Photo Credit: Fernanda Hernandez, CSUDH Alumna

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ON THE COVER
By: Fernanda Hernandez

Photograph taken during faculty-led study abroad trip to Chiapas, Mexico. Trip led by Dr. Janine Gasco in January 2019.

Kids with café caturra. Peel off the outer layer and you'll find a delicious sugary glaze within. These beans are sun dried and used for local consumption.

A Review of Indigenous Maya Resistance in Colonial Yucatan

Giselle Adams

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Giselle Adams and I'm a recent graduate of CSUDH with a degree in Anthropology with a focus in Biological Anthropology. My interests combine human osteology, history, and BIPOC rights and social justice. I believe it is vital to learn from our ancestors and decolonize the framework around Eurocentric ideologies within the pedagogies of education."

In *Writing as a Resistance*, John F. Chuchiak argues that the writings of colonial Maya priests were an effective resistance against their Spanish colonizers. Spanish Missionaries set up throughout the Yucatan peninsula were strategically designed to convert the Maya to Christianity while also teaching Maya scribes the "formal" ways of writing with the use of the Latin alphabet. Chuchiak asserts that elite Maya nobility taught themselves how to blend both their native hieroglyphs and the Latin alphabet into various documents in record keeping and personal writings.

The *Maya Formulary* was a system created by these Maya elites which used their system of graphic pluralism along with the alphabetic writing that was enforced by the Franciscan friars. In 1547, at a Franciscan mission established in Merida, Fray Luis de Villalpando "was the first friar to study the Maya language and to apply it to the Latin system of grammar" (Chuchiak 2010, 89). Chuchiak emphasizes that, historically, this was the first initiative by the Spanish to understand the Mayan language system. In addition to Villalpando, his companion, Fray Juan de Herrera, taught the

first school for noble sons of Maya elite, and with this, "Villalpando and Herrera adapted the Latin alphabet to the Mayan language so that the Maya could write their language using the Latin script" (Chuchiak 2010, 89). This was in direct contrast to another Spanish friar, Friar Diego de Landa, who tried unsuccessfully to create a Maya alphabet. De Landa believed that Maya hieroglyphs were letters that could be transcribed using the Latin alphabet but did not use six Latin letters (D, F, G, Q, R, S) and understood this to be a varied understanding of their writing (Chuchiak 2010, 89). Naive to what these hieroglyphs meant; the friars believed that these writings were nothing more than historical references. Chuchiak states that the survival of early Maya hieroglyphic scripts were kept in the hands of Maya priests. One notable priest was named Chilan Couoh (chilan meaning prophet in Maya). Chilan Couoh advocated that the language of the Spanish and their alphabet was inferior to that of their ancient Maya writing system. Beginning in 1567, Chilan Couoh began to collect their Maya codices in order to preserve their culture and accumulated a rich ancient library of manuscripts containing lineages, history, astronomy, and rituals. In 1569, the Spanish, led by Juan Garcon, found a temple containing Maya idols and an expansive library of Maya hieroglyphic books and codices, only to destroy the temple and all it contained. Prior to the 1569 destruction, these Spanish friars were openly interested in the Maya system of hieroglyphics.

Spanish interpretation of Maya writing was the initiative to create a school that taught "Latin and Mayan" grammar to noble children. The missions responsible for this initiative are also responsible for the downfall of their own efforts to regulate Maya culture. Future scribes or *escribanos* were able to incorporate Maya style writing within Spanish documents using coding and riddles that were only able to be deciphered by other *escribanos*. The advantage of multilingualism in conjunction with the use of a dual writing system was naturally kept within the bounds of nobility and Maya elite. The systematic use of keeping this knowledge within noble families was beneficial. Pre-Hispanic elite clans were able to use their family ties and education to circulate the use of their "Maya formulary" as their position as *ah dzib*, the Maya equivalent to Spanish *escribanos*. Chuchiak argues that the resistance to colonialism and the preservation of Maya history and culture is in large part due to these Maya nobles, who passed down their knowledge to their students. Because of this, "the dominance of the Maya nobility over the position of scribe was made perpetual because those Maya nobles who had learned to read and write were able to hand pick their own successors" (Chuchiak 2010, 95).

Almost all the *escribanos* in the eastern part of the Yucatan had still used and preferred Maya forms of terminology, even though the Spanish equivalent was known amongst them. Chuchiak states that the

Eastern Maya escribanos were therefore responsible for the retained knowledge of their Maya hieroglyphic writing system. He argues that the, "traditional elite in the east not only dominated alphabetic writing, but there are also clues that they may have preserved the hieroglyphic script longer than in the western peninsula, where the elite were under close watch" (Chuchiak 2010, 104). These elite Maya families were the May, Cen, Noh, Dzul, Huchim, and Camel (Chuchiak 2010, 99). The specific location of these elite families, especially the latter three, around the eastern area of the Yucatan were crucial in the resistance because of the lack of Spanish control and colonial influence. These families retained sacred knowledge of their culture and were able to continue their noble scribal class while resisting and manipulating the Spanish.

The unique approach that Maya *escribanos* used against the Spanish not only preserved Maya culture, but also maintained their own existence. The region of the Yucatan peninsula holds many accounts of how the Maya were able to use linguistic and cultural virtuosity as a form of survival in a new colonial world. Chuchiak emphasizes that the Maya themselves are responsible for their own preservation of culture and has maintained a strong foothold in their history. Spanish influence over Mesoamerica enabled those with voices to speak, rewriting their history through their worldview.

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Review: A New Analysis of the Gender Attribution of the "Great Goddess" of Teotihuacan

Angelica Alvarado

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Angelica Alvarado and I recently graduated from Dominguez Hills with a degree in Anthropology and focus in archaeology. I plan on attending graduate school in the Fall of 2021 assuming the world does not end before then. My hope is to eventually become a professor and adapt to students' learning styles instead of having students adapt to my teaching style."

Throughout time, science has helped discover—and then rediscover—many fascinating puzzle pieces of information about our past. For instance, until recent discoveries, it was believed that humans had reached the Americas no earlier than 13,000 years ago by way of a land bridge. Archaeologists and scientists have always used common knowledge, along with clues left by ancient peoples, to decipher the message they may have been trying to convey. Just as the peopling of the Americas has been a topic of debate, gender has also been revisited as our own society continues to progress. Located in the Valley of Mexico, Teotihuacan has been known in the past for its ancient Mesoamerican architecture. Thanks to modern science and reevaluation, however, the ancient city is getting more attention for one Goddess—or so they think—in particular.

Written by Elisa Mandell, “A New Analysis of the Gender Attribution of the ‘Great Goddess’ of Teotihuacan” argues for the avoidance of gender labels as we try to understand past generations. With the constant back and forth between genders and gender

roles in certain civilizations, this paper made clear that not only are we evolving as a society, but our thoughts and understandings on past societies are changing simultaneously. Although the obvious theme of the article is surrounded by proofs of gender norms and attributes, the underlying theme is one shrouded by the changes we face in our society. As I delve further into the article's main discussion, I invite you to challenge your mind in the same way that this article challenged mine.

The Great Goddess of Teotihuacan, also known as the Teotihuacan Spider Woman, has been a major topic of debate since her rediscovery in 1972 by archaeologist Alfonso Caso. The Goddess appears on multiple surfaces, such as homes and important buildings, proudly displaying her elegant headdress covered in multicolored zigzag patterns. With her arms stretched wide and water dripping from her fingertips, she seems to represent birth and nurturing. However, she is also surrounded by spiders, with a noticeable nose pendant and a variety of other features that continue to baffle scientists, as those attributes are always found on male deities. While some believe that this entity is actually an expression of multiple deities, college professor Esther Pasztory was the first to argue that the "goddess" may not be female at all—or male, for that matter. To understand just who the Goddess of Teotihuacan is, we may have to put our own views of gender aside.

Over the past fifty years, the ongoing debate over The Goddess' gender has been nothing short of a rollercoaster ride. Bouncing back and forth between male and female, history has settled on "goddess" solely due to the outward appearance of this deity. The reasons why this debate has been going on for so long can be attributed to our own understanding of past generations and their gender expression. It is also assumed that imposed societal norms placed on the anthropologist or archaeologist contribute to the gender projection and finally, we still know a minuscule amount of this ancient language so all we can do as Anthropologists, is speculate.

First, we cannot talk about which gender The Goddess represents without first deciphering what genders exist. In his article for *Journal for Anthropological Research*, author Jay Miller writes a piece titled "Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America." Miller explains that while it is widely accepted in Western societies that there are only two genders, male and female, there are a plethora of societies (like the Native American Lakota culture) that see gender as nonlinear and fluid. This includes the idea of a "two spirit" person or "mixed gendered." These seemingly progressive ideas on gender tend to remain centered on males and somehow only give men the wiggle room to switch between masculine and feminine. For example, "third gender" refers to Lakota men who prefer to

live their lives as women in terms of how they dress and act, but they are still considered men (Miller 1999). This term was later changed to an emasculating "Molly" in the 1800s. "Fourth gender" refers to a Lakota man who makes a complete lifestyle change and no longer lives as a man but as a woman completely (Miller 1999). However, with our social expansion of gender fluidity becoming more and more prevalent, the same influence goes into the work done at these sites. This is why the term "two spirited person" or "mixed gendered" is preferred due to the non-forceful conformity it places on a single person or culture.

Second, we must look at the way we are raised in terms of identity and gender roles. Traditionally, our gender roles place women as home makers who rely on the man of the house to bring home whatever they need. They rear their children, dote on the hard-working men, make sure dinner and laundry is ready by 6pm, and they are expected to do this with a smile on their faces. While the idea is less *Leave it to Beaver* in Teotihuacan and more about status and responsibility, the gender roles tended to be clearer in past societies. For example, Maya societies elaborate on whether their hero or figure is meant to be masculine or feminine by sculpting the genitalia or including something telling that would help researchers determine the sex. On some occasions, if no distinguishment is made between male or female, the Maya often left some type of documentation that explained why the deity or figure's gender was left ambiguous. Men and women still had separate roles in Teotihuacan societies that catered to our way of thinking, but those ideas were further cemented in the 19th and early 20th century, when discrimination of feminine men and masculine woman became the norm (Hill 2006). These ideas, whether subtle or not, can affect the way a researcher looks at a society. By using their learned knowledge to help determine roles and genders in a society, this biased decision-making can lead to incorrect information.

Finally, one of the main reasons why it is so difficult for anthropologists to distinguish the gender of The Goddess and what she represents is due to the overwhelming amount of evidence that she is both. Symbols like the owl, the zigzag patterns in the headband, and the people underneath that all represent darkness are contradicted by the water, the spiders, and the trees that all represented a feminine energy. These symbols also make it increasingly harder to determine what deity she/he represents as she/he has been seen depicted with some of the items some of the time but never all of them, all the time.

Columbia University professor Esther Pasztory has done an impressive amount of her own research on The Goddess, which many people have then taken and expanded upon. One of Dr. Pasztory's main points is that maybe The Goddess was a little bit of everything. She proposes the idea that the Teotihuacan people depict her in different ways because she represents many different

people. We tend to be familiar with the Christian idea that God is everywhere, and in everything, but this is where we draw the line. It is “too far-fetched” to believe that past civilizations believed the same to be true about their gods. While The Goddess remains a mysterious figure, our society feels it is important to place her/him into a female or male category. What is clear, is that The Goddess represented many things to the people of Teotihuacan. She did not need to be just the goddess of water or Earth for them, but more fittingly, she was the goddess of creation and destruction, of light and dark. In other words, she is a little bit of everything, for everyone.

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Technology in Western Society Classrooms

Dolores Duran

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Dolores Duran and I graduated from CSUDH in 2020 with a bachelor's degree in anthropology and a minor in communications. I am currently attending California State University Long Beach in pursuit of my master's degree in applied anthropology and conducting my thesis project about how cultural convergence describes new ways audiences are relating to media content, specifically in the science fiction television show genre."

One of the goals of anthropology is to better understand humankind and cultural development. In the field's early years, anthropologists used varying theories with scientific, humanistic, or mixed approaches. Some anthropologists believe that anthropology is scientific and argue that culture has aspects that are universal and quantifiable. Others believe that anthropology should be considered a humanity because they argue that history, as interpreted by societies, helps them understand cultures to a greater degree. Additionally, several anthropologists believe that the field has mixed aspects of both the scientific and humanistic ideologies. Over the years, the field of anthropology has developed into a holistic discipline, borrowing ideas from both sciences and humanities, while attempting to understand cultures by implementing different methods.

Leslie White was an American anthropologist who supported theories such as sociocultural evolution, neo-evolutionism, and cultural evolution. White proposes that cultures develop as the amount of energy harnessed increases, technological means increase in effectiveness, or as they both simultaneously

increase (Moore, 2009). White's formulaic theory about technological influences on cultures contributes to the argument that anthropology is a scientific discipline (Moore 2009). Marshall Sahlins, a cultural anthropologist whose research focuses on the intersection of history and culture, believes that western influence causes other societies to lose aspects of their culture because they have adopted western technology instead of remaining with more traditional ones (Moore 2009). Sahlins' argument about societies turning to modern technology incorporates the use of historical accounts within its methods to provide a developmental explanation to readers (Moore 2009). This notion would place anthropology as a humanistic discipline. Marvin Harris, who influenced the development of cultural materialism, argued that anthropologists require the use of both the emic and etic viewpoints to understand systematic changes within a given society (Moore 2009). He also argues that his scientific construction of infrastructure should be conceived as anthropological law because it is vital in determining the well-being, economics, and environmental activities of a society. Both of Harris' ideas help classify him as an anthropologist who operates under a more holistic discipline that uses both scientific and humanistic methods. This paper will present the theories of these anthropologists and discuss which theorist would serve the best argument for using technology in western society classrooms.

According to Education Week, an educational organization that publishes their theories and findings, United States public schools provide at least one computer for every five students (Harold 2016). On average, these schools spend three billion dollars a year on educational technology, including tablets and computers (Harold 2016). Some states are also beginning to administer standardized tests electronically instead of using pencil and paper. The term "early adopters" is used to describe the schools and teachers who are at the beginning of technological advancement in their classrooms while using technology effectively (Harold 2016). As technology progresses, students are advancing along with it. However, there are still many who have not incorporated technology into their classroom. The number of educators who are passively integrating technology into the classroom exceeds the number of educators who welcome technology and thrive (Harold 2016).

Leslie White's approach to technological advancement by harnessing energy follows the scientific method. In his work, *Energy and the Evolution of Culture*, White claims that culture serves two purposes: to satisfy one's individual needs and to serve as a mechanism that draws resources for society's well-being (Moore 2009). White's theory of cultural evolution is divided into three parts: technological, sociological, and ideological. White suggests the level of cultural development of a society can be determined by the formula E x T = P, in which "E" is the

amount of energy harnessed, "T" the technological means with which they are collected, and "P" represents the resulting product (Moore 2009). He then proposes that when cultures continue to develop as energy harnessed increases, the technological means to obtain energy increases in its effectiveness. White explains that cultures specialize to be more efficient under different circumstances. He further adds that social organization is dependent on and determined by the mechanical means with which food is secured, which shelter is being provided, and which defense methods.

White would argue that with more technology in the classroom, more energy is being utilized which will lead to more cultural development. Technology will inevitably continue to increase in efficiency, meaning that classrooms would also increase in cultural development as time goes by. In either case, White could argue that culture will continue to develop in new ways, potentially leading to better social organization in the classroom.

Marshall Sahlins' discussion about societies turning to modern technology follows a humanistic methodology. In his work, "What is Anthropological Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century," Sahlins introduces his "despondency theory," which describes how technological advances in western societies are viewed as "progress," but changes in other societies cause them to "lose" their culture (Moore 2009). Sahlins claims that these other, often indigenous, societies still exist but have changed to incorporate modern technology into their respective cultural traditions. Indigenous people were originally viewed by Europeans as lacking history, having no culture, and no agency before their arrival for colonization. He claims there is now a "world culture," an organization of diverse forms of life interacting through trading agreements and capitalism, rather than the reproduction of a uniform culture around the world. This "world culture" was brought about by the Western expansion that reached many "traditional" cultures before any anthropologist ever had a chance to study them. Sahlins discusses several ethnographic cases and points out that when migrant islanders arrive in new locations, they do not seek to lose their culture, but instead want to become an extension of their home (Moore 2009). In some cases, migrants maintain ties to their homeland by sending money and goods in the form of long-distance reciprocity. Sahlins states that "the discipline [of anthropology] seems well off as it ever was, with cultures disappearing just as we were learning how to perceive them, and then reappearing in ways we had never imagined" (Moore 2009). Sahlins concludes that we perceive cultures as losing variety when in reality, they incorporate innovations into their lifestyle.

Sahlins would argue that the introduction of technology in classrooms, if used accordingly, would eventually integrate enough changes in a western society for the

technology to be viewed as a progressive agent within that society (Moore 2009). In other words, if technology is introduced into the classroom and is perceived positively, society will perceive technology as an asset that increases cultural advancement.

Marvin Harris' analysis of his materialist theory serves between the scientific and humanistic methodologies. In his article, "Anthropology and the Theoretical and Paradigmatic Significance of the Collapse of Soviet and East European Communism," Harris claims that his materialist theory comprises three parts that include: infrastructure, structure, and superstructure (Moore 2009). Infrastructure is made up of modes of production and reproduction. In his article, Harris wrote that the Soviet Union lacked a solid infrastructure, which eventually led to the lack of economic growth and a decrease of technological advancement.

Harris would argue that because schools require a strong infrastructure, they would welcome technology as a resource into the classrooms. Once the schools acquire the technology, it would be up to them to decide the degree of its use. Schools would need to have the most current technology to support a strong "infrastructure."

In conclusion, Marvin Harris' mixed approach to technology in western society classrooms is the most convincing because he would give schools the power to decide how to incorporate technology into their educational system.

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"The Quiet Migration Redux: International Adoption, Race, and Difference" Critique

Kevin Keo

They/Them/Their

"My name is Kevin Keo, I am a first-generation Archaeology student at CSUDH, with a particular interest in the Angkor Empire and its archaeometallurgical history. As a Mellon Mays fellow, I am conducting research on the impact of material culture in the Cambodian diaspora community. During my spare time, I enjoy sculpting and drawing comics."

Jessaca B. Leinaweaver's article, "The Quiet Migration Redux: International Adoption, Race, and Difference," presents the reader with the issue that transnational adoptees are presented solely through a migratory view, which is not the best fit due to the nature of transnational adoption. Leinaweaver shifts into a new hybrid perspective for these adoptees and the people close to them through her position and skills as an anthropologist, rather than as a demographer. Though she does not make any noticeable change, promoting her viewpoint may help bridge the understanding between transnational adoptees and the communities they live in.

Throughout the paper, Leinaweaver addresses the problem of how transnationally and transracially adopted children are viewed in a migratory sense and hopes to alleviate the problem with a holistic anthropological perspective. Leinaweaver argues that using a migration lens when viewing this type of movement is limiting, as transnational adoption does not fall under the normal pull and push factors. This has to do with the term "quiet migration," since these child migrants are beings with very little autonomy and no voice.

Even though the push factors may be the same for adults, the pull factors are not, due to the desire for children from a privileged population. Leinaweaver believes that by utilizing an anthropological life course perspective, we can view these "'migrants' and those close to them, over time ... better understood as racialization than solely the product of migration" (Leinaweaver 2014, 62). Additionally, Leinaweaver provides another perspective, which presents with the social slights that these populations face and how it works to "preclude open conversations about racial difference and minority status in an adoptive context" (Leinaweaver 2014, 63) with their parents. Leinaweaver asserts that transnational and transracial adoptees continuously face the problem of identity after the "initial migration." These new minority populations are different from the typical migrant communities due to the disconnect they experience when approached by the ethnic majority. The inherent racialization that the ethnic majority uses on adoptees causes a dilemma of identity. Their parents are the majority, but they are the minority whether they identify with it or not. For example, "… at an immediate, local level, it seems that Tina knows that when a stranger asks her where she is from, it is a question meant to make sense of the racialized disconnect between her body and her surroundings. When she knows what that question means and responds knowingly, she is interpellated as a foreigner" (Leinaweaver 2014, 66). To be constantly seen as the other, despite growing up in circumstances in which adoptees believe themselves to be no different than the majority of society, is just one of the problems transnational adoptees face.

As a cultural anthropologist associated with Brown University, Jessaca B. Leinaweaver conducts most of her research on Peru and the Peruvian diaspora. She is able to bring a holistic viewpoint and cultural sensitivity given her background as a cultural anthropologist that most demographers would not (Researcher@Brown). Her ability to perform ethnographic research is what sets her apart from demographers, as she is able to connect with communities and produce substantial cultural research. This is a skill that is essential for cultural anthropologists. This article identifies some of the intersections between migration and adoption, and though it is more of an academic article than a needs assessment project, the formation of her hybrid understanding is key to understanding the problems these communities face.

The communities that would be most affected by the results of Leinaweaver's work are transnational and transracial adoptees. These adoptees would benefit from a paradigm shift in how they are viewed and treated by the communities they live in, However, to truly bring about change, additional steps must be taken past Leinaweaver's work in identifying the problem. Her work is the first step of many towards creating change. The family members

of this population would also benefit from this perspective as they would be able to communicate better with the affected minorities.

The effect of anthropology on the problem of racialization in adoptee populations is, so far, unpronounced. Leinaweaver has identified the problem plaguing this minority group, but the article does not present any solutions. It is safe to say that there has not been any behavioral shifts from the majority group towards the minority. While Leinaweaver's research has not yet resulted in change, perhaps her findings will influence a needs-based assessment project or a social movement in time. Convincing a majority group to change their perspectives on an entire group of people will be difficult, but steps can be made. Specifically, Leinaweaver can assist the Peruvian Spanish population with creating a social justice organization that helps transnational and transracial adoptees connect with their cultural heritage while forming a community with each other.

Jessaca B. Leinaweaver's article, "The Quiet Migration Redux: International Adoption, Race, and Difference," explores the intersections between the adoption of transnational and transracial children and how it is understood as migration. Through her experience as a cultural anthropologist, she is able to utilize a thorough anthropological life course perspective to interview Peruvian transnational adoptees living in Spain and their families. While this was a research article and no needs were met within this population, the promotion of this new outlook will help adoptees worldwide communicate with their family members without feeling displaced.

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Dental Enamel Hypoplasias Being Used as Markers to Identify Undocumented Migrants

Yesenia Rubi Landa

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Rubi Landa and I am a current senior at CSUDH. I am planning to attend graduate school beginning in Fall 2021. My main research interest is focused on the water management strategies of the Maya. I am also interested in other aspects of anthropology such as the ethics of handling and identifying migrant remains. This is extremely important to me as a first-generation college student born to immigrant parents who crossed the border outside of legal channels."

Background

Since 2014, there has been a 44% increase of migrant deaths at the southern border of the United States (International Office of Migration 2019). The leading cause for these deaths is the adoption of the "Prevention through Deterrence" policy, which funnels migrants into more treacherous terrains. These dangerous terrains have led to increasing deaths, which means bodies that need to be identified. Forensic anthropologists face a major problem when identifying whether an individual is an undocumented migrant or an American born citizen while trying to properly repatriate remains. Many migrants' remains that were identified at the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiners (PCOME) show skeletal indicators of stress such as Dental Enamel Hypoplasias (DEH), which can help during the identification process. Biological anthropologist Dr. Jared Beatrice conducted a study that indicates the presence of DEH is 3 times more frequent amongst the undocumented migrant population. It is suspected that DEH correlates with health disparities during childhood, and it was also noted that these features were rarely

visible in non-migrant remains at PCOME (Beatrice et al. 2016). Dental Enamel Hypoplasias can be useful markers in the identification process, but it is important to understand that these markers are not indicative of legal status. Rather, these markers are often helpful due to the marginalization of individuals that come from backgrounds of low socioeconomic status.

Dental Enamel Hypoplasias (DEH)

DEH are defects that occur in enamel that is still forming. During the enamel formation process, there are two main steps: 1. The layer of organic matrix begins to form and 2. The organic matrix begins to mineralize. Enamel is one of the strongest substances in the human body and does not contain living cells. DEH usually occur while the teeth are still developing, before the organic matrix has mineralized. This causes pits, grooves, and lines to form on teeth when a disruption occurs. Although DEH can occur in both deciduous and permanent teeth, it mainly occurs during youth (Holt 2001). Enamel's inability to remodel means that DEH can become a record of childhood disruptions on teeth. There are many causes that can lead to DEH, including hereditary symptoms, prenatal issues, and environmental factors such as malnutrition, stress levels, and systemic disruptions. A lot of disruptions are equivalent to those seen in immigrant and refugee communities. Migration comes with factors such as home country trauma, migration trauma, signs of disease, starvation/ malnutrition, and other traumas in general. These factors can all contribute as environmental stressors that lead to DEH forming. It is no surprise that many immigrants and refugees are leaving their home countries due to living conditions that can lead to overall poor health.

Environmental Stress in Developing Countries

The well-beings of individuals living in rural areas in developing countries have been declining. Even though 80% of the global workforce lies in developing countries, wealth is unequally distributed between developing and industrialized countries (Kortum et al. 2010). Since the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect in 1994, foreign investors have been allowed to provide poor work conditions in *maquiladoras* (tariff-free factories that assemble raw materials and export the product) to workers in Mexico without any restrictions. These *maquiladoras* often have "poor ventilation, few rest periods, excessive noise levels, unsafe machinery, long hours of microscopic assembly work, and exposure to toxic chemicals and carcinogens" and mostly employ women (Eskenazi 1993). The people working in the *maquiladoras* are often those that left their rural towns in search of jobs. Mexico is not the only place that people have been pushed into impoverishment. These poor working

conditions can lead to a larger overall impact on people's lives. Poor working conditions can lead to health problems, and when a person does not have adequate healthcare, these problems often remain unresolved. It is important to note that, since *maquiladoras* mainly employ women, these poor working conditions can extend to an infant in utero and after birth. Working under these conditions and/or being malnourished can lead to their infants having poor stores of "zinc, vitamin A, vitamin B12, and iron. Vitamin B12 and iron are both essential for brain and central nervous development and growth" (Neumann et al. 2004). Apart from these nutrients already being affected during the developmental process in utero, children born into an impoverished community can continue to be malnourished through childhood.

In their article, Neumann, Gewa, and Bwibo discuss the various aspects leading to malnutrition as well as the development of youth in developing countries. Although initiatives and programs have been put into place to save children's lives, these efforts need to be extended to the quality of life for surviving children. Neumann, Constance, and Nimrod state that more needs to be accomplished in school, especially for those in preschool. Developing countries have trouble improving the quality of diet through "raising and consumption [of] small animals by rural subsistence households to enhance maternal and child nutrition" (Neumann et al. 2004). The cycle of malnutrition is continuous, and aid needs to start at childhood and continue through adulthood. Saving malnourished children does not solve the problem because the cycle will continue if efforts are not made for the continued survival and health of children into adulthood.

DEH formation can indicate the stress and trauma of events that individuals survived at youth. It is important to realize that most people with DEH are underrepresented and marginalized groups of individuals and are not related to origin. Because of this, it is impossible to identify migrant remains at the border solely on DEH markers, but it can work when partnered with other forensic techniques. In a study done on the prevalence of Dental Enamel Hypoplasias, a total of 698 children were followed through childhood, all coming from equal backgrounds in socioeconomic status and race. Of the 698 children, 44 of them had DEH on at least one tooth (Slayton 2000). This study was done on white Americans from good socioeconomic backgrounds. Although the number of children with DEH was not that high, it is noteworthy that it can happen to people of all backgrounds. In Beatrice and Soler's study, they found that there is a greater prevalence of DEH in undocumented migrants than in United States citizens. The prevalence rate was moderate amongst the migrant sample at 30.4% and low amongst documented citizens, 10.9% (Beatrice et al 2016).

Migrant Deaths at the Southern Border

At the U.S-Mexico border, there are many instances where migrants perish due to the perils of the desert, including the weather, environment, assailants, and vigilantes. Many of these deaths have been brought on by the adoption of "Prevention through Deterrence" in 1994, which allows for urban areas to be sealed off, in turn funneling migrants through more dangerous terrain. Although there are organizations, such as Human Borders, that try to prevent deaths by providing water tanks for migrants, migrants often try to avoid them unless they are desperate. The main problem with these tanks is that they are clearly marked for anyone to see, including border patrol, which means that stopping at these tanks can lead to possible apprehension. Because of this, many migrants are either going without water once their supplies run out or drinking from natural reservoirs or springs that they come across. Dehydration leads to exhaustion, which means that migrants may be unable to finish their journey. Since 2014, there have been an estimated 2,225 deaths recorded at the U.S.-Mexico border (International Organization for Migration 2019). The Pima County Office of the Medical Examiners successfully identified "65% of the 2330 migrants between 2001 and 2004" (Beatrice et al. 2016). However, since the bodies being identified are in the United States, they are having a major problem determining their legal statuses and properly repatriate their bodies.

Beatrice and Soler argue that observations of skeletal stress such as DEH can prove useful in the identification process as it can indicate whether individuals come from backgrounds of low socioeconomic status. They state that when these skeletal indicators are used in combination with other forensic techniques, such as biological, sociocultural, and contextual clues, it can aid the identification process of undocumented migrants. Beatrice and Soler also argue that when forensic anthropologists overlook these markers, they are not allowing themselves to collect all information that can help identify an unknown individual. They emphasize that these skeletal indicators are in no way an attribute of "legal" status. Rather, they should be included in the biocultural profile view, which can aid in identifying whether bodies are those of undocumented migrants or American born individuals.

Conclusion

Migrant deaths have steadily been increasing at the U.S.-Mexico border. Much of this has been brought on by the U.S Border Patrol funneling migrants through dangerous terrains. The desert can be an unforgiving place, full of beauty, dreams, and unfortunately, death. Many migrants crossing this dangerous landscape are leaving countries that are not helping their citizens. They are employed in areas with poor working conditions and low wages, which can lead to greater problems and affect health. When

these health conditions go uncared for, as many do in developing countries, it can lead to prenatal health problems in infants. These environmental stresses can leave skeletal indicators, such as Dental Enamel Hypoplasias, during youth. These skeletal indicators are not markers of origin but are instead indicators of marginalized and impoverished communities. Skeletal indicators are important to consider when identifying individuals, as it can give us context on whether they come from a background of low socioeconomic status. If forensic anthropologists are ignoring these markers, they are failing to gather important information that can help appropriately repatriate an individual. While it can be helpful, it is particularly important to remember that these markers are not indicative of "legal" status and need to be examined along with the entire biocultural profile of the individual.

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The Participation of Women in Times of Revolution

Elizabeth Mallonee

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Elizabeth Mallonee, and I am a senior at CSUDH majoring in anthropology with a concentration in archaeology. My main research interests are the sacred spaces and landscapes of Prehistoric Northwest Europe, particularly megalithic structures. I chose to write about the role of women in revolutions because I found it interesting that at different points in history and in different countries, women were facing the same issues."

When one thinks of a social or political revolution, the picture that is commonly brought to mind is one of a physical display of aggression – fists in the air and the strength of the people against their oppressors. For those with access to any source of media during 2019 and the first half of 2020, these descriptions of revolutionary iconography have become commonplace. Since the start of the protests in Hong Kong in March 2019 opposing a bill proposal to extradite Hong Kongers to China for trial – a move that seemingly accelerates the 2047 Deal to absorb democratic Hong Kong into authoritarian mainland China in the year 2047 – and the Black Lives Matter protests in the United States that began in May 2020 over the murder of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis, Minnesota, these images seem to appear everywhere. Women have always played a significant role in political movements, many at the forefront of the fight, but their work in these movements can often become trivialized by history. The following paper will discuss how the arrival of the hierarchical separation of the sexes occurred and discuss the implications of that separation on the work of women in

revolutionary activity. This paper will also examine how women have found authority in movements within these constraints.

A look back on the many political movements and uprisings from the past two hundred years, will definitely reveal the stories of great men, but information about the great women that worked in these movements is very seldomly found. From the French Revolution, the 1916 Easter Uprising and 1923 Civil War in Ireland, the occupation of Wounded Knee and Alcatraz by the American Indian Movement in the 1960s and 70s, women have always been major parts of the story. It is easy to wonder why, if women play an integral role in such movements, are their participation not recognized in the same way as their male counterparts. One possible answer to that question might be found in the work by American anthropologist Eleanor Burke Leacock. In her article, "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution," Leacock states that with the introduction of capitalism, the previously equal and valued role of women in egalitarian societies are diminished and ". . . transformed women's work from public production to private household services" (Leacock 1978, 247-75). In egalitarianism, men and women have equally autonomous roles where the individual is responsible for the dispersal of the goods that they produce, but as capitalism emerged and those goods became a product of commerce rather than for subsistence, hierarchical gender roles begin to emerge (Moore 2019, 228). During the 1950s, Leacock conducts ethnographic and historical research with the Montagnais-Naskapi in Labrador in North America. The Montagnais-Naskapi transitioned into the fur-trading economy from an egalitarian society, and she observes that the women have less control over the trapping and distribution of furs, and thus their role in society diminishes and centers more towards unpaid domestic duties, while becoming dependent on men as the heads of the household (Moore 2019, 208). Leacock goes on to describe the eventual separation of the sexes into the spheres of public and private life, which she refers to as "the dichotomization of 'public' and 'private' spheres" (Leacock 1978, 247-75). This paradigm is still reflected in many cultures today and has seeped into the participation of women in political movements.

There are many instances throughout history where women participated in public demonstrations and acts of violence that are typically performed by men in the public sphere, but by and large, the work done by women is conducted in the private realm. Jobs like espionage, organizing, documenting, and taking care of elders and children are often designated to women. Because these positions are vital to the effectiveness of any grassroots political movement, the men of the organization would appreciate the women's efforts, but the outside world that might have a difficult time respecting these jobs and would subsequently undervalue the authority of

women's roles. In the case of the occupation of Alcatraz in San Francisco, California in 1969-1971, it is the media that overlooks the significance of these essential jobs (Hightower-Langston 2003, 118). In her paper, "American Indian Women's Activism in the 1960s and 1970s," anthropologist Dr. Donna Hightower-Langston points out this exact issue by arguing that, "The work of women was essential in the daily running of the island, including running the community kitchen, school, and health care center. Yet male figures such as Richard Oakes (Mohawk), head of San Francisco Native American Student group and . . . John Trudell (Santee Lakota), who ran the radio broadcast from Alcatraz, received more media attention and remain better known to this day" (Hightower-Langston 2003, 118). Although the women are responsible for keeping the camp running for the 56,000 individuals who occupied the island with no electricity or running water, it is the men who are made the faces of the movement, thus maintaining the model of men in the public sphere and women in the private sphere (Hightower-Langston 2003,118). Some may point out that one of the men, Richard Oakes, was in a leadership position and would naturally be designated as a representative to the media. Although this is true, Oakes left a few months into the occupation while LaNada Boyer/Means, the first Native person admitted into the University of California, Berkeley, and head of the Native American Student Organization at Berkeley, stayed the entire nineteen months of the occupation but was not given the same distinction in the press as her male colleagues as an authoritative public figure in the movement (Hightower-Langston 2003, 120).

The downplaying of women's roles from outside of the revolutionary's own movement did not only happen at Alcatraz. It has occurred many times throughout history and can be a detrimental mistake to the opposition. In the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland against British rule of the country, members of the radical paramilitary women's group Inghinidhe na hÉireann were arrested during the Rising on Easter week in 1916. While imprisoned, the British army miscalculated the female prisoners they had in their organization (Collins 2020). The British eventually let most of the women go, believing that they were "silly little girls" who "had been misled into taking part in the Rising, or 'had joined in out of a desire for 'excitement' or sense that it was 'something to be in' rather than a political conviction'" (Conaway 2019, 99). Due to the undervaluing
of the Inghinidhe na hÉireann members, the women went out into the streets angrier and ready to continue their part in the war. To gain more support for their movement, the women partook in the vital tasks of propaganda, fundraising, and intelligence (Collins 2020). Because these tasks were done in the private sphere, particularly intelligence and espionage, women could enter parties,

institutions, etc. and be inconspicuous (Collins 2020). By playing into the traditional division of the sexes, the women gained supporters, funds, and information that men otherwise could not have accomplished, aiding the movement to eventual success.

Even though the women of Inghinidhe na hÉireann used the trivialization of their work to their benefit, that is not always an option. Today, the opposition of grassroots movements attempt to disparage and discredit the presence of women during protests, marches, and other demonstrations by using verbal and sexual harassment, – particularly by militarized police in Hong Kong and Los Angeles. According to authors Darline Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, in their chapter, "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris," ". . . public man was a self-sacrificing hero, while women who assumed roles in the public arenas were 'public women,' courtesans and prostitutes" (Gay Levy 1992, 80). Essentially, if a woman is participating in the public sphere rather than the private, she is still something that belongs to men and the male domain. It can be surmised that because women are stepping 'out of their place' and into this male designated space, they are more suitable for ridicule and harassment. These violations against women in protest are conducted to display power, control, and shame over the victim and to make them question their place in the movement. Although this might have been an effective tactic in years past, women are speaking more openly about sexual assault. Sexual harassment by both male and female officers have become so rampant that the hashtag *#ProtestToo* was created for victims to communicate and discuss their assaults from the Hong Kong police, which, garnered a response of 30,000 people to come together and protest these offenses (Carvalho 2019, 3). The protests in Hong Kong and the United States are unrelated, but the same tactics of unnecessary strip searches, groping, and not allowing women to cover their exposed bodies while in police custody are also being used by the Los Angeles Police Department (Rector 2020, 3). According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the LAPD conducted unnecessary strip searches on female detainees in violation of the LA curfew that went into effect at the end of May and early April during the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 (Rector 2020, 1). These violations include aggressively patting down of female detainee's breasts and vaginas, and verbal harassment, which included the singling out of a woman they recognized from social media, "talking openly about her body, [and] openly ogling her body" in front of the other officers and detainees while in a police bus (Rector 2020, 3).

Regardless of any bedevilment that they might face for entering the public realm of revolutions, women still show up. Some are just learning the value of participating, and others are armed and ready to move forward by any means necessary, even violence. Protests in Hong Kong and the French

revolution in the eighteenth-century employed violence to make headway in their respective movements. In Hong Kong, protesters use makeshift weapons like bricks, bamboo poles, and petrol bombs against the militarized police (Carvalho 2019, 7). As the protests continue, women are seeing their value and validity when participating at the frontlines in the battles against the militarized police. A female protester in Hong Kong named Stephy describes her experience, "After two or three protests, I started seeing many more girls coming in front, instead of hiding in the back" (Carvalho 2019, 7). While the female Hong Kongers are at the beginning stages of discovering their power within their movement, women in the French Revolution had a strong sense of their power, especially their power in numbers. On October 5th, 1789, also known as The October Days, seven thousand women marched on Versailles and the National Assembly (Gay Levy 1992, 83). It was at this time that women forcefully made the legislators listen to their demands for bread (Gay Levy 1992, 84). The women of the French Revolution understood that threats and acts of violence were the most effective ways to see their demands met. October Day put women at the forefront of the demonstration, and women started it by beating a drum and recruiting as many women off the streets of Paris as they could (Gay Levy 1992, 83). They were so forceful, one spectator later wrote that "Men didn't have enough strength to avenge themselves and that [the women] would demonstrate that they were better than men" (Gay Levy 1992, 83). The demonstration culminated in the women making the 14-kilometer trek to Versailles in the rain to have their demands heard by the king while carrying "pikes, clubs, knives, swords, muskets, and other weapons. . ." including a cannon (Gay Levy 1992, 83).

After looking back at how women have navigated the public and private realms during past and present revolutions, the question remains, what does the future hold for the role of women in protest? Recently, there have been many female-lead movements, specifically in the United States, including the Women's March starting in 2017, *#MeToo*, and the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests. By women not only participating but creating movements and holding leadership positions, they are not just stepping out into public life but finding a way to be fully integrated. Although society has made some progress towards equality, many cannot fully accept this and continue to discredit or belittle these movements. Often, they do so in the same fashion that the British soldiers attempted to discredit the women of Inghinidhe na hÉireann, by stating that they are "silly little girls" or that these women do not actually know what they have gotten themselves into. This occurred with the Women's March in 2017. Although the organization has been widely criticized for promoting a non-inclusive brand of feminism, it created the momentum needed for the progressive and

effective *#MeToo* movement (Lang 2019, 1). Black Lives Matter was created by three Black women from the United States: Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, and they have not only facilitated what could possibly be the largest civil rights movement in American history but also inspired protests around the world to fight racial injustice and police brutality against Black, Indigenous and People of Color (Buchanan 2020, 1). With women fully and shamelessly stepping into the traditionally male world of public life, they are disrupting the status quo. In a lecture examining the relationship between anthropology and perceptions of power, anthropologist Eric R. Wolf states, "[t]he enactment of power always creates friction – disgruntlement, foot-dragging, escapism, sabotage, protest, or outright resistance. . ." (Moore, 2019,362) In other words, by women enacting their power against an age-old system of the division of the sexes, they are in effect, creating a revolution within a revolution.

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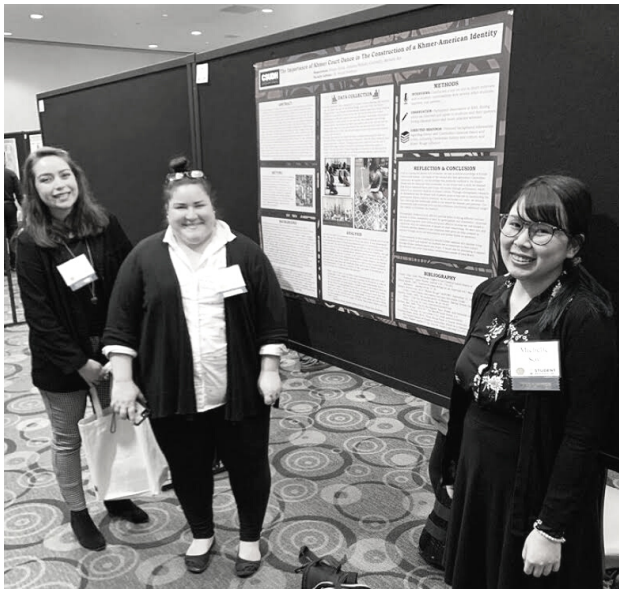
The Role of Khmer Court Dance and Music in the Construction of a Cambodian American Identity

Michelle L. Sov, Johanna Sobolic-Connelly, Sheyla Flores



Michelle L. Sov (She, Her, Hers) recently graduated from CSUDH with a Bachelor's degree in Anthropology. This project was especially close to her heart because her parents are Khmer Rouge survivors.

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Introduction

Cambodia gained national attention in the mid-1970's due to the mass genocide perpetrated during the Khmer Rouge regime. For many Cambodians born and raised in the United States, the primary cultural awareness passed down from their parents and elders revolves around experiences surrounding the Khmer Rouge. This paper explores the construction of cultural identity among second generation Cambodian youth and adults participating in Khmer classical dance and music classes at Khmer Arts Academy in Long Beach, California. It is important to note the difference between our use of the terms "Khmer" and "Cambodia" in this paper. Khmer people are an ethnic group native to Cambodia, while Cambodia is the name of the country. Due to the fact that other ethnic groups also reside in Cambodia, we will use "Cambodian" to refer to people living in Cambodia (or are descended from people who lived in Cambodia), who may not necessarily identify as Khmer. "Khmer" also refers to the language family spoken by the Khmer people.

Setting

The Khmer Arts Academy (KAA), founded by Sophiline Cheam Shapiro in 1999, is a Cambodian dance and music studio centered around the importance of maintaining and passing on the knowledge and traditions of classical Khmer cultural arts. The KAA building is located at 1364 Obispo Avenue, on a bustling city street in the Zaferia neighborhood of Long Beach, California. The academy is open Thursdays through Sundays for classical Khmer dance and music lessons.

When moving through the studio, one sees culturally relevant artifacts, renderings, depictions, and spaces. Before classes begin, anyone who enters the space will smell incense burning on the altar and see the instructor and dancers preparing their attire for practice. On the south wall is a large towering painting of Buddha sitting atop a lotus. Along the west wall is an elevated stage with musical instruments displayed, upon which an altar laden with crowns, masks, bamboo, flower garlands, baisay, and framed photos also sit. Appropriately, the space where the arts come to life is in the center of the room, in front of the altar. Khmer classical dance originated as a ritualistic prayer and story form, which includes deeply symbolic gestures and personification of deities and celestial beings. The *Pin Peat* is a traditional Khmer music ensemble which primarily played music specifically for royal palace dancers. Modernly, and in the case of KAA, Khmer classical dance has taken on another culturally distinct application. It serves as a reminder of enduring culture, lasting ties, and the stories of survivors of cultural genocide through both interpretive and choreographed dance routines.

Methods

The methods employed in our research at KAA include observations and an interview with a key informant. During the first visit, the space was mapped to set reference points for fieldnotes and ethnographic purposes. Census reports were conducted during each visit to obtain a sense of attendance and generate ideas for the established hierarchy exhibited during practices. During visits to KAA, we observed, took notes of those observations, and asked questions of the participants during their breaks. Short, informal interviews were conducted with instructors, students, and their family members. We conducted an in-depth interview with one of the advanced students, Yaya (pseudonym), as she would provide a great perspective as a second-generation Khmer student learning about Khmer arts in America.

Analysis

Before presenting our findings, background on the Khmer Rouge is necessary to understand the current predicament that Cambodian Americans face in developing their cultural identity. The Khmer Rouge was a Communist-fueled political movement and party in Cambodia led by Pol Pot during the

mid-1970's that sought to create a supreme race and utilized violent tactics. The regime's goal was to annihilate the Buddhist era in Cambodia by forcing people to abandon and forget about their culture or die if they neglected to do so. Ben Kiernan wrote in his book, *The Pol Pot Regime*, that "the Khmer Rouge hoped to use children as a basis of a new society without memory" (Kiernan 1996). The Khmer Rouge spurred a civil war that lasted from 1975-1979 (History.com 2017), which resulted in the deaths of millions of people. Cambodian people were forced into concentration camps where they were starved, worked to death, and even executed. Historians dubbed this the "Cambodian Genocide," a tragic event that killed 1.7-2.2 million people and caused others to flee their home out of fear of persecution of their culture and ethnicity. In our research at the Khmer Arts Academy (KAA), we found that the Khmer Rouge still has a major impact on the present generation.

The refugees that escaped Cambodia and emigrated to the United States made some attempts to keep the Khmer culture alive, but it is also apparent that much was suppressed due to the traumatic experience of the genocide. First generation refugees usually do not speak much about their experiences in Cambodia during the war. As a result, many of the first generation also tend not to share much about the positive aspects of their culture and experiences in Cambodia. Those who left Cambodia as children have either forgotten or refuse to talk about experiences they had, leaving their children without that knowledge. In Judith Hamera's article, "An Answerability of Memory," an interviewee named Sandy says, "I like to learn it [the dance] because it's important to know my culture. I know. But it's different for me than for them [her parents]. For them, it means more. I wasn't there. It's hard to relate" (Hamera 2002, 79). Sandy is referring to her parents' view of Khmer culture following the Khmer Rouge. While she takes part in learning Khmer dance to better connect with her culture, she states that it is different for her parents, who survived the Khmer Rouge. It is apparent, that the trauma experienced, due to the ruthless nature of the Khmer Rouge and the genocide of Cambodian peoples, makes it difficult for the first generation to talk about Khmer culture. Unfortunately, information about the Khmer Rouge and its impact on their parents is often the only information that gets passed down to the following generations. This results in a dynamic in which second and later generation Cambodians born and raised in American know very little about their own culture besides the Khmer Rouge. Even then, children of refugees often know little about the Khmer Rouge because their parents do not like to speak of their experiences. Not only was knowledge suppressed, but material culture was also. In her article titled "America Provides Refuge for an Imperiled Art," author Karen Deans writes, "The only instrument found in traditional orchestras that the group

still lacks is a 'srlai' (*Sralai*), for which money has not been available" (Deans 1983, 38), showing that even material culture important for sustaining the art form was suppressed. For *Pin peat* music, in particular, the *sralai* is an important part of Khmer classical dance. Without it, the traditional orchestra and the music it produces is incomplete.

During the main formal interview, the key informant, Yaya, stated that "[...] before I started dancing, like everyone else, all I knew was like 'oh' the Khmer Rouge, and, other than the Khmer Rouge, is food." She also mentions that some of the elders in her family, including her grandparents, are opposed to her participating and learning traditional Khmer classical dance or music, as they feel that it is a waste of her time. They prefer that she turn her efforts elsewhere so that she can be successful in America. She says that "coming from the Khmer Rouge and coming from that mindset of how am I going to survive, what am I gonna do to get food to eat or get more food to eat. And like I guess from that experience they kind of, they kind of stayed in their mind and like it's-it became like a part of how they think and how they do things so it's always been that survival mindset." This is common, especially with first-generation Cambodian refugees, because they would rather their children and grandchildren forget these aspects of their culture and focus on assimilating and being financially successful. Unlike Sandy in Judith Hamera's article, Yaya chooses to learn Khmer classical dance and music because it gives her a connection to her culture that she did not have prior to that.

The interview with Yaya presented an opportunity to analyze and conclude that, although the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge was severe, it was unsuccessful in accomplishing its goal of eliminating Khmer culture. It is interesting to note that, forty years after the end of the Khmer Rouge, the effects it had on Cambodian culture is still felt by the second and later generations in America. However, through cultural activities, such as learning Khmer classical dance and music at the KAA, cultural traditions continue to persist. In fact, the KAA was created in an effort to prevent Khmer culture from disappearing. Sophiline Cheam Shapiro, the founder and artistic director of KAA, started the studio as a way to keep classical Khmer arts alive and to pass down the traditional dance and music of Khmer culture to future generations. On why she continues to teach and grow the knowledge of Khmer cultural arts, Sophiline gave this anecdote:

> *When I was 16 years old, my fellow dance students and I were sent to the countryside in the middle of a civil war to perform for the public in order to help the government prove to the people that it was authentically Khmer. The morning after one performance a noodle vendor in the market informed us that Khmer Rouge guerillas had come to our concert armed with rocket launchers in order to kill us. But they liked the dancing so much that...*

> *... they stayed until the end, clapped and returned home. It's not every day that art will save your life, but this story is a reminder of the power art has to bring out the humanity in even the coldest of hearts. That is why I dance, and that is why I teach.*
> *-- Sophiline Cheam Shapiro (Artistic Director, Khmer Arts Academy)*

In her article, Hamera also states that classical dance is "as much sign language [...] it functions as a narrative technology to embody and reproduce both sacred classical and secular folk texts and images" (Hamera 2002, 77). Hand gestures and placement, posture, and affect are extremely important in this dance form. Khmer classical dance and music are taught as forms of storytelling and are mediums that are used to share culture. Traditionally, Khmer classical dance and music were performed only in the royal court. During the reign and terror of the Khmer Rouge, in an attempt to survive many artists and artistic troupes hid in the jungles. After the Khmer Rouge tried to destroy all traces of Khmer classical arts, it became important that the art of Khmer court dance and music be preserved by as many people as possible. Thus, it was no longer restricted to royal persons.

Participation at KAA also helps second and later generation Khmer or Cambodian-Americans connect with their culture by exposing students to the art forms and beauty of Khmer culture. Yaya mentioned to us that "[...] coming to dance, it kinda helped me see that there's more than the Khmer Rouge." KAA presents students the opportunity to learn about the beautiful traditional court dancing and music from Khmer culture. In our interview, Yaya indicates that through classical dance, she learned that there is another side to her culture that she had not been aware of. Yaya also believes that she learns about more than dancing and music at KAA; she is also learning about the social and material culture, and its history. As she had only been aware of the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge prior to KAA, she is glad to learn that there is more than death and torture in her cultural history. Her association with KAA has given her a positive outlook on her identity as a second generation Khmer American, and it makes her proud of her heritage.

Khmer Arts Academy is not only a space for the arts, but it is also a space utilized for community building. Community plays a huge role in maintaining cultural heritage, language, and cultural practices. As concluded from the observations, there is a need for sustained cultural identity. The dance instructor, *Neak Kru* Mea (Lath), stated, "I grew up not knowing family histories as a child. In my twenties I began questioning, I wanted to love myself fully, but you can't do that if you are rejecting or neglecting one part!" Stories like this are all too familiar among Cambodian-Americans. Within the academy itself, students are discovering their own cultural identity together, almost as a kinship unit.

Students spend several days a week together in class and take on a type of familial role in each other's lives. Participants, including instructors, students, family members, board members, and volunteers address each other using kinship terms. In our interview with Yaya, she stated that an important part of their culture is based on kinship, and that:

> *... the way like everyone interacts, like everyone's a family, everyone's a whole community, like it doesn't matter. Let's say I go to a party, I don't say- I don't call them by their name. I call them* ming *or* pou *or* om*... so like aunt, uncle, and like bong is just how you call someone who is older than you out of respect.*

Using honorary terms that indicate familial closeness helps to create an environment of family and community. There are formal titles to indicate an instructor's status such as "*Neak Kru*" for female instructors, and "*Lok Kru*" for male instructors. Although this is the case, the music instructor *Lok Kru* Bee prefers his students call him "*Pou*" Bee, meaning "uncle" Bee. *Pou* Bee says that although he is an instructor, the formality of being called "*Lok Kru*" is too formal for him. Having his students call him *Pou* may also foster a closer, more familial relationship between him and his students.

An additional layer of community building is the presence of family at KAA. At every practice, there are parents, aunts, uncles, siblings, relatives, biological or even chosen kin, sitting, eating, waiting, watching, talking, knitting, helping, and perhaps even learning from the activities conducted in the confines of KAA. These individuals support the students that they bring to KAA. In the case of Yaya, her aunt was the one who originally brought her to a lesson. Yaya's aunt also brought her daughter and another niece to the studio to learn Khmer classical arts. Yaya's father, Steve, is a music student at KAA and has been learning how to play the *Sralai* for the past year. The dance and music student, Sav (pseudonym), is taught music by her uncle, *Pou* Bee, who was taught how to play all the Khmer instruments by his uncle, Ho Chan. When looking back at the devastation wrought by the Khmer Rouge onto the Khmer people of Cambodia, it only makes sense that the surviving practitioners of the arts would pass their knowledge on to their kin to keep the culture alive. Culture survives when it is supported and practiced. When you treat students and their families as a part of your own, a greater sense of community and belonging is created, which instills a greater passion for sustaining that culture. KAA is not only an arts studio, it is a family.

Through observations, it is evident that many of the students attending KAA are not all fluent in Khmer. Many of them barely understand Khmer when it is spoken, and yet are able to recognize terminology used for dance or music instruction. The lead dance instructor, *Neak Kru* Mea, primarily gives posing instruction in Khmer. Although the students may not be fluent in Khmer, through

practice and repetition and use of Khmer terminology, they learn to understand instructions given in Khmer. Khmer is a very difficult language to learn but even giving simple instructions for dance and music helps the students learn the language. This introduction to Khmer language is important in the reviving of its culture, as more second-generation Khmer Americans are unable to speak their family's native tongue.

In addition to learning about culture, Yaya asserts that she is also learning much about herself as a participant of the KAA. In Khmer classical dance, dancers are extremely careful and precise with their movements because, as mentioned earlier, they are not just performing, they are also telling a story. The stories they tell through dance are ancient stories that have been passed down for thousands of years. Due to the symbolism and significance of the art form, the intricate and exquisite poses must be intentionally and methodically enacted. Hamera writes, "These positions and poses are highly stylized, demanding a level of precision and artifice that makes ballet seem naturalistic by comparison" (Hamera 2002). To effectively tell the sacred stories, Khmer classical dance places great importance in proper body positioning and poses. From the moment students begin their journey learning Khmer classical dance they go through a bone and joint shaping process. Khmer classical dance students are required to do stretches of every joint to promote what is medically termed as "hyper-extension" as well as core strength to be able to have the proper flow and body movement necessary for this dance form. The arts require a lot of commitment and motivation, which are some of the things that students like Yaya learn at KAA. Yaya says that she learned discipline through her instruction and that she learned to push herself to continue to improve her composure and skill in the arts.

In addition, Yaya is learning to be more confident in herself, not only at KAA, but also in her day to day life outside of the academy. She emphasized the level of comfort that KAA creates and how it has helped her come out of her shell. Yaya confessed to us that at the prior to attending KAA, she was extremely shy and did not converse with anybody. After slowly letting her guard down, she "learned to talk to everybody." KAA is like a second home to her, and she says:

> *I'm not sure if you've noticed, but like, even after class is over, people will still be dancing. People will still like hang around for a little bit cause it's just like we're all just one big family. And then it's like, it's really- it's a really comforting place.*

Yaya believes that KAA taught her to step out of her comfort zone at the studio, on stage, and in her life outside of KAA. Part of this might also stem from her larger confidence in her identity as a Khmer American. Prior to her attendance, Yaya felt that there was little in her culture that she felt she could be proud of. After joining KAA, she developed a

connection to her culture and her roots, which allowed her to blossom into a more confident and poised young adult.

Reflection and Conclusion

Prior to visiting the Khmer Arts Academy, we had a limited knowledge of Khmer culture and history. Like many of the second and later generation Cambodian Americans, our knowledge was limited to the Khmer Rouge and the atrocities they committed. In the initial visit to KAA, we learned that Khmer classical dance and music tell stories through performance, which makes it an important medium to impart culture. Through ethnographic research, we determined that the Khmer Arts Academy plays a vital role in constructing the participants' Khmer cultural identities. As we continued our visits, we learned that collecting data holistically aided in our search for themes and patterns. Our observations and interviews with our key informant contributed additional insight that helped us formulate our research. Ethnographic fieldwork is an effective method when studying different cultures because it allows researchers to learn by participation and observation. Interview and questioning were more forthcoming and effective because we had formed a connection with the community of people we were researching. We were also able to discern whether answers to our questions were given as ideal answers or genuine through continued observations and further follow up questions. Future research in this community should further examine why families bring students to KAA, and whether all students feel a connection to their culture through Khmer classical dance and music. It would also be interesting to expand this research into other Cambodian communities outside of Long Beach.

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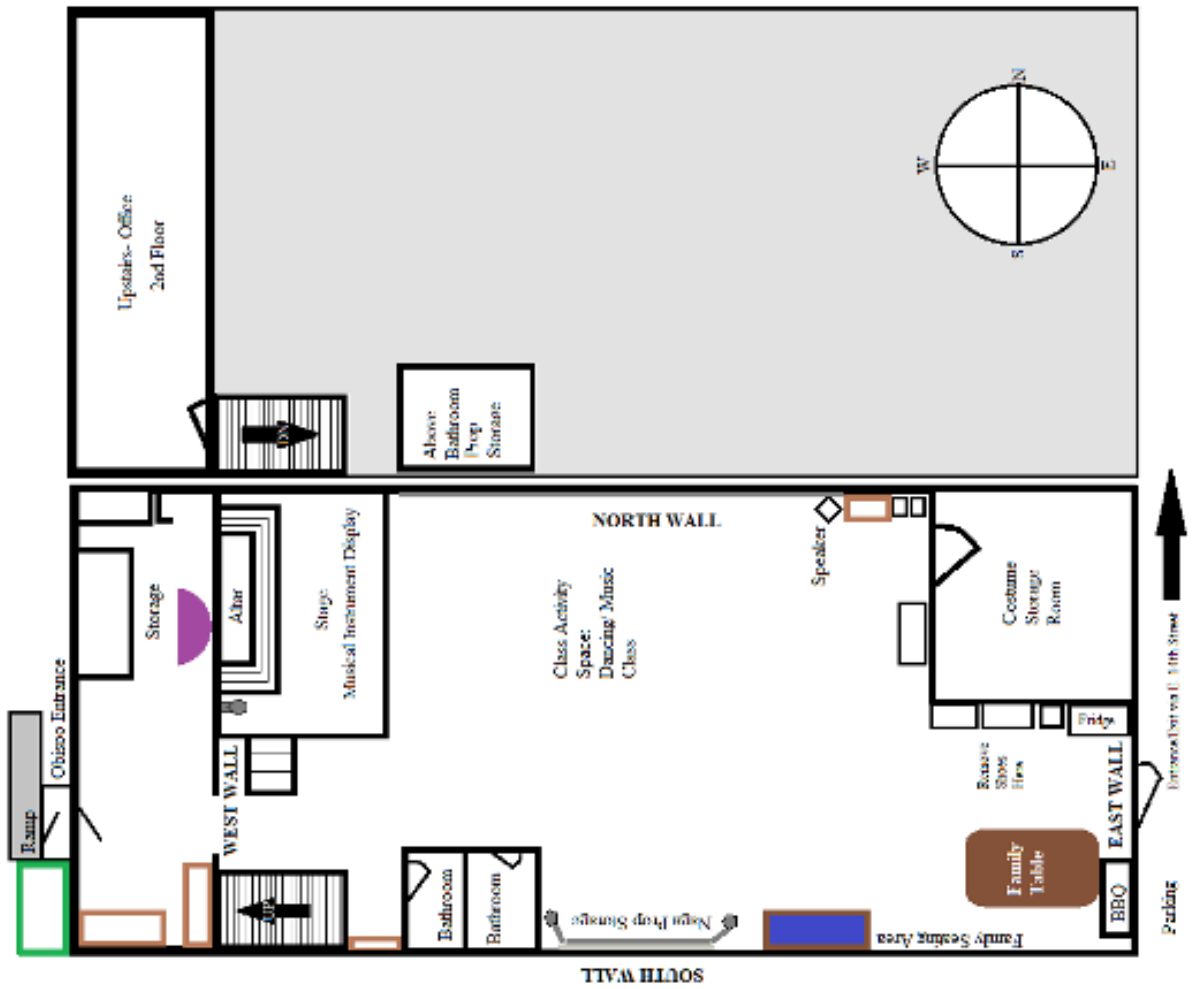
Appendix



Map of Khmer Arts Academy (KAA) in Long Beach, California

Glossary

***Bong*:** way to address an individual older than oneself, like an older brother or sister

***Lok Kru*:** Male instructor

***Ming*:** Aunt

Neak Kru: Female instructor

Om: Aunt or uncle or individual older than your parents

Pin peat: Percussive ensemble with a sralai, played in the royal courts and palaces to accompany dancers

Pou: Uncle

Sralai: Quadruple reed wind instrument

How Society is Shaped by Technology

Sarahi Vargas

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Sarahi Vargas. I graduated from CSUDH in May 2020 with a B.A. in Anthropology, with a focus in Archaeology. I chose this essay because I wanted to write on how anthropology methods can be used to view how technology today affects society."

Technology has been rapidly shaping American society for the past thirty years, and anthropology can help explain what is happening. Marvin Harris, Franz Boas, and Eric Wolf are three anthropologists with different theoretical positions. Marvin Harris believes anthropology should be a science as he touches on the concept of Marxism and designs a model that shows how cultural materialism affects the sociocultural system. Franz Boas believes anthropology to be a part of the humanities as he uses a holistic approach to understand the lives of humans. Eric Wolf's beliefs lie in between the other two since he believes in understanding all aspects of culture. Though I am most favorable of Franz Boas' position, the other anthropologists mentioned share many similarities and differences that can help describe how society has been shaped by technology. For instance, Marvin Harris would say that technology plays a big role in materialism, which influences human relationships in America's sociocultural system. With further elaboration of the three anthropologists' theoretical positions, it will be easier to understand how society has changed to

adapt to new technologies.

To begin, Marvin Harris believes in the theory of cultural materialism, meaning he believes anthropology should be a science. He elaborates on Karl Marx's concept that materialism defines the spiritual, social, and political parts of human existence (Moore 2019, 193). Infrastructure, structure, and superstructure are three different parts to Harris' scientific model. Infrastructure is a combination of the mode of production and reproduction, whereas mode of production is how humans adapt to an environment or produce technology, and mode of reproduction includes birth rates, longevity, and mortality (Moore 2019, 193). Structure makes reference to political economy and domestic economy. Domestic economy is the order of consumers, and politics is the organization between the consumers (Moore 2019, 193). Superstructure points out to the ideational realm, where we look at religion, worldview, and ideology (Moore 2019, 193). Harris argues that material factors shape social relationships, which affect the ideational realm. Humans are interacting with each other and sharing a culture, or the relationship they share between humans, and society is referred to as a sociocultural system (Moore 2019, 193). Harris designed this model to understand the sociocultural system. He argues that a scientific approach to anthropology is needed to understand human events, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was behind in technological advancements compared to the West, which affected their political economy. Since structure is part of the three-part model, the model fell apart. Its economy affected the rest of the model, which led to the fall of the Soviet Union.

In contrast to Marvin Harris, Franz Boas believes anthropology should be one of the humanities. Boas led a holistic approach to understanding the lives of humans (Moore 2019, 21). His work led to the combination of linguistic, sociocultural, physical or biological, and archaeology approaches to anthropology (Moore 2019, 21). He argues that when studying anthropology, no variable should be left out, and that all aspects should be taken into consideration. For instance, when discussing cultural variation, there must be enough ethnographic evidence to support the claim the anthropologist is trying to make (Moore 2019, 21). Boas argues that making a claim does not necessarily mean that it is true. Enough evidence must be provided to defend their statement. For example, evolutionists state that the stages of cultural evolution are significant for all societies, but there is no evidence to defend this statement (Moore 2019, 21). Boas argues that all methods of ethnology must be used in order to understand how similar cultural traits come from different societies but are modified to fit the society they are in.

Contrary to Franz Boas and Marvin Harris, Eric Wolf's beliefs lie in between them. Wolf believes that in order to understand all aspects

of culture, new questions must be asked as anthropologists build upon past studies (Moore 2019, 367). In "Facing Power: Old Insights, New Questions," Wolf uses three past projects as an example of how he developed new ideas. For instance, he explains how power causes many issues for anthropologists. One issue is how some anthropologists reduce the term "power" into a single meaning. Wolf says that power should be thought of as having four modes: personal power, ego influencing will on others, tactical or organizational power, and structural power. Structural power happens in its own setting, as it is responsible for its own organization, directing its flow of energy, and forms the field of action. Wolf continues by saying that structural power can help anthropologists understand how real-world issues constrain the people they study. In his three projects, one was a study conducted by the anthropologist, Julian Steward. This project was known as *The People of Puerto Rico*. The second project studied labor migration of towns and mines in Central Africa. The third project was conducted by Richard Adams, and it studied the national social structure of Guatemala. In all three of these projects, they showed how structural power and tactical power were able to view humans adapting to their modern society they were in. Wolf develops a solution to the issues anthropologists face when discussing power for theory and methods by establishing a system where there are four different modes of power.

While these three anthropologists are very different, they also share some similarities. For instance, both Franz Boas and Eric Wolf call for ethnographic data, whereas, Marvin Harris calls for a scientific approach and Franz Boas is humanistic. However, all three develop methods to solve the issue they are focused on studying. Also, they all study groups who are deeply impacted by other societies, some being larger nations. Marvin Harris studies the collapse of the Soviet Union and finds that it fell because of its failure to keep up with the western civilization. Franz Boas discusses how primitive societies can lose stability as a result from fast changes. Eric Wolf discusses how peasant communities exist because of either the spread of capitalism, empires, or city-states. These are examples of how changes of neighboring societies can negatively impact certain societies. Some key differences would be their approaches to figuring out their different theories. Marvin Harris uses a scientific approach of cultural materialism to understand Marxism and the fall of the Soviet Union. Franz Boas uses all methods of ethnology to describe how they are all important in studying cultural variation. Eric Wolf uses different kinds of approaches, such as anthropological literature, to define peasantry.

Another similarity that Harris, Boas, and Wolf share is their understanding that technological advancements shape our society today. For instance, the iPad has developed a powerful relationship between parents and

their small children. Boas would view the use of the iPad in its cultural context. He would argue that the iPad became a source of diffusion that caused an evolution of all cultures in America. Since children are in contact with other children, seeing another child with an iPad can influence children to convince their parents to get them one. Parents see that iPads keep other children distracted and assume that the same would hold true for their own children. No matter their cultural background, parents have come to rely on the iPad as an influential tool. Eric Wolf would describe the use of the iPad as a power relationship. In all of the four modes of power that Wolf describes, the iPad holds power over American society. In the personal power mode, the iPad holds power since parents believe it helps them control their children. For the second mode of power, children may show off their iPads to other children who do not have one. Children with the iPad are influencing other children to want one, who will then convince their parents to get them one. For tactical and organizational power, the iPad controls the setting by keeping people interacting with the iPad instead of socializing with people around them. This is also applicable for people on their phones. Finally, for structural power, the iPad requires Wi-Fi for better function. Better Wi-Fi services exists in a primarily indoor setting, thus keeping iPad users inside and less sociable. This is how the prevalent use of the iPad controls social settings.

Marvin Harris' model can be used to describe the need for society to be shaped by new technology. For instance, the Soviet Union fell as a result to prioritizing infrastructure. If people choose not to rely on the use of an iPad just like everyone else, then it would cause an imbalance to America's infrastructure, which includes mode of production. People need to adapt to the use of the iPad in their environments to sustain the mode of production. Only then can this allow for further production of technology. For example, many schools have updated themselves by giving every student access to an iPad. At first, it was the schools who could afford it, but the practice has now spread to schools who are located in low-income communities, who have enough iPads for all their students. If only the schools in better communities had access to iPads while the schools in low-income neighborhoods did not, an imbalance can be created that can ruin the infrastructure. Since children are the future generations, they get a head start of technological advancements.

Franz Boas' theoretical position on anthropology is the most persuasive. Though his theory is a humanistic approach, he provides a convincing explanation for his ideas. First, he develops the idea of four different fields of anthropology. Then, he calls for the need of more evidence-based-ethnographic fieldwork to be precise. Finally, he argues that statements should be exactly correct and not interpreted.

To sum up, Marvin Harris, Franz Boas, and Eric Wolf all have a different understanding of what anthropology should be. Marvin Harris argues that anthropology should be a science, and that anthropologists need to study its sociocultural system. Franz Boas believes that anthropologists should use all aspects of anthropology and provide enough evidence. Eric Wolf argues that peasant societies have developed as a result of societies around them. These characteristics can help in understanding the shape of our society due to the advancement of technology. For instance, humans have evolved to depend on tablets/ iPads, but if we do not, we will be behind others. In Harris' view, falling behind can be unstable to the infrastructure. I agree with Franz Boas the most since he asks for anthropologists to be correct and to provide evidence to defend themselves. His need for accuracy and not interpretation is what makes his argument the strongest to me.

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