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## Preemptive Strike? Strategies of Peacemaking in Burundi's Genocidal Civil War

by John Janzen

Recently the Department of Anthropology and International Studies co-sponsored a visit by Burundian Quaker leader David Niyonzima and his wife Felicity Ntikurako, who had been invited to North America to promote their peace work to Quaker and Mennonite agencies. They gave a public lecture and spoke to several classes about the conflict in their country and efforts at peace-making in which they are deeply involved. Reinhild and I had met them in Burundi in 1994-95 and were glad to get an update. This writing summarizes their work, examines the conflict, and concludes with observations on anthropology and war.

### Forgiveness and a cup of water

In conversations in a joint session of my Advanced Medical Anthropology seminar and Professor Sheryle Gallant's Health Psychology proseminar on "Healing the Wounds of War in Central Africa," David and Felicity told how they had dealt with violent assault to their family during the outbreaks of killing between the minority elite Tutsi-dominated army and militias on the one hand and the majority Hutu on the other. This was especially poignant because David and Felicity's marriage, like many, bridges the national divide: he is Hutu, she is Tutsi. But looking at them and listening to them, one would be at a loss to discern distinctions between the two identities. Indeed, David said "there are none." Hutu and Tutsi speak the same language, live together, intermarry, and have a common history of fear and suspicion and killing.

Did they know the people who had killed his brother and her father in 1993? Yes they did.

What kind of relationship did they have with these individuals today? David told how he had approached the two men on the street in Bujumbura one day, telling them that he knew they had killed his brother. They were startled, but before they were able to do or say anything, he extended his hand to them, forgiving them for what they had done.

At first, David said, he had been terribly angry at his brother's murderers, ready to do a terrible thing to them, but that wouldn't have solved anything. Because they were afraid of him, they might have killed him just to remove him as a risk before he killed them. So he was in fact protecting himself by forgiving them; the cycle of vengeance between them has been broken.

Felicity told of the man who had sent the soldiers to kill her father. She didn't blame the soldiers, because "they are in uniform.. soldiers act like that but the man sent them." She knew him because her mother had pointed him out to her. Then she recognized him one day stood around as if he wanted something. Overcoming her fear, she went out to him and asked him what he wanted. He told her he was thirsty. Felicity brought him a cup of water. He drank it. They looked at each other for some time, but neither of them spoke. Then he left.

I asked David and Felicity if the relationship between them and the murderers of their family members had been cleared up. David said that the two men who had killed his brother "are now very humble toward me, they are morally 'in my hands.' They are open with me, because they are no longer afraid of me." When asked whether they should be punished for their crime, he said that "their on-going punishment is severe" because society knows they did this deed. Felicity in turn said that between her and the man who had her father killed, "there is still something to make clean, the matter is not yet settled."

The context of these actions is a society in which there have been horrible killings, and in which the killers walk around with impunity among the friends and family of the victims, as a closer look at Kibimba reveals.

### **Kibimba, home of Burundi's worst atrocities and boldest peace initiatives**

Kibimba ridge in Central Burundi, near the old capital of the kingdom at Gitego, is the oldest Quaker post in Burundi. On a picturesque ridge that overlooks a valley of trim fields and pastures, houses and compounds, Kibimba's red brick buildings include schools, a church, a hospital, residences, and a commercial center down along the national highway from Gitego to Bujumbura. In late November 1994, we observed the following scene.

As the morning fog *lifts*, the sounds are voices of men, women, and children starting their day, and of roosters crowing. The sights correspond to the sounds. Women and children walk down the path past the houses and the hospital on their way to their fields of corn, sorghum or beans, carrying baskets on their heads, hoes in their hands. A few men and boys are slowly driving their cattle ahead of them to graze in some pasture or alongside their coffee tree plots or banana groves. A girl fastens a bright pink flower into her dark hair.

This bucolic image of normalcy and peace is, however, surreal. These women and children are not coming from their homes and compounds. They are walking down the ridge from the secondary school and the church which serve as a refuge for about 3,000 mostly-Tutsi widows, their children, and very few men. These "displaced" women and children -- protected by heavily armed soldiers garrisoned at the highest point on Kibimba ridge -- go out daily to spend a few relatively safe daylight hours near where their homes stood before they were destroyed in October 1993. Here, where the husbands of many of these women were massacred, they cultivate their fields to augment the meager relief rations.

In the frenzy immediately after the October 23 1993 attempted coup d'etat that left Hutu President Pierre Ndadaye and some of his ministers dead, furious Hutu partisans also dragged 25 Tutsi students from Kibimba secondary school to the commercial center on the highway and locked them inside the filling station, which was doused with petrol and set on fire. All perished. Soldiers, avenging the students' deaths and those of many other Tutsi, razed the entire commercial center, leaving only the jagged silhouette of the ruins.

Nearby, along a road leading away over the hills, a mass grave freshly decorated with individual wreaths and a wooden cross inscribed with the words "Enfants Victims de Genocide, 23 Octobre 1993," today commemorates the students.

A map of Kibimba reveals the polarization affecting all of Burundi. The military unit that protects the camp of "displaced" goes out daily to put up roadblocks on the national highway and to attack suspected guerrillas "in the hills." Divided by a no-man's land, the lower "Hutu" end of Kibimba ridge includes houses, an elementary school, and a hospital. The surrounding hills and valleys are filled with the "dispersed" (read Hutu) populace who have fled their homes. They may venture out in broad daylight to work their fields or to go about their business, but they are afraid to be anywhere visible like at home during the night for fear of army attack on "guerrillas." This scene is repeated all over Burundi. The army controls the camps of the "displaced," the towns and cities; the "dispersed" occupy all other areas, but fear for their lives.

As anyone who follows the news from Central Africa will realize, this was not the first massacre of its kind in Burundi. The country has been wracked by periodic clashes and killings ever since the end of Belgian colonialism in 1962 and the collapse of the kingdom. Successive Tutsi strongmen Micombiero, Bagaza, and Buyoya have maintained national institutions, with the army providing the backbone of this order. Under Buyoya, however, reforms and a broadening of the political spectrum opened the way for popular elections in 1992. Pierre Ndadaye, a Hutu, became the first democratically elected president of Burundi in June 1993, and installed a government reflecting the coalition between his FRODEBU majority party and the minority UPRONA party. Amazingly, the government Ndadaye installed, under two successor Hutu presidents, has survived through the periodic waves of ethnic violence. David Niyonzima expresses the view that the Army, Burundi's only truly national institution, has kept the country from totally disintegrating in a massive blood bath, despite its attacks on its own populace. But the simmering civil war has resulted in massive social disarray, widespread war diseases such as dysentery and cholera, and respiratory infection among children. An estimated 100,000 persons were killed in the violence in 1993; 280,000 were displaced internally; 670,000 fled to neighboring Tanaania, Rwanda, and Zaire (of a total population of 7 million).

### **Creating the 'peace committee' of Kibimba**

The arrival of a courageous American nurse, Susan Seitz, in the spring of 1994, was the beginning of hope for Kibimba. She came to re-open the hospital in the no-man's land between two polarized local camps. She transferred from Somalia when her unit there was closed. In Kibimba - where all hospital staff has fled or been killed, where the store houses with repair parts, goods, and medicines had been robbed empty, where the power generator had been stolen, and where there was therefore no electricity - she claimed a long-abandoned house, and with minimal provisions, declared the hospital open. Supported by the Quakers of Burundi, themselves in hiding or fearful of meeting, Susan could reach both ways from the middle. Realizing that the "displaced" widows and the soldiers were as afraid as the "dispersed" people in the countryside, she made it a point to establish contact with both. Among her first patients in the hospital were many critically ill with dysentery, but also a man who had run full force into a tree while fleeing at night for his life. He died of internal injuries which Susan was not equipped to deal with. Realizing that medical care was needed by both sides, she began to operate mobile clinics in the region with special attention to infants and children. It became apparent that emergency food supplies were also needed. The Mennonite Central Committee offered assistance from the Canadian Food Bank and supported personnel to work with the Burundian Quakers.

After the senseless killing of a hospital worker, shot in the back fleeing the military in early November 1994, Susan and other Kibimba leaders called a meeting of representatives of the various segments of the local community: pastors of the dispersed "Hutu," representatives of the commune, the refugee camp of "displaced," the school, and the commander of the

military garrison. Once assembled, Susan asked the committee to decide what such a "peace committee" should do. Then she left, because she judged this to be their task. They talked about their fears and particular concerns, but then came around to the problems of the water system that supplied the entire ridge.

At a subsequent meeting they decided to have a football game including teams of both ethnic groups. This game, in late November 1995, was a peaceful encounter that prompted the committee to arrange another game a few Sundays later between the soldiers and the "villagers," that is, between the "Tutsi" protectors of the displaced, and the largely "Hutu" dispersed. The soldiers won, 3 to 2, in an event attended by hundreds from both publics. David Niyonzima, arriving at Kibimba just as the game had ended and the crowd was dispersing, was visibly relieved and very happy over this first game on the Kibimba field in over a year, since the killing of President Ndadaye.

At the time of this writing, Spring 1996, the peace has held in Kibimba. The peace committee idea has been replicated in several other nearby hot spots and by church and civic groups working with local governmental authorities.

In its composition, the peace committee echoes the classical Burundian local elder's judicial council, the *bashingintahe*, who met whenever conflict or crime occurred, and was constituted of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa elders, working together. The judicial councils are remembered by most adult Burundians, and some local communities have forsworn violence, but for the most part, the councils became victims of the larger events and polarizations.

### **Placating the *spirits* of vengeance**

The creation of local peace zones and peace committees may offer a tenuous return to civil society or even the beginning of a longer-term peace. David Niyonzima argues that "a change of heart" is the solution. This is what you would expect a Quaker pastor to say, but his comment recognizes an important dimension of peace-making that is missing in a merely political settlement, whether local or national. If conflict is not truly resolved in the here-and-now, it lingers on as a legacy for the spirits of the dead. Central and Southern African spirit hierarchies are filled with these unplaced spirits.

The call of the unavenged dead is very strong, especially there where they died a violent death and were not properly buried; often there is the expectation of retribution upon the perpetrator or his descendants. The earlier-mentioned seminar considered relations between perpetrator and victim in a Rwandan commune, where several modes of resolution were apparent. The communal mayor who had lost 130 of his lineage in the 1994 massacres used his position of authority to have as many perpetrators of crimes as possible arrested. At the other end of the continuum was a young Muslim who lost many family members and was nearly killed, but how, like David, confronted and forgave his aggressors. Just how long the memory of such aggrieved spirits survives is evident in Swaziland where the victims of Swazi wars, the Benguni -- Zulu, Shangan, and Xhosa -- still haunt the Swazi and make them sick and crazy, even though these wars were in the 1830s.

In Burundi, the enemy you fear most is likely to be a neighbor with an old grudge against someone in your social category. And since the survivors and family of the victims of yesterday's killings walk the same paths, frequent the same markets, and go to the same schools as the perpetrators who enjoy complete impunity, the slightest incident can trigger renewed massacres. Local peace committees may offer a tenuous first step toward civil society. But preemptive forgiveness (amnesty, truth commissions) is about the only way to permanently diffuse the cycle of violence in a setting where the courts are paralyzed.

### **Anthropology in the war zone**

When we were asked to go to Central Africa in 1994, the expectation of me as an anthropologist was to listen to as many

people as possible, reflect, and analyze the situation. If anthropology has any place in this war, it is to offer a -neutral lens on reality, and to be a voice in the discourse on civil society. I cannot imagine anthropology being engaged in partisanship in this war, or any other. Past partisan anthropology has given the world Nazi race theories and clandestine cold war counter-insurgency tricks. There is a sore need and much work for anthropology in the open forum of honest ideas.

## LETTERS

### From the Desk of the Chair

**T**his was a banner year for Anthropology. Our enrollments continued their upward trend: from FY 95 to FY 96, they rose 22.39 percent. This was the biggest percent increase in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences! And it was no fluke. Our credit hours are up 15.70 percent over the past five years; up 72.7 percent over the past decade. The quality of our students is increasing along with their numbers. For example, one of our incoming graduate students was awarded an Honors Fellowship, which will support her studies for three years. And Jennifer Hunter received a University Summer Fellowship. She and Ann Kuckelman Cobb Ph.D. 1977) will conduct health-related research in Brazil and among the Urarina in the Peruvian Amazon. Laura Herlihy received a Fulbright to study the situational use of identity among the Miskito-speaking peoples of the Honduran Atlantic coast. She also received two other grants, the Tinker Foundation Grant, and the Foreign Language and Area Study (FLAS) Award for Native Language study.

In December 1995, two students earned their doctorate (Christina Lohn and Dixie West) and five completed their master's degree (Margaret Beck, Li Jian, Danette Michaels-Knowlton, Kari North, and Bert Wetherill). This May, Jeff Williams will be granted his PhD; Joe McComb will receive his master's in anthropology. Joe's thesis, "The Effects of Unique Historical Events on the Gene Pool of the Altai-Kizhi: A Study of Five Variable Number Tandem Repeat (VNTR) Loci, received the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Outstanding Thesis Award. The Department is proud of each and every one of our graduates, and we are especially pleased that Joe received such an honor.

Our alumni continue to distinguish themselves, as well. Dennis O'Rourke Ph.D. 1980) has just been named director of physical anthropology for the National Science Foundation.

Much of our recent good fortune is due to strong support from Associate Dean Beverly Davenport Sypher and Dean Sally Frost-Mason. They awarded the department two much-needed GTA lines in the past two years. And most importantly, they worked with us to increase GTA appointments from 40 to 50 percent, while at the same time reducing their workload. Several of our faculty and staff received new computers or upgrades of existing equipment, thanks to the College's generosity. And they also financed the remodeling of 630 Fraser, which increased and improved the work space for several of our GTAs. Thanks ever so much, Beverly and Sally. [Rest assured we'll be waiting at the feed bunk again next year.]

It's been a good year for our faculty, too. Bart Dean joined us as an assistant professor in the fall. He and Michelle, his wife and research partner, are spending the spring and summer doing fieldwork in Peru with a grant from the Echoing Green Foundation. John Hoopes also returns to teaching next fall, following a year off to study and write in Costa Rica and Lawrence. The fruits of much of his labor can be seen at KU's Spencer Museum of Art in "Gold, Jade, Forests: Costa Rica." John served as guest curator of this touring exhibit, which runs until June 9. This is Spencer's first exhibit of Precolumbian art' and it is a must-see.

Three of our faculty were awarded grants from the General Research Fund to conduct fieldwork this summer. Sandra Gray will travel to Uganda to conduct preliminary research on the impact of prolonged social and environmental change on human ecology and biology of the pastoral peoples of Karamoja. Jack Hofman and Anta Montet-White will return to France, where they will participate in an interdisciplinary study of late Pleistocene reindeer hunters' campsite in the Paris Basin. Will Banks will be the third member of the KU team.

John Janzen received a sabbatical leave for Spring 1997 to examine "The Construction of Memory in Central African Approaches to Healing the Wounds of War." He will extend the work he began in the winter of 1994-5 among Rwandan refugees in Zaire.

I am also pleased to announce that Reinhild Janzen will join Washburn University next fall as assistant professor of art history. Both the Department and the Museum of Anthropology have long benefited from Reinhild's teaching and research. I know we all wish her the very best in her new position.

Of the many accomplishments of our faculty in 1995-96, I am most pleased to announce that Jack Hofman was promoted to associate professor and awarded tenure. No one is more deserving of this recognition than Jack.

In the fall of 1996, the Department of Anthropology will celebrate our first three decades. A public lecture by Donald Ortner, KU PhD 1970) of the Smithsonian will highlight the festivities. Details are provided elsewhere in this issue. Faculty, staff; and students are looking forward to welcoming graduates and former colleagues back home; to renewing old friendships and making new ones. I do hope you can join us.

Meanwhile, have a good summer.

--Don Stull

## **Linguistic Anthropology: One View**

**by Akira Y. Yamamoto and Heather Devlin**

**O**n the first day of the Field Methods in Linguistics seminar, we were presented with two elderly Shawnee speakers, husband and wife. My teacher said, "Each of you will work with Mr. X and Mrs. X three hours a week. You can use the rooms downstairs." The rooms were little cubicles not large enough even for one person. There were seven students in the seminar. Once a week at the seminar, we were to report what we had discovered about the Shawnee language. Our experience that semester was of "linguistics-at-a-distance," that is, the language resource persons (then called "informants") were displaced from their own community and were brought to our university seminar.

One of the first sessions with the speakers involved elicitation of body parts and things related to our body. When we were talking about:

- 1.a. makiliikwa -- big eyes
- b. makiliikwaki -- big eyes
- c. mrnakiliikweepe -- we have big eyes

Speakers volunteered to tell me what they call an automobile. They said:

- d. makiliikwa -- automobile
- e. mmakiliikoma -- my automobile

This broke the ice and they told me a story about their first encounter with an automobile and why it is called the "big-eyed being." Then we began to name things we have on ourselves:

2. a. petakhowe -- hat
  - b. Nipetakho. -- I have a hat on.
3. a. laapetaaka -- earring
  - b. Nilaapetaawe. -- I have earrings on.
4. a. koote -- coat
  - b. Nikooteho. -- I have a coat on.
5. a. aapelechaawe -- glove
  - b. Nitaapelecha. -- I have gloves on.
6. a. siipeneetaaka -- socks
  - b. Nisupeneete. -- I have socks on.
7. a. sweta -- sweater
  - b. Niswetaho. -- I have a sweater on.
8. a. pithekina -- shoes
  - b. Nipithekiho. -- I have shoes on.
9. a. mateta -- pants
  - b. Nimatete. -- I have (a pair of) pants on.

As simple as they may seem, these examples illustrate how language diversity benefits our cultural and intellectual diversity. Loss of many languages in different parts of the world is eminent. R.M.W. Dixon (1991:234) says that:

"Nothing can be done to reverse or arrest the continuing reduction in the number of distinct languages spoken in the world, although the rate of reduction could be slowed." He estimates that: "There were originally perhaps four to five thousand separate languages; by the year 2100 there will be many fewer--perhaps only a few hundred." These and similar observations lead us to the current controversy about the global relationship between language diversity, human biological and cultural diversity, and ecological diversity. Harmon (1995:8-9) sees biodiversity and language diversity as comparable. Because Harmon summarizes this idea so lucidly, we will quote him at some length:

\*The analogy between the destruction of natural habitat (for species) and the traditional social setting (for languages) is right on the mark. Both species and language have evolved over hundreds or thousands of years to adapt to very specific contexts. If those contexts undergo unprecedented rapid change--as the world's environment and culture are now doing--many species and languages will likely lack the resiliency to adapt to the new conditions. In biology, island-dwelling species are hallmarks of such highly specialized, highly vulnerable life forms; and, sure enough, exactly 75% of all recorded animal extinctions occurring since 1600 have been of island species.... Presumably languages small in size and extent...are so precisely because they have historically adapted to local conditions only. Conversely, certain species and language show a great capacity to invade the habitat and social settings of others.

\*A special kind of exotic species, the organisms involved in epidemic disease, is responsible for the loss of untold numbers of native languages whose speakers were wiped out after European contact....

\*There is also a direct connection between a very small class of favored non-native species--namely, the domesticated plants and animals used in agriculture--and the death or serious decline of certain languages. Several

hunter-gatherer groups in East Africa have given up their languages in favor of "cattle languages" as part of a general biocultural deference to the higher-prestige occupations of pastoralism and farming.... Certainly the infamous Highland Clearances, which were tied directly to the desire to increase sheep holdings, helped put Scots Gaelic into the precarious position it is in today.... Together, these are extremely potent homogenizing forces working to the detriment of biological and cultural diversity.

\*The actions which fragment or destroy wildlife habitat also serve to homogenize cultures and languages: converting wildlands to pasture or cropland (which is in part driven by the burgeoning global export market for agricultural goods); building roads, rail lines, and air strips in remote areas; developing logging concessions, mines, and other industries in tribal areas, and so on.

The heart of the controversy is how serious the loss of biodiversity is, how it affects the ability of humans as a whole to adapt to the changing environments, and whether or not language can be looked at in a similar manner. No matter what position one takes in the controversy, the fact is that many of the languages of the world are moribund. Bernard (1992:82) states that:

As an anthropologist, I'm alarmed at this prospect. It's not that I worship language for its own sake. Nor do I want to preserve a lot of cultural/linguistic groups for my own (or my colleagues') pleasure of studying them. I'm concerned instead that humanity itself; the species *H. Sapiens*, maybe at evolutionary risk. The wholesale disappearance of languages, and what I will argue is the consequent reduction of cultural diversity, may threaten our survival.

French sociologist Edgar Morin (1996:10) speaks of globalization of political, economic, anthropological, and ecological knowledge:

Knowledge must make use of abstraction, but it must also be constructed by reference to context and hence must mobilize what the inquirer knows about the world. Individual facts can only be fully understood by those who maintain and cultivate their general intelligence and mobilize their overall knowledge. Admittedly, it is impossible to know everything about the world or to grasp its many and varied transformations. But no matter how difficult this may be, an attempt must be made to understand the key problems of the world, for otherwise we would be cognitive idiots.... Knowledge of the world as such is necessary both for intellectual satisfaction and for life itself.

Heather Devlin, for example, has recently conducted fieldwork in a community in our own town of Lawrence, Kansas, and has examined the role of gossip in the community. Gossip as a communicative event has turned out to be important both as a means to exchange information among the interactants and as a symbol of unity and solidarity. The goal of this research is to formulate an operational definition of "gossip." Does the communicative event that people recognize as gossip have a particular structure? Does gossip serve to judge and censure behavior? Does gossip differ systematically from other speech events, such as personal storytelling, making announcements, disseminating news, or sharing information?

Gossip is a term that is often invoked in anthropological descriptions, but rarely defined. Anthropology itself has been called "gossip about other people's gossip" (Minh-ha Trinh 1989:67-70, cited in Lancaster 1992:72). Roger Lancaster (1992) implicates gossip in the creation of ethnography, as well as in the politics of survival in Nicaragua. He focuses on the "economic applications of gossip," in which it functions to convey information about the location of necessary resources. He defines gossip as "an ongoing conversation, at once intimate and practical, conducted among people who have long-standing relationships, who share interests, and who pool information" (1992:71). Yet, is what Lancaster describes as gossip, really reporting, dissemination of information, or exchanging news?

Pragmatic rules that govern gossip are interesting to linguists, but so are the gossipers' perceptions of their own speech. What constitutes gossip to them and what does not? When and why do they gossip? How do they feel when they are gossiped about? How do they view the role of gossip in their community? Heather's previous fieldwork in this community will not only make it easier to connect with the people we do research with, but it will also help to provide a cultural context for the linguistic data she collects on gossip. This line of research adds to our knowledge on the role of language in culture and society.

Many linguistic anthropologists also work with Native American communities where their ancestral languages are not being acquired by children. In a few decades, these languages will die. In these research situations, they cannot study languages without becoming advocates, although "advocates for whom?" remains the individual linguistic anthropologist's choice. However, when we form a team with the people about whose language we do research, we must become advocates both for the team and for the people.

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## MUSEUM NEWS

### Current Exhibits

**February 17 July 28. The Father Felix Nolte Collection from the Benedictine College Museum. In March 1994** the Museum received from Benedictine College in Atchison, a donation of nearly 5,000 historic and prehistoric artifacts assembled by Father Nolte between 1914 and 1971. By way of saying thanks for the wonderful addition to the collections, the Museum has developed a special exhibit. Prehistoric archaeological materials, from at least 8500 B.C. to the historic period, are organized to present a tribute to avocational archaeology, through an overview of cultural developments in northeastern Kansas. A representative sample of historic material items from the Great Plains and the Southwest is identified and displayed. Included are Navajo blankets, Pueblo pottery, and a group of 13 Pima Indian baskets from southern Arizona.

#### **March 30-July 21. A Diverse Past: Archaeology in North-Central Kansas.**

This exhibit interprets two prehistoric cultures that adapted in different ways to the Central Plains from about A.D. 1000 to 1500.

The Smoky Hill people (ca. A.D. 1000-1300) lived in small farmsteads, hunted and gathered a variety of wild foods, and tended gardens of corn, beans, squash, gourds, and sunflowers. Eastern migrants, represented by the White Rock culture,

appear to have replaced the Smoky Hill people about A.D. 1300. While maintaining gardens like their Smoky Hill predecessors, the White Rock people focused on bison hunting and occupied settlements of a different nature. Using artifacts and other documents from the Museum collections, the dynamics of these diverse lifeways and their environment are explored.

#### **April 6 August 11. Costa Rica and Her Neighbors:**

**Precolumbian Art from the Duffee Collection.** The Museum of Anthropology in conjunction with the exhibit "Gold, Jade, Forests: Costa Rica" at the Spencer Museum of Art, presents an exhibit of recent acquisitions of Central American artifacts. These include polychrome vessels from the Cocle culture of central Panama as well as monochrome Biscuit Ware vessels and carved stone *metates* from Great Chiriquí, an ancient culture area that includes southern Costa Rica and western Panama. These artifacts range in age from about 1500 to 500 years ago.

The Cocle vessels depict highly stylized animal figures, painted in multiple colors with a distinct, abstract iconography that is one of the most striking art styles of the Americas. Biscuit Ware is remarkable for its extremely thin walls and delicate applique' decorations. The carved *metates*, representing ferocious jaguars, are masterpieces of the stoneworker's craft. Although they were carved from boulders, narrow elements and fine details make these *metates* look as if they were cut from a much softer material.

All the objects have become part of our collection thanks to the generosity of Glenn Duffee of Kansas City.

#### **Costa Rican Archaeology in Fraser Hall**

To complement "Gold, Jade, Forests: Costa Rica" at the Spencer Museum of Art and "Costa Rica and Her Neighbors" at the Museum of Anthropology, an exhibit about Costa Rican archaeology has been installed on the sixth floor of Fraser Hall. This exhibit, which features several ceramic and stone artifacts from the Museum of Anthropology's collections, describes the ancient cultures of Costa Rica and presents information from recent archaeological fieldwork.

### **Traveling Exhibits**

The Museum has entered into a long-term agreement with the Dane Hansen Museum in Logan, Kansas, to provide with one of our exhibits each year. This arrangement began in 1995 with installation of "The Menninger Collections of Tribal Arts." For 1996, we will provide "Feather and Fibers," an exhibit of Amazonian Indian material culture assembled by Rick Robinson of Kansas City and curated by Dr. Ann Cobb. The exhibit for 1997 will be "A Diverse Past: Archaeology in North-Central Kansas," which is currently on display at the Museum of Anthropology.

### **Additions to the Collections**

The Bennett Collection. Received in October 1994 from Eva Bennett of Topeka, the Bennett collection is 260 items, primarily from the Southwestern United States. Included are both prehistoric and historic artifacts such as pottery vessels, baskets, and weavings. Outstanding items are two large Apache coiled baskets, two Paiute bead-decorated baskets, and a large polychrome Zuni jar from early in the century. The collection was assembled during the 1920s by Jessie (Mrs. Bennett's sister-in-law), Ralph Stanion, and teachers in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, especially in the Southwest.

Bartholomew Dean, his wife and professional colleague Michelle McKinley, and their two-year old son Maxwell left in late January for the upper Amazon Basin in Peru for fieldwork among the Urarina people. The project is to collect basic data on these little-known Indians, and to assist them with medical problems and issues of land tenure. The trip, combined with the Dean's interest in material culture and museums, provided the Museum of Anthropology with a rare opportunity to acquire a thoroughly documented collection representative of the lifeways of the Urarina. As a consequence, a request was made to the Museum's Friends for financial support for the acquisition of the collection and for shipping it back to the Museum. The goal was set at \$2000, and thanks to the generosity of our Friends that amount was realized. When Bart and Michelle return, we plan on a special display of newly acquired collection; a display enlivened by presentations on the part of the collectors.

## Summation of NAGPRA Requirements and KU's Compliance

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, or NAGPRA, (Public Law 101-60), passed on November 16, 1990, requires any federal agency or institution that receives federal funds to provide specific information on their collections by two deadlines. The first deadline, November 16, 1993, required a summary of sacred objects, unassociated funerary objects, information on when, how, and by whom the objects had become the possession of the submitting institution. This summary was to be sent to the National Park Service, as well as any tribal entity which could be reasonably affiliated with any object. The second deadline, November 16, 1995, required an inventory of all human remains and associated funerary objects. The second requirement must be completed in consultation with Native Americans likely to be culturally affiliated with the remains.

The Department and Museum of Anthropology have taken seriously the responsibility of compliance with NAGPRA since its passage. Significant aspects of this responsibility have included the following:

1. Summaries of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and/or objects of cultural patrimony were completed, as required by Section 6 of the law, and were distributed to all affected Native American organizations and the National Park Service by November 16, 1993. Twenty-seven Native American tribes or tribal organizations were contacted in accordance with this requirement.

2. Inventories of human remains and associated funerary objects, as mandated in Section 5 of NAGPRA, are in the process of being completed. Due to budgetary constraints we were granted an extension to April 30, 1996. We have initiated consultation with nine Native American tribes or tribal organizations concerning cultural affiliation and final disposition of these remains: the Pawnee, the Wichita and related tribes, the Three Affiliated Tribes (Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa), the Osage, the Otoe and Missouria, the Kansa, the Pima, and Native Hawaiian organizations. Sufficient records exist to associate each of these groups with some of the human remains in our collection. However, most of the collection consists of remains from prehistoric sites and a determination on cultural affiliation awaits further consultation.

Human remains held by the Department and Museum of Anthropology originate from the states of Kansas, Missouri, South Dakota, Arizona, New Mexico, and Hawaii. They were acquired through university projects, transfer from other university museums, and donations, with the majority coming in the latter manner. All human remains accessioned in these formats have been inventoried. This inventory is a bone-by-bone identification, with a summation on the total MNI (minimum number of individuals), and when possible, age and sex. Pathologies were noted on a few cases. Combined, the collections represent a total of 219 individuals. Most burials consist of very incomplete skeletal remains; in several cases an individual is represented by only a single element.

3. Human remains and associated grave goods, documented as historic Sac and Fox, were repatriated to the Sac and Fox Indian Nation of Missouri at their request on August 13, 1993.

## Archaeology in Your Own Backyard

How close are you to the past? The answer may lie in your own backyard. This is what volunteers and archaeologists of the Museum of Anthropology seek to discover through the Douglas County Archaeological Survey.

Archaeological studies of eastern Kansas reveal a long record of human use of this region. This history extends as far back as 12,000 years ago, when early Native Americans hunted big game animals. More recent populations, living 1,000 to 500 years ago, hunted modern large and small animals, and planted gardens of corn, beans, sunflowers, squash, and gourds.

Nonperishable remains of the activities of these early inhabitants provide the only tangible evidence left of past cultures.

Unfortunately, this testimony to prehistoric lifeways is limited, finite, and irreplaceable.

In an effort to document and preserve knowledge about prehistoric cultures in our neighborhood, the Museum of Anthropology has initiated the Douglas County Archaeological Survey. This project is supported in part by a Historic Preservation Fund grant from the National Park Service, administered by the Kansas State Historical Society. Additional support is provided by student and community volunteers, who assist with various tasks involved in locating and inventorying archaeological remains in the county.

Your assistance with the project is welcome. This may include documenting previous archaeological finds, joining our on-the-ground search for remains of previous human activities, or conducting local historical or environmental research. Feel free to call me at the Museum if you would like to help record the human past in our own backyard.

--Lauren W. Ritterbush

## **Eighth Annual**

### **Lawrence Indian Arts Show**

**September 7 through October 20, 1996**

## **THE EIGHTH ANNUAL INDIAN ARTS SHOW: A JURIED COMPETITION**

**University of Kansas Museum of Anthropology**

**September 7 through October 20, 1996**

**Monday-Saturday 9 a.m.-5 p.m., Sunday 1-5 p.m.**

**(Admission: Adults \$3.00; Students \$1.00; Under 5 Free)**

### **BENEFIT OPENING**

**Awards Ceremony, Art Preview and Sale, Reception, Silent Auction**

**University of Kansas Museum of Anthropology**

**September 6, 1996; 7:30 p.m.-9:30 p.m. by reservation, (\$35.00 per person)**

### **HASKELL INDIAN ART MARKET**

**Haskell Indian Nations University**

**September 7 (10 a.m.-6 p.m.) and 8 (10 a. m.-5 p.m.), 1996 (no admission charge to**

**the general public)**

**A two-day outdoor Market with artist demonstrations and entertainment**

**HOPI/TEWA INDIAN POTTERY WORKSHOP**

**WITH MARK TAHBO**

**October 14 through October 19, 1996**

**University of Kansas Museum of Anthropology**

**(Workshop participation is limited and by reservation; a fee will be charged)**

**RECENT WORKS BY NAVAJO INDIAN ARTIST BAJE WHITETHORNE**

**September 6 through October 2, 1996**

**Artist Reception, September 13, 7 p.m.-9 p.m., Lawrence Arts Center (open to the public)**

**Lawrence Arts Center, 9th & Vermont Street**

**Monday-Friday 9 a.m.-5 p.m.; Saturday 9 a.m.-3 p.m. (no admission charge)**

**AN EXHIBIT OF HOPI INDIAN POTTERY**

**University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art**

**September 7 through October 20, 1996**

**Tuesday-Saturday 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; Thursday until 9 p.m.; Sunday Noon-5 p.m.**

**Closed Monday (no admission charge)**

**BOOK DISCUSSIONS: NATIVE AMERICAN WRITERS OF THE PLAINS**

**Lawrence Public Library, 707 Vermont; 7:30 p.m. on September 11, September 26, October 9, October 23, 1996**

**Medicine River by Thomas King; Fools Crow by James Welch; The Bingo Palace by Louise Edrich;**

**Mean Spirit by Linda Hogan (for series registration call the Public Library 843-1178)**

**Library Hours: Monday-Friday 9:30 a.m.-9:00 p.m.; Saturday 9:30 a.m.-6:00 p.m.;  
Sunday 1:30 p.m.-5:30 p.m.**

## **NOTES FROM THE FIELD**



### **Summer in the City: Evaluation Research in the Urban Core**

**by Carla Staton and Mary Lee Robbins**

Last summer, we had the opportunity to participate in a research project in our own backyard. Hired by Professor Del Jones, an anthropologist from the City University of New York, we joined the ranks of a national evaluation team looking at the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's Fighting Back program, a multi-million dollar initiative to reduce alcohol and drug abuse in cities across the country, including Kansas City, Missouri. Funding ends in 1996, and Robert Wood Johnson wanted an evaluation of the program to determine if the sites had met their goals and assess their chances of continuing as community-driven operations.

The researchers, mostly sociologists and social psychologists, came from the City University of New York, Brandeis, and Yale. Del organized the community studies portion of the evaluation, of which we were a part. While other sections of the team engaged in quantitative research, the community studies team was responsible for "telling the story" of Fighting Back and providing the qualitative data.

Most of the work involved researchers going to particular sites and doing intense study for a few weeks at a time. Only the Kansas City site received a four month intensive study. Del and some of the other team members had visited Kansas City and decided that the amount of activity going on there warranted a summer4ong study. Also, the National Fighting Back Office considered Kansas City one of the more successful sites and wanted to know what made it so.

Del gave us free reign and great latitude on the project. Other team members asked if he trusted us to do good work with such little supervision. He said that, knowing Don Stull, he had faith in our training and he also had confidence in the ethnographic method. He explained that most of the researchers on the team wanted to have an exact plan of action when entering the field, but the flexibility of anthropological methods would allow us to discover the important data.

The Kansas City Fighting Back site had changed its name to Project Neighborhood to present a more positive image. Located in the historic 18th and Vine jazz district, the area is home to the Negro League Baseball Museum, and the

forthcoming Robert Altman movie "Kansas City" was filmed there over the summer. Sadly, as with many historic urban areas, it is surrounded by the same problems that face most cities in the United States. The Project Neighborhood "target area" included parts of Kansas City with high crime rates, drug houses, rampant unemployment, and a myriad of related social problems.

When Del hired us, he asked if we would feel safe working in the urban core. We both assured him we had no qualms about it. We did, however, take common-sense precautions like carrying pepper spray and arriving together at meetings after dark. However, when Carla's car broke down and someone tried to pick her up as a prostitute standing on the corner while she waited for her tow truck, she second-guessed her decision'.

Safety issues aside, the majority of our experiences were positive and rewarding, both personally and professionally. We had the opportunity to meet a wide range of people and learn about the positive sides of a community most often portrayed in negative terms.

One goal of the evaluation was to understand how the early organizers had come together to apply for the original grant and how this group had evolved to its current form. To paint this historical picture, we had the chance to meet and interview people the National Evaluation team considered "elites," members of former mayoral administration, directors of nonprofit agencies, business and community leaders who had played important roles in the development of Project Neighborhood.

Another objective was to describe the structure of the individual sites. Project Neighborhood consisted of an administrative staff of 10 and a "field" staff of 12 community activists called "mobilizers." The administrative staff included an executive director, public relations manager, case manager, mobilizer supervisor, and various other support staff. These individuals came from a wide range of backgrounds, but two of them, including the executive director, were ministers. These individuals, as well as many other staff and board members, cast the substance abuse problem in spiritual terms, a far cry from the more common environmental and genetic explanations.

Our earliest contacts were with the administrative staff. Carla was initially assigned to work with the management information specialist, the record keeper of all Project Neighborhood's data. Diane helped us learn about the administrative structure by providing background information and guiding us to people we should interview. In this early stage, Carla served almost as an assistant to Diane, which was beneficial in two ways. First, it helped establish rapport with people in the office. By giving something in return, we were able to minimize some of the power differential that came with the role of "evaluator." Second, by experiencing the office environment in a way similar to the actual employees, we learned about organization structure in a way we never would have as complete outsiders.

Mary Lee continued our process of "giving back" by working with the executive director on a new project identifying absentee landlords. He often wanted her to report on her progress at board and staff meetings, allowing us a participating presence that made us seem more involved and less like eavesdroppers.

The job of the mobilizers is to work in specific neighborhoods and implement programs to help combat substance abuse. These activities ranged from helping those currently using drugs access treatment to tutoring and mentoring programs for children. Many of these mobilizers had been activists before they worked for Project Neighborhood. The loose structure of the mobilizers' responsibilities and their different perspectives on programs sometimes caused a conflict with the administration. One employee was terminated and another one quit just days after we had interviewed them about internal problems.

All the mobilizers worked more than the 40 hours we consider full time and their depth of commitment to their communities is one of the strengths of the program. It is too easy for the media to portray troubled neighborhoods as places

of complete apathy, without looking at those who have committed themselves to making a difference.

Project Neighborhood had received much attention from both the National Fighting Back office and the local media for their "community covenant," an agreement signed by several liquor store owners to help the community fight alcohol abuse. In the course of organizing this covenant, the liquor store owners identified individuals they called "corner dwellers." These individuals had or were currently dealing drugs but wanted to turn their lives around and make an "honest" living. Project Neighborhood tried to develop a "corner dweller" initiative in which they would help the young men develop resumes and hone their job-seeking skills. This project was just starting when we began, and we anticipated watching it develop. Unfortunately, its success was hindered by several factors. Many of the youth saw it as a job placement program. Their ideas about the jobs they qualified for and the wage they would earn prompted Project Neighborhood to bring in Mexican-American business leaders to explain that they would have to work their way up to better paying jobs. After only a couple of meetings, the young men stopped attending.

Another problem with the program was its lack of a clear direction at the beginning. We concluded, though, that these very attempts -- the constant flurry of activity, the continuous brainstorming and program initiations, the failures as well as successes -- make Project Neighborhood viable. After all, when trying to implement innovative programs to combat a multifaceted problem like substance abuse, trial and error may be the key to effective community efforts.

Although we tried not to stand out, our role as evaluators presented us with the challenge of getting beneath the surface and discovering the true story. Our methods of participant observation, interviews, and document analysis did eventually allow us to find out what was really happening with the organization.

We were introduced several times by Project Neighborhood staff as "the person who is evaluating me," although we were actually evaluating the entire workings of the organization, not the individuals. We were always aware of the difficulties of evaluation research and often felt discomfort knowing we would be making statements on the successes and failure of their program.

The latitude we were granted had advantages and disadvantages. We enjoyed the flexibility to do the research the way we saw most appropriate. There was no strict time frame imposed, telling us what to research first. We realized at times, however, that this freedom also gave us opportunities for distractions. Without firm deadlines, it was tempting to postpone writing up fieldnotes or transcribing interviews for the mundane chores that do not disappear when working from home, such as doing laundry or running errands. Sometimes we envied the other team members who were in a city for a couple of weeks, stayed in hotels, and escaped these distractions; however, we later learned they faced distractions of their own.

Another disadvantage centered on our separateness from the rest of the research team. We sometimes craved a guide to point us along our path and help us know if we were going in the right direction. Although we believed we were getting "good" data, we often wondered if we were getting the "right" data. Were we exploring issues the National Evaluation team considered important or would they prefer we concentrate on other facets of the organization?

We received some of this connection when we joined some of the team in San Antonio for three days. We observed their styles and watched their interview techniques, getting a feel for what they were looking for at the different sites and how our data fit in the big picture.

The trip also gave us some comparative data for the Kansas City and San Antonio programs. Both programs emphasize exposing children to a variety of opportunities and experiences to build self-esteem and help them resist peer-pressure to use drugs or alcohol. The San Antonio site cooperation with the military to sponsors a weekend for inner-city. The youth experienced drug education and activities that acquaint them with other kids they will encounter in middle school. This would allow them to build a network of friends who can help each other resist drugs. They try to instill confidence by

having them attempt things that seem overwhelming, such as crossing a river on a rope bridge and repelling from a 60-foot tower. These things inspired some of us to conquer our fears and give them a try ourselves.

We are currently in the stages of writing up the final report. In September, Mary Lee attended a retreat at Fishers Island, New York, and presented a preliminary report to the team members, another chance to get feedback and find out just what they want in a final report. As we look back, we see things we would have done differently, people we would have interviewed, nuances we might have explored. But all things considered, we are very proud of the work we accomplished and our contribution to the evaluation. We hope it will be helpful to Project Neighborhood as it continues to work in the community.

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Biographical Sketch: Donald J Ortner, Ph.D., D.Sc. (Hon.)

On March 4, 1996, Dr. Donald J. Ortner returned to duties as curator of physical anthropology in the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, after serving as acting director of the museum for over two years. Dr. Ortner started his career as a museum technician at the Smithsonian 1963. At that time he was completing an MA from Syracuse University. That degree was awarded in 1967. In 1968 he received the first Smithsonian Institution Advanced Research Fellowship for work on his doctorate in physical anthropology at the University of Kansas. At the KU he studied with William Bass, Ellis Kerley, and Thomas McKem. He has been on the curatorial staff of the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian since 1969. He served as chairman of that department from 1988 to 1992. His extensive research has been focused on the dynamic of human biocultural adaptation with special emphasis on the study of human skeletal remains from the Early Bronze Age in the Near East and Medieval Europe. He has a major research interest in the history and evolution of human disease.

He is coauthor of *Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains* (1981). He organized and edited the proceedings of the Smithsonian Institution's Seventh International Symposium on *How Humans Adapt: A Biocultural Odyssey* (1983) and most recently coedited *Human Paleopathology* (1991). He has been a visiting professor in the Department of Archaeological Sciences of the University of Bradford, Bradford, England since 1988. He received a D. Sc. (Honorary) from that university in 1995.

### Letter from GSA Prez

As the end of another academic year approaches and you are frantically trying to finish all those final projects, you may be asking yourself, "What have I accomplished this year?" I'd like to take this opportunity to remind everyone that our graduate students have been steadily working to contribute to the life and success of this department. Many students dedicate a lot of time to the department "behind the scenes." I want to bring these individuals to your attention and express my appreciation and thanks.

As the Secretary-treasurer of GSA, Mary Ellerd has done an excellent job of taking minutes at each meeting, making sure speakers get paid, and preparing the 1996-97 budget. Thanks to Mary, the GSA received \$750 (the full amount requested) for the next year.

Speakers Committee members Darcie Callahan, M.J. Mosher, and Brett Methner successfully coordinated our sponsorship and/or co-sponsorship of five speakers:

November: Dr. T.M. Karaphet, *Indigenous Peoples of Siberia*.

February: Maria Rehnfeldt, *Indian Tribes of the Paraguayan Chaco*.

March: Dr. James EnIoe, *The Magdalenian in the Paris Basin: Reindeer Hunting and Taphonomy*.

April: Dr. Pablo La Rosa, *Styles of Cuban Drumming*.

Susan McEntire did a terrific job of recruiting members of the department to present for the Brown Bag Series. There were a total of six presentations given this year.

Distribution of information packets put together by Christy Anderson, Elaine Drew, and Mary Ellerd of the Student Support Group, and personal letters written by several graduate students, gave a warm and helpful welcome to the 18 new students admitted to the department for next year. SSG has also been busy planning a "Monday Mingle" for new and returning students on August 19 at 1:30 and a Fall Orientation for August 23 at 2:00 p.m.

This year, with the dedication and planning skills of Linda Greatorex, Jeannette Blackmar, Christy Anderson, Derek Winger, and Judi Banks, the GSA held its first Professional Growth Seminar in February. Such topics as scientific writing, job seeking, and grant writing were covered. The seminar was a great success with over 20 students attending. There were also many requests for a similar seminar to be held again next year.

Several anthropology graduate students spent the year representing the GSA at various meetings inside and outside the department: Joe McComb, Representative to the Graduate Committee and Graduate Assembly; Will Banks, Rep. Curriculum/Scheduling; Jeanette Blackmar, Rep. to Department Meetings; Judi Banks, Rep. to Department Meetings; Derek Winger, Rep. to Department meetings; Heather Devlin, Rep. to 30th Anniversary Committee; and Christy Anderson, Rep. to the Undergraduate Committee.

A big thanks is due to each of these individuals and to those of you who participate, attend, and generally support the events sponsored by the GSA. On behalf of the graduate students, I also want to express gratitude to the department of anthropology for its continued support of the GSA.

I hope to celebrate with everyone at the end of the year picnic on May 17th at 4:00 p.m. at Clinton Park.

Have a great summer!

--Karla Kral, GSA President

## From the Director of the Laboratory of Biological Anthropology (LBA)

The latest issue of the *American Journal of Human Biology* contains a compilation of the major graduate programs of human biology and biological anthropology (with an emphasis on population biology) in the United States and other countries. This listing, assembled by Cynthia Beall, includes 19 Ph.D. programs located in the United States, three in England, one each from Canada and South Africa. The University of Kansas is prominently featured among the 19 US programs, together with Pennsylvania State University, University of Washington, Cornell, and others. The three British programs that offer doctoral training are Oxford, Durham, and Newcastle. Strangely missing from this list is Cambridge University, which has a distinguished program. Three training centers that do not offer degrees are included: Center for Communicable Diseases, National Institutes of Health, and National Institute of Aging.

The economic and political unification of Europe is reflected by a unique MA program, cooperatively administered by 13 universities from Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. This is an



innovative method of providing intensive training to graduate students in various aspects of human biology. Individually, most of the universities participating in this program have but one or two biological anthropologists on their faculty, and yet the collective can provide students with a diverse training program.

This upsurge in human biology is further evidenced by the increase in the membership of the Human Biology Association (formerly the Human Biology Council) and the expansion of the annual meetings from one to two days. This year the number of participants in the association annual meetings has grown to a total of 80 posters and presentations. In addition, a banquet and awards ceremony has been added to the festivities.

The LBA is well represented in the combined Human Biology Association/American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA)/ American Association of Anthropological Genetics meetings in Durham, North Carolina. A total of six presentations and posters were featured from the graduate students and faculty of the LBA.

The AAAG sponsored a symposium in conjunction with the AAPA, entitled "Genetics Signatures of Prehistoric Events." It was organized by Brian Suarez, president-elect of AAAG, and featured an excellent list of speakers, including: Luca Cavalli-Sforza, Bruce Weir, Rebecca Cann, Ken Kidd, and Robert Sokal. The symposium combined a survey of some recent theoretical advances with specific applications to population studies and historical reconstructions.

--M.H. Crawford

## Applied Forensics

On Saturday, February 10, David Frayer and Jack Hofman led eight students in some applied archaeology and osteology. A week before, Frayer received a call from the Kansas City, Kansas, Police concerning some possible bones related to a 1995 homicide in a junkyard. The police had learned from an informant that a murder had occurred, but lacked the body or even any parts. Witnesses reported that the victim was murdered, then incinerated on a pyre with diesel fuel and other materials.

Frayer received the call after detectives had already searched the junkyard. The police collected "two bones" and asked if he could determine if they were human. Several hours later a detective arrived and it was quickly apparent to Frayer and Hofman that the victim had not been found; one bone was a stick (but it looked a lot like a bone if you thought it could be one), the other was indeed a bone, but not human.

The detectives held out hope in finding human bones because, as they told Frayer and Hofman, while at the junkyard with a backhoe they collected a truckload of dirt from burned areas which were thought to be under the pyre. They wondered if we could check the dirt and find some remains of the victim. We nodded, stipulating that we would have to have a warm area to work, given that we would need to water screen the fill. The police said they could arrange everything, so Hofman and Frayer recruited volunteers. Fortunately, February 10th was warm but windy) and with student volunteers (Judi and Will Banks, Todd Burris, Kate Evilsizer, Esther Leek, Michelle Miller, Kristina Poracsky, and Eric Wild) the "fieldwork" began.

What everyone anticipated is unclear, but Frayer thought "warm area to work" would be a heated garage. Certainly, no one thought the work would be done at the main sanitary plant in the flats near the point where the Missouri meets the Kaw. Since it was a nice day, we first set up outside, but it was clear that water sieving in 55 degrees with a strong wind would not be acceptable. Working next to some kind of evaporative pool with steam swirling above it was not the most pleasant situation either, but the dump truck was smaller than expected and the students were rearing to go.

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It did not take long to find bones and some were human, all distinguished by their marked burning, distortion, cracking, and fragmentation. Lots of other things were in the dirt, too. In fact, there is probably more junk in junkyard soil than anyone would predict.

After a lunch break at an "all you can eat" Mexican buffet, the cold forced us into a building to search for more material. This was a good idea as it got much colder as the day went on. Inside this open garage, there was no "reflecting pool" and it was warmer, but we were surrounded by large plastic boxes labeled "flocculant," which has something to do with processing solid waste. The heat for the room came from the latter.

By quitting time, everyone was suffused with odors only a dog would appreciate. In the end, very few human bones were found, but enough to verify that a human had been burned in the junkyard. After some preliminary analysis at KU, the KCK detectives sent the bones to the FBI for more work. The students all seemed to enjoy the experience, despite the conditions, and the Mexican food was pretty good. Lots of research indicates that aromas produce long-lived olfactory memories. Well after the details of the day are lost from the participants memory banks, surely those odors of the flocculants and the reflecting pool will persist.

--David Frayer and Jack Hofman

**The Anthropology Department at  
the University of Kansas is  
proud to announce our**

## **30th Anniversary Reunion**

**Friday and Saturday,**

**September 27 and 28, 1996**

### **SCHEDULE OF EVENTS**

## Friday, September 27th

Welcome and Mixer 6:30 p.m. Faculty home (to be announced)

## Saturday, September 28th

Open House 10:00 a.m.-2:00 pm.

Anthropology Department, Fraser Hall

Museum of Anthropology, Spooner Hall

Biology Laboratory, Twente Hall

Homecoming Recognition and Lecture 3:00 p.m.

Recognition of Alumni

Lecture by Dr. Donald J. Ortner, Curator of Physical Anthropology, Smithsonian

Institution entitled, *The History and Evolution of Human Infectious Disease*

Reception 5:30 p.m. Museum of Anthropology, Spooner Hall

followed by a

Dinner 7:30 p.m. Museum of Anthropology garden

You may have heard the adage, "Don't trust anyone over thirty." Don't believe it!

Please join students, faculty, alumni, founders, and former faculty in recalling our history,

sharing our accomplishments, and planning for the future.

## GRANTS & PUBLICATIONS

### Dr. Donald Stull

In April 1995, Don Stull was awarded the Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award in recognition of exemplary achievement by the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. His acceptance speech, "The Prairie Only Whispers: Comments on Omer Stewart, Applied Anthropology, and the High Plains," will appear in *High Plains Applied Anthropologist*. He is senior editor, with Michael Broadway (SUNY-Geneseo) and David Griffith (East Carolina) *Any Way You Cut it: Meat Processing and Small-Town America*, published by the University Press of Kansas in November. He coauthored three of its chapters: "Making Meat," "Killing Them Softly: Work in a Modern Beef Plant and What it Does to Workers," and "Dances With Cows: Beefpacking's Impact on Garden City, Kansas, and Lexington, Nebraska."

Along with Ken Erickson University of Missouri, Kansas City, and 1995 PhD from our department) and Miguel Giner

(Kansas Department of Health and Environment), he published "Multiculturalism in the Meat Industry: a Case Study" in the April issue of *Meat & Poultry*, the business journal of the meat and poultry industry. Eat your heart out, Sandy.

Stull was recently named coeditor of *Culture & Agriculture*, the official publication of the Culture and Agriculture section of the AAA. He shares editorial duties with Jeff Longhofer, chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of Missouri, Kansas City, and a 1986 PhD from this department.

## Thomas Weso

The Kansas Folklore Society's 1995 Student Prize Essay was awarded to Thomas Weso for his paper entitled, "Menominee Sign Languages," which was published in Volume 23, Number 2, *Mid-America Folklore*. Tom is a senior majoring in anthropology.

## Dr. M. H. Crawford

Michael Crawford received a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. His project entitled "Genetic structure of Old Believer populations of Siberia and Oregon: Ethnohistory based on DNA markers" is scheduled for May 15, 1996 to May 14, 1998. His recent publications include:

Bamshad, M., A.E. Fraley, M.H. Crawford, R.L. Cann, B.R. Busi, J.M. Naidu, and L.B. Jorde. 1996. mt DNA variation in caste populations of Andhra Pradesh, India. *Human Biology* 68(1):1-28.

Crawford, M.H. 1995. Presentation of the Darwin award to D.F. Roberts. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 98(4):6 12-3.

Kamboh, M.I., M.H. Crawford, C.E. Aston, and W. Leonard. 1996. Population distributions of APOE, relationships with quantitative plasma lipid levels among Evenki herders of Siberia. *Human Biology* 68(2):23 1- 244.

Martin, K., J.C. Stevenson, M.H. Crawford, P.M. Everson, and M.S. Schanfield. 1996. Immunoglobulin haplotype frequencies in Anabaptist population samples: Kansas and Nebraska Mennonites and Indiana Amish. *Human Biology* 68(1):45-2.

## Michelle Miller

Congratulations to Michelle Miller, recipient of the Harley S. Nelson Family Fund, a scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Michelle has taken a challenging course load in preparation for graduate work in paleoanthropology, paleopathology, and forensic anthropology. She has held several scholarships (Watkins-Berger, Isely), has been recognized for her work in residence halls, has participated in university service, and has been active in the Undergraduate Anthropology Club. She is working on a senior honors thesis involving nutritional pathologies in chimpanzee and gorilla skeletons.

## MEETINGS

### AAAG Workshop

The Southwest Foundation of Biomedical Research hosted the American Association of Anthropological Genetics (AAAG) second annual workshop in San Antonio, TX, October 12th through 14th. Dr. Michael Crawford and four students in biological anthropology Rector Arya, Mary Ellerd, M.J. Mosher, and Sobha Pupala) were among those in attendance.

From its inception in Denver in 1993, an objective of the AAAG workshop has been to inform students in biological anthropology and genetics about current developments in anthropological genetics. The workshop provides a format absent in national meetings, i.e. smaller size with the content limited to various aspects of human genetics. Students are encouraged to present papers for an informal peer review. In keeping with this philosophy, lectures at the workshop in San Antonio were selected to further the understanding of genetic epidemiology.

The effects of genes and environment on quantitative traits, linkage analysis of quantitative traits, molecular genetics of complex phenotypes, how to set up a study design, and manage data were among the useful topics presented. There was also a demonstration of statistical software and its applications. The software was designed by the scientists of the foundation to analyze large complex pedigrees and is available from them upon request.

The foundation keeps a large colony of baboons as a model for human genetic epidemiological studies. Pedigrees of monkeys used in controlled breeding experiments are tracked with the demonstrated software. Models of known pedigrees of the animals allow an epidemiological approach to the study of the effects of genes and environment on quantitative traits. A tour of the facility included the baboons enrolled in controlled breeding programs and a troop of free-ranging baboons. Most of the geneticists at the foundation are biological anthropologists, including two KU alumni (Tony Comuzzi and Ravi Duggirala). Yes, there is employment for genetic biological anthropologists.

The AAAG workshop is an opportunity for students in anthropological genetics to meet with professionals in their field of interest in an atmosphere intended to provoke discourse. Future AAAG workshops will focus on different topics. For instance, forensic genetics and ancient DNA will be the subject of the 1996 workshop in Denver, and genetics, the HLA system and disease will be addressed in the 1997 meetings in Mexico City.

--Mary Ellerd

## **ASA & AAA**

**I** chaired a session and presented a paper on health and reproductive ecology of the Turkana at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) in Orlando, FL. The session was successful in attracting a number of scientists currently working with African pastoralist groups, representing a broad range of biological and behavioral interests. In addition, colleagues from the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta Medical Research Institute were able to attend and offer their own perspectives on where we stand at this time with regard to understanding the ecology of human health and human fertility in African pastoralist groups. They also made recommendations about how we must proceed in using this understanding in relation to health care policy and delivery. Inevitably, the discussion centered on nutrition, education, and on the causes of high maternal and infant mortality in pastoralist groups. These are issues I am addressing in the planning stages of a project in Karamoja, Uganda.

I also presented a paper at an invited symposium on breastfeeding, at the AAA meetings in Washington, D.C. Here, as at the ASAs in Orlando, my focus was on adaptive aspects of maternal behavior and infant care and feeding. Responses to the paper were, at the same time, encouraging and depressing. On the one hand it was clear that some in the audience, who might have dismissed certain practices in Turkana as being nothing short of 'baby killers' (such as the early introduction of butterfat and non-human milk into the infant diet), were forced to rethink such behavior when it was placed in an ecological context. On the other hand, it has always been my contention that the adaptive responses utilized in Turkana are less-than-perfect tradeoffs in a high-risk environment. It has been equally my emphasis that there should be a way to utilize local caretaking strategies in improving general levels of maternal and child health and nutrition, and survival. In other words, the Turkana are people who have, for many generations, made the best of a raw deal. From the standpoint of

studies of human evolution and adaptation, they are certainly of interest. Nonetheless, it appears to me that they are often received as biocultural artifacts, rather than as very modern people who present extraordinary challenges to the international community, at least in terms of health care, access to education, to resources, to government channels, and so on.

The AAA symposium was well-attended, although several of us felt some trepidation when the chair announced during the first presentation that since she was the chair, she could go on for as long as she wished (a half hour or more, as I recall). The session was still going when I finally left at 9:00. There is something to be said after all for enforcing time limits on papers at meetings. Cheers, AAPA!

--Sandra Gray

## SfAA

The theme of the Society for Applied Anthropology conference this year was "Global-Local Articulations." Major topics covered by organized sessions included organizational or "policy cultures," indigenous resources and rights, global and local development, community health, AIDS research and prevention, mental health and substance abuse treatment, applied anthropology in education, career strategies for applied anthropology, and ethnographic methods. KU was represented by Don Stull, Jane Gibson, Janet Casida, Heather Devlin, and Rylan Higgins. Jane and Heather presented papers.

One word that came up often was "participation," along with phrases like "participant action research" and "participant researchers." Many of the sessions I attended emphasized collaboration between anthropologists and "natives" at all stages of the research—from identifying problems to formulating and implementing any interventions.

Applied anthropologists are also developing strategies for navigating bureaucracies and balancing the "big picture" with the needs of "their villages." For example, at Wednesday's plenary, Steve Rayner argued for a "constrained relativism," which would enable anthropology to mediate between the trends of "down-scaling the nation-state" (a strategy of economists and utilitarians) and "upsizing the human individual" (a strategy of postmodernists and extreme relativists).

Meanwhile, the World Bank has discovered "social capital," which Ismael Serageldin defined as "the connections between people in a society, or the glue that holds them together." He saw the strength of traditional societies in these connections, while industrial societies sacrifice a certain degree of connectedness to provide a greater range of opportunities for individuals. The goal of development should be to increase individual opportunities without disrupting social ties.

At Friday's plenary, Dr. Medicine received the Malinowski Award for 1996. Dr. Medicine began her address with a traditional Lakota prayer, which translates "My kinsperson, with a good heart, I shake hands with you." She explained that this prayer emphasizes both unity and humanity for the Lakota people. Dr. Medicine's address explored the interface of her identity as American Indian and as an anthropologist. Dr. Medicine was honored for her lifetime commitment to the application of social sciences to contemporary issues, her explicit political activism, and her ability "not just to cross, but to protect and transform cultural boundaries" (Jean Schensul, SfAA President).

The conference hotel was located a few blocks from Baltimore's Inner Harbor, featuring the National Aquarium and several historic ships, as well as shops, restaurants, and bars overlooking the water. On Thursday, we had lunch at an intriguing little diner, called "The Woman's Industrial Exchange," (which served incredible crab cakes). It was incorporated in 1882 as a sales outlet for needy women's work, and most of the waitresses have worked there for more than 50 years.

I was immediately struck by the city's ethnic diversity. When I visited the hotel gift shop, Mr. Kim, the manager, greeted me cordially and asked how I was enjoying the conference. My total came to \$1.25, and I offered him a twenty, but he didn't have change. All I had was a one dollar bill and no coins. "That's all right," Mr. Kim decided. "I'll take the dollar. You come back with 25 cents. I trust you because you're an anthropologist. You anthropologists are good-hearted people." You may be sure he recouped his 25 cents.

Next year the SfAA will be in Seattle.

--Heather Devlin

## SAA

The 61st Annual Society of American Archaeology (SAA) conference took place from April 10-14 in New Orleans, L. The University of Kansas was well represented. Among the students who enjoyed the Big Easy were Matthew Hill, Margaret Beck, Jeanette Blackmar, Destiny Crider, India Hesse, Janice McLean, and Brett Methner. The conference was not all crawfish boils and swamp tours; several members of our department even presented papers, including India Hesse (*A Unique Late Paleoindian Site Near Inscription House, Northeastern Arizona*), Dr. Jack Hofman (*Implications of a Tiny Folsom Bead: Some Big Issues in Paleoindian Research*), and Dr. John Hoopes (*The Complex Society Problem: Vistas from Southern Central America*). Among the sessions was the biennial symposium on the history of American archaeology, which featured Gordon Willey, David Heltzer, Jon Muller, Robert Dunnell, William Longacre, and Patty Jo Watson, providing their interpretations of key figures in American archaeology. We encourage everyone to consider attending next year's SAA conference in Nashville, TN.

--Matthew Hill and Margaret Beck

## AAPA

Even after about a week, it's still hard for me to objectively gauge what I thought of the AAPA meeting I attended this year. It lacked the novelty of my first meeting as an attendee, in Denver in 1994, and it lacked both the cosmopolitan atmosphere and the thrill of my first presentation at last year's meeting in Oakland-San Francisco. I suppose the fairest way to evaluate the whole thing would be to say that the scientific portion of the meeting was productive--even inspiring, on a personal level--but its setting and execution left much to be desired.

But please, don't get me wrong. The Research Triangle Park area that served as the meeting's setting was beautiful, if in a decidedly creepy way. After an unusually cold early spring in Lawrence, and especially after a spring break spend in blizzard-buried Minneapolis, the budding trees and well-kept lawns in RTP seemed to have a preternatural greenness to them. Even so, the area was almost completely isolated. Imagine making a transition from fairway-quality lawn to deep forest in ten steps, without even a sidewalk to demarcate the border. (It's true. For the duration of our stay, I and my hotel-mate Joe McComb were unable to find a concrete walkway spanning over 50 feet, even directly in front of buildings. Though I suppose that in an area without residential zones, one wouldn't need them). Because of size limitations, scheduling problems, and who-knows what else, the hosting hotel could not hold all the attendees (about 700 this year, according to estimates). Many, including Joe and myself, had to make do in smaller hotels, all of which were over a mile away from the host hotel, and accessible only through a number of confusingly-labeled shuttle bus routes, which were perpetually behind schedule. The worst aspect was, however, the lack of dining establishments. If one could not bear the \$20-a-plate bill for a hotel restaurant meal, the only alternatives were a generic (fast) food court at a local outlet mall (Yes, they exist outside of Lawrence too and they're just as dull), or a Waffle House up the road from our own hotel. After the overwhelming number of dining choices presented to attendees at last year's meeting, the lack of same this year was a keen disappointment. Our only salvation was a limited-run bus that made a trek into Durham for the lunch hours. However,

surprisingly few attendees seemed to take advantage of it. ("At least I can say I got out of the hotel," said one anonymous attendee who did).

What could have been a unique highlight of this year's meeting was also a disappointment. Tours were offered for the nearby Duke Primate Center, which houses a large number of prosimians, certainly more than an average zoo, and made for a potentially fascinating side-trip. While one would think that AAPA attendees would be given some sort of behind-the-scenes tour of the facilities, we were simply rounded up on a bus, shipped out to the site, and given a rushed general tour, complete with a laymen's level narration and accompanying camera-toting tourists. Strange, to say the least. And most disappointing, especially since I paid \$7.00, that no one even bothered to ask for my ticket.

But enough complaining. The actual scientific portion of the meeting was up to its usual high standards in quantity and quality. Scheduling of the various sessions was handled pretty well, but with any number of talks and posters of interest presented at the same time, it was sometimes hard to take everything in. As always, a smorgasbord approach was required--picking and choosing a subset of what was being presented at any one time. The results were sometimes humorous; at the end of an oral presentation, half the attendees in the session would run out in a mad rush to attend the next talk on their docket. At times between sessions, the hallways were literally choked with anthropologists, reenacting some large-scale parody of the circulatory system. (One part of me pondered the results of yelling "FIRE!" at such times, but fortunately, medication prevented my acting out such a scenario).

I could spend a great deal of time describing the various bits of research presented at the meeting--there were easily hundreds of talks and posters--but for the sake of keeping non-specialist readers interested, I've chosen to concentrate on one particular portion: the plenary session. This year, instead of hosting a single speaker, the plenary session involved seven physical anthropologists, all established in their specialties, in a discussion of the fliture of physical anthropology.

Perspectives from evolutionary morphology, paleoanthropology, primatology, forensic anthropology, anthropological genetics, human population biology, and biomedical anthropology were heard, and at least by my ears, several common themes addressed. Most, for example, discussed the current dearth of both flinding and traditional career opportunities for physical anthropologists, especially those currently being trained in graduate schools. As a possible remedy, the speakers suggested that physical anthropologists be more open to non-traditional positions, either in the public or private sector, i.e., those outside of anthropology department academia. A key to success in this endeavor, and another point touched on by nearly all the speakers, would be the continued demonstration, within such nontraditional settings, of the unique perspective anthropology offers in comparison with other scientific disciplines, such as genetics or medicine. The speakers suggested that anthropology's training, based in holism, may serve to aid physical anthropologists in establishing new career niches, as well as just the presence of physical anthropology in previously untapped areas of study and collaboration. In particular, to use two examples, the biocultural and evolutionary perspectives of physical anthropology would likely find welcome homes, respectively, in the fields of genetics and biomedicine, where such perspectives are only now beginning to be appreciated. Such admonitions to become more integrated with other disciplines have meaning to anthropology as a whole, and not just physical anthropology. As intellectual fashion threatens to pull anthropology apart into two camps, one obsessed with quantiification and p-values, the other obsessed with philosophizing on the futility of searching for objective truth' a renewed appreciation for anthropology as a crossroads between "heavy" science and humanism is vital for the fliture health and survival of the discipline.

In all, I found this year's AAPA meeting to be intellectually and philosophically stimulating, even if I believe its location and logistics somewhat ill-considered. Sandra Gray, Michael Crawford, Rector Aiya and Sobha Puppala presented papers while Mary Ellerd, Kathleen Fuller, Joe McComb, Jim Mielke and David Pieczkiewicz, Kari North and Michael Crawford, Puppala and Arya participated in the poster session.

--David Pieczkiewicz

*KUAnthropologist* is produced twice a year by students of the Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas.

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## LETTERS

The newsletter staff would like to thank everyone for their submissions and hope you find the *KUAnthropologist* an informative and enjoyable read. As always, we encourage students and members of faculty and staff to take full advantage of the newsletter in communicating to your colleagues and peers what's important, what's new, or what's topical in your field.

We would like to bring two new additions to your attention. We are pleased to introduce you to the first article in a continuing series designed to focus on topics of interest in each subdiscipline. Our thanks to Prof. Akira Yamamoto and Heather Devlin for their willingness to christen such a series. In our attempt to provide an open forum for the discussion of articles in the newsletter, we are now accepting letters to the editor. We ask that these be limited to 300 words or less.

Please feel free to submit articles or notes concerning research, grants, awards, letters to the editor, etc. to us at any time. Our box is conveniently located on top of the mailboxes in the departmental office. Or, approach any member of our

friendly staff. If you have the time, or inclination, drop us a line and let us know how we're doing. Thank you again for your submissions and your support.

---The Staff

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## Comments

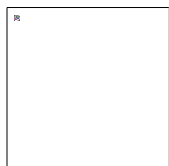
Comments, complaints, or suggestions, about anything relevant to the newsletter can be directed to the following e-mail address:

[anthnews@kuhub.cc.ukans.edu](mailto:anthnews@kuhub.cc.ukans.edu)

## Statement of Purpose

To increase awareness and circulate information about the Department of Anthropology at the University of Kansas. To inform graduate and undergraduate students, alumni, and other institutions of ongoing research, publications, grants, and scholarly endeavors in which the faculty, staff, and students in the Department of Anthropology are involved.

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