance

is now at the center of the development conversation, "women with disabilities need to be part of that conversation" (Lewis 2004:35).

Empowerment?

At the heart of many of these issues is the question of whether microcredit really empowers women, as is its often-cited goal. Many studies have found that MFIs empower and help women (Sharma and Buchenrieder 2002:229). Other, more skeptical studies, have found that microfinance did appear to empower women, but only when this had been explicitly promoted (Mayoux 2001:438). The Grameen Bank shows evidence of some possible empowerment, but at a cost of the cooption of female empowerment. While many researchers have cited increased vocality as a sign of female empowerment, one woman said she had to be more vocal to "survive" the bank structures (Rahman 1999:95). However, illiterate women often said that learning to sign their names for loans lent a strong feeling of self-pride (Rahman 1999:90). Women also spoke of having the extra burden of attending meetings to which bankers were often late (Rahman 1999:90). As Fernando argues, the structure of microcredit can often lead to the subversion of empowerment and women are not truly liberated as "women are placed under enormous pressure to maintain existing modes of social relations, on which depend not only the high rates of loan repayments but also the survival of families" (Fernando 1997:152).

The Effect on Children

It is important to evaluate the effects of microcredit as holistically as possible, not just its effects on women. As there is very little written about the effect of microcredit on men; this only leaves children. Overall, it has been found that whatever positive or negative effects microcredit initiatives are having on the household are also felt by the children. If a woman is struggling to pay back her loan, she might pull money from the only place available, like the food budget. This negatively affects the children. However, if a woman brings a substantial rise in household income due to microcredit, the children are more likely to have better access to food and healthcare

(Khandker 1998:49). It is for this multiplier effect that women were considered attractive targets for microcredit in the first place. In many cases, it has been found that microcredit can mean that families can afford to hire labor, and therefore send their children to school (Wydick 1999:855). However, it has also been noted that microcredit can frequently have the opposite effect. One Guatemalan case study found that, "child schooling may actually decrease as a result of access to credit" (Wydick 1999:855). This is because as household microenterprise becomes more capitalized, the opportunity cost of sending children to school increases as well (Wydick 1999:855). This appears especially true in rural areas (Wydick 1999:860). The effects on children, therefore, appear to be more complicated than a simple increase in household income.

Discussion

It is evident, even to the most casual observer, that microcredit programs have both positive and negative effects that prompt cultural change. The inherent problems found in microcredit and the ways it can promote "negative" cultural changes have emerged even in conservative neo-liberal circles, such as the World Bank (Weber 2002:541). The changes prompted by microcredit initiatives seem largely related to integration into the neoliberal system and changes in the role and position of women. In addition, societal inequalities were often magnified by microcredit institutions that ignored the very poor and supported existing power structures. Examples of this new awareness of the fallibility of microcredit has even extended to donors, as the *Harvard Business Review* has warned investors to "Beware of Bad Microcredit" and said that, "Little evidence exists that microcredit borrowers, on average, commonly, directly, and quickly escape poverty as many assume" (Beck and Ogden 2007:20). However, these criticisms do not appear to have affected the development community's enthusiastic focus on microcredit programs.

In addition to questioning whether MFIs succeed and fail in implementation, whether microcredit is an appropriate strategy at all is a valid concern. It is clear that "credit is also debt and is a risky strategy for the poorest and most vulnerable to economic stress"

(Rahman 1999:141). Microcredit has become more and more of a "cure-all" in the past decade, considered a universalized grassroots strategy. However, it is likely that "…financial services are not always the most appropriate intervention. There may be much more urgent requirements, such as health and education services" (Rogaly 1996:105). It seems counterintuitive that as the need for a more holistic and structural approach to poverty is understood, the focus should narrowly be on microcredit (Rogaly 1996:105).

Many suggestions have been given to deal with the negative effects associated with microcredit programs. Some people have recommended moving to something else, like a savings program (Rutherford 2004:281). Other suggestions have included focusing loans on housing, which often support women's businesses without requiring women into the vulnerable position of entrepreneurs (Mills 2007:467). No matter what course microcredit initiatives take, it is clear that the minimalist microcredit programs which sacrifice a holistic approach for financial security are problematic. In addition, MFIs should know and be involved in the local community and should not crusade in without being aware of the formal and informal market (Rogaly 1996:108). When they do so, they are at much higher risk of causing negative impacts on borrowers. Lastly, microcredit initiatives can no longer be allowed to discriminate against the poorest in the community, as they run the risk of amplifying inequalities.

Conclusion

Microcredit has been applied as a universal way of dealing with poverty and as a way of promoting neoliberal integration. However, the universal norms embodied by microcredit initiatives, including those of capitalism, female empowerment, and a positive understanding of social capital, are frequently contradicted by the local reality or indigenous knowledge in the communities in which they are instituted. This contradiction creates the friction discussed by Tsing and is apparent in several areas. For example, the bureaucratic and financially secure structure of MFIs, as valued by capitalism, is often a coercive force for borrowers. Additionally, the positive understanding of social capital inherent in the group banking

structure is often an intimidating magnification of local power struggles. These areas of friction need to be dealt with and understood in order to improve microcredit programs in a variety of contexts throughout the world.

Acknowledgements

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Dominica: A Different Side of the Caribbean

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Abstract - *This paper seeks to explore the development of the burgeoning ecotourism industry in Dominica, an independent microstate of the Windward Island group of the Caribbean. Dominica's unique geographic and historical situations have caused the island to develop its tourist infrastructure less than typical Caribbean vacation destinations. This limited development has facilitated the creation of a situation ripe for the development of an eco- or nature tourism industry. Dominica has and will continue to face obstacles in developing its tourism in a sustainable manner, and must ensure that the interests of the indigenous Carib population are represented so that they are afforded agency and the ability to thrive from ecotourism income.*

The Island of Dominica: Geography, History, and Tourism

Dominica is unlike any other island in the Caribbean. The island's tourism providers market the island to potential visitors as "the nature island" of the Caribbean (Cater 1996), and while other islands are proud to provide white sand beaches and luxury large-scale tourism, Dominica is serendipitously restricted from making such claims. The jagged rocks that jut out from the island's eastern mountain face (Burnett and Uysal 1991, Cater 1996, Weaver 1991) and the black volcanic sands of the heavily tide-beaten beaches limit Dominica's ability to develop a tourist industry with the same attractions of 'sun, sea, and sex' tourism like Jamaica and the Bahamas. Besides a rugged topography containing peaks as high as 4,500 feet (Burnett and Uysal 1991) that bespeak its volcanic origins, the country boasts "365 rivers," which is a claim that highlights Dominica's differences from the rest of the Caribbean when viewed in contrast to Antigua's claim of "365 beaches" (Weaver 1991:426).

Located between the Lesser Antilles islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, Dominica stretches 31 miles from north to south and is 16 miles wide at its maximum breadth (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). The island received its name from Christopher Columbus when it was "discovered" on November 3, 1493. After its "discovery," when it was not being ignored, Dominica was used as a "neutral sanctuary for European fleets" (Honeychurch 1988) that had staked claim to neighboring islands for exploitative use. The French began to colonize the island in 1632, and in 1748 the French and British "agreed to treat the island as neutral Carib territory" (Burnett and Uysal 1991:141). After a period of volley between French and British ownership, Dominica became a fully British colony in 1805, but the island did not thrive as economically as the British had hoped, and on November 3, 1978, Dominica was granted independence (Honeychurch 1998). Today, the Carib mainly occupy a reservation on the northeast part of the island and comprise one of the largest intact Carib groups in the Caribbean. According to Joseph (qtd. in Slinger 2000), today there are between 2,000 and 3,000 Carib living in Dominica.

Emerging from the Atlantic Ocean on the path of "a major cyclone track" (Weaver 1991:417), Dominica has experienced the havoc that hurricanes can wreak, especially when they hit small islands with delicate infrastructures. On August 29, 1979, Hurricane David ravaged the island, killing 37 people, injuring over 5,000 and leaving three-quarters of the population homeless (Honeychurch 1988). On an island "slightly four times the size of Washington, D.C." (Central Intelligence Agency 2008) that had a population of only 80,000 people (the current population is 72,000), this damage was catastrophic in scale (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). As of the early 1990's, when the bulk of research regarding Dominica's tourism industry was produced, Dominicans were still experiencing the ill-effects of Hurricane David, whose aftermath was compounded by Hurricane Hugo ten years later (Weaver 1991). While there has not been a hurricane that has caused that level of damage since, the potential occurrence of such an event is a situation that Dominica must take into consideration when developing tourism infrastructure.

In addition to historical factors and geographic features of Dominica, its transportation infrastructure has also limited large-

scale tourism development. The island's two small airports are unable to accommodate commercial jets, requiring visitors to take connecting flights on smaller aircraft (Weaver 1991, Burnett and Uysal 1991). A larger-sized airfield cannot be built on the island because of the mountainous landscape (Weaver 1991). If Dominica had pursued large-scale tourism development, the small airports would have been a major disadvantage because they raise the cost of airfare and increase travel time to the island. In addition to limited air travel, Dominica's transportation infrastructure, including roads and ports, are unable to accommodate the volume of visitors and cargo and the internal travel that would be required of a traditional tourist destination. While these limiting factors were viewed as obstacles post WWII, when Dominica would have sought to develop large-scale tourism as other Caribbean neighbors did (Weaver 1991), the exact circumstances that make the island inaccessible are what today draws visitors to Dominica to seek a Caribbean travel experience unlike others.

Agriculture, the World System, and Potentials for Ecotourism

While small nation states are particularly compelled by virtue of their size and lack of diverse resources to enter international markets and participate on the global stage (Weaver 1991), Dominica's history has been marked by a notable absence of a global presence. While global markets have influenced Dominica's monocrop industry, the country has not exerted as much influence on the global stage as it has been subjected to.   Besides "internal…and international isolation" (Burnett and Uysal 1991:142), Dominica has never experienced economic prosperity, and it is precisely this marginal status that has allowed the nation to avoid the pitfalls of overdevelopment and resource exploitation; while poverty levels remain high, tourism could allow Dominicans to experience economic success at their own behest.

    Dominica lacks large tracts of arable land, and villages are often afforded only about 400 acres of viable farmland, the fertility of which is a result of the many streams (Burnett and Uysal 1991). The island has retained most of its original forest cover (Burnett and Uysal 1991), and settlement patterns have traditionally concentrated

on the coasts because of the impenetrable rainforest of the inland (Weaver 1991). From the "culturally distinct and isolated" villages of the deltaic plains (Burnett and Uysal 1991:142), Dominica's farm products are then transported to Roseau, the capital, and to Portsmouth in the north; the farming of few provides subsistence for many, which differentiates Dominica from other Caribbean nations where larger scale commercial agriculture is more viable. The dense rainforest, an asset for nature-based tourism, hinders Dominicans from developing the interior of the island, which in the past has attracted escaped slaves and some "freedmen and planters" (Burnett and Uysal 1991:142) but has not sustained any substantial settlements. The rich volcanic soil that gives Dominica a fertile landscape (in small tracts) is partially compromised in productivity by erosion as a result of heavy precipitation and slope (Booth 1990).

Dominica, like other Caribbean islands, is reliant on a single crop for export purposes and has developed only one crop industry at a time, which, along with the small scale of farming enterprise, has restricted the island from occupying a potential role as a sizeable exporter in the international economy. In the past, Dominicans have grown coffee, sugar, cacao, limes, and bananas, the latter of which has continued to fade as the most recent monocrop (Burnett and Uysal 1991). Unpreventable environmental circumstances that stem from Dominica's geographic situation have caused past industries to fail, and the banana, which was "produced at internationally uncompetitive prices" (Burnett and Uysal 1991) is, as of 1992, no longer given the same protectionist privileges provided to Dominica in the past by its former British colonizers.

The state-owned banana industry was privatized in 2003, but is "highly vulnerable to climactic conditions," so tax increases have been added to "meet IMF targets" for economic restructuring and potentially reduce the nation's debt, which, as of 2006, is 100% of the GDP (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). The government is also currently exploring the export of geothermal energy (Central Intelligence Agency 2008) as a supplement to the state-promoted ecotourism industry, which has been an official development target since 1987 (Cater 1996). While the banana industry is highly susceptible to the turbulent and fickle conditions of the global market, ecotourism, despite some drawbacks, has more potential to

provide Dominicans with a steady flow of income, and is the best option to help bolster their economy in the context of globalized inter-reliance.

Dominica as a Local Actor in Global Tourism

The year 1971 marked the beginning of a turning point in tourism development for Dominica, when the Shankland Report, which advocated the promotion of large-scale tourism, was rejected (Weaver 1991). The government of Dominica traditionally legislated to promote large-scale tourism despite an unfavorable environment for such endeavors, such as with the *Hotel Aids Ordinance* of 1958 that granted tax breaks to hotels with more than ten rooms (Weaver 1991). When it became apparent that large-scale tourism not enough to overcome the geographic obstacles that prevented Dominica from attracting large inflows of tourism, as the rejection of the Shankland report reflects, an alternative agenda of tourism development was pursued. The Dominican parliamentary government embraced an alternative tourism program, and, prompted by the Kastarlak Report of 1975, a United Nations-sponsored exploratory study, addressed the need for the promotion of an alternative form of tourism. In the 1970s, an increase in environmental consciousness in the first world aligned with this new development philosophy, and "Dominica's physical geography, hitherto maligned as a tourism liability, would henceforth be marketed as the major asset of the island" (Weaver 1991:420).

The early 1990s brought a new spotlight to the country, and widely circulated National Geographic magazine whispered to readers who sought new patterns of travel that Dominica was a secret, a place unspoiled by overdevelopment: Dominica was portrayed as an "island that has changed little since Columbus sailed past" (Booth 1990). Since the tourist "gaze" (Urry 1990) had settled on Dominica, it seemed inevitable that the island's reputation for 'untouched' wilderness would be marketed as a way to attract alternative or eco-tourism, and its indigenous people can either gain greater autonomy or become pigeonholed in the process.

Ecotourism, Sustainable Development, and Autonomy in Dominica

"Ecotourism" is an often contested concept that has been operationalized in many different ways, and 'nature-based tourism' is an attendant label that can also be applied to Dominica's current tourism industry. Stemming from the umbrella term "sustainable development," the concept of "ecotourism" has been mobilized to legitimize divergent forms of tourism, but there are some generally agreed upon standards which demarcate "ecotourism" as a different form of tourism from massive, large-scale tourism. Ceballos-Lascurain (1987) is often credited with developing the first definition of ecotourism:

> "travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas."

According to Blamey (2001:6), earlier definitions focused more on a nature-based experience, but "more recent definitions have tended to highlight various principles associated with the concept of sustainable development," and its importance to the groups who inhabit tourist destinations. Wight's (1993) definition of ecotourism provides a qualifying ethical requirement pertaining to tourists' intentions, and Wallace (1996) goes even further to define each of the many elements that comprise ecotourism. Wallace's definition entails more specific directives that are applicable to a manifestation of ecotourism that promotes sustainable development, containing requirements of the economic, cultural, and community realms, natural resource preservation, as well as the educational and management facets of tourism (Wallace 1996). Ecotourism may still be a contested term because both it and its parent paradigm, sustainable development, are subjectively interpreted according to the prerogatives of whoever is employing the term, but for the sake of this paper, it shall be defined as follows:

"Ecotourism is travel to relatively undisturbed natural areas for study, enjoyment or volunteer assistance. It is travel that concerns itself with the flora, fauna, geology, and ecosystems of an area as well as the people (caretakers) who live nearby, their needs, their culture, and their relationship to the land. It views natural areas as both "home to all of us" in a global sense ("eco" meaning home) but "home to nearby residents" specifically. It is envisioned as a tool for both conservation and sustainable development, especially in areas where local people are asked to forgo the consumptive use of resources for other." (Wallace 1996:2)

Dominica has purposely pursued an eco- (or alternative) tourism agenda since the release of the Kasterlak report (Weaver 1991), which recommended developing such tourism. The Dominican people had and continue to have an important advantage in ecotourism lodging: 62% of facilities and 70% of all units are owned by Dominicans, a number that is comparatively high for the Caribbean region (Weaver 1991). Not only do Dominicans control the majority of market share of local accommodations (as of 1991), 19% of the facilities owned by foreigners are "dispersed among a variety of nationalities, including German, Canadian, U.S. and Swiss" (Weaver 1991:422), which prevents concentration of land in the hands of one outside group. Accommodations on Dominica are generally small in size, with the exception of a single area of large, mostly foreign owned hotels on the west side of the island near Roseau, on the gentler Caribbean Sea.

The figures that point to Dominicans retaining relatively local land and facility ownership should be tempered with the knowledge that there exists "a loophole [in the law that bars land ownership by non-Dominicans] enabling foreign ownership…via an economic citizenship programme… potential investors from Hong Kong and Taiwan are able to buy Dominican citizenship for US$60,000" (Cater 1996:132-133). This policy may be meant to encourage development, but it could lead to a dangerous loss of relative economic autonomy and further dependence. Not all of Dominica's development may be purposeful, but this policy has the potential to undermine the island's efforts to retain local economic

control, and increase the impact of leakage, which is money that flows away from the local economy, usually to first world economies (Lindberg 2001). Dominica is generally "characterized as a low-revenue--low-leakage destination" (Weaver 1991:428), since visitors tend to spend less while visiting Dominica than other Caribbean island tourists. Smaller-scale facilities and local ownership facilitate income retention, rather than larger tourist expenditures promptly flowing out of the local economy through foreign middlemen (Lindberg 2001).

Forty-four percent of Dominica's tourists are from other Caribbean nations, and almost 21% of this total influx is derived from the French West Indies (Weaver 1991). The island is more accessible to inter-Caribbean tourists via small island-hopping aircraft than extra-Caribbean tourists. Inter-Caribbean tourists originate from islands that have higher per capita incomes (thus providing more disposable income for tourism) and more mass-tourism accommodating infrastructure, therefore, they presumably visit Dominica not for the same reasons as those who visit their islands, but for its 'untouched' aesthetic: dense inland forests, flowing rivers and nature trails. "While interregional tourists tend to spend less money…[and] stay for a shorter period of time…their presence may be considered positive from a social and cultural perspective, as well as in some respects from an economic viewpoint" (Weaver 1991:424). These inter-Caribbean visitors represent a flow of tourism that is more removed from an implied black/white hegemonic ideology that is often represented by post-colonial European and North American tourist flows to the Caribbean, and are instrumental in helping Dominicans claim economic sovereignty while developing tourism on their own terms.

While Weaver characterizes the development of smaller-scale accommodations on the island as purposeful, in his critique of Weaver's analysis, Opperman (1992) cites large hotel chains' lack of interest in building on Dominica as the reason for the development of this 'accidental' alternative tourism. Opperman points out that while there are no large foreign-owned facilities on Dominica, there are small "plantation tourism (elitist individual tourism)" facilities on the island that are owned by outsiders, as opposed to "guest houses" that provide less expensive accommodations and are locally owned

174

(1992:784). Even if the foreign-owned accommodations cater to luxury-seeking tourists, nature-based tourism and luxury tourism are not necessarily mutually exclusive, albeit luxury tourism is not usually considered sustainable and has a greater exploitative potential as it highlights disparities of wealth.

Whether or not Dominica purposely pursued an agenda of ecotourism in the past, since 1986, the government has "declared an official tourism policy based on its natural attractions." (Cater 1996:122). Dominica's tourism website currently touts the slogan "defy the everyday," and promotes their rare avian species and UNESCO World Heritage site, Morne Trois Pitons, with its boiling lakes, five volcanoes and dense jungle cover (Discover Dominica Authority 2008). The World Heritage Site may confer status upon the island on the global stage, and Dominica has utilized this site's designation to continue cultivating an image as "the nature island of the Caribbean" (Cater 1996), but it has not yet reached its potential as a well-known ecotourism destination, and earned only US$47 million from tourism in 2000 (Duval 2004:15), one of the smallest amounts in all of the Caribbean.

In order to set the stage for Dominica to develop into a well-known destination amongst ecotourists, research must be done to determine the environmental and cultural carrying capacities, which Cater (1996), Burnett and Uysal (1991) point out as market controls that should be utilized by Dominica when planning for tourism. The "effective carrying capacity" (Mowforth and Munt 2003:101) of a destination takes many factors into account; it can create an ideal visitation limit for a destination based on environmental and cultural factors. The "effective carrying capacity" is calculated using the "the real carrying capacity," (Mowforth and Munt 2003:101) which utilizes factors that the physical carrying capacity does not, such as precipitation and erosion, both of which profoundly affect Dominica's trails (Cater 1996). The "effective carrying capacity is the real carrying capacity corrected to allow for the difference between actual management capacity and the ideal management capacity" (Mowforth and Munt 2003:101). Not only should Dominica calculate how many people its environment can sustain without damaging the rainforest habitat, but the Dominican people must decide how many visitors they feel comfortable with so as to

not compromise their quality of life, and limit visitation to its parks accordingly.

Caribs, Cultural Tourism, and Agency

The inaccessible topography of Dominica provided a "safe haven" for the Carib against the Europeans, and according to Lafleur, by the 1700s the Carib on Dominica were the only indigenous group still living in the Caribbean (quoted in Slinger 2000). Today, the main source of income for the Carib is derived from the sale of traditional crafts made for tourist consumption, which are often sold through middlemen to other tourism-attracting sites across the island, depriving the Carib from reaping the full profits of their labor (Slinger 2000). Of those Carib who sell their own crafts, some report incomes as high as $320 a month, which adds up to "an income of $3,840 per year, or $1,000 more than the per capita GNP of Dominica" (Slinger 2000:521), yet this amount is still alarmingly meager. The Caribs' knowledge of the island's environment has provided them with opportunities to work as nature guides for tourists, and others have (unevenly) benefitted from the industry by gaining employment as taxi drivers and guest house proprietors (Slinger 2000), but dependence on seasonal tourism can make incomes unpredictable, thus indicating the need for Dominicans to draw year-round tourism.

Ecotourism's growth as a form of tourism has provided the Carib with the opportunity to attract year-round tourist flows, since ecotourists are more likely to visit during the both the dry, more comfortable season and the wet season with its abundance of observable flora and fauna. Not only are ecotourists likely to travel year-round, their money is distributed more evenly as they patronize guesthouses, hostels, and private homes since ecotourists tend to choose smaller-scale, locally-owned enterprises. As most ecotourists are assumed to be socially and environmentally conscious, it is more likely that the interactions and engagements between tourist and local may undermine the pernicious awareness of power differentials that can lie beneath these interactions.

The Carib have been able to attract some tourism to their reservation, and in the late 1990s they constructed a model village

containing traditional longhouses (a style that is no longer used) and a space for the Karifuna and Karina, the male and female cultural groups, to play music and perform dances for tourist consumption (Slinger 2000). The Carib have also developed a relationship with a U.S. based community-service tourism program, Visions, that allows students participate in invaluable service and revitalization projects that the Carib choose, all the while learning about the culture of this distinct group (Heuman 2005). It has been suggested that "working tourists" who interact with the community they are serving not only positively contribute to the society in which they are working, but are able to gain a better sense of the culture (Heuman 2005), which is in accordance with the ecotourism principles Wallace set forth.

In order for these tourists to become aware of Dominica and to travel there, the island must project a differentiating image that reflects Dominica's rarity. Gunn (1972) categorized two typologies of consumer images: 'organic,' which arise from many years of popular portrayal in the media, and 'projected,' which are images that arise from direct attempts to control the way people imagine a destination. Images that arise organically are usually pervasive, yet official advertising campaigns can influence public attention and opinion. If even more ecotourists visit Dominica, the organic images that may arise from those visitors' impressions have the potential to draw even more tourists who want to experience such a place, and islanders could gain greater economic autonomy and thereby the opportunity for a greater degree of self-representation.

One section of Dominica's official tourism website contains a description of the Carib, and "potential visitors" are informed by Dominica's tourism website that they should

> "…shred any delusion of finding a primitive people in grass skirts practicing primordial rituals. There is little to differentiate them for the rest of the population. However it is still possible to acquire a glimpse of their ancestral roots, especially from their craft, canoe building and physical attributes." (Discover Dominica Authority 2008)

This description is ostensibly meant to portray the Carib as exotic yet accessible, occupying a terrain that straddles past and present; the

Carib territory is depicted in a way that may appeal to North American and European sensibilities. Yet this description locates the Carib as 'other,' since the main selling point seems to be that one can view Carib ancestral roots by glimpsing their lives today, as if in some ways they have remained culturally static.

Yet the depictions of the Carib on Dominica's tourism website (Discover Dominica Authority 2008) could potentially aestheticize the Carib to fit American and European norms of 'authenticity' when the subjectivity that should be projected is that of the Carib people themselves who live in Carib Territory. Tourism to the reservation has the potential to "initiate and foster a specific cultural heritage for the purposes of tourism," (Duval 2004:66) engendering new routines and rituals due to the tourist presence. Tourism to indigenous communities can create situations of "staged authenticity" (Mowforth and Munt 2003), but the potential pitfalls of tourist inflow impacts are at least partially mitigated by the agency that would be conferred upon the Carib people if tourism income was to increase their economic standing as well as international awareness of their community.

Future Considerations and Tourism in Dominica

The Carib and other Dominicans must have relative control of the development of their island's image, based on their needs and requirements, and if the Carib people, not simply island elites, are not 'othered' by this process of branding then the island is more likely to attract conscientious visitors who are willing to experience the island on its inhabitant's terms. Currently, Dominica purposefully projects an image of "The Nature Island of the Caribbean" (Cater 1996), but this image is less established than other Caribbean destinations, and can easily be exploitative toward Dominicans, or the "natural" label conflated with and conferred upon the people themselves.

Dominica has already attempted to differentiate itself from other Caribbean destinations via its advertising, but the nation is at a disadvantage in terms of market diversification because of its historic reliance on a plantation-based economy (Weaver 1991), as well as its possession of limited renewable resources. Dominica's pervasive

poverty may make greater market diversification difficult, but ecotourism ventures can commodify the 'nature experience' without actually selling the forest's resources, which means that with preservation as a high priority, enacted through effective management, planning, and marketing, Dominica has the potential to become a model of post-colonial island ecotourism. If island's resources remain relatively intact, future generations will be able to benefit from the income that tourism provides, which can encompass the capital necessary to protect the natural landscape and, most importantly, this income can open more channels of opportunity to Dominicans.

The natural assets that make the island attractive to tourists are also the most fragile, and if Dominica is able to provide visitors with the experience of these wonders without damaging the environment, they could demonstrate to other struggling nations how to lucratively create experiences for tourists without necessarily "selling out." Regardless of the linear development goals that some propagate, total development is not the end goal, and Dominica can preserve its natural beauty by attracting tourists who desire nothing more than to see and experience the island rainforest and culture within the infrastructure established by Dominicans for preservation.

The large majority of Dominican people have Carib connections because the country's overall population is small, yet they must be careful to promote this group only as they want to be promoted, to establish tourism to the reservation without fetishizing their crafts, and to consult with the Carib when creating policy, which, on an island as small as Dominica, always affects all. If the Carib want to provide opportunities for tourists to stay on the reservation then these profits should also remain on the reservation: as the largest contiguous indigenous population in the Caribbean, Dominican Caribs should wield power in the tourism industry, for the benefit of their own people, and for the future of Dominica as a whole. When leakage is low, prosperity is high: profits retained and reinvested in the country's economy would certainly help to ensure that the course of future tourism development is in the hands of the Dominican/Carib people.

Dominicans may own the majority of their tourist facilities, but they possess limited agency in how these establishments are

utilized, because without the money to update appliances and accommodations for energy efficiency, to apply for certifications, and to advertise, among other things, they cannot maximize profits while minimizing environmental harm. "After God, the Land" is Dominica's official motto, which can be said to encapsulate how they have continued to live on such a small island without over-exploiting their resources, but farming continues to be difficult, and a post-colonial reliance on one cash crop is not a sustainable option for Dominicans.

If diversifying the Dominican economy means promoting tourism to the last remaining rainforest in the Caribbean, or to the only concentration of Carib people in the Caribbean, then Dominicans must do so carefully, with a plan to maximize sustainability. The potential impacts of tourism on the Carib's quality of life are overwhelming, but community participation in tourism ventures can help to ameliorate or at least minimize the negative impacts of a tourist presence. Travelers may be afforded greater opportunity to see how this indigenous group has lived in the past and how they live now, and the Carib have the potential to earn an income that would allow them to continue to live as they choose. Tourism income has the potential to revitalize the Dominican economy, yet tourism inflows could trample the very features that make Dominica unique; undertaken carefully, ecotourism development could give the Carib even greater agency while promoting a sustainable form of development that could provide for Dominicans long into the future.

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Agriculture Student Perspectives: Agriculture, History, Community, and Change

Maureen McNamara

Abstract- *Rural development, increased urbanization, and U.S. domestic and foreign policy have affected rural agriculture communities throughout the U.S. Historically, land grant institutions, such as Colorado State University (CSU) in Ft. Collins, Colorado, have supported the agriculture industry and the agriculture community. This paper examines the results from two quantitative research tools administered to agriculture students at CSU. This data provides insight into how these future agricultural leaders view agriculture, community, and change. In this limited survey of agriculture students (n=11 and n=13) at CSU, students view the agriculture community as a supportive yet static community that has limited influence in the larger U.S. society. In addition, students idealize the gender roles of men and women in conventional agriculture production and communities. The data also show that agriculture students view the future of agriculture with uncertainty since they hold that mainstream society does not fully support or understand agriculture production. However, increased demand for food ensures the continuance of conventional agriculture production, which, according to students, implies that conventional production is "sustainable."*

Introduction

The agricultural transition, according to Loboa and Myers (2001), refers to the period in the United States, since the 1900s, when households stopped participating in small-scale farming as an economic livelihood. The abandonment of family farming led to an increased industrialization of food and fiber production, which has resulted in the current U.S. corporatized agribusiness industry (Loboa and Myers 2001). In addition, the growth of cities and the

183

development of the railroad system brought agriculture into the industrial realm and espoused the view of agriculture as another industry to be run according to principles of economic efficiency (Thompson 2000). The transition to high input and increased yields in industrial agriculture, despite the declined share of the food dollar, has moved U.S. farmers into a financially stable middle class, in part because of increases in nonfarm income (Mishra and Sandretto 2002).

Over the course of the 20th century, extensive research has focused on the U.S. agricultural sector especially within rural sociology, agriculture and resource economics, and political science. Within studies of the U.S. agriculture system, anthropological research has focused predominately on ethnographies of the farm labor sector, gender, and the alternative agriculture paradigm. Work by rural sociologists has focused on the historical aspects of agriculture, the economic structure of the industry, and more recently the formal agricultural sector. However, within existing research of the agricultural transition in the U.S., few studies focus on how the agriculture transition has caused shifts in the agriculture community's perception of the future.

The U.S. agriculture sector consists of large and small producers, many of which are still family-owned farms and corporations, who produce according to conventional or alternative production practices. Conventional and alternative agriculture exist in an oppositional relationship that is not mutually exclusive, however people often do not note overlap that exists between the two. For the purpose of this paper, since the various agricultural subgroups self-define within the conventional-alternative agriculture paradigm, the terms will be used accordingly. Alternative agriculture typically includes terms and practices such as organic, sustainable, local, all natural, and the related derivations. Organic agriculture is a production system that promotes using renewable resources and the biological cycles in order to enhance biological diversity and does so without the use of synthetic inputs or genetically modified organisms. On the other hand, conventional production is an industrialized agriculture system that often uses mechanized processes, mono-cropping, and synthetic inputs in order to increase both yield and profit. Sustainable agriculture refers to an agriculture

system (technically can be organic or conventional) that can produce indefinitely because it is economically viable, ecologically sound, and socially just (Eicher 2003). The terms "sustainable" and "conventional" are often value-laden as they represent ideologies and lifestyles, in additional to agriculture production practices.

The term "traditional agriculture" often refers to agricultural systems (subsistence and pre-industrial peasant) that conform to traditional rules that both enable and limit practices to subsistence-based agriculture (Johnson 1972). However, in the U.S. conventional agriculture producers often refer to themselves and are referred to as "traditional agriculture" even through the current conventional production methods were developed in the mid-1900s. In the wider agriculture paradigm, conventional agriculture is often equated with the value-laden term "traditional." Changes in agriculture production over the past 200 years have led to increased agricultural yields that have set the standard of valuing abundant production. However, "traditional" agriculture with an emphasis on economic output and high yield production is being challenged as groups attempt to balance agriculture production with concerns about the environment, animal welfare, and better working conditions for agricultural labor (Hoag 1999). This challenge to abundant production is challenging not only the production practices of conventional agriculture, but also appears to attack the "Agrarian Ideology" in which Thomas Jefferson upheld the yeoman farmer as the grounding force of a democratic society (Hoag 1999). To understand the likelihood for change in production practices and agriculture policy, one must understand how the conventional agriculture community views agriculture production. This research provides insight into the future of the agriculture community as represented by current Colorado State University (CSU) agriculture students. This study focuses on how agriculture students view the past, present and future of agriculture in the U.S. with particular emphasis on the agriculture community, gender roles, and the division between conventional and alternative production.

Background: The Agricultural Transition and the Growth of Agribusiness

Since the Great Depression, the overall number of farms has decreased while the number of larger farms has increased. An increase in farm size can be linked to changes in technology. Technology allowed farmers to overcome agriculture's seasonal and labor-dependant nature and led to further capitalist penetration, or agribusiness (Albrecht 1997). Farms integrated horizontally as they increased their use of technology and capital investment, which, in turn, undermined the need for seasonal labor. Industrialized agriculture also integrated vertically as agriculture companies amassed control and ownership over both the supply chain and the means of production (Cowen 2002). Vertical integration is most clearly noted in the animal agriculture industry where farmers are contracted to raise swine for a specific processor (Thu 2001). As the agriculture transition progressed, corporate agriculture industries gained even greater control over the means of production and the industry as a whole (McRae 1993).

The agricultural transition prompted an exodus of rural community members from farming as a livelihood. This can be seen in current rural employment statistics: less than 8% of rural populations nationwide are now employed in farming and agricultural services (Cowen 2002). This shift in population and employment changes corresponds with the shift in federal policy that has moved toward manufacturing and services and away from the traditional agricultural focus. As large commercial farms produce the majority of agricultural commodities, there is less need for on-farm employment. Small-scale agriculture is still present in rural America; however, they produce a significantly smaller percent of total agriculture production (Cowan 2002).

The interest in "saving the family farm" from the pervasive influence of industrialized agriculture is a concern in both political and social spheres. While there are differences between "modern family farming" (increased capital investment and corporatization using wage labor) and "traditional family farming" (independent and self-owned production using mainly family labor) (Hennon and Hildenbrand 2002), in the U.S., the two groups are often merged into

186

the single category of "family farm" to create an image of the "traditional family farm" even when referring to "modern family farms." The family farm is often idealized as representing the traditional and moral values that have been lost in modern societies (Hazell 2005). The mission to save the "family farm" overlaps with the need to save the farming community as conflicts between rural communities and agribusiness arise, most often in opposition to industrialized animal production. Rural communities often struggle to create change in their own communities because of the complex scope and nature of relationships between industrial agriculture, the state, and federal agencies (Thu 2001). Despite the negative press that agribusiness often receives, the agricultural transition may also be viewed as a positive change agent with regard to expanded opportunities for rural communities and economic development.

Methods

My research involved a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. I conducted participant observation with a student agriculture group at Colorado State University (CSU). From this group, I conducted a semi-structured interview with Kathie, an agriculture student who grew up on a feedlot in Western Colorado. The information from the interview and participant observation helped me create two quantitative tools, a questionnaire (Appendix A) and a free list and frame elicitation survey (Appendix B). I administered the questionnaire to ten members of a CSU student group. The questionnaire focused on what motivates students to study and work in agriculture, how students view the agricultural community, and how they perceive gender roles in the agriculture community. In the questionnaire, the wide variation in responses to questions on sustainable and conventional agriculture showed ambiguity in the students' interpretation of the terminology. Because of this, I developed a survey to explore the value-laden meanings of the terms sustainable and conventional. I administered the frame elicitation and free list survey to a class of 29 agriculture students at CSU. The free list questions asked students to list words related to conventional and sustainable agriculture communities and people. The frame elicitation questions asked students to respond to four

187

quotes that discussed issues surrounding farm yield, production methods and federal policy related to conventional and sustainable production. To ensure comparability between the two student populations, I only analyzed survey data from the students (13) who grew up with at least one parent with principal livelihood from farming, a significant demographic factor in the questionnaire results.

The survey and questionnaire samples are not representative of all agriculture students at CSU. However, the students do represent a variety of majors including Agribusiness, Agriculture Marketing, Animal Science, Crop Science, Soil Science, Agriculture Education, and Horticulture. One of the 23students surveyed is majoring in the CSU interdisciplinary studies program in organic agriculture. All other students are pursuing degrees at CSU that are typically more associated with conventional agriculture.

The Present and Future of the Agriculture Community: Data and Analysis

Agriculture Community
All respondents to the questionnaire grew up in rural communities with only one student who grew up in a rural non-farming community. The two students who did not grow up with parents who farmed deviated from the rest of the group in response to a few questions concerning the traditional agriculture community. The participants' demographic background (rural community life) seems to influence the reasons why students study and intend to work in agriculture. Students selected (top 4 choices) many of the same reasons when asked why they study agriculture (see figure 1). The most common reasons were: I like the lifestyle (8 of 10), it's my background (7 of 10), rural life is appealing (6 of 10), I want to preserve heritage/tradition (6 of 10), I like to work outdoors (5 of 10), and I am intellectually interested in agriculture (5 of 10). In response to why students intend to work in agriculture, students selected the same five top reasons (figure 1). While there is little difference between why students chose to study and plan to work in agriculture, "my family expects me to" was listed (once) as a top reason why students plan to work in agriculture but was not included

188

in why students study agriculture. No students selected (in their top choices) "interest in food production" as a reason for studying or working in agriculture. Students also did not widely choose (only 1 or 2 of 10) interest in technology, family expectation, or future financial stability as reasons why they chose to study or work in agriculture. This data shows that an interest in food production is a less compelling reason than an interest in the farming lifestyle or community for students to study or work in agriculture.
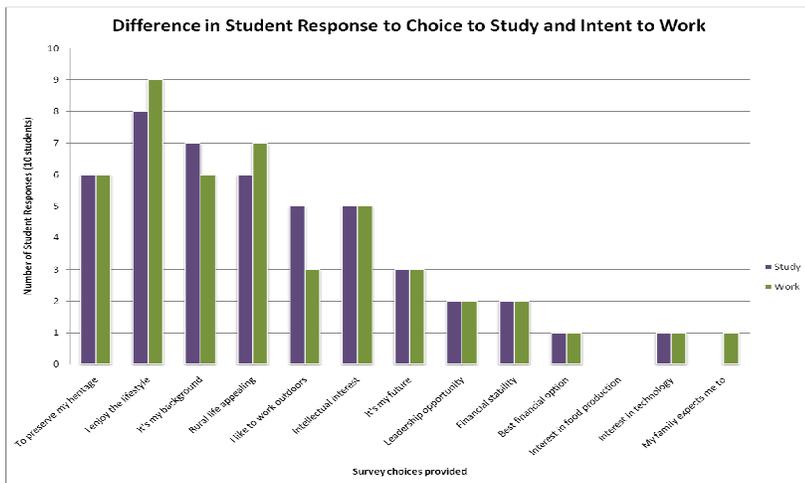

Figure 1: Difference in reasons why students study and intend to work in agriculture

Overall, based on the results of the questionnaire, student members tend to view the agriculture community as a defined, supportive, and somewhat static population. The traditional agriculture community is made of people whose families have a history of farming. All students said that they had at least one grandparent who farmed, and most students (80%) have parents who farm. All students (10 of 10) said, "most people who work in traditional agriculture grew up in rural communities." Most respondents (8 of 10) agreed "people who do not grow up in a rural community do not understand agriculture production." These two statements imply that traditional agriculture production and rural community living are related and possibly have a strong correlation. Student members identify with the agriculture

189

community and almost all students (9 of 10) think "farming communities are unusually cooperative." The positive view of farming communities as cooperative might influence the reasons why student members have chosen to study and intend to work in agriculture (figure 1).

Student members all "like agriculture" (9 of 10, 1 left blank). Student members' response to their future career plans (9 of 10 listed agriculture careers and 1 person did not know) shows that most student members seem to enjoy the agriculture community enough to study and work in agriculture. While student members enjoy the agriculture community, they also responded that they are concerned about the relationship between the agriculture community and mainstream society/consumers. Only 3 of 10 students agreed that "mainstream society supports agriculture," whereas 5 of 10 disagreed with one additional person strongly disagreeing. Almost all students (8 of 10) agree that "consumers influence agriculture production" and (8 of 10) also think "consumers do not understand agriculture." According to survey results, consumers do not understand agriculture, but influence production and "increasingly demand organic production" (8 of 10 agree). These statements show that the agriculture community may feel disconnected and distanced from the mainstream society and might harbor resentment toward consumers that are demanding changes in agriculture production.

Gender Roles in Agriculture
In the survey, I focused on both "real" and "ideal" gender roles in the agriculture community. To find the "real" gender roles in the community, I asked students to select the work that they most often observed men and women do in their local communities. In response to this question, there were clear patterns of gender-differentiated roles in the agricultural community (figure 2). According to the survey results, men are in charge of farm (animal and crop) production and women are responsible for farm accounting and maintaining the household. On the other hand, to find the "ideal" gender roles, I asked students to select the work that men and women respectively would do "if needed." For the most part, students selected almost all work as what men and women will do (figure 3). There appears to be a shared value that both men and women can and

do complete all tasks and work in the agriculture community yet there are clearly defined roles of what men and women actually do on a daily basis.
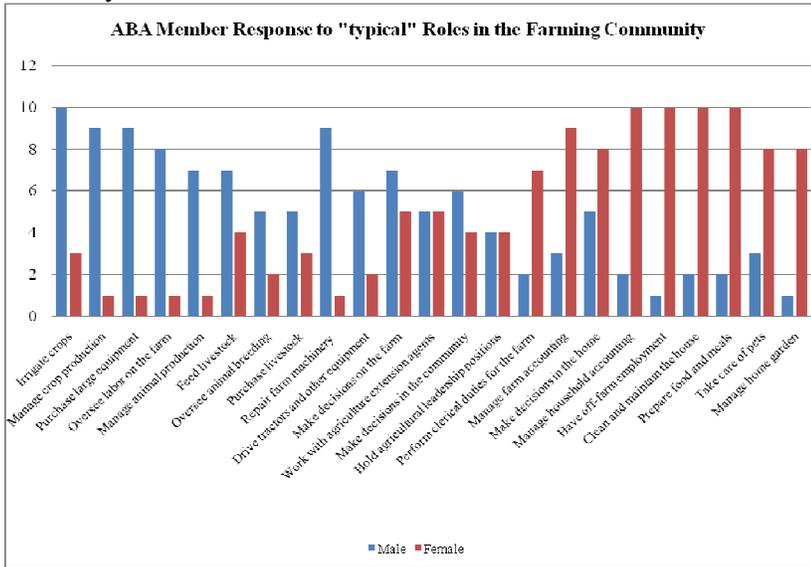

Figure 2: Student members' view of gender role differentiation
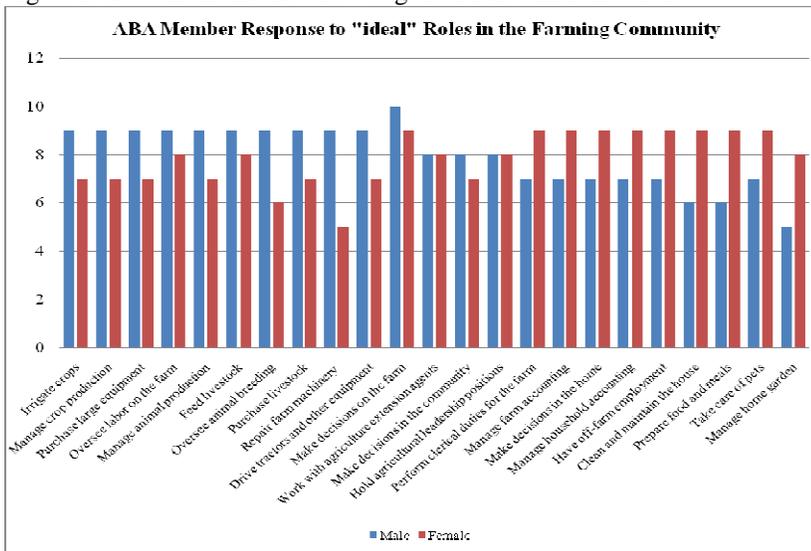
Figure 3: Student members' view of "ideal" gender roles

191

The pattern of variation in roles selected for males and females shows that men and women have different roles in agriculture. Most of the students also explicitly agreed (7 of 10) that "males and females have different roles in agriculture production." The two respondents who disagreed and the one respondent who was neutral with respect to gender-based role differences still selected, when asked specifically, different roles for males and females (figures 2 and 3). Even though clear roles seem to exist, students (both male and female) do not think that their gender gives them additional opportunities (6 of 10) or limits their opportunities (10 of 10) in agriculture. Additionally, from a scale of 1 (male) to 6 (female), students said that neither gender (average of 3) had additional opportunities for career advancement in agriculture. These "ideal" statements about opportunities still contradict the reality of agriculture. Most students agreed (9 of 10) that "most farmers in the U.S. are male" and from a scale of 1 (male) to 6 (female), students said that men (2.5 average) are more represented in the agriculture community.

The data from this small-scale survey do show that there are clear gender roles for males and females in agriculture. The agriculture community holds women as equals as women and men "when needed" are ready to perform most jobs. However, most often men and women perform different jobs that align with a male-centered employment pattern, with women working in the traditional roles: clerical positions, the domestic sphere and the service industry (Honey 1984:24). While there are clearly defined roles, both males and females believe that both genders can and do perform almost all tasks when needed. This willingness to work across gender lines also feeds into the "unusually cooperative" nature of the agricultural community. Adams (1991) argues that increased commodity production in the industrial agriculture sector led to a shift from a "family wage" to a that of a "male breadwinner" wage, which in turn devalued the productive contribution of women's labor and created a separate market for women's labor, either on the farm (formal assistant) or off the farm. The ties between gender-role differentiation and the industrialization of agriculture are not clear, however, research shows that women tend to take a comparatively more dominant and public role in alternative agriculture systems than

in conventional agriculture systems (see DeLind and Ferguson 1999, Brandth and Haugen 2007, Hall and Mogyorody 2007).

The Future of Agriculture
Students' fears and concerns about agriculture may be related to the weak relationship between the agriculture community and mainstream society. Most of the students (6 of 10) agreed that the "future of agriculture is uncertain." This question could connote either a positive or a negative uncertainty for the future. However, coupled with other questions in the survey, it seems like people are concerned about the future of agriculture. While most students agreed that people in traditional agriculture grew up in farming communities, only half of the students (5 of 10) agree that "people who grow up in farming communities tend to return to farming communities." It is possible to interpret these two statements as contradictory, but the former refers to the present farming community and the latter refers to the future of the farming community. Current trends and my research and observations have shown that fewer young people are returning to farming communities and that the average age of farmers is only increasing. Student response to their "biggest worry in agriculture," reinforces the students' concern about the future of agriculture. At least one student selected all provided responses, but the top three concerns (5 of 10 selected) are: national agriculture policy, decrease in young people's interest in agriculture, and rural development (figure 4). Closely related concerns that were also selected (3 of 10 for each) are local agriculture policy and the average age of farmers. All of these worries and issues reflect a concern about the future of agriculture, farming, and rural communities in the U.S. Students are also concerned about the impact that both the media (4 of 10) and consumers (3 of 10) have on agriculture. Even though in the U.S., farmers are in relatively secure financial situations with average farm income levels higher than average nonfarm income levels (Offutt 2002), agriculture students perceive the future of agriculture with uncertainty.
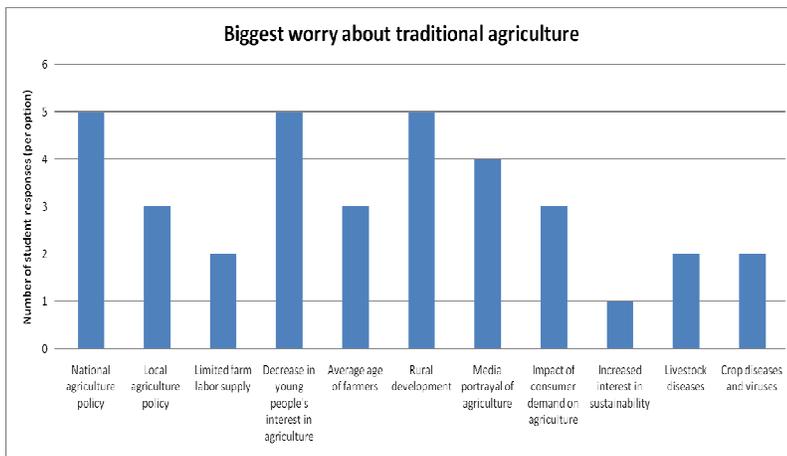
Figure 4: Student members' perception about the future of agriculture

Conventional and Sustainable Agriculture
In the questionnaire, I also focused on the relationship between sustainable and conventional agriculture as a potential concern and defining group characteristic. The data from the questionnaire was limited and prompted me to continue to study the difference between conventional and sustainable agriculture in the free list and frame elicitation survey. In the questionnaire, most students (6 of 10) agree that "agriculture" includes sustainable agriculture and all students (10 of 10) disagree that sustainable agriculture is not part of the traditional agriculture community. One student's response to a question where he placed himself on the continuum between traditional and sustainable agriculture made apparent the confusion around "sustainable" and the potential tension between sustainable and traditional agriculture. The student placed himself as closer to traditional agriculture and wrote, "Traditional Agriculture is Sustainable though" [his capitalization]. For the frame elicitation survey, I attempted to clarify and deconstruct the difference between traditional and sustainable agriculture. In order to clarify the distinction between the two communities, for the survey I used the term "conventional" instead of "traditional." While both terms are used interchangeably, conventional tends to be less value-laden and more specific to production practices.

        In response to the free list questions in the survey, students tie "sustainable" to the present, to financial concerns and to production methods while they relate "conventional" to the past, to a connection to the land and the people, and to a strong sense of community (figure 5). Sustainable agriculture is a business decision (20 of 78 responses by 6 of 13 students) that producers make to meet the demands of the market, specifically the "niche" market (5 of 13) of organic and "all natural" food (8 of 13) that health conscious people are increasingly demanding (4 of 13). The terms the students used to describe sustainable agriculture did not focus on the movement or a guiding principle for sustainable food production, but rather on how they view sustainable agriculture as a new (8 of 13), short-term trend (4 of 13) that people decide to enter into for business reasons. Only one student, who self-identified as a student of organic production, stated that people involved in sustainable are "coming back to the land" and going "back to [the] basics," which seem to refer to the principles and ethics behind the sustainable agriculture community. On the other hand, students tied conventional agriculture to the community, social space, tradition, and family. Conventional agriculture is a community (7 of 13) of farmers, ranchers and "old-timers" (8 of 13) who are experienced (6 of 13), "conventional," and "basic" (4 of 13). Conventional farmers have large and mechanized farms (4 of 13) that continue to run as they have for years (8 of 13). According to the results of the free lists, students seem to view conventional agriculture as "sustainable" because it is a "proven system" and it is "the only way to feed people in the future" (3 students' comments).
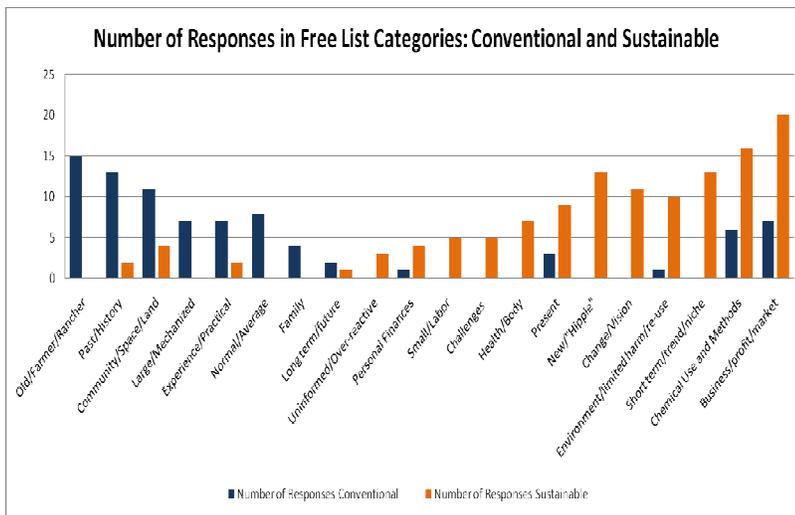
Figure 5: Difference in total number of term responses for free list categories: conventional and sustainable

The division between "organic" and "conventional" agriculture is clear because organic refers to a specific set of production methods that are distinct from conventional production. On the other hand, students defined "sustainable" in broader terms that include "organic" and "all natural" production, but also they also refer to production practices that can be and are integrated into conventional agriculture. In the student responses, students apply and view the term 'sustainable' differently based on the context of the question. In response to the free list questions, students define the term "sustainable" as relating to organic or all natural production. However, as noted earlier, in response to the quotes, students use the term "sustainable" to justify and rationalize conventional production practices. Overall, respondents noted that conventional agriculture has a long history and a secure future and therefore is "sustainable" because it has sustained the test of time. Students more clearly defined and more consistently used the term conventional than sustainable.

Organic and Conventional Production
The limited future and trend-like nature of sustainable production is also noted in the response to Reaction Question 1 (farmers do not transition to organic production because of a misconception that it cannot be done). Few students (3 of 13) clearly state that organic production is possible and that the transition is not a major concern (figure 6). Most students (7 of 13) do not see the benefit in transitioning to organic production regardless of whether or not they think it is possible. Some students (3 of 13) expressed concern about the transition but did not clearly state whether they think the transition is possible. Most students (10 of 13) did not agree that the transition to organic production is either easy or possible. The possibility of organic production was challenged because "it is easy on a small scale, but consumer expectations are too high" for large-scale production, people do not have the "time and money to switch the way they have been running their operation," and because of concern about "how long organic production will be around." Students questioned "why change?" to organic production "if you've been making money doing what you're doing," if "everything is working well," and "if it has worked before and is continuing to work" (3 students' comments). The data show that the history of conventional agriculture and the uncertain future of organic production influence students' views about the possibility of organic production. According to the student-generated terms related to sustainable agriculture, organics and organic production are considered sustainable. A discussion of organic production is not analogous to a discussion of sustainable agriculture. However, students' views of sustainable and organic agriculture as trends and of the uncertain future of agriculture overlap because if sustainable or organic agriculture become more accepted and widespread, they have great potential to affect the conventional agriculture community.

197
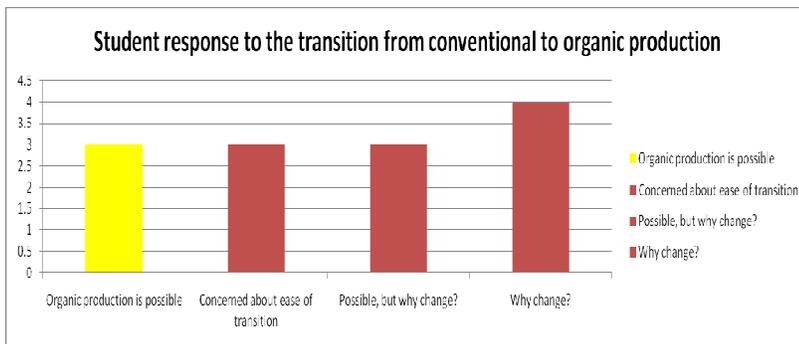
Figure 6: Student response to the transition from conventional to organic production

The students tied organic production to sustainable agriculture and cited many of its generally held benefits including decreased use of chemicals, increased environmental consciousness, and increased "health" of food (see free list data, figure 5). In response to Reaction Question 3 (claimed increased environmental impact of organic dairy production), the responses (see graph 6) were split between agree (4 of 13), neutral (4 of 13) and disagree (5 of 13). Again, due to the range of ideas included in the quote, the written responses seem to be more indicative of the students' views. Overall, only two students (3 of 13 comments) directly question the premise of the argument (in the quote) and seem to hold organic production in high regard. Most students (9 of 13 comments) did not question the quote's argument (see Appendix 2) that organic production is more harmful to the environment than conventional production. Some students (5 of 13 comments) provide other ideas or topics that need to be considered when discussing organic dairy production emissions, such as "cows have been around forever" and the "EPA regulates emissions of cows, so they can't be high." However, none of the comments directly question the assertion the quote makes that conventional farming is more environmentally friendly than organic production. Other students (4 of 13 comments) agree with the quote, cite the negative aspects of organic production, and thereby hold that organic production is not good. The main premise for this is that it "takes more organic to produce the same" and "with population increases,

the only way to feed all is with increased production, [which is] hard to do with organics" (2 students' comments).

Production, Practice and Policy
Sustainable agriculture is a broad term that incorporates both philosophies and production methods. It aims to lessen the impact of food production on the environment and to plan for long-term land use. No-till production is an accepted production method to decrease soil erosion and the impact on land use in order to plan for future production. Both conventional and sustainable agriculture producers use no-till farming techniques. Since "sustainable" production is not a regulated production system with delineated methods, there is no clear distinction in the methods between conventional and sustainable agriculture production, however, most people in sustainable agriculture subscribe to the benefits of no-till agriculture. In response to Reaction Question 2, while half of the students agreed (6 of 12, 1 student did not respond) that no-till agriculture can bring soil loss "surprisingly close to being balanced with soil creation," many of their explanations contradicted their statement of agreement. Based on student responses it seems as if the quote was interpreted in various ways and therefore the specific responses seem more indicative of their views (figure 7). Few students (3 of 11) responded without qualifications that no-till agriculture is good and that farmers should practice the method. On the other hand, two students (2 of 11) directly contested the worth of no-till and most students (6 of 11) questioned the overall impact and importance of no-till agriculture as they attributed soil loss to multiple other factors. While soil is lost not only through the tillage of land, no-till production is a widely respected soil conservation technique. Without being directly prompted, many people (4 of 13) defended conventional agriculture by stating, "not all conventional farming creates soil loss," "if you farm conventionally correct you are preserving soil nutrients," and many "conventional farmers use soil conservation practices" (3 students' comments). Students cite both the history and the future of conventional farming to justify current practices as "we've created ways to utilize and re-use soils" and "without tilling, how much food will you be able to produce with the current demand?" (2 students' comments).

199
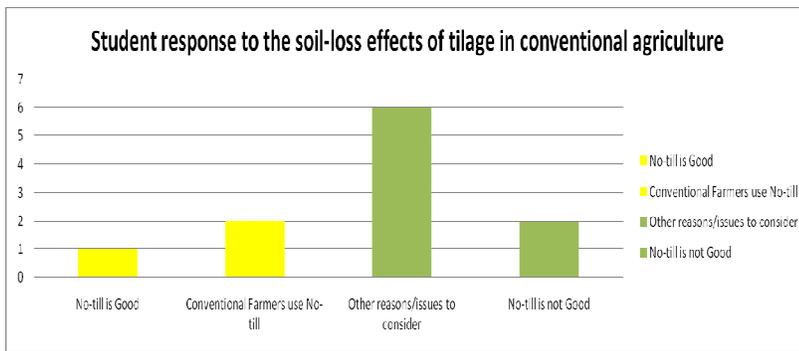
Figure 7: Student Response: No-till as a Method to Decrease Soil Loss from Conventional Farming

Students tend to cite the history and the future of conventional farming to justify current conventional agriculture practices and to diminish the possible contributions and value of sustainable agriculture. Likewise, students reference the history of farm subsidies as a rationale for their current and future existence. In Reaction Question 4 (the financial impact of farm subsidies), the quote cited numerous figures that highlight how corporations benefit from and individuals pay for farm subsidies. However, most student comments (10 of 15) highlight the benefits and not the negative (5 of 15) aspects of farm subsidies (see graph 7). Farm subsidies "were originally for small producers" and they "allow farmers to continue to farm," "help with start up," and "help farmers and ranchers get through tough times" (4 students' comments). Students also cite the agricultural market as a justification for farm subsidies because "consumers won't pay the actual cost of production" and they "increase [farmer/rancher] income" (2 students' comments). Farm subsidies are validated because of their past and because they are needed for future production as they "counteract the decreasing number of youth returning to farm" and "farmers and ranchers feed the world" and are "our source of food!" (3 students' comments). On the other hand, students stated that farm subsidies are negative because the "government controls what and how food is grown" and they are "abused" and "go to corporate firms that no longer need them" (3 students' comments). Few students (2 of 15 comments) stated that farm subsidies are negative because the individual has to

pay for them, which seems to say that the benefits to the agricultural community outweigh the negative impacts of tax subsidies on the individual.

Discussion: The Future of the Agriculture Community

As rural communities change, the future of agriculture is uncertain because young people are not returning to agriculture and farmers are getting older. In addition, agriculture policy and mainstream society (media and consumers) may not necessarily support the future of agriculture. Despite the idealized view of agriculture as an equally collaborative effort, men and women have different roles in agriculture. Men tend to be in charge of production including labor, machinery, purchasing, and routine production operations whereas women are not as linked to production. Women often have off-farm employment and are responsible for finances, housekeeping and cooking, and family activities (graphs 2 and 3).

Agriculture students whose parent(s) farm differentiate between conventional and sustainable with regard to both production practices and the related communities of people. Students associate conventional agriculture with the past and experience, with the community, and with ideas of the farmer and the rancher (figure 5). On the other hand, students view sustainable agriculture as a new business and a marketing development that is concerned with the environment, limited chemicals, and change (figure 5). Few students view organic production as inherently good and most question the validity and assumed superiority of the production method. The majority of students view organic production as a trend that will not be able to feed the world in the future whereas conventional agriculture has been, is, and will continue to be great, so "why change?" (figure 6) Most students do not question the production practices used by conventional agriculture or the policies, particularly farm subsidies, that promote the continued dominance of conventional agriculture and the growth of agribusiness (figure 7).

The uncertainty of the future of agriculture seems to be linked to potential changes in "conventional" agriculture, such as shifts in production practices, agriculture policies, and the makeup of the agriculture community. While the future of agriculture in the

201

post-agricultural transition period may rely on changes in production, agriculture students seem to hold that the past century of conventional farming with increased yields justifies conventional agriculture as the only way to meet future increased demands. Further research needs to be conducted to understand how changes, such as increased consumer demand for organic and "all-natural" production, affect the agriculture community's perception of both "sustainable" production and the future of the agriculture community. In addition, the agriculture community's perception of mainstream society's limited support also appears to be central to understanding conventional agriculture's resistance to and fear of change toward more "sustainable" production practices.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix A: Agriculture Questionnaire, administered to CSU agriculture organization student members (n=10)

Student Organization Agriculture Questionnaire
1. I study agriculture because:
        Rank order all those that apply with 1 as the most important
   a.   ____Rural community life is appealing
   b.   ____It's my background/past
   c.   ____ It's my future
   d.   ____I am interested in food production
   e.   ____I am interested in technology
   f.   ____My family expects me to
   g.   ____I enjoy working outdoors
   h.   ____It is a source of financial stability
   i.   ____ It is the best financial option I have
   j.   ____I want to preserve the heritage around agricultural life
   k.   ____I like the lifestyle
   l.   ____I am intellectually interested in agriculture
   m.   ____I see it as a leadership opportunity
   n.   ____Other _____

2. I intend to work in agriculture because:
        Rank order all those that apply with 1 as the most important
   a.   ____Rural community life is appealing
   b.   ____It's my background/past
   c.   ____ It's my future
   d.   ____I am interested in food production
   e.   ____I am interested in technology
   f.   ____My family expects me to
   g.   ____I enjoy working outdoors
   h.   ____It is a source of financial stability
   i.   ____ It is the best financial option I have
   j.   ____I want to preserve the heritage around agricultural life
   k.   ____I like the lifestyle

l.   ____I am intellectually interested in agriculture
m.   ____I see it as a leadership opportunity
n.   ____Other _____

3. To what extent do you agree with the following statements:
Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D), Strongly
Disagree (SD)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
I like agriculture.					
People who live in farming communities are unusually cooperative with other community members.					
Most people who work in traditional agriculture grew up in rural communities.					
People who did not grow up in a rural community do not understand agriculture production.					
People who grow up in farming communities tend to return to farming communities.					
The future of agriculture in the U.S. is uncertain.					
Mainstream society supports agriculture production.					
Consumers influence agriculture production.					
Consumers do not understand agriculture.					
Mainstream society is increasing demanding organically produced food.					
Agriculture does not include people who have "hobby" farms.					

4. To what extent do you agree with the following statements:
Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D), Strongly
Disagree (SD)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
When people say "agriculture," it includes sustainable agriculture.					
Sustainable agriculture is not part of the traditional agriculture community.					
The production practices in sustainable agriculture and traditional agriculture are different.					
People who work in sustainable agriculture do not understand traditional agriculture.					

Traditional agriculture is more efficient than sustainable agriculture.					
Compared to traditional agriculture, sustainable agriculture is not based on reality.					
People who work in sustainable agriculture move agriculture in the U.S. in a positive way.					
Traditional farming can learn from consumer interest in sustainable farming.					

5. Please mark the number that best represents where you feel you fit in agriculture.

<_____>
     1   2   3   4   5   6
Traditional agriculture   Sustainable agriculture

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements:
Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
Males and females have different roles in agriculture production.					
Most farmers in the U.S. are males.					
Females do not play a visible role in agriculture production.					
My gender (male or female) limits my opportunities in agriculture.					
My gender (male or female) provides me with additional opportunities in agriculture.					

Please circle the number in the direction that best represents your response to the following question.

7. Who is most represented in the agricultural industry?

<_____>
Men   1   2   3   4   5   6   Women

8. At CSU, who holds more leadership experiences in agriculture related student organizations?

<_____>
Men   1   2   3   4   5   6   Women

9. In your home community, who holds more leadership experiences in agriculture organizations?

<_____>
Men   1   2   3   4   5   6   Women

10. Who has more opportunities for career advancement in agriculture?

<_____>
Men   1   2   3   4   5   6   Women

11. When I look and see how people farm today I observe that <u>men</u> most often do the following work: (Check as many as apply)

	Drive tractors and other equipment		Oversee animal breeding
	Manage crop production		Administer chemicals (hormones) to animals
	Manage animal production		Administer chemicals (pesticides) to plants
	Oversee labor on the farm		Make decisions on the farm
	Manage farm accounting		Make decisions in the home
	Manage household accounting		Make decisions in the community
	Work with agriculture extension agents		Hold agriculturally related leadership positions
	Purchase large equipment		Have off-farm employment
	Purchase livestock		Perform clerical duties for the farm
	Purchase seeds, chemicals for crop production		Organize family activities (sports practice, take children to school)
	Repair farm machinery		Clean and maintain the house
	Feed livestock		Prepare food and meals
	Irrigate crops		Take care of pets
	Manage greenhouse		Manage home garden

12. When I look and see how people farm today I observe that <u>women</u> most often do the following work: (Check as many as apply)

	Drive tractors and other equipment		Oversee animal breeding
	Manage crop production		Administer chemicals (hormones) to animals
	Manage animal production		Administer chemicals (pesticides) to plants

	Oversee labor on the farm	Make decisions on the farm
	Manage farm accounting	Make decisions in the home
	Manage household accounting	Make decisions in the community
	Work with agriculture extension agents	Hold agriculturally related leadership positions
	Purchase large equipment	Have off-farm employment
	Purchase livestock	Perform clerical duties for the farm
	Purchase seeds, chemicals for crop production	Organize family activities (sports practice, take children to school)
	Repair farm machinery	Clean and maintain the house
	Feed livestock	Prepare food and meals
	Irrigate crops	Take care of pets
	Manage greenhouse	Manage home garden

13. When needed, <u>men</u> in agriculture communities are ready to:

	Drive tractors and other equipment	Oversee animal breeding
	Manage crop production	Administer chemicals (hormones) to animals
	Manage animal production	Administer chemicals (pesticides) to plants
	Oversee labor on the farm	Make decisions on the farm
	Manage farm accounting	Make decisions in the home
	Manage household accounting	Make decisions in the community
	Work with agriculture extension agents	Hold agriculturally related leadership positions
	Purchase large equipment	Have off-farm employment
	Purchase livestock	Perform clerical duties for the farm
	Purchase seeds, chemicals for crop production	Organize family activities (sports practice, take children to school)
	Repair farm machinery	Clean and maintain the house
	Feed livestock	Prepare food and meals
	Irrigate crops	Take care of pets
	Manage greenhouse	Manage home garden

14. When needed, <u>women </u>in agriculture communities are ready to:

	Drive tractors and other	Oversee animal breeding

	equipment	
	Manage crop production	Administer chemicals (hormones) to animals
	Manage animal production	Administer chemicals (pesticides) to plants
	Oversee labor on the farm	Make decisions on the farm
	Manage farm accounting	Make decisions in the home
	Manage household accounting	Make decisions in the community
	Work with agriculture extension agents	Hold agriculturally related leadership positions
	Purchase large equipment	Have off-farm employment
	Purchase livestock	Perform clerical duties for the farm
	Purchase seeds, chemicals for crop production	Organize family activities (sports practice, take children to school)
	Repair farm machinery	Clean and maintain the house
	Feed livestock	Prepare food and meals
	Irrigate crops	Take care of pets
	Manage greenhouse	Manage home garden

15. My biggest worry about traditional agriculture is: (Please check all that apply)

The impact of consumer demand on agriculture		Increased interest in sustainable agriculture production	
Average age of farmers		National agriculture policies	
Media portrayal of agriculture		Local agriculture policies	
Livestock diseases		Development of rural areas	
Crop diseases and viruses		Limited supply of farm labor	
Decrease in younger people's interest in agriculture		Other _____	

16. What area of agriculture are you studying? Please check all that apply.

_____Agribusiness   _____Horticulture
_____Marketing   _____Crop Production
_____Animal Science   _____Soil Science
_____Natural Resource Management   _____Agriculture Education
_____Equine Science   _____Other _____

17. What career area do you plan to work in after graduating from CSU?
Please check all that apply.

_____Agribusiness	_____Equine Science
_____Marketing	_____Horticulture
_____Agricultural Management	_____Crop Production
_____Agricultural Finance	_____Agriculture Education
_____Agricultural Accounting	_____Non-agricultural field
_____Animal Production	_____Other_____
_____Natural Resource Management	_____Do not know

18. What year are you at CSU?
____ Freshman   ____ Junior
____ Sophomore ____ Senior   _____ Graduate School

19. What type of community did you grow up in?
____ Rural non-farming   ____ Suburban
____ Rural farming   ____ Urban

20. Where did you grow up? (city, state, and country, if not U.S.)

21. Did you grow up with parents who farmed as a livelihood?
Father? ____Yes   ____No
Mother? ____Yes   ____No

22. Did you grow up with grandparent who farmed as a livelihood?
Paternal? ____Yes   ____No
Maternal? ____Yes   ____No

23. Did you grow up with parents who worked in non-farming agricultural jobs?
Father? ____Yes   ____No
Mother? ____Yes   ____No

24. Did you grow up with parents who worked in non-agricultural jobs?
Father? ____Yes   ____No
Mother? ____Yes   ____No

Thank you so much for providing you valuable insights on this survey! If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. Thanks again!

Appendix B: Free List and Frame Elicitation Survey, administered to a class of agriculture students (n=13)

Agriculture Survey
1. The words that come to my mind (up to 10) when I think about
<u>conventional </u>agriculture are:

2. The words that come to my mind (up to 10) when I think about
<u>sustainable</u> agriculture are:

3. The words that I think of (up to 10) to describe people who are involved
with <u>conventional</u> agriculture are:

4. The words that I think of (up to 10) to describe people who are involved
with <u>sustainable</u> agriculture are:

REACTION QUESTION 1
A New York organic grain farmer said this about the transition from
conventional to organic agriculture production:
> "I would say the biggest barrier is the misconception that it can't
> be done. Most conventional farmers we talk to really don't believe
> they can do it. They see that other people can farm organically, but
> they don't have confidence that they would succeed and up until
> recently, most of the experts were actively reinforcing this sense."[i]

5. My reaction to this statement is
_____
_____

REACTION QUESTION 2
Based on his research of over 200 studies of farming practices, a University
of Washington professor of Earth and Space Sciences said:
> "Soil loss through conventional agriculture is in a range of 10 to
> 100 times greater than the rate at which soil is created. No-till
> agriculture brings it into the ballpark, surprisingly close to being
> balanced with soil creation.""[ii]

6. I _____ (agree/disagree) with this statement because
_____
_____

REACTION QUESTION 3
A recent article in Wired Magazine, "Conventional Agriculture Can be
Easier on the Planet" states:

"Organic products are good for our bodies and good for the planet. Except when they're not good for the planet. Because while there may be sound health reasons to avoid eating pesticide-laden food, and perhaps personal arguments for favoring the organic-farmers' collective, the truth is that when it comes to greenhouse gases, organics can be part of the problem

Dairy cows raised on organic feed aren't pumped full of hormones. That means they produce less milk per Holstein — about 8 percent less than conventionally raised cattle. So it takes 25 organic cows to make as much milk as 23 industrial ones. More cows, more cow emissions. But that's just the beginning. A single organically raised cow puts out 16 percent more greenhouse gases than its counterpart. That double whammy — more cows and more emissions per cow — makes organic dairies a cog in the global warming machine."[iii]

7. In general, my reaction to this quote is that I: (Please circle one).
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. I agree that
_____
_____

9. I disagree that
_____
_____

REACTION QUESTION 4
Newsweek recently published an article about the history of federal economic intervention that talked about farm subsidies:

"Subsidies to agriculture increased substantially in 1933 with the goal of increasing the incomes of farmers. They continue to this day. Of course, farm incomes have changed substantially since the 1930s. Today, farm subsidies exceed $25 billion per year—most of which is paid to large commercial producers, some of whom have incomes in excess of $200,000 per year and net worths of nearly $2 million. These subsidies cost households about $350 per year in higher food bills."[iv]

10. I think farm subsidies are good because
_____
_____

11. I think farm subsidies are negative because
_____
_____

12. The community that I grew up in can be best described as:
       Rural farming   Urban
       Rural non-farming   Suburban

13. I currently am studying: (Please check all that apply)
       _____Agribusiness   _____Horticulture
       _____Marketing   _____Crop Production
       _____Animal Science   _____Soil Science
       _____Equine Science   _____Agriculture Education
       _____Natural Resource Management
       _____Other _____

14. After graduating from CSU, I plan to work in: (Please check all that apply)
       _____Agribusiness   _____Equine Science
       _____Marketing   _____Horticulture
       _____Agricultural Management   _____Crop Production
       _____Agricultural Finance   _____Agriculture Education
       _____Agricultural Accounting   _____Non-agricultural field
       _____Natural Resource Management _____Animal Production
       _____Other_____   _____Do not know

15. My parents farmed as a livelihood?
       Father   Yes   No
       Mother   Yes   No

16. My grandparents farmed as a livelihood?
       Paternal   Yes   No
       Maternal   Yes   No

17. At CSU, I am a:
       Freshman   Sophomore   Junior
       Senior   Graduate School

18. When I think about where I best fit in agriculture, I feel like I am:
(Please circle the number that corresponds)

<_____>
     1   2   3   4   5
Conventional agriculture   Sustainable agriculture

19. I describe myself as:
       Male   Female

Thank you so much for providing you valuable insights on this survey! If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. Thanks again!

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[i] Klaas Martens
 http://attra.ncat.org/interviews/martens.html
[ii] David Montgomery
http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/08/070808132012.htm
[iii] Joanna Pearlstein
http://www.wired.com/science/planetearth/magazine/16-06/ff_heresies_03organics
[iv] Thomas F. Cooley And Lee Ohanian
http://www.newsweek.com/id/168626?from=rss