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POINT-TO-POINT

PETER VAN ARSDALE, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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Twenty years ago, several of us – led by John van Willigen – began a project which resulted in the publication of “Guidelines for Training Practicing Anthropologists.” We think these still are relevant today. The document was distributed, in a special folio, by the Society for Applied Anthropology. Following, with essential updates, are the central points:

A university or college interested in establishing a graduate-level training initiative for practicing anthropologists should explicitly identify it as such, i.e., as a “practicing anthropology,” “applied anthropology,” or (more recently) “public anthropology” program. Within this, definitive specializations – linked to the department’s strongest resources – should be identified, such as “policy research,” “international agriculture,” or “environmental rights.” The primary program administrator should have a Ph.D. or M.A. in anthropology and it should primarily be staffed by individuals with graduate degrees in the discipline. The program should have an integrated, organized plan of study that is consistent with the curriculum guidelines summarized in the next paragraph.

Training is accomplished through course work, mentoring, practical experience such as internships and service learning, and a thesis. Practice needs to be integrated into the educational experience from the beginning. Participation in complementary discipline-based organizations (such as the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology), special projects, and sponsored events is strongly encouraged. The instructional curriculum should include courses on research methods (research design, data collection, data analysis, and ethics); basic statistical analysis; anthropological theory (with stress on substantive areas like cultural ecology, organizational behavior, and gender issues); cognates (e.g., gerontology, agricultural development, public health), which can involve work in other university departments; and professional issues (e.g., ethical practice, knowledge utilization, history of application). Any student-defined study plan needs to be approved by a departmental supervisor.

A formal internship or practicum is necessary to address some of the problems the professional anthropologist may encounter. It should provide the trainee with the opportunity to take on significant responsibility for engaging essential professional functions, this complemented by appropriate supervisory support, professional role modeling, and awareness of administrative structures. In planning the internship, careful consideration must be given to its duration (in the context of the overall instructional program); budgeted administrative support; student-specific funding opportunities; oral and written evaluations of the student’s performance; placements which are not ethically compromised; community-specific collaborative opportunities; and submission of a final report on accomplishments. The program should maintain an archive of organizations interested in sponsoring internships, of key contacts, and of final student reports.

Training faculty should have acquired professional competencies and field-based experiences that will enable them to fully assist these graduate students. This goes far beyond teaching and publishing. They must have the energy and enthusiasm to offer their time, and regular advising, to the students.

To conclude, we would like to thank the peer reviewers who assisted us with the articles that appear in this issue: Clare Boulanger, Ph.D.; Christopher Edwards, M.S., M.B.A.; Constance Holland, M.A.; Joanne Moore, M.A.; Timothy Schommer, M.A.; Teresa Tellechea, Ph.D.

—Peter Van Arsdale, Editor-in-Chief
—Andrea Akers, Managing Editor

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PREPARING LATINO CHILDREN FOR KINDERGARTEN: TWO POSITIVE APPROACHES

STEPHEN OMER STEWART

ABSTRACT

School districts need children entering kindergarten to be “school ready,” that is, to possess a certain standard of skills and knowledge to be successful students at the kindergarten and later levels. Latino children, usually Mexican, whose families are monolingual Spanish-speaking recent immigrants to Colorado from small towns or farming communities in northern Mexico, often lack this preparation, for cultural and economic reasons. Two approaches, one within a public school and one operating in private homes, both appear to be successful in preparing this Latino population for future success in school. The school approach brings children up to age four into the school for two hours twice weekly with their mothers, where they acquire skills and where the mothers learn how to continue this learning process at home. The home approach, known as Family, Friend & Neighbor, trains home providers of child care in how to educate young children.

KEY WORDS: Latino, preschool education, school ready

INTRODUCTION

School districts need children entering kindergarten to be “school ready,” that is, to possess a certain standard of skills and knowledge that will help them to be successful students at the kindergarten and later levels. A child age five who is not “kindergarten ready” entering school in August will be unlikely to catch up and achieve grade-level competence by the end of the kindergarten year, and this lag will very likely continue during the succeeding years of primary school and thereafter.

Typically, parents prepare their children for kindergarten through educational activities in the home and/or through placement in day care centers during their pre-kindergarten years, and many parents successfully prepare their children for kindergarten in this way. They are able to do this because they themselves have high levels of formal education and have educated themselves on how best to prepare their children for school success. They also have adequate means to avail themselves of good pre-schools and day care centers to complement their own activities. As a result, their children arrive at kindergarten knowing numbers, the letters of the alphabet, colors, shapes, how to write their own names, perhaps some rudimentary reading and writing ability, and how to socialize. In addition, these children at age five speak well the language of kindergarten and later school instruction: English.

Some children, however, are very often not so “ready” or well prepared: Latino students, usually of Mexican descent but occasionally from Central or South America, whose families are recent immigrants to the United States. In Colorado, most of these immigrants are from northern Mexico, often from rural areas of Chihuahua and other states, either from small towns or farming communities.

The schooling in rural northern Mexico is not of high quality.

School facilities are often sparse, textbooks and other materials are old and heavily used, and resident teachers receive a minimum of training. Rote learning is emphasized over creative thinking. The more distant the community is from a larger town, the less likely the teachers are to arrive regularly or punctually. Little is expected of the students by their parents, who often have little school education themselves, or their teachers, who receive scant support from the education authorities. It is in light of this educational culture that the educational levels of the parents need to be viewed.

According to the Latino Early Childhood Education (LEChE) report of 2011 (Heublein, Vigil, and Garcia 2011: 17), about 60 percent of the fathers of Latino children indicated that they had completed kindergarten through ninth grade, and a somewhat smaller percentage of mothers had completed those grades. Another 20 percent had completed high school, while another 20 percent had some higher education. Thus, about 40 percent of parents had at best a high school education in Mexico in generally inadequate schools.

If they are not compelled to do otherwise, immigrant Mexican parents are often reluctant to place their children in preschools, due to a cultural belief that children should lead a sheltered existence in their first five years of life. In two studies (Ward and LaChance 2011; Mile High United Way 2010), mothers expressed the feeling that their children should be at home, that their children deserved to take it easy during their early years, and that they would have a hard enough time once they started school. Thus parents – usually mothers – often prefer to keep their children at home age birth to five.

Many immigrant families, however, find themselves forced to find childcare for their young children when both parents need to work in order to make ends meet. The solution is nearly always to have a family member, a neighbor,

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or friend they know well take care of the child, and given the normal eight-hour workday, this means the child is at the home of this person eight hours per day or more. Mexican immigrant parents are comfortable with this arrangement because it seems to mirror the care that they themselves would provide. The child is watched so that he or she will not become injured, he or she is fed during the day, and he or she is provided a minimum of entertainment through the medium of the television.

Whether the child remains in the home or is cared for by a family member, friend, or neighbor, the experience of the child contains little educational stimulation, because neither the mother nor the child care provider has the understanding of the importance of early childhood education, since it was not an important part of their own upbringing and they would not have observed it while growing up. In addition, early childhood education was not considered important, since it was felt that the child's education would begin at age five upon entering school. Children would therefore not learn much in the way of socializing with peers, numbers, the alphabet, writing, drawing, the use of scissors and crayons, the identification of shapes, and any number of other early childhood educational elements that would prepare them for Kindergarten. In addition, the child would almost certainly learn only Spanish before the age of five, and language stimulation would in any case not be rich because parents often do not understand the importance of language development in relation to school readiness, nor do they necessarily have expanded vocabulary themselves.

As a result, Mexican immigrant children very often arrive at Kindergarten behind their peers in both the language of Kindergarten instruction as well as the basics of early education and group socialization. Testing at the beginning of Kindergarten in the Boulder Valley School District confirms this. The table below provides the percent of Latino children in each of four years in four schools who meet the grade level literacy target.

Table 1: Fall Kindergarten - Percent (Number) of Latino Students Meeting Grade Level Literacy Target, Boulder Valley School District

SCHOOL YEAR 2006/07	SCHOOL YEAR 2007/08	SCHOOL YEAR 2008/09	SCHOOL YEAR 2009/10
14% (12 of 83)	11% (6 of 55)	22% (13 of 60)	8% (3 of 40)

In contrast, the approximate percentage of Anglo students that meet the grade level standard entering kindergarten is about 80 percent. If the educational achievement gap between Latino and Anglo children is ever to be attenuated, the disparities must be addressed long before these children even reach kindergarten.

Two approaches show promise regarding this situation, one developed within the school system – called Early Excellence – and the other outside it – called PASO. This article reports on descriptive evaluations of both approaches carried out by the author. The evaluations were carried out between 2008 and 2010 when the author was employed by Mile High United Way of Denver (Early Excellence, 2008-09) and by the Center for Alternative and Responsible Education and the Colorado Statewide Parent Coalition (PASO, 2010). Both evaluations involved interviews (in English and Spanish) and focus groups (in Spanish). All translations which appear in the remaining sections of this article were carried out by the author.

THE EARLY EXCELLENCE APPROACH

Early Excellence (also known as Play and Learn) is an early childhood program for children ages zero to four years of age and their parents or caregivers. The program is provided mornings for two hours twice a week. Mothers or caregivers arrive with their children at 9 a.m., the child explores for about 15 minutes, then targeted activities are provided, including manual arts (coloring, using paper, cutting with scissors, etc), singing and dancing, snack time, a visit to the gym or outdoors, clean-up, and final song. Parents have a morning once a month to get together without their children to learn about child development, ways to help their children continue learning at home, community resources, and other topics.

The program benefits children, both directly through the activities provided for them in the classroom, as well as indirectly through their parents' continuation of teaching-learning activities in the home. Parents benefit by learning how to best participate in the teaching-learning process while their children are very small as well as how to continue through elementary school.

The program has two goals: (1) to increase the school readiness of preschool students, and (2) to increase parent involvement in their preschool children's education. Children who have participated in Early Excellence are more ready to succeed in ECE, the quality Denver Preschool Program (DPP) for all four year olds in the Denver Public Schools. Children moving from ECE to Kindergarten are also more capable of success at the Kindergarten level, and these children eventually do better in third grade reading.

The best example of this program is found at an elementary school in Denver (which I will call "Public"), where a trained preschool teacher began the experiment in 2004. In 2008 and 2009, the author carried out an evaluation of this program under the auspices of Mile High United Way. The evaluation included the following activities: in-depth interviews with the teacher at Public, focus groups with parents with children at Public, observation at Public to view activities, and a final report that incorporated the qualitative information in a set of recommendations concerning the Early Excellence/Play & Learn model at Public and elsewhere. The present article is based on this evaluation.

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The interview with the teacher plus the focus groups with the parents of children attending the programs at the school looked at various aspects of the program, such as the teacher's experience, specific training received by the teacher, what the curriculum is based on, personnel other than the teacher in the classroom, planning of activities, the ages of children in the program, strategies for the recruitment of children and parents, scheduling of activities, information provided to the parents, registration requirements for parents, arrival and departure times at the program, a typical day at the program, ethnic and linguistic considerations, the impacts of the program on parents, and the impacts of the program on children.

Personnel

The key individual in the Early Excellence program is the teacher at Public from 2003 through 2010, whose education consisted of a major in Spanish, a minor in reading, and an endorsement in elementary education from Metropolitan State College of Denver (MSCD). She did student teaching at Public, and for three years was a Kindergarten teacher there working with the Spanish-speaking children. Instruction was all in Spanish but there was also instruction in English for vocabulary development. She later became a literacy coach at Public for a few years before beginning as the Early Excellence teacher.

This teacher received no specific training to be an Early Excellence teacher. She pointed out that she had been a Kindergarten teacher and that she tried to orient her Early Excellence classes toward what she knew Kindergarten and ECE teachers hoped to find in children beginning those grades in school. She also mentioned the DPS standards and said those standards provided her with a starting place to design the program. She also said that early on teachers at other Early Excellence sites would meet regularly and present activities that each felt was working in their classrooms, with the idea that they could all use these ideas to make the program cohesive among all the school sites.

The teacher has a paraprofessional half-time employee paid by the school who works with her in the classroom, and she has two volunteers – mothers of children in the program – who work with her each week as well. She said she can manage with the paraprofessional and just one volunteer if need be, but she prefers to have two volunteers due to the large numbers of children. These volunteers rotate the position among the group of 10. The volunteers receive a stipend for each day they work. She uses her Wednesdays to do planning, which usually involves herself, the paraprofessional that works with her, and those volunteers who are working that week or the next, but these planning days are not paid.

The initial recruiting strategy in 2004 included a table at "back to school" night, flyers, pasting notices on doors, bulletin boards, grocery stores, and churches, and gift cards for coming in to check out the program. Since the first year, however,

there has been no need to recruit, as the quality of the program has sold itself, and parents recruit other parents through word of mouth.

The registration requirements include an application in Spanish and English, a copy of the child's birth certificate, and proof of residence. The teacher explains to parents why they require this information. Children receive a Denver Public Schools Identification Number that they will continue to use as they progress through the school system. The program collects attendance through sign-in sheets from the parents and caregivers at the time of arrival.

Program Setting

Originally, the goal of the program was to target children less than five years old, but this was before the Denver Preschool Program began placing all children age four as of October 1st each year into a pre-Kindergarten program called Early Childhood Education, or ECE. The teacher does have four year olds who turned four after the October 1st deadline in her Early Excellence classes, as well as four and five year olds in her morning classes that attend ECE or Kindergarten in the afternoon.

She also has an area in her room reserved for babies and toddlers, and the mothers found this very attractive. One mother said:

The teacher explains the different areas and places they need for the class, especially for babies from 0 to 24 months, so it's good organization regarding the safety of the children. There are specific areas for babies, and from the first time you arrive, you know which area is for each age child.

The program at Public operates four days a week, Monday – Tuesday and Thursday – Friday. The program begins at 9 a.m. and ends at 11 a.m. The teacher does the Monday – Tuesday classes in Spanish and the Thursday – Friday classes in English, although on any day she will speak to any parent personally in the language that person feels comfortable speaking. The teacher's policy concerning arrival is that parents can arrive with their children at any time and they will be welcome. The important thing is that they come. She says that parents know the schedule and can begin to participate in whatever activity happens to be in progress at the time they arrive.

She has so far placed no limits on the number of parents and children that attend her program. The total number of children registered in the program is usually over 100, but she points out that not everyone comes every day, some drop out completely, and even those who come regularly may limit their attendance to just one or two of the four days the program is offered.

The teacher provides an information sheet and oral explanations to all parents concerning the activities in the program, how she as the teacher and they as parents should in-



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teract with the child, and what the children will learn when they play at each table. In addition, there is a schedule of activities for the week posted on the wall in the classroom. She also provides information on how she begins teaching the children to write, how parents can be more patient with their children, and topics such as nutrition, discipline, and parenting skills.

A Typical Day

On a typical day, the program begins at 9:00 a.m. Parents and other care givers sign in. Children spend the first 15 minutes exploring the room and perhaps playing with a toy they encounter. The next hour is divided into 15-20 minute segments where different activities are highlighted, such as making simple figures from paper, playing with clay, drawing and coloring, gluing Cheerios to paper, or other activities that help them learn hand-eye coordination and things such as colors. Another common activity involves singing songs and either clapping or dancing to the songs. At around 10:00 a.m. the children have snack time where they eat and drink what their parents have brought from home, followed by an organized clean up accompanied by a special song. After snack time, the children may be taken to the gymnasium for free play or just to run around and play with balls, or they may go to the music room for more music, song, and dance. If the weather is nice, they may also go outside to play.

This typical schedule does not need to be followed to the letter by all children. As one parent said:

There is a schedule, for example, 20 minutes of writing, 20 minutes of reading, but this doesn't mean the child has to be sitting down those 20 minutes writing. There are days when the child doesn't want to, but maybe another day he wants to read more, or maybe he wants to play more, maybe he spends his time writing, so it's not that just because there's a schedule do they have to follow it to the letter, that you have to spend exactly a certain amount of time in a particular thing, no.

Impacts on Children and Parents

Parents accompany their children at all activities, and the teacher urges the parents to participate as the children's first teachers in these activities. The teacher is careful to monitor the activities to ensure that the child is the one working to carry out the activity and not the parents. She has noted that many parents are frustrated by the fact that their children do not produce "pretty" art work, and they may shoulder the child aside to "fix up" the art work so that it is more attractive. She emphasizes to the parents that it is not the finished product that is important but the learning process that is involved. If the child does not work on the activity, the child does not learn what the activity is intended to teach. Parents

eventually accept the ideas presented by the teacher, who also emphasizes that parents should have their children doing similar activities at home with encouragement and a minimum of interference from the parent.

Another lesson for parents during the program is how to speak to their children. The teacher has noticed that some parents at the beginning speak very critically to their children, saying things like 'what you're doing is ugly, look you're painting badly, oh you're dumb you throw everything.' She points out that this way of talking is harmful and that the parents should try always to encourage their children, giving them numerous opportunities to do what is asked of them in an activity, and to praise the finished product as something that the child has accomplished, regardless of how it looks.

Those who attend the program are overwhelmingly Latino (or Hispanic), and many of the mothers (and a few fathers) who attend speak only Spanish. The teacher says that at the beginning there was just one African American family and two white families. Now there are more white parents and children but the smallest group continues to be the African American one. She also noted that the number of fathers participating has grown, both white and Hispanic, although the participation is still overwhelmingly by mothers. The fact that the teacher teaches two days in Spanish and two days in English provides the English speaking population an easy entrance into the program.

One important impact on parents is found in the fact that they can dedicate a period of time exclusively to their child. One of the mothers at this teacher's program, who earlier had attended a program at another institution, that gave mothers training on teaching their children, said much the same thing:

I couldn't put into practice at home the things I was learning in [the other program] because the children just didn't want to, since it's their home and they want to play what they want, but here it's understood that in the class, it's not that way, because there is the teacher, whom they need to respect, there's a routine to follow, so they know that "now I have to write my name, now I have to read books, now I'm going to play, now it's time for activities at the tables," so I said to myself, I came for just two hours but I knew I had worked with my children and had taught them something, so when I got back home, I could dedicate myself to my home, cleaning or whatever else, but I knew that I had dedicated time to my children.

Another impact is acquiring a realization of the importance of learning small skills that will be important later on. The teacher at Public said:

They continue at home what they're learning here. And they're seeing the value: where before when their child showed an interest in cutting paper, they would say 'Oh put that away, you're





not going to cut paper' but now they say 'let's practice cutting because you need this skill.' Before where parents weren't seeing the value of what their child's interest was, they now think that's going to help them when they get into school.

Sometimes this has not been an easy process for parents. As the author observed in the classroom, some parents appeared to shoulder their child aside so that they, the parents, could produce an attractive piece of work. The teacher said:

I would see that a child didn't have a lot of interest in doing the work but the mother WAS interested in doing it, and it was hard for me to keep the mother from doing the work for the child. In order for the child to do it, I would go around the tables, and if I saw a mother who was doing it, I would say to the child that he was painting and the mother would let go of the brush and the child would paint. I didn't say it directly to the mother. But now I see that if I go toward a table, the mothers don't pick up the brush or the Resistol or anything and they let the child do it himself.

The experience in the classroom is supplemented by monthly classes in child development and other topics that are directed toward improving parents' role as the child's first teacher. The program provides an opportunity for parents to get information they have no other way of acquiring, and they ask lots of questions. The teacher says the most common question is how the parents can be more patient with their child, but they also ask about how to help the child learn to write his or her name, about nutrition, discipline, and other parenting skills. Parents learn from the teacher but they also learn from each other. As she said:

They're learning from each other, and they watch what the other kids are doing and they say I want my child to be doing that too, and they watch that parent and how they got to that point, and when they run into questions, when they start to feel comfortable, they're ready to go to the next step.

Parents also begin learning the importance of participation in activities outside of class. Parents who have spent more time in the program are the ones that become volunteers with the program at Public, and they tend to continue once their child has moved on to ECE and Kindergarten. These mothers become active in the Collaborative School Committee (CSC), they are more ready to advocate for their children, and they ask good questions in the Parent Teacher Conferences, such as how they can support the teacher and what kind of activities they should do to help their child.

The parents expressed their opinions about the impact of the program on them in the focus group:

- 1) We are learning so much about how to educate our children, learning how to talk to them, because it may be that in our culture we didn't know how, and perhaps we're very closed about raising children, understanding them, and so for me it's been very interesting.
- 2) I really didn't have much patience with my children and now I do have lots of patience with them, for example, in my home when I'm doing something, my daughter will want to read, she wants to read all the time, so she says to me 'Mom, read me the book' and I stop what I was doing and I sit down to read with her, and the same with my son.
- 3) I've learned how to recognize the different abilities that my son has, what he likes to do most, and to do that with practice, and I have more patience with him.
- 4) I like learning participation in class, because I didn't participate in class, since I only have the boy and the girl. Now I read them books, not like before. I've learned to help them write their names and to draw.
- 5) I learned to have more patience, and I think we've improved a lot.
- 6) I've learned to have more patience with them too, to play with them wherever we are, we're always playing and singing, and before I didn't do that. And I've learned to talk to them with more gentleness.

Impacts on Elementary School

The Public principal had a number of comments relating to impacts on parents, not just while they were parents of Early Excellence children but also later on as parents of children in the elementary grades at Public. She stressed how parents from the program became key members of parent organizations at Public, such as the Collaborative School Committee (CSC), which provides parent input for school programs and communicates school information to a wider audience of parents. Thirty of the 34 CSC members, who are elected by the parents as a whole, were former Early Excellence parents, and they have learned to understand budgets; they assist with input on teachers at each level, including the number of teachers, including assistant teachers, who teach in each classroom; and they have provided ideas of penalties that might be applied to parents who do not come to parent-teacher conferences. The principal believes that families that have participated in the program have moved their children between schools and have worked to continue at the same school, Public.

The teacher commented on the feedback she has received from the teachers where the children go to ECE and preschool:

What we're hearing is that kids coming from Early Excellence are more academically and socially prepared to be there. Compared to a



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child that's never been in school, they're coming in knowing more, and with a larger oral vocabulary, which is one thing that we struggle with in the inner city.

One parent at Public noticed the impact of the program on her younger daughter when she compared her with her older daughter, who did not have the advantage of the program:

Once I was visiting a friend and she said there was a program for before Kindergarten, that I could come with my daughter for free, and I was happy because my first daughter was 5 years old and she was in Kindergarten and had a lot of problems because I couldn't pay for a preschool, and so she didn't go to any program, and she didn't know her letters, she didn't know her name, and each time I worked with her at home she would get mad, 'Mom, I don't want to work, let me be.' I've got lots of problems with her and she's still behind at school. Now she's in first grade and again she's got problems with reading, and my second daughter came to Early Excellence and now she's only 4 and she can write her name and she knows the letters, she knows all the colors. She's better prepared for when she goes to school and also she's with other people that speak another language.

The parents also see the program as a way of socializing their child:

- 1) I saw that in addition to exploring, the children were acting more independent from the parents, and they were interacting socially with more children and with different adults.
- 2) My daughter used to be very attached to me and now she's not, now she's more independent, she socializes with the other kids, and she really likes to paint, draw and all this she has learned here.

The teacher says that having children in Early Excellence allows her to spot potential problems with young children so that they can be assessed and treated before ECE and Kindergarten. She refers children with possible problems to a program for early testing of children. This way when they go to ECE they have a learning plan with the inputs they are going to need, whether it is speech, physical therapy, or some other treatment.

Self esteem is one of the important ways the program impacts children. They learn that they can be accepted by others, for example when they are singing and dancing, and they can dance in the middle of the circle. They are not alone, apart from the others, but rather integrated into the group, and this provides them with confidence and self esteem. For example:

- 1) We go up the stairs and there are children that are a year old and they want to go up the stairs by them-

selves, and we walk down the halls, I watch them walking so secure in themselves.

- 2) There are children that don't want to get separated at all from the parent, from the time they come to the program for two or three weeks, and I've watched them as they begin to separate themselves, to get together with other children, and that seems to me a big impact.

There are also women who come to the program who bring their own children but who also bring children who are not their own that they care for:

They bring their own children and the children that they take care of, who are usually Anglo children. These children don't come with their parents to the classes, but the parents more than once have come to visit the program to see how it works, but it's the babysitters who bring them to the program.

In conclusion, the Early Excellence approach is successful because it provides early stimulation and socialization for (mostly Latino) children less than four years old, but even more because it provides a setting in which parents and other caregivers can learn strategies and techniques that help them to success as the child's first and most important teacher.

THE PASO APPROACH

The Colorado Statewide Parent Coalition (CSPC) and the Center for Alternative and Responsible Education (CARE) instituted a program for the systematic professional development of Mexican and other Latino early childcare providers. The program, called Providers Advancing School Outcomes (PASO), focused on what has become known as Family, Friend, and Neighbor (FFN) care, which refers to child care provided by unlicensed, legally exempt relatives, friends, or others in the community, as differentiated from regulated "formal" childcare, care provided by licensed childcare centers or licensed family childcare homes. PASO was carried out in Boulder County from 2006 to 2010.

A training and support model for Spanish-speaking FFN providers in Boulder County resulted in the PASO program, which included child development training, health training, and health screening and services. The program was based very closely on extensive knowledge of the culture of the Latino immigrant community, and the determination was made early to assure that the program followed and respected those cultural norms. One aspect of this was to make sure that the information and training for the providers was conveyed by persons who were close to the community and part of that same cultural tradition. To that effect, it was decided that they would identify and hire three trainers for each of the three Boulder County communities of Boulder, Longmont, and Lafayette.

The purpose of the program was to enhance language, literacy, numeracy, and social development for Latino children



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in poverty, younger than five years of age, with a goal of promoting school readiness and eventually reducing the school achievement gap between Latino and non-Latino children. The activities designed to achieve the program goals included the following:

Provide training on early childhood care and education to Latino FFN providers in Boulder County.

This was accomplished through the presentation of 30 separate 3-hour seminar classes by the Program Coordinators and the Program Trainers – referred to in the program as *Tías*, or “aunties” – over a period of 18 months. This training was supplemented by visits twice a month by the *Tías* to the homes of the caregivers to respond to questions, make sure all the relevant points were understood by the caregivers, and to discuss with them how the information might be applied to the care and education the caregivers were providing to the children. The sessions in the training program included the following: First Aid, CPR, Multiple Intelligences, Material Utilization, Medicine Administration, Contagious Diseases, Children’s Play, Health and Safety, Preventing Child Abuse, Materials Production, Weekly Routine, Communication and Language, Healthy Nutrition, Discipline, Language/Literacy Development, Professional Management and Self-Assessment, Early Math, Children’s Emotional Development, Supporting Children with Special Needs, and Working with Parents.

Provide materials and training to caregivers to help them convert their homes into learning centers for small children.

During one of the 3-hour classes, trainees were taken to the home of a caregiver who had converted her home a learning center to view how this could be done. Each caregiver was then

provided with a variety of basic educational materials and instructions for their use: wall posters with numbers and letters; broad low-level shelves to store toys and other materials; tables and chairs with short legs for small children; manipulative materials; games; literacy and numeracy materials; natural science objects; crayons, markers, paints, finger paints, scissors, and other materials for art work; objects for teaching colors; and books in Spanish that were developmentally appropriate for this age group. All materials were provided with a view toward helping the caregiver convert whatever area they had available into a small learning center. When the area available was very small, such as in a trailer or small apartment, the caregiver worked together with the *Tías* to design the most efficient use of the space available.



Figure 2: After picture of a caregiver's home

Provide training to parents of children receiving early care services on educational topics, and language and literacy development.

This was done through 3-hour discussion classes on 10 topics presented over 10 weeks to parents. The program organized presentations for men only (called *Los Padres*) and for women only (called *Las Madres*) to allow for freer discussion of family dynamics. Many of the topics mirrored those provided for the caregivers in an effort to bring about better coordination between parents and caregivers in the care of the children.

Provide health services for the children served to accompany health training for the providers.

In light of evidence that Latino children generally had not received equitable health care, especially dental care, the program included specific health services. The program found that around 80 percent of children up to age five, or about 240 of the 300 children, had moderate to severe dental needs, includ-



Figure 1: Before picture of a caregiver's home

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ing tooth decay, bottle mouth, and even gum disease. Vision problems were found among 15 percent of children and auditory problems among 10 percent of children. The program provided dental, developmental, general health, vision, social-emotional, hearing, and literacy screenings. Children who needed dental care, glasses, or hearing aids received them.

The program caregivers during the three cohorts of the program provided care to about 300 children, but of course the caregivers would continue to work as FFN providers of childcare long after the program had come to an end.

Personnel

It is important to mention the preparation and training of the *Tías*. The PASO coordinators felt that the *Tías* needed to have a certain profile to guarantee the success of the program. They needed to be bilingual individuals who were members of the Mexican immigrant community so that they would be able to understand and relate to the situation of the people with whom they would be working. They would need to be committed to the community orientation of the program of narrowing the achievement gap. They would need to be able to demonstrate commitment to the community, self-motivation, passion for the work, and a willingness to learn, but a university degree would not be essential.

Setting

The context of the PASO program was that of FFN informal childcare carried out by family (a sister, a grandmother, an aunt, or other family member), by a friend (a person well known to the mother of a child and trusted by her), or a neighbor known to the mother. These individuals usually are already involved in childcare with other children, either their own children or the children of others. The reason that a mother would look for someone to take care of her child usually has to do with her employment. In these cases, the childcare situation would generally be more long-term and carried out for an average of eight hours, the normal working day. The child is dropped off with some sort of lunch and with diapers and other supplies, if necessary, and pickup is scheduled between the mother and the caregiver for some time later in the day.

The care provided by the caregiver is not expected to involve a great deal of effort. The caregiver is expected to make sure the child is monitored and safe, that the child is fed when hungry, that the child has the opportunity for a nap, and that the child has some opportunity for entertainment, which usually involves any program on the television, mostly *novelas*. The care provided to children left by other parents generally mirrors the care the caregiver provides her own children, while she continues to do usual household chores.

Recruitment

The recruitment of caregiver participants was carried out with Latino immigrants, who are overwhelmingly from Mexico. A sizeable proportion of these Latino immigrants is undocu-

mented, and the experience of this community has made them understandably cautious about any sort of relationship with the non-immigrant population, including groups, institutions, and individuals that might represent some sort of risk of detection by the immigration authorities.

The initial point of the program was to find providers who took care of children in their homes and who were Latinos who spoke Spanish in the home. The *Tías* – fluent in Spanish and natives of Mexico – were charged with the task of recruiting these providers, and they used a series of strategies, some more productive than others. The *Tías* found that they needed to make contact personally with people to tell them directly how the program worked, and this needed to be done in an informal way as opposed to some organized setting. They began to frequent stores and even bus stops with the hope of finding a woman with children. If this happened, they would ask if they were their own children or if they were taking care of someone else's children. The woman would often understand this to mean that the *Tía* was looking for someone to take care of children, especially since the *Tías* often were accompanied by a child of their own. In any case, this proved to be an icebreaker for the *Tías*, since if the woman encountered did not herself take care of children, she could often refer the *Tía* to an acquaintance who took care of children, often with an address and phone number.

How the Program was Carried Out

The program was carried out in three phases (with identified cohorts) of 18 months each, and recruitment for the second and third cohorts was much easier than for the first cohort, since the program had become well known to the community. Women no longer associated the *Tías* with social services, and they no longer believed that someone was going to check out what they were doing in their homes, to see if everything was clean. They now understood that the program was designed to teach them, so that even before the first cohort was finished, there was already a waiting list for the second group. Women would come to the *Tías* and tell them that they took care of children, that they wanted to be on the list, and that they did not want to miss out on this opportunity.

The training program designed for the caregivers was experimental in the sense that a similar training program had not been attempted in the past. There was therefore some doubt as to whether it would succeed. Specifically, there was the question as to whether the caregivers felt that it was important to make changes in the way they took care of children. In addition, there was the question as to whether the changes suggested by the training coordinators and the *Tías* themselves would be acceptable to the caregivers. The answers to these questions would come from the results of the training process.

Impressions of Caregivers

Not all of the caregivers were impressed initially. They wondered why the other caregivers were there, and thought



that maybe they had just come to see what was happening. Age was a concern for some of the older caregivers. They assumed the program had been designed for younger women and were worried that they might not be able to fit in. It is common for grandmothers to take care of their grandchildren while their own children are working, a tradition they have brought from Mexico. Their age and lack of formal education caused them some concern. A number of women were intrigued by the possibility of learning new things, and their immediate impressions were very favorable. One caregiver said that what impressed her the first day was that the trainers explained many things to the caregivers that they had not known. When asked to elaborate, she said:

[They taught us] how to treat children, because I just treated them the way I knew how, the way I was taught to treat them. But in the program they taught me important things, practical things, things that gave me really good results.

The caregivers were impressed that the training was not just in the hands of non-specialists but also would be carried out by specialists. One caregiver stated:

I thought it was exciting, because I thought the trainers were not actually trained to give these classes. But then the first class was CPR. And when I saw that there were specialists who are specialized in teaching us, I thought so why shouldn't we come here to educate ourselves? The American community thinks we have only come here to work, to give them our children, so they can educate them. So why don't we get them ready to become educated, to succeed along with the American people?

The caregivers were impressed about a number of specific topics given as part of the training by specialists:

- 1) Since every class is different, such as the class in CPR, the person who came was a professional nurse, and she showed us step-by-step what a person should do, how often each step should be done.
- 2) There was a psychologist. We learned about domestic violence and violence against children. We learned about the sexual abuse of children. We learned how you should treat a child who has been the victim of domestic violence.
- 3) I liked the first aid class, and the emotions of children. This is important for us who take care of other people's children to understand child emotions so that we can better take care of them.
- 4) I really liked the class about nutrition, because lots of mothers bring lunch to the school, and all it is, is Coca-Cola and sweets. The Trainer taught me that I have to tell the parents what their children should eat, and what they should bring for their lunch. Now they come to school with good lunches, with fruit, bread, and juice.

Interestingly, even after probing, none of the caregivers could name a topic they did not like or did not find interesting. They were equally interested in both the topics with practical application, such as nutrition and CPR, as well as the topics that were more theoretical, such as the multiple intelligences.

Relationship with Tías

The Tías participated in the Saturday training programs, and they carried out follow up training on the same topics in the caregivers' homes twice a month, following the presentation of a particular topic. The caregivers summarized this dynamic in the following way:

There are things that the person who gave the class explained to us that we didn't quite understand, and the Tía explains these things to us in a way that we can understand.

This follow up is carried out through informally asking about the previous weekend's topic:

She comes to my home and she asks me questions related to the topic we learned the previous week end. She's always careful to make sure that we understand the content of the classes. We are given homework every class, and one of the things she does is to ask us about the homework, how it's going, have we finished it, and so forth. She goes over it with us to make sure that we did it right, and that we have learned what that homework was intended to teach us.

The Tías also provide counseling on problems that arise between the caregivers and the parents of the children they take care of.

I was taking care of my neighbor's child, and sometimes she would bring the child to me and sometimes she wouldn't. One time the Tía ran into this woman and talked to her, and she explained childcare in a different way to her, and from this point, the mother took the childcare process more seriously.

The caregivers underwent a transformation as a result of this program, and they were well aware of it. They are now able to paint the contrast between an ordinary caregiver and one who has gone through the training process that they have gone through:

Anyone can take care of a child, but it's another thing if that person has been in the program and has spent time with one of the Tías and has been taking all of these classes.

The impact of the Tías in transforming the caregivers cannot be underestimated. They have acted in ways that are both practical and inspirational. Concerning practical assistance, the caregivers highlighted the tips and suggestions they had received from the Tías in their home visits. Concerning the inspiration and support provided by the Tías, the caregivers

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were tremendously positive in their comments during the re-treat:

- She motivates me to keep going and she gives me ideas to improve myself and the children.
- If it weren't for the Tía, I wouldn't be where I am today.
- Her positivism and happiness are very contagious.
- She has taught me that Hispanic women can do many things.

The primary role of the *Tías* was to recruit the providers and then to visit them in the weeks following each training to assure that the provider had learned the content and understood how to apply it in her center. One *Tía* said:

The reason for this was to support the provider if she had some questions, if there was some sort of complication, if she had been ashamed to ask about something, if she did not feel confident, or if she needed more information about what she had learned during the class.

This is a very pleasant part of the visit, an opportunity to get close to the children and interact with them. As one *Tía* said:

We sit down on the floor with the children. Some times the provider is carrying out some sort of activity with the children, and if so, I just do the activity with the children or I wait until the activity is finished. It often depends on the children themselves, because the children invite me to participate in their activity, so I would sit down with them, and we paint or we make things out of clay or color, or whatever the children are doing at the time. I may ask the provider what the children are learning at this moment. But I do this in a conversational way and not as a test.

The relationship with the caregivers in the setting of the provider's home opens the door to a better understanding of the content of the Saturday classes. It is hard to underestimate the importance of these home visits, because without them, there would be no guarantee that the classes are having the desired impact, and there would also be no way to see how deep the practical impact of the program has been on the providers.

Program Impact

According to the caregivers, the changes in their care have not gone unnoticed by the parents of the children:

They feel we are not just taking care of their children but educating them. We're not just giving their children something to eat and putting them in front of a television set, but teaching the children important things. We don't just put them on a sofa and let them eat; we teach them to eat at the table. We don't let them watch television unless it's an educational program. We go out side to play at certain times, and we take naps

at certain times. It's not easy. But children do learn to put chairs around the table, to set the table, and to clean their plates off the table after they're done. The *Tía* has been good in helping us to be firm in telling children "no." But "no" without meaning to hurt them, and not to confuse them, because we know that these children live in their homes with parents who may do things differently.

The relationship between caregiver and parents does not always go smoothly, since the parents may have a certain way of doing things which clashes with the methods employed by the caregivers. If a child cries, for example, parents might try to get the child to stop crying by turning on the television, and they might try to get the caregivers to do the same. The caregivers have learned to respond that there are other children and that there are rules that need to be followed, and parents have generally accepted the caregivers' point of view.

One thing that has helped immensely in the caregivers' relationships with the parents have been the parent classes, called (as previously noted) *Los Padres* for men and *Las Madres* for women, which mirror the concepts of the caregiver training and which consist of 10 three-hour classes specifically for the parents. This training is done separately, with fathers having their own training session led by a male facilitator and mothers with their own training session led by a female facilitator. Parents learn the role of play in the child's learning and how certain kinds of play can be more productive than others.

Some of the caregivers participate in the training, but all see the results in their relationships with the parents:

They're learning a lot because I give the class for mothers, and they are often surprised with what they're learning and with what we're teaching their children. We tell them that we're not experts, we are simply learning how to teach children and it's taken some time to do this.

The caregivers at times went to great lengths to get the parents to participate in the training:

One mother was hesitant about taking this class. I had to lie a little bit and tell her about the diploma that she would get at the end, so that she would not have the idea that what she was going to learn was how she could get along better with her child. What interested her in the beginning was the diploma. At first she thought the classes were stupid, and now she's different. She says, 'Now I've learned about the different intelligences of the children, I did this exercise with my child,' and she has forgotten about the diploma.

According to the *Tías*, the classes, as well as the providers themselves, have been very effective in improving the relationship of the caregiver and the parents.

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A number of parents have become interested in the PASO program, both for the growth they have perceived in their children as well as the changes they have noticed in the care their children have received:

I've seen a lot of changes now that she goes to the caregiver. The woman before just took care of her so that she wouldn't get sick or fall down. But now we've seen her wanting to paint, count things, spend more time with her books. She likes to pretend to give her mother and me classes based on her books, where she takes the role of the teacher. I can see real progress in my daughter, and she's only three years old.

The kinds of changes noted by this parent have been repeated throughout the program with other children and their parents.

CONCLUSIONS AND COMPARISONS

Both the Early Excellence program and the PASO program have been successful, and each approach contains elements that should contribute to future school readiness among the children participants. Early Excellence combines excellent and professional teaching of preschool content while at the same time providing hands-on training of the accompanying parents, so that parents can participate in a positive way in the ongoing education of children in the home. PASO's caregivers have received training and supervision to provide the same teaching of preschool content at a high level, although not perhaps at the level of Public's Early Excellence teacher. The PASO caregivers, however, have the advantage of an entire day to work with the children, and the teacher-child ratio is also much lower at PASO, which allows for considerable personal attention. The PASO program does provide parent education and training, but it is not done with the parent and child side by side, which seems to be an advantage of the Early Excellence approach.

In the end, it is not possible to determine whether one approach is better than the other in regards to results. Each approach works well, so it comes down to the situation of the child's family. If a mother has time available in the morning, Early Excellence is a wonderful program that will make a difference for her child as well as for the mother herself in becoming a motivated, confident, knowledgeable parent of preschool and eventually elementary school children. However, if circumstance requires the mother to work outside the home and she needs to leave her child with a caregiver, a PASO-trained caregiver will provide virtually identical early childhood education for the child and, hopefully, the mother (and father) will learn some positive educational elements to complement that education.

Applied anthropologists need to consider focusing their efforts on education, as this article does, in order to bring together their expertise on cultural analysis, ethnic relations, and differences in educational practices to improve practical

outcomes in the United States and elsewhere.

Stephen Omer Stewart earned his Ph.D. from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado – Boulder. He participated in both the Early Excellence evaluation and the PASO evaluation referenced in this article, as well as the study carried out by Ward and LaChance of the University of Southern Maine. Permission was granted for use of the image in the photograph. He would like to thank the following individuals for their contributions to the success of the Early Excellence and PASO programs: Sandra Berumen, Sally Edwards, Denys Vigil, Tikki Heublein, Richard García, Mirla Low, and Erendira Juárez. Stewart is affiliate professor at Metropolitan State University of Denver, and can be reached at stephen.o.stewart@gmail.com.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, CORRUPTION, AND “FELT NEEDS”: THE CHALLENGES OF NEIGHBORHOOD REFORM INITIATIVES IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA

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ABSTRACT

Despite the enormous opportunities for the growth of Jamaica as a nation that neoliberal globalization is purported to provide, this political-economic model also poses significant obstacles to members of the state who seek to carve out a workable niche in the world market. Policies associated with neoliberal restructuring over the past 25 years have demanded a dramatic reorganization of the Jamaican state in relation to both society and the global economy. Reforms in Jamaica have resulted in a protracted struggle for the incorporation of the nation's economy into the global market, as well as profound experiences of social upheaval and dislocation. Intensive, unplanned, urbanization has exacerbated the problems associated with poverty, including violence, high unemployment, skyrocketing crime and the entrenchment of organized crime networks, necessitating community development strategies that can reshape disruptive communities in accordance with the national agenda of economic and social progress. In this article I explore the complexities of one such strategy ethnographically.

KEY WORDS: Caribbean, community development, urban anthropology

INTRODUCTION

Neoliberal globalization, which was supposed to provide unequalled opportunity for growth in even the smallest nations, has deeply influenced the operation of the contemporary Jamaican economy and the stability of the state. The term is being used here to indicate both the globalization of an ideology of neoliberalism, as well as the implementation of neoliberal policies by states across the globe, frequently (though not always) necessitated by inducements from international bodies including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Though different, these overlapping registers share in common an emphasis on “...the deployment of new, market-based techniques of government within the terrain of the state itself. At the same time, new constructions of ‘active’ and ‘responsible’ citizens and communities are deployed to produce governmental results that do not depend on direct state intervention. The ‘responsibilized’ citizen comes to operate as a miniature firm, responding to incentives, rationally assessing risks, and prudently choosing from among different courses of action” (Ferguson 2009: 172). Civil unrest in Tivoli Gardens, a Jamaica Labour Party affiliated community in Kingston, is but one example of the profound consequences widespread privatization and state retraction has had for working poor and unemployed populations.

In May of 2010, the news that then-Prime Minister Bruce Golding would accede to American pressure to extradite Christopher “Dudus” Coke was met with organized violence by Tivoli Garden's residents. Coke, a well-known patron figure in Tivoli Gardens, was to be tried on narcotics and illegal arms trafficking charges. Golding managed to delay signing the extradition agreement issued in August 2009 for nine

months, claiming that the evidence had been obtained illegally and that the extradition represented an attack upon national sovereignty. He secretly engaged legal representation in Coke's defense. The incident in Tivoli Gardens underscores the bind in which urban unemployed populations are caught amidst global economic instability, a national context of insignificant economic growth, and the withdrawal of social safety nets. Residents of communities like Tivoli Gardens have become increasingly dependent upon figures like Coke to meet basic daily needs, just as the Jamaican state has become increasingly dependent upon these same figures for the maintenance of stability in disenfranchised zones within the Kingston Metropolitan Area (see Galvin 2012).

In an early attempt to buffer the effects of the state's retraction, the People's National Party, during their incumbency from 1989 to 2007, promoted public and private partnerships as a solution that might provide support for communities that would no longer be fully serviced by social welfare programs. They established the Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF), a temporary governmentally and privately sponsored community development agency, also supported by the World Bank, which partners with communities and private entities to improve infrastructure, education and community health. JSIF remains the predominant community development organization nationally and is present in many low-income communities in the Kingston Metropolitan Area. JSIF's methods correspond with the Jamaican state's vision of the country's future within the global economy. Preparation for this projected economy neglects the contemporary problems of unemployment for populations that lack sufficient education and access to the infrastructure that would facili-



tate their participation. This gap in economic planning leaves entire communities dependent upon the patronage of figures like Coke and jeopardizes the state's ability to govern.

A large portion of the economic development burden has been displaced onto Jamaican citizens, with individualizing policies that seek to turn persons into "entrepreneurs of themselves" and citizens into potential "allies of economic success" (Rose 1999: 142, 162). In fact, the Social Sector Strategy Report of Jamaica drafted for the Inter-American Development Bank, maintained that programs "are now viewed as active mechanisms that can assist the poor in investing in their own productivity" (Inter-American Development Bank 2001: 18). Within this low-growth economic context, poor populations are unable to find an employment niche to accommodate their large numbers and productive capabilities. The reduced social safety net for citizens retracted in the interest of privatization and instilling "self sufficiency," cannot compensate for the limited number of employment opportunities that actually promote self-sufficiency. Responsibilities formerly within the state's domain – pertaining to education and other basic services – have been shifted to civil society, making Jamaican populations vulnerable to the pendulum swings of private profitability within the global economy.

It was initially during the nineteen-eighties that neoliberal governance replaced democratic socialist and capitalist party agendas in Jamaica. The values of self-help and entrepreneurialism promoted in poor communities over state safety nets simultaneously allowed patrons like Coke, and his father before him, to consolidate their power in neighborhoods they supported using resources acquired within the booming transnational cocaine trade. Both political parties maintain ties to powerful transnational crime syndicates whose members are de facto extensions of state power. They supplement resources available to the poor and maintain an uneasy stability in deeply disenfranchised neighborhoods. Residents of these militarized communities have willed allegiance over to those who visibly provide for them, and are increasingly alienated from a state that seems uncaring, ineffectual, and often brutal.

The vast financial resources and ruthlessness of organized criminals eventually made them more powerful than the politicians who attempted to harness their influence (Robotham 2010). Rather than deferring to judicial or police systems, members of the urban poor increasingly relied on extrajudicial justice meted out by organized criminals, which is often viewed as more efficient than formal justice. The availability of illicitly obtained resources efficiently undermined the state's control over their criminal partners who now had significant economic capital that parlayed into social capital through the goods and services they provided.

The burden of citizen care has essentially been shifted from the realm of state services and placed instead on local social networks and community or organizational voluntarism. While these local level initiatives are principally concerned

with providing services previously furnished by the government, they are also highly concerned with (re)socializing and disciplining disenfranchised urban youth, while contradictorily reinforcing the need for organized criminal interventions, such as Cokes', that provide necessary resources and a somewhat orderly local legal structure.

BARRIERS TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Anthropologists are uniquely able to understand how macro level policies on the global scale and international power dynamics impact localities and shape possibilities for change. My field research, participant observation conducted between 2001 and the present, confirmed the assertion that then-Prime Minister of Jamaica, Bruce Golding, made back in 2005 when he served as the Leader of the opposition Jamaica Labour Party at the national Political Leadership Forum. At the Forum, Golding identified a well-known Jamaican conundrum. The "vicious solution loop," according to Golding, is as follows: "We can't fix the crime, and we cannot fix the economy until we fix the crime. But to fix the crime you need resources. You need to create opportunities" (Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies 2006: 10). What Golding describes here is a key barrier to national development, high crime rates that deter foreign investment due to fears of national instability. This "vicious solution loop" creates a holding pattern where crime inhibits economic development and the lack of economic development fosters crime. This cycle frustrates efforts to improve state policies that would benefit members of the nation. Golding suggests aptly that Jamaica's political leadership has been "working as firefighters, not navigators" (Sir Arthur Lewis Institute for Social and Economic Studies 2006: 9). What this has meant in practical terms is that resources have been used in an ad hoc fashion to quell an ongoing series of emergencies because there is a lack of financial capacity to institute long term planning.

My ethnographic research also revealed that although there is, indeed, a "vicious solution loop," the *nature* of opportunities put on offer to disenfranchised populations is crucial to the possibility of disrupting the cycle. When community development programs offer opportunities that cannot provide immediate and sustainable financial improvements to their participants, they too become "firefighting" strategies rather than paths to real economic growth and national development.

Anthropological methods of long-term immersive research and participant observation were useful for understanding how these programs, designed as models to encourage community development, actually operated in practice. I spent over a year in one West Kingston community during 2001-2002 and continue to document on an ongoing basis, community development initiatives in the area I named "Guy Town". In particular, the research focused on how these initiatives interrelated with West Kingston culture and local power relations, as well as national development goals as contextualized



within constraints and opportunities created by processes of globalization.

TEACHING SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The neoliberal ideology that underpins the current development model engenders a fundamentally economic tension when put into practice within weak economies like Jamaica's. This tension was highlighted in one of the first events I attended during my research in Guy Town—the ribbon cutting for a new Skills Center that had been sponsored by the Jamaica Social Investment Fund. The design of the Skills Center belies the role that this type of community development is to play in Jamaican national development and in the governance of the poor. The skills to be taught in the Center are not the typical production skills toward which the Jamaican poor have traditionally been guided. The skills being cultivated went beyond furniture making, sewing, catering and the construction of material goods, to enhance national agendas promoting “social stability” and to teach new economic skill sets that incorporate Information Technologies. In some ways, training in Information Technology may put the proverbial “cart before the horse” in communities such as Guy Town, where many residents lack even basic education (Jamaica has the lowest rates of literacy in the English Speaking Caribbean), but it does coincide with the explicit goals of “development” that were emphasized during the most recent period of People's National Party governance. According to former Prime Minister P.J. Patterson, during an address to the Caribbean Community, the Caribbean has entered into a new “ballpark” with respect to development and incorporation into the global economy which must now be “technology driven and alliance ridden”(Patterson 2000: 7). The incumbent Jamaica Labour Party is continuing to promote this national vision as stated in the report on Jamaican national development goals to be achieved by the year 2030. In the report it is noted that the “...new paradigm will move from dependence on the lower forms of capital – our sun and sand tourism and exporting sub-soil assets and basic agricultural commodities, to development of the country's higher forms of capital – our cultural, human, knowledge and institutional capital stocks that will move us into higher stages of development” (Planning Institute of Jamaica 2009: 25). The “new paradigm” heavily emphasizes the development of cutting edge scientific and technological capabilities requiring investment in education and research. This is part of a development model focused on moving from an export driven economy to an economy based on the production of knowledge and scientific innovation.

In Jamaica, the construction of a technologically driven economy requires the production of “human resources” via the transformation of the Jamaican citizenry by the state and private development entities. This transformation is necessary for Jamaica's transition from an industrially oriented economy into the service/technological economies in demand by the “first world”. Former British colonies are uniquely situated to

fulfill this niche in the global division of service labor because of their use of English, as has been seen in India among other locales. The design of the Skills Center with its chalkboard clad classrooms, computer lab, and library, chosen instead of workshops with tools and sewing machines, clearly establishes the economic direction in which Jamaica is planning to go and, perhaps optimistically, the role that urban communities such as Guy Town are envisioned to play in that process.

In addition to providing remedial education and technological skills training to community residents, as well as a few failing small income generating projects including a vegetable farm and a concrete block factory, the Guy Town project also incorporated a (re)socialization component. The population of Guy Town is viewed as problematic in that many residents exist in a state of severe poverty and are isolated from other local communities. Given these circumstances community members often suffer from a lack of marketable skills and the social networks that would enable them to gain employment through legitimate means outside of Guy Town. This lack of skills exists in spite of an atmosphere of industriousness where people spend significant time and energy maintaining their dwellings, and the neighborhood in general, as well as taking up small informal revenue generating activities such as selling lottery numbers, cooked food, and working as beauticians in make-shift hair and nail salons or as local carpenters, electricians and tailors.

Beyond eking out a hand to mouth living within this informal economy, elaborate organized crime networks have grown up both in conjunction with, and as a supplement to, the Jamaican state. It has been well documented that West Kingston neighborhoods became militarized back in the 1970s when political parties started arming, training, and housing residents in order to drive out rival party supporters and guarantee political support at the polls during election times (see Robotham 2003; Stone 1985; Waters 1989). These local groups then went on to become an effective replacement for government services when the state began to retract. Because of these networks, informal employment as members of local “security” details is also available to many young men who may lack other types of skills or even basic literacy. Involvement in organized crime enables the young men to support their dependents, in some small way, while also bestowing a level of prestige and respect upon them that is not typically available to young marginally employed men.

Organized crime networks that access money through drug and arms smuggling, protection rackets, and extortion schemes, offered community residents employment opportunities and protection that was not being offered by the state or the constabulary. However, the disruptive crime and violence that frequently sweeps through West Kingston during periods of conflict among competing criminal organizations meant that some groups within Guy Town became an obstacle to national development by creating instability that hampers the state's efforts at attracting foreign investment. Criminal organizations

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and the opportunities/safety net they provide in disenfranchised communities contribute to the state's "vicious solution loop" because the dramatic and brutal levels of violence help to promote the international perception that Kingston, Jamaica's center of commerce, is grossly dangerous, corrupt, and unstable.

As part of a strategy to chip away at this problem and encourage greater peace and stability, local residents, with a special focus on young men, were invited to attend classes that would attempt to instill them with new social skills and value systems. Participants were instructed in conflict resolution strategies and self-esteem building regimens that highlighted the achievements of working class/black skinned Jamaicans. Additionally, there were attempts to inculcate new ideas about masculinity that would minimize the working class Jamaican emphasis on males having multiple sexual partners and many offspring as a demonstration of personal status (see Chevannes 2001).

CONCLUSION

While community reform initiatives have yielded some subtle benefits to participants, including exposure to new ideas and contact with new people from outside the area, the lack of practicable job training renders the programs to be just another example of "firefighting" a crisis that can only be quelled through long term planning and access to on-going resources. Ultimately, no space has been carved for the urban poor as part of the technologically driven "new paradigm" of national development that also continues to shift the burden of citizen care from the shoulders of the state and onto those of "responsibilized" individuals and communities (see Ferguson 2009; Galvin 2011). No level of self-esteem building can correct that problem. Only residents with exceptional levels of discipline, personal drive and talent might have a chance to join this proposed science and technology driven economy. The radically unequal playing field experienced by the population of West Kingston, consisting of class and color based prejudice in hiring practices, low quality education, and a physically dangerous, psychologically stressful, living environment is topped off with a lack of access to basic resources like consistent electricity and running water that most middle class Jamaicans take for granted. This population has, instead, been offered "entrepreneurialism" and "self-help" as a solution to their lack of access to mainstream employment opportunities.

Entrepreneurialism in this setting, as I described above, largely entails very small amounts of capital being invested in small income generating activities that yield small profits. Here, entrepreneurs are reliant upon the purchasing power of other members of the urban poor due to the class-segregated nature of Kingston. It is not a strategy that can substantially improve the income of local families or even initiate savings, reinforcing the "present day survival orientation" that has frequently been observed by anthropologists working among

poor urban populations in the Caribbean (see Harrison 1988). Development program participants are not being offered the realistic opportunity to enter the legal job market in any meaningful way because there are simply not enough jobs for even highly skilled employment seekers. There is little middle ground on offer to poor Jamaicans who would seek steady employment in positions falling between petty entrepreneurialism and the, as yet unrealized, science and technology driven economy. This missing middle ground, then, can be found on offer by local organized criminals, who often provide reliable income in exchange for participation in illegal activities. This informal employment option for West Kingston residents, in turn, exacerbates the problem of national development that the Jamaican state has sought to address through the implementation of community based development programs.

As food for thought, processes of globalization may aid in minimizing the duration of Jamaica's "vicious solution loop" if selective market deregulation is replaced with democratization. Enforced deregulation orchestrated by economically strong and self-determined actors and institutions has resulted in a lack of economic protections for countries possessing weak economies on the global scale. The borrowing policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have saddled so-called "developing" countries with lending stipulations that, in effect, limit the national sovereignty of states attempting to institute economic and social welfare strategies that operate in the best interest of their own populations. The Jamaican State, even after exiting their economic agreement with international lending agencies, continues on the path of austerity, maintaining similar economic policies to those enacted while under agreement.

As things stand, small states are bound to a future of "firefighting" national crises due to a lack of economic control caused by global deregulation and due to the ideological acceptance of neoliberalism as a panacea. Jamaica is an excellent example of a country that finds itself in such a bind. The retraction of the Jamaican state, a reaction to the adoption of neoliberal logic and the realities of economic limitation, has left the society's most marginal members increasingly vulnerable. This struggling population has been offered entrepreneurialism and self-help as a solution in an environment where scarce resources and limited job opportunities offer little hope. The community development initiatives that have been put in place in areas like Guy Town do not offer realistic employment alternatives within a science and technology driven national development model that leaves these under-educated populations without significant new possibilities. The result is that poor populations are highly susceptible to the appeal of employment in organized crime, which offers the potential for steady income and personal status. Without a range of alternatives that fall between the current offerings of petty entrepreneurship and the projected science and technology driven economy, organized crime and concomitant



violence and instability will continue to limit Jamaica's ability to attract the foreign investment that would be necessary for the country to assume a more meaningful position within the global economy. Realistic economic opportunities must be made available to development program participants in "disruptive zones" akin to West Kingston if community based development is to succeed as a key strategy for breaking the cycle of crime and economic insolvency that keeps Jamaica as a whole from becoming a politically and economically self-determined global actor.

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RIISING FROM THE WRECKAGE: LESSONS LEARNED
FROM THE 2010 HAITIAN EARTHQUAKE RESPONSE

KRISTINA HOOK

ABSTRACT

In many ways, the 2010 Haitian earthquake presented a perfect storm scenario, as the natural disaster negatively impacted an already fragile society, compounding preexisting vulnerabilities. Due to the myriad of complex challenges this context presented, it is unsurprising that post-response evaluations of the humanitarian response have offered many critiques. As such criticism is carefully considered with the aim of improving future responses, three overarching lessons learned are presented: the need to cultivate and utilize organizational capacity, the need to develop and support strong leadership, and the need to improve and standardize data coordination. I present suggestions for strengthening these areas, while advocating that changes must further take place now within the institutional culture of the humanitarian enterprise.

KEY WORDS: Humanitarian enterprise, compounded vulnerabilities, institutional culture, capacity building, data coordination

INTRODUCTION

On January 12, 2010, a catastrophic 7.0 earthquake struck Haiti, with the epicenter emanating only 25 km from the capital city of Port-au-Prince (USGS 2010). With fifty-two sizeable aftershocks in the days following (Sequera 2010), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) estimated that at least three million people were impacted (CBS News 2010). Confusion in the aftermath of the earthquake led to much dispute over reported figures. However, the United Nation's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) states that approximately 220,000 people died, 300,000 people were injured, and 2 million people abruptly lost their homes (Bhattacharjee and Lossi 2011; Renois 2010). With a sudden decrease of about 2 percent in the population and about 20 percent homeless and in need of emergency aid, Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive also reported that civil society had utterly collapsed.

International resources poured into Haiti, with immediate priorities including search and rescue, medical services, emergency shelter, water and sanitation, food assistance, logistics, protection, and debris removal (OCHA 2010). Rubble posed a serious challenge for the humanitarian response, with survivors trapped under ruins and much of the crowded capital city impassable. To put such wreckage in context, the Associated Press reported that after six months of about 300 trucks working daily, 98 percent of the 26 million cubic yards of rubble remained (Katz 2010a). The spreading of diseases in the wake of the earthquake also caused major concern, a fear that proved to be well-founded when Haiti experienced a cholera outbreak in October, 2010 (Katz 2010b).

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS: COMPOUNDED VULNERABILITIES

While the task of responding to such a large emergency was daunting in isolation, preexisting vulnerabilities compounded the severity of the crisis itself and the difficulty of devising effective response strategies. Long before the earthquake, Haiti was characterized by fragile governance, political insecurity, reduced public confidence, systemic poverty, poor infrastructure and structural challenges, and continual exposure to natural disasters (Patrick 2011). As the poorest country in the Caribbean, 50 percent of the population was living on less than USD\$1.25 per day prior to the quake. Natural disasters have only worsened this island nation's plight, with nine significant storms hitting Haiti over the past twenty years, killing thousands and impacting millions more, and often derailing the government's development strategies. For instance, the World Food Program reported that due to the 2008 hurricane season, over 70 percent of Haiti's agriculture and infrastructure (e.g., bridges, roads, communication systems) were devastated, producing pockets of severe malnutrition. Thus, even prior to the 2010 quake, approximately 1.8 million people, approximately 20 percent of Haiti's population, were designated as food insecure (CNSA 2009). Furthermore, Haiti's basic humanitarian and development indicators ranged from "poor" to "alarming," with few societal safety nets in place and with social services like education falling almost solely to non-state actors and the private sector (OCHA 2010). Substantial human rights concerns, including inadequate access to primary education, widespread corruption and impunity, lack of access to justice, child labor, sexual abuse, human trafficking, and widespread

poverty and inequality, were all heavily reported before 2010.

The location of the earthquake's primary impact in the capital city of Port-au-Prince proved to be yet another compounding factor. Many post-response evaluations, including that of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), described the urban context, with its specific logistics and access hurdles, as one unfamiliar to many humanitarian actors (2010). Such difficulties were rooted in decades past, as unbridled urbanization had been a growing hazard in Haiti's metropolitan areas for decades, resulting in expansive shantytowns. Rapid urban population growth rates were also accompanied by poor quality construction, weak urban planning, and a dearth of unified, enforced building codes (Patrick 2011). Aftershocks became a major concern, as buildings continued to fall. Many residents, severely traumatized by their ordeal, refused to sleep indoors or seek medical care inside hospitals due to a fear of aftershocks (OCHA 2010). In addition to speculation that poor construction constituted a causal factor in the high death tolls, Haiti's sprawling urbanization also challenged the effective provision of humanitarian services by limiting relief worker access (IASC 2010).

IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

In such a difficult context, it remains unsurprising that evaluations of the disaster response have offered much criticism. However, before focusing on such critiques, recognizing the successes achieved by hardworking responders is also important. The IASC notes that the "humanitarian operation to a large extent achieved its immediate objectives and responded effectively to the critical needs identified" (2010: 1). It further cites that 4 million people received food assistance, 1.5 million received emergency shelter materials, 1.2 million were provided with safe drinking water, and 1 million benefitted from Cash-for-Work programs. We must therefore acknowledge these lifesaving contributions and salute the sacrificial commitments of those representing the humanitarian enterprise.

Yet we must also examine the weakest elements of the Haitian humanitarian response, remembering that such inspections can propel future improvements. In the provocatively titled article, "Noli Me Tangere: The Moral Untouchability of Humanitarianism," Fassin (2010) questions why the field of humanitarianism often eludes the critical analysis directed at other fields of human endeavor. Due to the "untouchable sacredness," i.e., the presumed morality of this field, he believes that many scholars avoid subjecting humanitarianism to the same critical analysis of other social science fields. I would agree and even further extend his premise by noting that because of humanitarianism's daily contact with the world's vulnerable and marginalized, close scrutiny of humanitarian actions are an essential application of the humanitarian theory of obligation, which requires ethical courses of action both morally and materially possible (Nockerts and Van Arsdale

2008).

Therefore, while recognizing countless contributions, three valuable *lessons learned* can be culled from this emergency: the need to cultivate and utilize organizational capacity, the need to develop and support strong leadership, and the need to improve and standardize data coordination. As we proceed, we must remember the cautionary words of Sir John Holmes, former UN Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs: "Valuable lessons continue to be learned in each and every emergency response. Some are very context specific – and Haiti has its fair share of those – but the general lessons must not only be identified, but acted upon. A lesson is not really learned until it leads to change in behavior" (IASC 2010: i).

Lesson Learned #1: The Need to Cultivate and Utilize Capacity-Building Strategies

Humanitarian assistance and development practitioners consistently advocate for relief efforts to tap into existing capacity, typically defined as a "conceptual approach...that focuses on understanding the obstacles that prohibit people, governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations from realizing their developmental goals, while enhancing the abilities that will allow them to achieve measurable and sustainable results" (CCHR 2011). For the duration of this article, I will additionally employ this term solely to refer to the institutions involved in the humanitarian process, including both international assistance enterprises and those of the host nation.

The United Nation's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is considered the architect of this concept, emphasizing the role of "institution building" since the 1970s (2006). According to ECOSOC, *capacity building* is a long-term continual process of relief and development efforts, as it involves all stakeholders, including international organizations, ministries, local authorities, community members, and academics. In 1992, the United Nations expanded this term to encompass the need to engage the target nation's human, technological, scientific, institutional, organizational, and resource abilities (1992). ECOSOC also stressed the importance of involving preexisting institutions in developing countries, rather than merely establishing new institutions. Thus, the obligation of humanitarian actors to modernize and/or support those institutions existing pre-emergency through sound policies, methods of management and revenue control, and organizational structures is implicitly highlighted.

Nevertheless, devising ways to utilize local capacity in the midst of an emergency is much more difficult than agreeing on its importance. The Haitian earthquake presented grave obstacles in this regard, as an admittedly weak government was further debilitated when the quake struck the country's political and institutional nerve center (Patrick 2011). Much of the capital city, exemplified by critical government infrastructure, was demolished, including the Presidential Pal-

ace, the National Assembly Building, and the main prison. Large numbers of public figures were also reported dead or missing, such as government officials, clergy, and foreign civilian and military personnel working with the United Nations and other international organizations. The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) headquarters also collapsed, killing scores including Mission Chief Hédi Annabi. In addition to the huge losses of human capital and leadership skills, thirteen of sixteen Haitian ministry headquarters were destroyed, prompting Bhattacharjee and Lossi to note, "the humanitarian response had to evolve in a situation of destruction, chaos, and severely damaged capacity of critical players who would normally be expected to lead the humanitarian response. To this extent, it can be said that Haiti has been an exceptional disaster, unlike any other disaster in recent humanitarian history" (2011: 9).

In this "perfect storm" scenario, the severe blow to Haiti's already precarious institutional infrastructure was coupled with the deleterious impact of the storm on the capacities, resources, and staff at the frontline of the response (IASC 2010: 1). In addition to the workers who were killed, for example, post-response evaluations by the ISAC speculated that the trauma experienced by surviving responders severely undermined the efficiency of their abilities (2010). If a continuum of disasters with regard to capacity-related challenges could be conceived, Haiti would surely represent the far end of the spectrum. How then can capacity, particularly with an emphasis on pre-emergency local institutions, be tapped into when institutions themselves are so heavily impacted? Although not an impossible conundrum, the Haitian earthquake laid bare more than just landscape. Even as the epicenter exposed the lack of a well-formulated urban response plan, so the earthquake also uncovered a lack of planning for capacity engagement in situations where already fragile institutions are further compromised.

The earthquake also revealed another capacity-related weakness: the lack of institutional capacity within international organizations themselves. Capacity building within international organizations is vital, as it encompasses all activities that seek to enhance the institution's ability to respond to the unexpected. Eade urges organizations to test their application of this principle by noting whether they are channeling capacity in ways that create synergy between different actors in the humanitarian landscape, and she advocates for increased *organizational capacity* to be developed internally by NGOs (1997). Similarly, Kaplan adds that humanitarian institutions must engage in internal capacity building before they can be effective facilitators of this concept in their targeted nations (2000). His steps to organizational capacity building include: 1) Developing a conceptual framework; 2) establishing an organizational attitude; 3) developing a vision and strategy; 4) developing an organizational structure; and 5) acquiring skills and resources. Kaplan contends that NGOs who complete these steps to organizational capacity building are

more likely to remain self-reflexive, adaptable, and critical, attributes that are indispensable in complex humanitarian emergencies.

As the Haitian disaster response is critically considered, the overarching lesson learned regarding capacity building can be summarized as follows. As mentioned, capacity building must include all local and international organizations, preferably beginning before an unexpected disaster strikes. The crafting of a humanitarian intervention should therefore focus not only on the needs presented, but also on how capacity can be channeled to meet those needs. In this way, each humanitarian intervention must be customized to the nature and scale of the disaster, while remaining cognizant of the local context and capacities. Humanitarian responders must also guard against falling into the trap of overlooking local capacities. Multiple evaluations have noted that early assessments lacked capacity assessments of Haitian stakeholders and contextual analyses (see Grünewald, Binder, and Georges 2010; Patrick 2011; Gleed 2011). A lack of such vital information resulted in the false perception that virtually no regional capacity existed to aid in the response, and a bias reportedly grew that saw Haitians as victims who had other things to do, rather than get involved in the design and implementation of programs (Grünewald, Binder, and Georges 2010: 42).

In spite of this reported (and possibly, unconscious) bias by some humanitarian actors, I believe that the Haiti disaster can serve as an important reminder that even devastated institutions and governments retain capacities. While material and physical infrastructure was demolished, evidence of strong relationships, institutional networks, organizational skills, important norms and values, and decision-making faculties remained. Humanitarian organizations must seek to find the important balance between responding rapidly to needs while also slowing down long enough to engage existing governmental, community, and civic institutions in the process, as such important sources of information can greatly impact the quality of results (see Grünewald, Binder, and Georges 2010: 42-43). Additional suggestions for capacity-related improvements include hiring local consultants to serve as contextual experts for international project staff. Although this concept is not ground-breaking, it remains in my opinion one of the most effective ways to pass on experience, knowledge, and technical know-how to nationals. Another option includes allocating a portion of a project's budget to train a local partner in managerial or technical skills, an option that would be compatible with Mark Schuller's call for USAID reform in strengthening the public sector in recipient nations (2011).

Lesson Learned #2: The Need to Develop and Support Strong Leadership

The exposure of weak capacity in Haitian governmental institutions and within humanitarian ranks also indicates the next lesson learned: the need for strong leadership in the

immediate aftermath of a complex emergency. Effective humanitarian leadership should be sought daily, with ECOSOC recommending that the humanitarian enterprise combine mentoring and coaching strategies to foster leadership development skills within their own ranks (2006). As important as what occurs during a crisis, preparatory measures implemented before an unexpected emergency cannot be neglected. Just as with capacity building, the development of *leadership skills* should be emphasized a continually and meaningful fashion; this way, when disaster strikes, the foundation for a successful response is already laid. ECOSOC's research proposes that strong leadership by organizations (or by powerful forces within them) is the catalyzing force behind the achievement of humanitarian objectives because well-trained, capable leaders smooth the way for a rapid acceptance of post-emergency adaptations. High-profile emergencies also necessitate strong leaders who can navigate extreme and often highly-politicized environments in order to minimize the crisis's impact by fostering a sense of normality and collective learning (Boin et al. 2005).

With this in mind, the Haitian earthquake response demonstrates that humanitarian leadership must be supported from the start. In vulnerable environments, the humanitarian enterprise must ensure that experienced staff are in place and equipped with the necessary resources to cope with unexpected developments and ensure response plans. A lack of resources and carefully delineated responsibilities proved to be major obstacles to effective leadership in Haiti. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) noted that confusion abounded even among major actors such as MINUSTAH, IASC, and the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission regarding which organizations would take the lead on programs or decision-making with the Haitian government (Beunza and Eresta 2011). The IASC concurred, noting that "the initial leadership challenges do not bring into question individual performance, but rather emphasize the need to reinforce endorsed systems and structures and make sure individuals who are required to lead are provided with the means to do so" (IASC 2010: 2). Thus, leadership constraints should be considered and protocols established pre-disaster. For example, the IASC additionally maintains that the UN Humanitarian Coordinator's responsibilities were not able to be discharged by a single individual in the immediate post-disaster phase, a fact that should have been contemplated pre-disaster.

Following the earthquake, a multitude of humanitarian actors converged on Haiti, an unsurprising fact given both the magnitude and publicity associated with the crisis. This throng of responders strained existing leadership mechanisms, prompting the creation of a high-level Coordination Support Committee, comprised of senior MINUSTAH leadership, Haitian government officials, US military representations, UN delegates, and major donors (Patrick 2011). This committee, designed to manage coordination, ensure cooperation, and

allow strategic planning to be translated into action, saw certain successes, such as the creation of shadow clusters in neighboring Dominican Republic within ten days following the quake. Still, humanitarian leadership was hamstrung by the lack of a recognized, trusted space and a leader who could guide the decision-making process (IASC 2010: 17). Due to this leadership void in the immediate aftermath, response norms were established with a strong international military lead, particularly by US forces. While the engagement of armed forces can advance relief efforts due to their specialized skills and resources, a division of roles and responsibilities should be more clearly defined for future emergencies, with an emphasis on ensuring that the agreed upon protocols are strong enough to survive any initial chaos. Patrick asserted, for instance, that humanitarian reluctance to work closely with armed forces in Haiti resulted from a perceived blurring of the lines with regard to roles and responsibilities (2011). As a result, an underutilization of the military occurred in the early stages, as soldiers were primarily used as security escorts and only later as removers of rubble and restorers of infrastructure.

Along with delineating roles and responsibilities pre-disaster, a further recommendation involves creating back-up measures if key leaders are unable to discharge their duties. For example, in the emergency's aftermath, Haitian President Rene Préal essentially abdicated leadership due to his failure to react with authoritative strength. *Time Magazine* summarized President Préal's failure to take leadership with striking imagery:

Imagine that your family was under attack and needed encouragement and courage... (and) advice about how to save themselves. Normally one would rush to them, comfort them, show them how to get together to help themselves. But that's not Préal's reaction to the destruction of his country. Instead he walks around with his shoulders down, like a beaten dog. He came out once right after the quake and announced that since his house had fallen, he had nowhere to sleep.... Since that memorable utterance he has said nothing at all to the Haitian people and very little else to the international community.... Meanwhile, Haitians have to deal with the boulders, the rubble, the dead.... Someone powerful but with a popular touch would be good ... someone who would speak to the people in a time of national emergency, not remain silent and staring. There's enough silence and staring to go around among the victims.... They don't need more of same from their President. Where's Haiti's Churchill? (Wilentz 2010).

As President Préal's behavior illustrates, all leaders do not rise to the occasion during complex humanitarian emergencies. Consequently, substitute mechanisms for such scenar-

ios, in which key leaders are unable to perform their duties or are killed (such as MINUSTAH Chief Hédi Annabi), must be devised. In referencing his view of the “disappointing” leadership display at the top of the UN system, Sir John Holmes insisted that agencies must be more “ruthless when appointing the right people to leadership roles.... There is no robust-enough system in the UN to address this dimension of leadership” (IRIN 2010: 3). I contend that the humanitarian enterprise must prepare now for future crises by developing vigorous leadership support systems. Leadership development must continue to be promoted from within organizations so that individual leaders will be empowered to make the difficult decisions that invariably arise in crisis circumstances. Yet even still, such a declaration is easier said than done, as changes in the institutional culture of the humanitarian landscape may have to occur before leaders are truly given the means to lead. Schuller rightly points out that even prior to the quake, the “donors’ reward structure work[ed] against collaboration, coordination, communication, and participation” (2011: 1). A lack of collaboration will continue to work against the development of strong leaders in humanitarian crises, as it will most likely result in many who wish to lead but refuse to follow.

Lesson Learned #3: The Need to Improve and Standardize Coordination

As we consider how strong leadership can be supported from within the humanitarian framework, a crucial component involves buttressing the decision-makers with the type of sound information that can only be collected by *coordinated data mechanisms*. Decisions made in stressful emergency circumstances must be based on reliable data, a fact supported by the Haitian experience. Numerous evaluations have pinpointed a widespread perception of a coordination deficit in the initial phase of relief operations (Patrick 2011; IASC 2010; World Bank 2010). As previously described, some actors, including foreign militaries, supplanted humanitarian ground-level leadership, a fact that occurred due to strategic planning and communication breakdowns. This occurrence points not only to weak humanitarian leadership, but also to a lack of coordination with regard to understanding emergency needs and responder roles.

In another example of compounded vulnerabilities, coordination challenges were multiplied by a predating information shortage. The earthquake revealed that Haiti had little baseline data against which to compare post-quake information (Patrick 2011). For example, Haiti’s census data, mostly out-of-date to begin with, was further destroyed or rendered inaccessible due to rubble. Consequently, the international community swiftly commissioned a Rapid Initial Needs Assessment. Yet while data collections were quickly initiated, the results were slow to be published, with this protracted pace caused by differing methodologies and standards among agencies. As a result, much information was outdated by the time of publication, and its potential for long-term strategic planning was constrained by overlapping or differing meth-

odologies. The best, broader needs assessments were regarded to be at the cluster-level with complementary information provided by the World Bank, the European Union, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the UN (Patrick 2011). However, even these reports were limited in their contextual analysis and capacity assessments.

For future crises, greater data coordination should be sought as a priority, not an afterthought. Since Haiti’s census data were found to be both out-of-date and inaccessible post-quake, humanitarians might consider extending better support to governmental efforts to gather baseline and census information in nations with alarming development indicators. Areas of synergy between national efforts (which are critical to issues of capacity and leadership) and the work of humanitarians may include technological support to store census or other data, as well as increased involvement of nationals in pre-emergency data collections by NGOs. Increased consideration should be given as to which methodologies best capture critical data and which actors can most effectively conduct information-gathering missions. Valuable studies conducted by Haitian nationals were largely ignored (Grünwald, Binder, and Georges 2010; Patrick 2011; Gleed 2011), not only causing gaps in needs assessment analyses, but also missing a crucial opportunity to build partnerships and coordinate efforts among international and local actors. Humanitarian Accountability Partnership International reports a repeated complaint among focus groups of little Haitian participation, with many feeling that their own initiatives, including censuses of those in impacted areas, loss and damage assessments, and needs assessments, were brushed aside (Gleed 2011).

In addition, the need for standardized definitions for quantifying vulnerabilities was also apparent. The vulnerabilities exhibited by Haiti’s population before the earthquake made the challenges of distinguishing between chronic/long-term and acute/short-term assistance needs extremely difficult for humanitarian actors. As explained by Redmond, the major target of humanitarian aid in any emergency is to do “the most good for the most people” (2005: 1320). In order to achieve this goal, aid must be specifically and strategically targeted, a process most successful when needs assessments are carried out rapidly and compared to sound baseline data. In Haiti, responders struggled to identify the populations most in need of emergency assistance, with the IASC noting “the underlying poverty and vulnerability...[rendered] the qualification of ‘directly affected by the earthquake’ somewhat irrelevant in any case, considering that almost everyone has been affected in some way” (2010: 18). Standardized criteria for distinguishing those most in need of humanitarian assistance must therefore be devised now, with critical re-evaluation given to contexts in which the majority of the population is classified as vulnerable even pre-emergency. Again, any attempts at such standardization are dependent upon the idea that baseline measuring practices should be enacted before a crisis strikes.

The data coordination lessons learned from Haiti primarily revolve around the necessity of standardization, both that of needs assessments methodologies and processes for qualifying the vulnerable. One further need for systemization involves the channels for managing the sheer influx of actors in the immediate post-disaster period. The World Bank notes that charitable donations for disaster relief poured into Haiti at an unprecedented rate, and along with such funding came a plethora of new organizations and ground support (2010). The World Bank reports that the arrival of these new relief agencies often complicated efforts to standardize data collection and operating procedures, as these new actors tended "to prioritize unilateral action over coordination" (2010: 1).

Methods to integrate the efforts of the major recognized, bilateral actors with the new organizations that emerge in the wake of high-profile disasters should be developed now. If a process for standardizing needs assessments and response protocols within the larger humanitarian architecture is devised, coherence will be improved, and responders will minimize the risk of competing strategies. In stressing the importance of speed in the emergency phase, Redmond reminds that too many assessments waste time and frustrate the host communities (2005). He urges smaller agencies to increase the relevance and timeliness of their response by referring to the reports of larger international agencies, and he urges the larger institutions to enable this process by readily sharing data in accessible ways. Meanwhile, Stephenson offers a distinct but perhaps complimentary approach, suggesting that instead of vesting authority in small numbers of organizations in an attempt to achieve coordination through top-down control, modern technology may allow for a reconceptualization of coordination in which relief agencies are regarded as social networks (2005). According to Stephenson, perceiving relief agencies in this way would more easily allow for changes in institutional cultures that encourage operational cooperation across organizational divides.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Just as the factors that produce complex humanitarian emergencies are incredibly intricate and interwoven, so the responses to these crises must be multidimensional and integrated into the specific context. While natural disasters like the Haitian earthquake are always accompanied by a sense of the unexpected, the humanitarian enterprise must not allow itself to be caught off guard. Accordingly, this article has presented three major lessons learned from the Haiti experience: cultivating organizational capacity, fostering strong leadership, and bolstering data coordination. Still, perhaps the most salient verdict of this analysis is that in spite of the unforeseen nature of many emergencies, each of these three lessons learned can further be implemented within humanitarian ranks now. Decisions made today by humanitarian actors, such as whether to invest further in capacity building strategies,

whether to commit to enhancing leadership practices, or whether to reconceptualize data coordination methodologies and practices, will undoubtedly reap consequences when the next major disaster strikes. The importance of such decisions cannot be overestimated, for as the World Bank noted in the context of Haitian relief, "Every response is either development or counter-development; every decision affects everything else" (2010).

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COMMENTARY

HOLISTIC COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATORY CONNECTIONS ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

KATHLEEN PICKERING SHERMAN, ANDREA AKERS, ASHLEY COBB, HEATHER LAUSCH, MICHAEL BRYDGE, PATRICK DORION, AND MARK ST. PIERRE

ABSTRACT

This article argues that when applied anthropology is conducted as genuinely participatory, community-based research, it is not just a method but a theory that challenges the epistemological paradigm of traditional research. Five community-based projects on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota are discussed, including: 1) a tourism initiative of the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce with regional National Park Service interpretive staff; 2) the Oglala Sioux Parks and Recreation Authority's efforts to create the first Tribal National Park out of the South Unit of Badlands National Park; 3) The Lakota Funds' new Child Development Accounts and the financial literacy curriculum designed for kindergarten through eighth grade; 4) the Wounded Knee Community Development Corporation's summer youth construction project; and 5) First Peoples Fund's research on the opportunities and constraints for Native artists on the Northern Plains. Colorado State University graduate students and a Pine Ridge community development practitioner critically assess the participatory processes they practiced and the outcomes that could not have been accomplished without integrating the theory and methods of participatory, community-based research.

KEY WORDS: Participatory research, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, interactive development

INTRODUCTION, by Kathleen Pickering Sherman

Since the heyday of "action anthropology" in the 1960s (Ablon 2012), researchers and graduate students have been presented with what is characterized as a choice between traditional, theoretically-driven research or applied, and by extension, atheoretical research that, while potentially useful on the ground, lacks the same intellectual rigor and contribution of traditional research. Applied anthropologists have often conceded this characterization of their work, willingly sacrificing the accolades of the ivory tower for their commitment to helping make a difference in the "real world" (Stapp 2012).

By way of illustration, this article argues that: 1) when applied anthropology is conducted as genuinely participatory, community-based research, it is not just a method but is theoretical; and 2) it is not possible to claim participatory methods alone while retaining the epistemological paradigm of traditional research that fails to integrate this theory of participation.

The illustration that follows is drawn from participatory research conducted on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota by five graduate students in the master's and/or doctoral programs at Colorado State University (CSU). These students were trained to understand a participatory approach not as a methodological choice but as a theoretically-driven outcome of indigenous peoples' forced incorporation into global capitalism over the last five hundred years, and their culturally-defined responses to that colonial and neo-colonial history. A development practitioner and scholar local to Pine Ridge (St. Pierre 1992, 2003; with Long Soldier

1995) then provides an interpretation of these research results to initiate further refinements to the theory of participation.

THE THEORY OF PARTICIPATION, by Kathleen Pickering Sherman

The theory of participation embodies post-colonial theory in a practice that attempts to decolonize research and higher education (Smith 2012; Brydger 2012). This theoretical understanding is reflected in movements toward more collaborative approaches where, rather than having one epistemological paradigm dominate, multiple paradigms of knowledge construction are accepted on an equal footing (Ross et al. 2011). For anthropology in particular, the culture-bound nature of knowing must be acknowledged and understood before any integration of knowledge systems is possible. When traditional research is conducted without this acknowledgement, the arbitrary assertion of Western European cultural dominance is ideologically masked as "objectivity", the selection of agendas of power as a neutral "selection of methodology", and the structural barriers to indigenous inclusion as "institutional integrity" (Smith 2012). Furthermore, the efforts of traditional academic researchers to use their results to implement policy change and institute programs of reform end up disempowering the communities they are attempting to "help" with the oppressive message that local experiences and insights have no value in solving local problems (Freire 2000). Thus, traditional academic research presents a paradox to academics who want to support ameliorations or even transformations of capitalism to alleviate poverty, injustice,



and violence, and yet are part of the academic structure that is itself a product of the historical trajectory of capitalism (Wallerstein 2003, 1991). Academics cannot empower oppressed communities to transform the current political economy until they acknowledge and respond to the power relations that the current academic system implies.

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the difference, both in method and in theory construction, between traditional academic research and participatory or community-based academic research. Because the colonial power relations underlying Western institutional forms of knowledge construction are atheoretically ignored, traditional academic research retains control over theory selection, relevant literature, hypothesis formation, research conclusions, and theory refinement. The integration of local or indigenous knowledge is limited to the appropriational experience of providing information to external researchers (see Figure 1). Because there is no community buy-in with respect to the focus, purposes, or applications of traditional academic research, the quality and accuracy of the information provided is automatically suspect (Smith 2012). This significant shortcoming to traditional academic research has been easily glossed over, since the conclusions, peer reviews, and funding of future research proposals all rest safely within the hands of those who share the epistemological perspectives of the West.

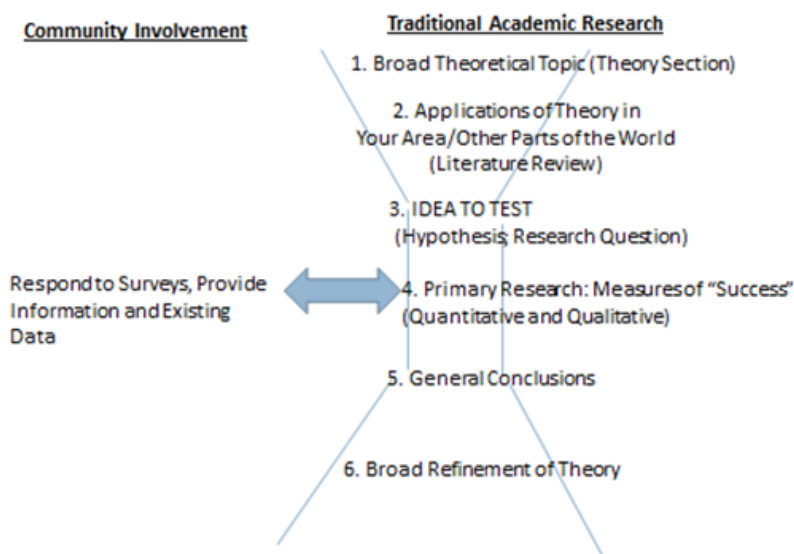


Figure 1: Community Involvement in Traditional Academic Research

In contrast, a genuine integration of the theory and practice of participatory academic research demands community involvement in every stage of planning, implementing, and understanding research about that community (see Figure 2). The product of genuine participatory research is accurate,

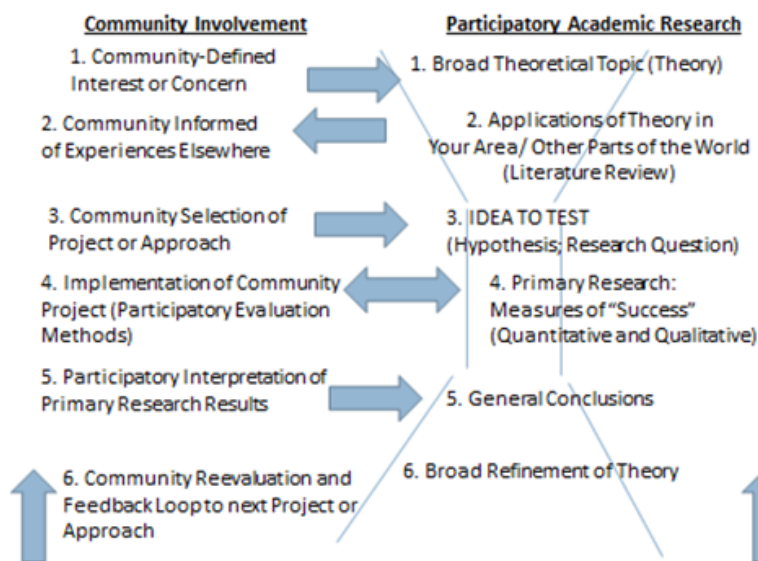


Figure 2: Community Involvement in Participatory Academic Research

useful and collaborative. Without the buy-in of community members, the accuracy of the data being provided will remain suspect. Reflexively, unless the results of the research will be useful to the community, it is difficult to achieve true community buy-in. Without collaboration among researchers and community members, the usefulness of the research to the community itself may be illusory. Without this ongoing collaboration, the deeper culturally-based meanings and understandings that give significance to what otherwise is superficially observed can be lost or misconstrued (Bopp and Bopp 2006). Furthermore, participatory research has the potential to support transformative movements that increase well-being, especially for poor and marginalized communities, by honoring their experiences and insights (Chambers 2007).

The case studies that follow illustrate what is gained by adopting a theory of participation. Graduate students enter into a community process that defines their research goals, and places their participation into a timeframe that extends well beyond their personal goal of obtaining a degree. The students' research is encompassed by the immediate interest of community members and organizations in relevant questions and accurate results. The students' limited knowledge is mitigated by the framing and interpretations of community members engaged in the research process they themselves own. The final academic products are simply milestones in the self-determined community and economic development that the students have had the privilege to experience.





COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS: THE PINE RIDGE PROJECTS

The Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce, by Andrea Akers

In 2009 the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce (PRACC), located in Kyle, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, received a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) for a proposed project entitled "Oglala Lakota Voices." This project sought to accomplish many goals, but they were all under the guise of tourism development. One major goal was to change perceptions about the Lakota and the Reservation. PRACC developed an innovative approach to this problem in solidifying partnerships with regional tourism entities. These partnerships were facilitated by Memorandums of Agreement (MOAs) with Badlands National Park (BADL), Mount Rushmore National Memorial (MORU), and Crazy Horse Memorial (CHM). The MOAs arranged for the exchange of printed materials as well as small displays among PRACC and the three parks. In addition, a Lakota cultural sensitivity training was developed and provided to these and other partners (including Wind Cave National Park, Jewel Cave National Park, Black Hills National Forest, Custer State Park, and the South Dakota Department of Tourism).

The ANA required an external evaluator and due to Professor Kathleen Pickering Sherman's long-term relationship with the Tribe, and more specifically with PRACC, she was hired to evaluate the three-year project. Three months before the "Oglala Lakota Voices" Project was initiated I participated in my first ethnographic field school for eight weeks with Sherman on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. After this life-changing experience I not only dedicated my class projects and my senior honor's thesis to topics concerning Pine Ridge, but I also took every opportunity to travel to the Reservation to participate in Sherman's projects. In April of 2011, one month before I would graduate with my B.A. in anthropology, Sherman came to me with a proposition. She asked me to take her place in assisting PRACC in their first cultural sensitivity training for the employees of tourism providers in South Dakota because she would be away for the summer as a guest lecturer in Indonesia. She offered me the opportunity to work with PRACC and their hired consultants to carry out the training and more specifically to implement evaluative surveys before and after. I eagerly accepted, hoping my two years of experience working with the Lakota would give me guidance.

After a fairly successful training in May, 2011, I became more involved in the "Oglala Lakota Voices" Project, including the later May, 2012, training (which was now entitled "Destination Pine Ridge"), but also in helping to collect and analyze tourism data (visitor surveys and locational data from guest books and information requests). By August, 2011, it was becoming clear that this project would become the core of my master's thesis. Over the next nine months I attended two partner meetings which brought together representatives

from PRACC, several NPS parks, Crazy Horse Memorial, and the state Tourism Department. In early spring I worked closely with the hired consultant for the training to integrate the information we had gathered from the partner meetings and to improve the format of the training and presentation. An important addition was a second day bus tour of the Reservation. During this time the consultant and I solicited and trained four Lakota facilitators to make presentations as part of the training. Finally, at the end of May, with the help of ten of my colleagues from Colorado State University, the training of over 100 participants and tour with 40 participants both were accomplished (with only minor complications).

However, my involvement did not end here. We urgently reconvened with more partner meetings; the ANA grant and the MOAs were ending and we needed to secure funding for future trainings. Another need to address was the upcoming "Impact Visit" from the ANA scheduled for early August, 2012, where PRACC was to present in detail what had been accomplished over the past three years of the "Oglala Lakota Voices" Grant Project. Again I helped to facilitate the partner meetings and brought together three years of evaluative data for the ANA Impact Visit and Final Report. Not surprisingly, even after the end of the initial grant cycle, I am continuing to assist PRACC in maintaining its partnerships and in further developing the "Destination Pine Ridge" training.

The above narrative describes a participatory research initiative. As an anthropologist I am dedicated to the Lakota people, and instead of proposing my own research agendas for the community, I respond to solicitations for my expertise on a range of research projects as well as other services (like strategic planning, conference planning, and facilitation). Another integral piece of participatory research is capacity building, which this project achieved, especially in the usability of evaluative data and in the partnerships built. In the end this project was deemed useful, accurate, and collaborative, for the role it plays in tourism development (including attracting outside funds); in the rigorous methods of evaluation; and in the participation of all stakeholders throughout the process.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

My wife and I operate a small inn on the Reservation. If tourism is ever going to be meaningful in terms of the Reservation economy (i.e., jobs creation), beyond selling dream catchers at Wounded Knee, we will need to generate more traffic. If existing tourism businesses are to survive and grow, and more are to be born and succeed, then the inflow of tourism dollars will have to rise. The Chamber's board and executive director received a \$1.2 million ANA grant to achieve this goal. A strategy to create a relationship between PRACC and the regional National Parks was jointly evolved, with Colorado State University input and a viable visitor center, developed on the Reservation.

As a former PRACC Director, for me this provides an instructional moment. Just because PRACC has a board does not mean that the board is representative of the community,



knows much about tourism, or knows how to drive up tourism numbers. Some folks who have invested their resources and time into these businesses do not belong to PRACC. Thus, working with them, soliciting their ideas in the strategizing, planning, pre-writing, and writing of the grant (an absolute ANA requirement) is essential. As for the ANA grant monies, while the Pine Ridge Visitor Center, housed at PRACC, was well achieved (but initially invisible due to lack of signage), an exponential growth in tourism numbers was not. However, the "Destination Pine Ridge" trainings marked the first time many stakeholders from both on and off the Reservation met in an effort to enhance Reservation tourism. With continual connection and collaboration, hopefully tourism numbers will noticeably increase and enhance the Reservation economy

The First Tribal National Park, by Ashley Cobb

As a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology at Colorado State University, I am working with Kathleen Pickering Sherman, members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, and representatives of Badlands National Park to document and evaluate the creation of the nation's first Tribal National Park. Participatory methods are essential in this case, as the land and the people working to preserve it have a long and contentious history. I begin with a discussion of the history of the site and move into how participatory research has been applied in this case study.

The site of the proposed park is the South Unit of Badlands National Park, which is owned by the Oglala Sioux Tribe and currently managed by the National Park Service (NPS). The South Unit lies entirely within Pine Ridge Reservation and encompasses 133,000 acres of mixed grass prairie and badland formations. This area has a wealth of paleontological, ecological and cultural resources and is historically and spiritually significant to the Oglala Sioux People (OSP).

A brief history of the area provides the context for the current collaborative effort between the Tribe and the NPS. The South Unit contains the Stronghold District, which is the area where the survivors of Wounded Knee fled and held off the US army after the massacre in 1890. In 1942 Congress removed the South Unit from the Reservation for use as an aerial bombing range. One hundred and twenty-five families living in the area were relocated before bombing began. In 1963 the bombing range was declared excess to the needs of the federal government and returned to the Tribe with the provision that the lands be part of the expanded Badlands National Park and managed by the National Park Service. The collaboration between the Park and the Tribe began in earnest in 1976 under a Memorandum of Agreement which requires that the Park Service consult with the Tribe on management of the land. The MOA is still the primary management document for the South Unit.

In 2006 Badlands National Park began the General Management Plan (GMP) process for the South Unit with the goal of establishing a unified vision between the Park Service and the Tribe for the future management of the land. The

preferred alternative for the GMP is to create a Tribal National Park. The scope of the GMP does not include the logistical necessities of this collaborative effort. These logistics will be negotiated through legislation and a new MOA between the Park and the Tribe.

While the creation of the GMP for the South Unit has been hailed as an example of positive collaboration between the Park Service and the Tribe, to date, members of the Tribe have been largely denigrated to the role of observers and participants instead of active decision-makers in the collaborative effort.

The goal of this research project is to promote sustainable action on joint conservation by engaging stakeholders in the evaluation of the Tribal National Park process. Participatory evaluation is the ideal tool to promote stakeholder ownership and community-level change, because it emphasizes capacity building and commitment of all stakeholders to reflect, analyze, and take responsibility for implementing any changes they recommend (Suarez-Balascar and Harper 2003). In the context of this project, the stakeholder groups are primarily Oglala Sioux Parks and Recreation Authority (OSPRA) employees and employees of Badlands National Park.

There are four components of participatory evaluation: 1) qualitative observation; 2) systematic surveying; 3) data analysis; and 4) contextualizing, which involves comparing this case study to macro-level data on similar collaborative efforts. To date, I have engaged in three years of participatory observation with the Tribe and the Park Service, attending joint meetings and interning with both organizations. During the summer of 2012 I conducted 28 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders to gain a deeper understanding of their personal and professional goals and concerns about the project. While the majority of this research focuses on organizational dynamics, the perspective of the Tribal community must not be ignored. To create a comprehensive case study, I also will explore longitudinal data regarding Lakota stewardship values gathered by Sherman as well as public comments from the GMP process. Furthermore, Badlands National Park representatives, as part of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) process, conducted public scoping with Tribal members. This information addresses tribal perspectives on the preferred management alternative and could offer valuable insight related to the larger community's perspective on the Tribal National Park process.

The potential impacts of this project are nested within three socio-political scales: 1) participatory evaluation can promote local stakeholder ownership of the process and enable a functional process through which OSPRA and Badlands National Park can work collaboratively; 2) the publication of this research in cooperation with the stakeholders can help inform other efforts that seek to integrate tribal knowledge and stewardship with federal management practices in the United States; and 3) the knowledge gained from this case study can help inform collaborative efforts among indigenous peoples and national protected area management efforts at





the global level. The tool of participatory evaluation has been under-utilized in collaborative conservation to this point, and its application and facilitation in the Tribal National Park process will expand our understanding of its strengths and weaknesses.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

Since 1976 the dream of the return of nearly one-quarter of the Pine Ridge Reservation has grown into the dream of Lakota National Park, the first Native American National Park in the U.S. There have been a number of significant players in the last 47 years. Many people involved in the process have not recorded the history of the various movements, stalemates, and personalities that have created the present situation. OSPRA has a board of tribal members elected in each district of the Reservation. The return of this land represents a dream, not only of its return but of respect. Equally important, the Lakota Park represents a financial engine in a land where jobs are desperately needed. If the Tribe has had a shared dream over the years—something every stakeholder/tourism business owner is involved in—it is this, and Ashley's work with the board (recording the history and documenting the long struggle), therefore, became possible.

Lakota Funds: Leading an Economic Resurgence through Youth Empowerment, by Heather Lausch

Lakota Funds is a community development financial institution (CDFI) leading an economic resurgence of the Oglala Lakota Oyate on the Pine Ridge Reservation through culturally appropriate strategies reigniting the traditional Lakota spirit of productivity, commerce, and trade. Lakota Funds' goals are not only to help develop the economy, but also to combat poverty and build the family core around the benefits of employment, education, and financial literacy. Without a vibrant economy, concepts of savings, budgeting, and lending are insignificant. Therefore, a holistic approach must be taken to create a more sustainable economy on the Reservation.

While continuing to work with adults, Lakota Funds wanted to initiate a new program focused on educating youth about financial literacy, the economy and community on the Reservation, as well as the traditional economic ways of the Lakota. The novel idea was to create a Child Development Account (CDA) program geared towards first through eighth grade students that connects a matched savings program and financial literacy.

Lakota Funds "seeds" each account opened through the CDA program with a \$50 deposit. Families that participate in the CDA program deposit \$100 throughout the year in their child's savings account, which will then be matched by Lakota Funds 3:1. Thus at the end of the school year the child will have \$400 in his or her savings account. This pattern of savings continues for eight years, thus the savings account grows throughout childhood. One annual withdraw is allowed for school supplies or medical expenses for the child.

In addition to the matched savings program, children and their families take part in training and education to provide a solid foundation that helps the children understand the benefits of savings and how to be responsible for their accounts. Starting in the 1st grade, children attend monthly lessons featuring financial literacy education and child development, including foci on leadership and the taking of responsibility for the natural environment. To bring together the whole family, each family attends quarterly meetings where they participate in financial literacy education and family building activities, personalizing each topic to the importance of their particular family history and traditions.

I was grateful to be brought on board by Tawney Brunsch, Executive Director of the Lakota Funds, and Kathleen Pickering Sherman, Chair of the Department of Anthropology at Colorado State University, to help create the curriculum and evaluation tools for the CDA program. I first researched "best practices" of similar CDA program and learned that the Lakota Funds program was truly one-of-a-kind. In similar programs, governments funded the accounts, not the families, so there was little family involvement or investment. Most programs were not connected to financial literacy training, so the youth would have the money but may or may not know how to deal with it. Other times there were good programs for financial literacy training in schools for youth, but they were expensive and therefore not accessible to everybody.

After my initial research, I worked with Lakota Funds to create a CDA program that fit the cultural norms of the Reservation. We had to take into consideration ideas like enhanced transportation, socio-economic incentives, and how to get parents initially involved. Since the Reservation is such a rural and spread-out place, where to hold these meetings and how to get the children and families to attend was one of our biggest obstacles. It was finally decided that the children's portion of the lessons would be taught at their school during school hours, while the family meetings would be held in the evenings at the Lakota Funds office. We also made sure to include culturally appropriate artwork from a local artist, stories that related to the children's lives on the Reservation, lessons that discussed local natural resources, and historical traditions of the Lakota people. Ideally, we would have immediate feedback after every lesson from the teachers, children, and their families to change and improve upon the curriculum in order to ensure each lesson's cultural relativity and appropriateness.

While the CDA program is still in its first year, some preliminary results from a discussion and survey of parents at the first family meeting are available. The initial parents stated they already had an understanding of the importance of savings, which likely correlates with their motivation to enroll their children in the program. However, we still are looking for more participants and two of our main questions are: 1) Why are families not jumping at this opportunity? and 2) How do we get more people motivated? Based on several informal interviews done on the Reservation, parents state that many families do not have a "culture of saving" so they do not un-



derstand the importance of this program. There is a difficult self-reinforcing cycle, where children grow up without financial understandings, and then later when opportunities arise for their own children they do not see the importance of such a program. Children may grow up without any real understanding of financial literacy. Will the CDA program be able to break this cycle?

Response from Mark St. Pierre

Economic victimization, consumer fraud, usury loans, bad checks, and ruined credit are constants in the lives of all economically marginalized people, no less for the people of Pine Ridge. In the 30 years of the Lakota Fund's evolution one of the biggest obstacles to an individual getting a business loan has been bad credit. As a founding member of the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce, I know that anyone involved in local business development understands that high energy, independent problem solvers/doers are rare in any society. When these ideal candidates for small business and job creation surface on the Reservation, there is a desire to let them have a shot, no matter their financial histories. The Lakota Funds board and staff have, with the help of Heather, evolved a method to address equity and credit-building issues in a multi-generational way with this unusual CDA program. In a tribal society where there are no age-segregated activities, the idea of generations creating savings accounts, learning home budgeting, and studying consumer education to stabilize and improve their credit ratings, is the result of pursuing another shared tribal dream: to impact poverty and envision more opportunity within Reservation boundaries. Heather used her energy and talent to help the Lakota Funds create, institute, and evaluate this effort.

The Wounded Knee Community Development Corporation Youth Building Initiative, by Michael Brydge

Participation is the active engagement of the minds, hearts and energy of people in the process of their own healing and development. Because of the nature of what development really is, unless there is meaningful and effective participation, there is no development (Bopp and Bopp 2006: 85).

Keeping this philosophy in mind, I acted as an engaged participant of community development in the Wounded Knee District. Participating in previous projects initiated by local organizations, such as Lakota Funds and the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce, and working with Kathleen Pickering Sherman prepared me to engage with Lakota community members in participatory development. In 2009 three CSU students, four locals from the American Horse Creek in Kyle, South Dakota, and I constructed a tool shed from blue prints that were scribbled onto a piece of junk mail. These actions, coupled with continual reflection on the Reservation economy and its communities, eventually led to an invitation by the Wounded Knee Community Development Corporation

(WKCDC)—a Lakota initiated and directed organization—to participate in its first Youth Building Initiative. The WKCDC anticipated two outcomes: 1) youth with adequate carpentry skills; and 2) a new community building. In fact, the processes engaged throughout the initiative led to so much more.

From its 2009 beginning, WKCDC recognized Lakota youth as an important voice for defining community needs and as an overall asset to community development. The board realized on the Reservation, as did McGee and Greenhalf (2011: 28) in Africa: "Children and young people, despite their demographic weight [i.e., large population], are traditionally, culturally, legally and structurally marginalized from decision-making processes." In a conversation with Mark St. Pierre, the CEO of the WKCDC, he stated emphatically: "When these kids realize they can do something with their hands, that is the beginning of a personal transformation of self-perception" (St. Pierre, personal communication, 2012). This transformation of perception is necessary in a time when "...the communities' perception of themselves is helpless" (St. Pierre, personal communication, 2012). Although their self-perceptions, more accurately described as self-deceptions, are by-and-large created by abuses and neglect, both historical and derived from the outside, transforming such self-deceptions must come from within. Beck and Purcell (2010: 49, italics added) purport:

The work starts from where young people are in relation to their own values, views and principles, as well as their own personal and social spaces. It seeks to go beyond where young people start, to widen their horizons, promote participation and invite social commitment, in particular by encouraging them to be critical and creative in their response to their experience and world around them.

The youth, age 14 to 19, worked approximately 20 hours per week, but no more than eight hours a day (aside from those who worked voluntary, unpaid overtime). Of the 13 who started the job, three males did not complete the program due to various circumstances, while the two females—aside from painting—concentrated on indoor office tasks. Days were long and occasionally I would end the day with a 90 mile, one-way trip to Rapid City for building materials. During the four weeks, the youth: 1) created friendships within communities and between insiders and outsiders; 2) embodied a spirit of volunteerism, giving to their district; 3) learned job training skills; 4) felt self-empowered; and 5) created an economic and community asset. They learned how to function on a job site as a construction team—to work together even though some of them were from communities that are historically antagonistic toward one another. In addition, they came to respect me, a human who, through skin tone and university status, is symbolic of the colonizer.

Some of the youth began volunteering. Others were zealous to the point of working in situations prohibited by the government program that was paying them. Once, when we were



told they had to come down off a ladder, because federal regulations prohibit them from ascending above four feet, several of them scoffed and said, “just check us off the clock, then, and we’ll work for free.”

During the program, youth cleaned out the entire building and premises; tore out, replaced and finished drywall; installed floor tile at two entry ways; replaced doors and windows; repaired and trimmed out windows; reframed an exterior wall; tore out and replaced damaged cedar siding; and primed and painted the exterior. After that, two young men joined construction crews during the remainder of the summer in Rapid City, South Dakota, and Greeley, Colorado. Additionally, one youth patched drywall in the basement of his *uncle* (grandmother), a skill which we had learned together. One of the main goals of the initiative was to provide job skills to the youth to enhance future career opportunities, but in parallel, the youth could make changes in the households and communities they were living in at the time.

These youth joined their talents and energies to create an economic and community asset. As a non-profit, the WKCDC is continually strapped for funding. Remodeling the building, however, increased the organization’s net worth by \$30,000. Having been on the verge of demolition a year earlier, the building now serves as a reminder of the beauty within the district, as well as the outcomes associated with validating youthful voices and assets. They can be depended upon to assess community needs and build a better future for their people.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

The WKCDC, a three year old 501-c-3 non-profit, has a board comprised of tribal members from across the Wounded Knee District. I serve as CEO. Sustainable jobs creation is the mission of the CDC. It is the wisdom of the board that young people need to be involved in thinking about, problem solving on, and investing in improving their own communities. Numerous (and constantly growing) NGOs populate the summer landscape on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation with service learners. These are non-Indian youth and adults who come here “to help” by fixing up public facilities, homes, and gardens, running church schools, and distributing clothing and other collected items. I have seen this process grow over my lifetime. Adding to dependency, eroding self-respect, and diminishing internal human capacity are the sad results. With the full approval and support of the WKCDC board, Michael worked with 13 Wounded Knee District youth to salvage and remodel an abandoned one-room school house. The young male and female community members learned how to plan, dismantle, and restore the outside of the building while also learning how to install doors, windows, tile flooring, and sheet rock. A community liability was turned into an asset which now includes an after-school activity center as a dream fulfilled. Everyone benefited and Michael participated in hands-on organization and development work that was the foundation of his master’s thesis.

Artists of the Northern Plains Research Study, by Patrick Dorion

The Artists of the Northern Plains Research Study (ANPRS) is an example of how participation may occur at several levels. The project began as a partnership between First Peoples Fund (FPF), a non-profit located in Rapid City and working with Native artists; Artspace, a non-profit specializing in creating affordable space for artists; and Colorado State University. The purpose of the study was to understand the infrastructural barriers and general limitations that Native artists contend with in the Northern Plains region. Participation occurred at a basic organizational level in the creation of a survey tool, where each group brought its own perspectives and set of knowledge to the project. Discussions took place over several months, in person and through conference calls, where team members were able to bring up concerns, offer ideas, and make revisions to the content of the initial survey. By creating the necessary space for various perspectives to be heard, as a group we managed to avoid the power struggles that can defeat a development project before it begins. Organizational learning was a personal priority for me. As a student I had come to be involved with the project academically through my connection with Kathleen Pickering Sherman.

A vital aspect to ANPRS was the connection FPF had with the Native artist community. As a local institution (situated in the closest South Dakota city to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation), FPF has ten years’ of experience working with Native artists, and also has developed relationships with other local institutions in reservation communities. Although we wanted to understand the needs of Native artists, we did not work from a “needs-based approach” (Phillips and Pittman 2009: 39-40). FPF was able to provide the project with local knowledge to create more meaningful survey questions (appropriate to Native artists), but within this local context questions were not overly defined. At its heart ANPRS was an asset-based mapping exercise (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993: 5-8), focused on representing the wide array of perceptions artists had of their community. By entering the community humbly, viewing artists as assets, and allowing community concerns to be internally-driven, the data from this project will allow FPF to leverage outside resources more effectively.

An entirely different level of participation occurred on the ground with the implementation of the survey. As field-worker for the project, I was responsible for conducting the interviews, along with the help of an outstanding fieldwork team. Contacts at Red Cloud Heritage Center, Lakota Funds, and the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce served as helpful starting points to identify local artists. The hope was that through building community relationships, the artist population on Pine Ridge would start to emerge. In total, 102 surveys were completed in six weeks over June and July, 2011, on the Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River Reservations. It is at the local level that ANPRS truly transformed into a participatory project, as the artists themselves became active agents in the process of understanding the kinds of infrastructural barriers



ers that exist on the Reservation. Two important factors helped facilitate their participation. One was the strength of the survey, which balanced both quantitative and qualitative questions. Creating the space for artists to talk about what mattered most to them was a critical step towards understanding the challenges they face. A second factor was the choice to approach reservation art communities informally at the local level to gather data through face-to-face interviews. "Research" is often bureaucratic and dehumanizing (Smith 2012: 42-52), and as a result is resisted by many communities. Giving a human face to the project and letting go of the need to control the interview process added a level of credibility to data which we would not have been able to gather otherwise. This process was supported by the large number of respondents, all of whom were referred by other artists through snowball sampling. Unlike "research," I found that artists invited me into their homes to sit down and talk for an hour or two, taking time away from their family responsibilities and their work. Additionally, the fieldwork team allowed the interview process to evolve. At first, conversations were labored by the inexperience of the interviewers. After gaining some confidence, we were able to let survey protocols act as guides for generating informal conversations, which in turn created a comfortable atmosphere where artists' voices could be heard.

In general, ANPRS found artists had significant barriers of access to materials, transportation, and markets to sell their artwork. For instance, 68 percent of all artists do not have access to the materials they need for creating their artwork, or, must travel over 30 miles to get them (Northern Plains Artist Market Study 2012: 10). This process is conflated by distance, time, and available financial capital. Making it easier for artists to get what they need would allow them to create more at lower cost, and thus could have a positive financial impact on Reservation communities. Insights also were gained into the ways that knowledge is transmitted among artists, which is fundamental information for any community outreach. Artists communicate and learn about their art business through informal networks, which makes traditional marketing efforts inappropriate. FPF can use their community contacts to market their programs more effectively and educate artists about their options for assistance. But, the lasting effect of the study will be its use as a starting point for engagement with the Native art community. Lakota people are the ones who stand to gain or lose the most from any future project, and whose voices must drive the choices being made. Sixty-one percent of all interviewed artists have an annual household income of less than \$10,000, and 30 percent receive more than half their income solely from their art business (Northern Plains Artist Market Study 2012: 14). Yet, there seems to be great potential to grow the economy at Pine Ridge, as long as the statistics are not disconnected from the context in which they were derived.

ANPRS illustrates that the importance of building community connections and personal relationships in any research

undertaking cannot be overstated. I am thankful for the relationships I have built with FPF, Artspace, Kathleen Pickering Sherman, and the 102 artists whom I spoke with. It has been through these relationships that my own learning was facilitated, and through local participation that ANPRS will have a chance to address issues that are meaningful to local artists.

Response from Mark St. Pierre

In alignment with the First Peoples Fund's desire to improve the lives and incomes of the regions' Traditional and Contemporary Artists, Kathleen Pickering Sherman and the CSU Department of Anthropology graduate program were approached. As someone who owned the first Native Art gallery in South Dakota, these issues have been of lifetime interest to me. Inexperienced idealists often zero in on folks' art as a way to stimulate more income for Reservation-based families. It is as if the artists themselves do not have a community and do not understand the very real resource and market issues (reflected in a fair return on time and material invested) that exist. Qualitative experience must be converted to quantitative research so that grants can be written to try and ameliorate the condition of poverty experienced by these artists. Patrick, through the help and involvement of 102 individual producers, was able to quantify the poverty and the related issues of distance, access to raw materials, and access to good-paying markets. Although a stranger here before his research began, Patrick was very successful in first finding, and then soliciting, information on experiences and problems which may result in the First Peoples Fund adjusting its mission plan and programming. If so, this will become more useful and relevant to Native American artists in South Dakota.

A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONER'S RESPONSE, by Mark St. Pierre

For over forty years, while working on economic and community development in Indian Country, I have noticed that research projects on reservations are funded more regularly than grants that try to address or improve the actual problem being researched. The latter are much harder to come by. This can be maddening if you are a results-oriented professional. Academic institutions, their faculty, and their army of graduate students have all the credentials funders are looking for, with the proper caché including (but not limited to) stability, non-profit status, proven research ability, academic credentials, a solid accounting structure, and a culturally admired institution to receive the funding.

The granting agency or foundation, while requiring that the information be disseminated, does not usually insist that it "come home" in any useful way, or at all. It generally belongs to the researcher, hence all the citations and footnotes in academic writing. The grant recipients/researchers are also from the same "trusted" cultural and experience set as the funders so that makes life, communication, and mutual admiration (respect and comfort between funder and recipient) easier as well. Benefits to the university department are money, income,





career and reputation enhancement, publishing, and promotion. The department gets masters and doctoral papers which, of course, create graduates (critical numbers) and in turn validates careers, departments, and the foundations—and the grant dollars expended. Does the research ever affect those being researched? Generally not. There are those that question the morality of this approach, especially in working with impoverished tribal communities, often existing 180 degrees in hardship and privilege from the world of the researchers.

In the case of the Department of Anthropology at Colorado State University, all of the Reservation-based student efforts (exemplified by those reported in this commentary) must be planned with and must directly benefit the organizations that provide the research opportunities (a requirement pioneered by Kathleen Pickering Sherman). In this model, goals and objectives to be accomplished, along with the kind of participation and research methodology, are developed in collaboration with tribal entities. Since I live and work on the Pine Ridge Reservation I am keenly aware of the historic context of all of the organizations involved in this article, the collaborative effort's etiology, and in some cases have observed all or part of the collaborative process.

From 1968 to 1972, I was trained in the classical community problem-solving model. My undergraduate educational program utilized a broad range of applied disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, and economics, where a practitioner works directly with and often for community people to address a problem, need or want, very much in the vein of Paulo Freire's or Sol Tax's approaches. I have worked within the community's understanding of what would improve their quality. As a result I have been an enabler on a broad range of quality-of-life issues/solutions like public safety, the arts, education, and economic development in Lakota Country. It is in this context that my comments should be viewed.

The CSU students come here, a place known for poverty and hardship reflecting a non-Western culture, with a trust in Professor Sherman. In every real sense they come also as economic and cultural transplants, similar to myself 40 years ago—as nervous strangers. Thus, some level of courage and commitment must have been encouraged and developed invisibly before most of them arrive. Most have chosen CSU because of the reputation Sherman and her past students have earned. Some have been here for shorter periods in previous years, but are now working directly with the people here on long-term projects.

This cultural stretch is critical to them as professionals, but also useful to their Pine Ridge collaborators, since the students are also emissaries from the educated—and often privileged—class of the dominant Western society. They bring in new or unfamiliar ideas, approaches, or theories. They also provide an interesting distraction as they are new faces from “the outside world,” just as studied as are their Reservation informants and at times also as entertaining, knowingly and unknowingly.

There are some adaptations on both sides that must take

place for Sherman's participatory vision to be realized. On the Reservation people behave toward elders with a high level of formality, respect and deprecation. A young man might listen to some elders visiting but would never participate, whereas Western young people are expected to be able and—more important—culturally often more than willing, to state their opinions. Left to themselves, American graduate students often do not desire the companionship or ideas (acquired wisdom) of older people outside of academia, so the very social place of a tribal 25-year-old is “suspended” for these “young” CSU students once here. Conversely for Lakota, this occurs out of deep, culturally-based politeness. Lakota people are generally polite listeners and do not want to offend, even if they deeply disagree with what they are hearing. There also can be gender issues such as a young white woman asking private information of an older Lakota woman, or worse, of an older Lakota man.

All of these cultural differences aside, most of these students return again and again, deepening their understandings, and in some cases, deepening their real friendships with each visit. The “world taken for granted” that these students live in and construct through their social contacts in Fort Collins and abroad generally has no meaningful place or use for anyone but young people aged 18 to 30. The degree to which this is true is not perceived or understood by them. They exhibit little existential insight about their own existence or their own quality of life beyond convenience. Coming to the Reservation and realizing that their way of seeing the world and their relative privilege is not held by everyone, alters their core perceptions. This benefits these graduate students in ways too vast to go into here, their maturation being the least.

These students have, in most cases, become involved with Pine Ridge organizations that have developed over a long period of time as a result of a shared understanding of problems by tribal people. A large amount of human energy has already been invested into addressing Reservation problems. This energy has helped begin to pave the way to very real and shared tribal dreams of sovereignty and economic independence. One of these shared, larger dreams is a good quality of life with opportunity for those who want it.

The graduate students whose work is reflected in this article learned of and internalized a Lakota Vision, and thus contributed to activities and future dreams that have evolved on the Reservation over long periods of time. The origins of these dreams are here. Their research and organizational skills are contributing to promoting Lakota objectives by *participating* with Lakota organizations, often at their direction.

The principle purpose of a university like CSU perceiving and using Pine Ridge as a human laboratory should be to prepare social science graduates to involve themselves in communities, other than their own, over a career and therefore to become effective researchers and/or change agents. The purpose should be to help build these communities based on their internal dreams and visions. While the vast majority of graduate students studying here will not become change



agents, many will become teachers whose time here will become a critical reference point and bring authenticity to their classes—and even to their degrees—as now-papered “experts” on Indians in the eyes of Euro-American academia.

Personally I would hope their time here prepares them for making a difference given their youthful energy and education. I hope it helps them discover their purpose, their passion. Studying poverty on the Reservation is important only if it results in improving the quality of life of those studied, and in understanding that they—the people of Pine Ridge—in turn stand for economically oppressed tribal people worldwide. In the spirit of participatory academic research, those who participate in these studies and related activities deserve to see these students go on to improve the quality of human life wherever their destinies takes them. It is my dream that they will all go on to lead lives filled with efforts that improve the quality of life for others, using their time here as inspiration and guidance.

Kathleen Pickering Sherman, Ph.D., J.D., is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at Colorado State University (CSU), and has been working with Lakota communities since 1987. Andrea Akers is currently in the anthropology master's degree program at CSU, and began working with Lakota communities as an undergraduate at CSU. Ashley Cobb is in the Ph.D. program in sociology at CSU, and has a master's degree in Human Dimensions of Natural Resources from CSU. Heather Lausch completed her M.A. in anthropology at CSU and is now working with refugees and at-risk youth in San Diego, California. Michael Brydger completed his M.A. in anthropology at CSU and is now engaged in participatory research on five Northern Plains reservations, as well as teaching participatory methods and anthropology. Patrick Dorion is in the M.A. program at CSU, focusing on Native artists and entrepreneurship. Mark St. Pierre has worked in Indian Country for more than 40 years in all aspects of community and economic development, and has published several books and articles about Lakota life and the challenges facing marginalized Native communities. For more information or questions contact Kathleen Pickering Sherman at Kathleen.Sherman@colostate.edu.

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COMMENTARY

A SUPPLY OF MONEY

DAVID J. ROZEN

ABSTRACT

This article examines the relevance of Bronislaw Malinowski's research among the Trobriand Islanders to the current economic crisis of excess unemployment. It reviews how Malinowski considered the Kula exchange of sea shells to be outside the Trobriand subsistence economy. Relying considerably on an analysis by Marvin Harris, I point to how Malinowski used a concept of culture which subsumes the entire social system, i.e., a symbolic expression explains social structure and adaptation. Even though Malinowski considered the Kula ring to be without economic relevance, his ethnographic data were used by the economist Karl Polanyi to demonstrate that an economy is not independent of social structure, i.e., that the assumption of a free market is false. I argue that a psychological reductionist concept of culture can be used by the very wealthy to rationalize opposition to Keynesian fiscal and monetary economic policies which, in fact, have a good record of reducing unemployment.

KEY WORDS: Malinowski, Keynes, unemployment, concepts of culture

INTRODUCTION

Recently the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board announced the Committee would continue to buy as many bonds as needed, i.e., print money. (This is a simplified way of stating, "quantitative easing as long as the unemployment rate remains 6.5 % and inflation 1 - 2 years out is projected to be under 2.5 %, and longer-term inflation expectations remained well - anchored," Board of Governors 2012). Such a governmental policy decision was a clear endorsement of Keynesian economic theory that explains unemployment as the result of not enough money being in the hands of consumers, i.e., a deviation of employment from its natural rate (Krugman 2009b). In times like these, I think back on the Kula ring of island trade described by Bronislaw Malinowski in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, which provides to this day one of the most detailed ethnographic descriptions of an economic system that operated on principles of tribal kinship, redistribution, and reciprocity, i.e., without money. Yet, even though the Kula ring was a system of exchange of valuable items (itself a definition of "money"), heirlooms of shells and jewelry of immense value to their holders, Malinowski insisted that the Kula ring was not a market, but an expression of religion and kinship. Even some economists of his day accepted his description on face value and the implications of social solidarity implied (Polanyi 1944: 52-53).

But, co-existing with the Kula ring of exchanges was a subsistence economy, a system by which the Trobrianders produced and distributed products/goods (food, boats, household technology) and services (oceanic transportation, house construction, magic specialization). Therefore, one has to question why Malinowski did not look for ways that the Kula impacted subsistence activities.

MALINOWSKI AND KULA RING INTERPRETATIONS

I therefore have found it curious that Malinowski, in his description of the Kula ring, managed to ignore the great economic theories of his day that explained markets in terms of supply and demand. This omission appears related to how he conceived of culture. Malinowski used a concept of culture similar to one used by some scholars today, where society begins and ends with symbolic expression, i.e., culture is not a separate domain of society, as with the structural-functionalism of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown. (Social structure and technological-environmental adaptations are the other components stressed by structural-functionalists, as Harris [1968: 517] notes.)

Central to this essay, for Malinowski, the Kula ring had high psychological sentiment that had no relationship to economic or subsistence activity. For him, the Kula ring was not a market, but rather concerned only with religious rituals and kinship reciprocity. Yet, it is hard to believe that the Kula shells did not have exchange value, that they were not in some sense a form of money. An economist might have considered if their existence placed limits on subsistence activities in a manner similar to the way in which depletion of gold reserves in gold standard capitalist countries causes unemployment. In other words, an economist looking at the Kula ring might have looked for the possibility of a functional, systemic connection among subsistence activities and the Kula ring trade.

Ironically, Malinowski's ethnographic descriptions of Trobriand subsistence activity provided evidence which the economist Karl Polanyi used to demonstrate the "embeddedness" of an economy within society. Polanyi's economic theory states that economics and society share a

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common institutional social structure, i.e., there is not a free, independent, self-regulating market. People's survival needs, social institutions, and cognitive/emotional minds are just as important to economic choices as any marketplace. So, even though Malinowski's Kula ring represents an economy-free zone, his description of Trobriand institutional life does not. This discourse contributed greatly to Polanyi's economic theories which today are used to challenge neo-liberal economic, free market doctrines, these linked by many economists to high unemployment rates and bank failures (see Polanyi 1944: 35-58).

Why did Malinowski seemingly have no need of economics, which while not equal to the hard sciences in terms of predictive/explanatory power, at least aspires to be a science, engaging in a search for regularities and lawful relationships among variables. The answer lies in his view of culture, or for that matter, in his vision of anthropology, one not unlike the current anti-scientism prevalent in some anthropological thought, a vision that embraces "relativism, quixoticism, and psychological reductionism" (Harris 1968: 553). So, he would have been unlikely to bring to field research a comparative approach which would have aided the search for regularities and cause-and -effect relationships.

THE SITUATION TODAY

This brings us full circle to the current opposition in the U.S. and Europe among the very wealthy to fiscal and monetary policies advocated by top economists which can ameliorate high unemployment and the human suffering it brings (Krugman 2009a; Stiglitz 2003; Surowiecki 2012). The wealthy oppose both fiscal action by Congress to spend more money on government programs for the unemployed, and Keynesian monetary policies that worked in the Great Depression of the 1930s and other lesser recessions. An explanation of the Kula ring of trade as due to mystical, psychic needs of tribe and clan, symbolic expressions disconnected from the actual system of production and distribution of goods and services, would be quite acceptable for Tea Party Republicans with their mystical faith in free markets and seeming indifference to high unemployment. The wealthiest two percent can afford a lot of sea shells.

Of what relevance today is Malinowski's ethnography of the Trobriand people for applied anthropology? If applied anthropology is to offer solutions to human problems its practitioners must provide theories or explanations that extend beyond interpretation and are capable of validation. The fallacy of inductivism (Deutsch 1997: 70), i.e., the notion that collecting a series of observations will eventually yield a hypothesis, is often used as a research methodology for cross-cultural analysis. While Malinowski's functionalism, conceived within a symbolic concept of culture, is an inadequate theory for applied anthropology, his ethnographic methods are sound. Malinowski's field research provided evidence that an economy is embedded within a society; therefore free, independent markets do not exist, and his research is comple-

mented by economic theories that have been validated and used for policies that reduce excess unemployment.

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OBITUARY

IN MEMORIAM: HARRY F. WOLCOTT,
THE APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGIST:
1929-2012

EDITH W. KING



Harry Wolcott, an exemplar of applied anthropology, passed away on October 31, 2012. At that time he was Professor Emeritus in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oregon. Wolcott had served on the faculties of the College of Education and Department of Anthropology at Oregon since 1964. He wrote extensively on ethnographic research, anthropology and education, and the art of field

work. He is remembered for his path breaking books: *The Man in the Principal's Office*; *The Art of Field Work*; *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*; *Writing Up Qualitative Research*; countless articles, monographs, essays and the *Sneaky Kid* trilogy.

These are some remarks from his colleagues and friends when learning of Harry's death:

- Harry had an outstanding intellect; he leaves behind an enormous legacy;
- Harry was an engaging and affable personality;
- A truly great researcher and key mentor for all types of scholarly writing;
- Recently thinking of him as I pulled one of his books from my shelf.

Wolcott's last book, before his death in 2012, was *Ethnography Lessons: A Primer* published by Left Coast Press in 2010. This volume made use of a fascinating approach to ethnography. The book's format and illustrations resemble children's books such as those of Beatrice Potter's *Peter Rabbit* series. The cover and initial pages have decorative borders with a clever drawing of a baker about to shovel bread into an open oven. The baker appears (at least for me) to

look like Harry with a tall chef hat and beard. Harry was always fond of employing analogies of common, everyday practices or objects to enliven his descriptions of anthropological concepts or terms. Hence, using his characteristic gift of writing with humor, Wolcott offers his extensive analogy of the process of "doing an ethnography" to baking a loaf of bread (129-132).

THE PRIMER: AN ERUDITE ANTHROPOLOGIST'S ADVICE

I continue this article with affectionate observations and notes on *Ethnography Lessons* in memory of Harry Wolcott. With "Lesson One" in Chapter One, Wolcott, then a doctoral student, describes in detail his experiences of meeting with George Spindler, professor of anthropology and education at Stanford University. Reading further into the initial chapters of *Ethnography Lessons*, one has to marvel at Wolcott's amazing abilities to recall, not only the details of his doctoral dissertation, but also the people and courses he took during his undergraduate and graduate school years. Possibly these particulars might not jump out for all readers, but for peers and close colleagues these remembrances in the *Primer* are unique. They jog our memories and make us think about similar events in our lives. Through reconsidering and revisiting his major works, Wolcott gathered together the content for this book. This effort, sadly, became his final contribution to the literature in the social sciences. He writes: "As you can guess from this writing (some remarkable old references coupled with a few new ones), I am at an age now when I spend more time looking back over what I have accomplished than looking forward for what to do next" (44). His book provides a model that encourages mature scholars to review and extend the body of their research and writings later in their careers.

Those who have known Harry Wolcott over the years of his long career are able to almost hear his voice speaking from the pages of *A Primer*. In Chapter Three, dealing extensively with "serendipity," he tells us about conceiving the invaluable monograph *Writing Up Qualitative Research*, "... that the little monograph that resulted has seen two revisions and has helped many students get their research written" (61). Or this perceptive and forthright observation about the necessity for ethnographers to collect first-hand information by going to great lengths to reach the research site.

The idea of "being there" represents an idealistic view of how fieldwork should be conducted,

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something we can all agree is highly desirable, but often in the cases we know first-hand, impractical. Time alone may preclude the possibility of being there, and maybe there is no "there" there at all, as for example, studying internet communities that exist without face-to-face interaction, or ham radio operators, or people engaged in telephone sex (99).

Ethnography Lessons: A Primer emerges as a book of advice from a wise, highly experienced elder (not necessarily a "tribal" elder). Here Wolcott is not sermonizing, but giving astute and straight-forward observations and comments. The tone of the book is one of distilling needed information that would guide the anthropologist attempting to design and then write up research projects. The later chapters are devoted to elaborating on the characteristics of ethnography and anthropology in general. A chart-like illustration on p.108 lists these features: holistic, cross-cultural, comparative, authentic, real, intimate, non-judgmental, descriptive, specific, adaptive, corroborative, and idiosyncratic. In a sampling of his commentary on the characteristic of ethnography, Wolcott ruminates:

We study The Other, no disrespect intended, but we agonize over what still seems to come down to the privileged position of the observer. We alter our approach; today we study *with* you; we are careful not to call you our *subjects*. Nor do we like calling you our *informants*, although we nonetheless expect you to inform us (102).

When discussing the very essence of anthropological knowledge, that of "the cross-cultural," Wolcott writes: "Cross-cultural settings may have been where the action was, but today we've brought our methods home. Even for the anthropologist, the ideal of prior cross-cultural study in a dramatically different society remains something of a desirable but not always obtainable goal" (96). Focusing on the need for corroboration, Wolcott asks that as desirable as triangulation is for anthropologists and sociologists, how does the researcher know that the information collected is accurate and complete? "...Who told you *that*? We are at the mercy of our informants.... [W]e are not anxious to admit our vulnerability..." (106).

ON THE PASSING OF A BELOVED COLLEAGUE

Harry Wolcott was known for his delightful and unique use of humor in his lectures, as well as in written form. At the close of *Ethnography Lessons* his ability to employ subtle humor, to underscore his potent anthropological wisdom, is evident. Here are his opinions on intimacy and objectivity:

I decided that I would have to consider myself as having sufficient intimate knowledge of another person (for ethnographic purposes) if I knew: 1. An individual's sleeping arrangements, which with refinement, became "Who sleeps by whom?"; 2.

How that individual's laundry gets washed, dried, and put away; 3. Something about his or her grandparents.

Harry Wolcott was a superb social scientist. His many contributions attest to this. In a touching farewell, his colleagues in the Council on Anthropology and Education wrote: "Harry will be greatly missed in the field of anthropology and education. He leaves an unforgettable legacy in his scholarship, his students, and all those whose lives he touched and changed for the better." I can only echo these words as Harry's colleague, friend, a learner from sociology, an advocate, and supporter of thirty years.

On a personal note, over the years Harry Wolcott gave me invaluable, constant, and forthright editorial advice, not only for my articles and research papers, but also for chapters in my books. Here is just one example of Harry's anthropological scholarship passed on to this colleague.

Margaret Mead revealed the power of social science concepts and their relevance to the personal and immediate lives of the general public. Recognizing a little known contribution by Margaret Mead, Harry Wolcott, the highly regarded anthropologist and researcher, tells us that Mead pointed out and wrote about a unique example of "anthropological sampling." This is a type of sampling in research that builds a case on the basis of only one or a few known examples. Wolcott describes this type of "anthropological sampling" quoting from A. L. Kroeber's 1953 volume:

Anthropological sampling ... is simply a different kind of sampling, in which the validity of the sample depends not so much upon the number of cases as upon the proper specification of the informant in terms of a large number of variables.... Within this very extensive degree of specification, each informant is studied as a perfect example, an organic representation of his complete cultural experience. (Margaret Mead, 1953: 654-655; in Wolcott 2010: 34)

Furthermore, Wolcott explains that this kind of sampling allowed anthropologists to depict a society when only a few survivors of a possibly dying or vanished culture remained (p.34). (Excerpted from *Social Thought On Education*, King 2011: 41)

To complement this "In Memorium" is a photograph I took of Harry at an American Educational Research Association meeting some years ago. Just faintly visible are the titles of Harry's books embroidered on the tie. This amazing piece of art work was created by fabric artist Norman Delue, Harry's life partner.

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