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1000 E Victoria Street, Carson CA 90747

Email: CSUDHESJOA@gmail.com

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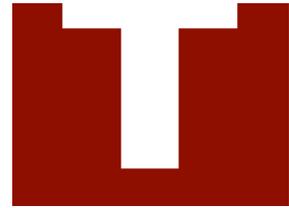
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Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology: Past and Present

Abstract By: Jasmine McElroy

In the article “Social Anthropology: Past and Present”, Edward E. Evans-Pritchard argues that social anthropology is one of the humanities because social anthropology seeks to interpret human moral systems and societal function. This is contrary to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown’s interpretation of social anthropology as a natural science that seeks law like generalization of social structures in order to make them predictable. Making generalizations about human social structure, Evans-Pritchard states, is a flawed assumption as it delegates to human societies the same functionality of a simple organism.

Evans-Pritchard illustrates the workings of social anthropology in by relating it to the field of history (one of the humanities). Like historians, social anthropologist seek to 1) understand and translate features of a culture into terms of his/hers own culture, 2) analyze the unexpressed properties of a culture, and 3) compare the structure of one culture to various others. Evans-Pritchard concludes this comparison by noting that the differences of history and social anthropology is in regards to technique, emphasis, and perspective not aim or method (qtd. In Moore 2009:170).

Evans-Pritchard maintains that human societies are not simple machines with variables that can be manipulated (natural science). Human societies are complex and social anthropology seeks to understand this complexity through historical context,

making social anthropology a social history. In this way social anthropology is a study of moral systems and cannot produce law that govern all human society.

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Discovering Artifacts and Imaging the Past: Ground Penetrating Radar for the Archaeological Site Databases

By Mario Castillo

Introduction

In some areas where people have been living for thousands of years (like Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica), archaeological remains are visible on the surface allowing for comprehensive regional survey and consequently generation of site databases¹. In this paper I argue that Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey data can expand these archaeological databases, which can potentially lead to more productive excavations². Before any concerted effort involving excavation, practitioners should preliminarily use GPR to identify and locate subsurface remains. Subsurface sites like houses, public buildings, cemeteries, and even whole landscapes can be studied with GPR. Locating their position and geometry can significantly enhance archaeological databases. This will not only lead to more efficient excavation, but also improve cultural resource management. Site parameters depend on the level of analysis and temporal scope, and generally most sites are buried under deposition. Practitioners should use GPR as a tool for discovering buried material items, but also as

¹ For a good example of a comprehensive archaeological site database see the Basin of Mexico GIS Project directed by Kenneth Hirth (The Pennsylvania State University). <http://anth.la.psu.edu/research/mesoamerican-and-arch/basin-of-mexico>

² Field Schools affiliated with universities can provide the necessary workforce.

a tool for identification of specific site formation processes (Castillo 2013; Shiffier 1987; Tompson et al. 2011) and also to interpret past landscapes (Conyers 1995; et al. 2013; Conyers and Leckenbush 2010).

Archaeologist should use GPR before excavation because excavation itself is costly and a destructive process (Barba 1990; Schiffier 1987). Unlike other scientific expeditions, archaeological excavation cannot be reproduced in the same place twice; therefore, archaeological expeditions cannot avoid the destruction of the site under investigation (Barba 1990: 9). This means that practitioners should not allocate resources to excavation until preliminary geophysical surveys are conducted at an archaeological site (Barba 1990).

Methods and Discussion

In this paper I argue that archaeology is an “ecology of practices” whereby practitioners employ different sets of tools, methods, and research designs that study past people and to preserve their material that remains (Olsen et al. 2012: 4). Surveying is a major component of archaeology and generates important information such as: location, size, artifact typology, and activity areas. I argue that archaeological survey should also include subsurface inventories through the use of GPR. The goal of this paper is to demonstrate that geophysical prospecting via GPR is more useful when incorporated in research design rather than as a “post-hoc” method (Tompson et al. 2011: 169). Many factors determine which archaeological sites and associated properties are recorded, but I argue that comprehensive survey with GPR is useful for investigation and management of cultural resources. Some studies have mapped sites without the aid of GPR (e.g. Salsbury 2012) and other studies have examined sites with

other geophysical instruments (Arciniega-Ceballos et al. 2009; Chavez et al. 2005; Sarris et al 2009), but GPR is unique in that data gathered can be analyzed in near real time (Conyners 1995; Conyners et la. 2013; Conyners and Leckenbush 2010). Making a GPR platform as a step in research design is an important part of any archaeological mapping project. As follows is a very brief overview of GPR equipment and how this equipment has been applied to archaeology. Then I discuss a GPR survey in Long Beach using a new type of survey methodology. Lastly, I discuss results and conclusions.

GPR and Applications

Cheng et al. (2013: 141) note Daniels (2004) to define Ground Penetrating Radar as “a range of electromagnetic techniques designed primarily for the location of objects or interfaces buried beneath the earth’s surface or located within a visually opaque structure.” GPR was first used in the 1920s to determine the thickness of ice in Germany, but recent technological advances have made GPR not only important for environmental science but archaeological research as well (Cheng et al. 2013). Major components of the GPR include a control unit, antenna, and a survey wheel (Figure 1). These components work together to detect and record subsurface features. The control unit coordinates the antenna to generate radar pulses and also records radar reflections. The antenna transmits and receives radar pulses and the survey wheel counts every radar pulse “in order to calibrate a uniform wheel speed” (Cheng et al. 2013: 142).

There is a growing body of literature that discusses GPR application for archaeological research. Bonomo et al. (2010) applied GPR survey to Palo Blanco, a

rural agricultural-pastoral site, located in the Catamarca province in Argentina. Their GPR survey not only helped to discover new dwellings but also helped researchers find a possible explanation for the Palo Blanco's abandonment. Subsequent excavations of discovered dwellings revealed a previously unknown occupational period (Bonomo et al. 2010). This example highlights that GPR survey can expand the size of sites and also provide practitioners with vital information that is useful for designing and planning excavations.

At Palo Blanco GPR was easily applied because of its rural location, but GPR is also useful in sites that have experienced substantial amounts of disturbance due to human occupation. Barone et al. (2013) used GPR to survey Fernetto, which is an archaeological site located in rural Italy. The area has experienced extensive agricultural activity that has caused permanent damage to the site. Fernetto has an extensive occupational history with medieval structures built atop Roman structures. Their goal was to use GPR to differentiate between Roman and medieval architectural features, and they found that extensive human occupation created compact soils that will give false positive GPR results (Barone et al. 2013). Yet, their results show that even in areas with extensive human occupation and activity, GPR survey demonstrates that practitioners can acquire verifiable information about the location and geometry of buried features (Barone et al. 2013).

Graves and cemeteries can be studied with GPR and thus provide opportunities for more efficient and targeted excavations. Damiata et al. (2013) used GPR survey on two graves located on the Stora-Seyla farm in Iceland. The graves, dating between AD800-AD1104, were situated in two separate Christian cemeteries. The researchers

demonstrated that they were able to locate graves using a GPR survey (Damiata et al 2013). However, these findings are not conclusive because locating graves depends largely on taphonomic processes that preserve or decay skeletal remains. For example, in one grave the researchers detected an air pocket inside a skeletal chest cavity, which aided in the grave's discovery in contrast to other studies that detect graves through bone/soil interface (Damiata et al. 2013). Lastly, they suggest that detecting graves also depends on soil permittivity (moisture level in soil), and they also suggest that graves are best detected when backfill materials are moist with high permittivity or very dry with low permittivity (Damiata et al. 2013). This example shows that GPR survey can enhance field methodology and help archaeologist refine their field methods.

Not all graves are subject to good preservation conditions or located in cemeteries like the graves in Iceland. Doolittle and Bellantoni (2010) applied GPR survey to find unmarked graves in Connecticut. Factors that influence GPR survey of unmarked graves include: interface between bones and the soil, size, shape, and burial depth (Doolittle and Bellatoni 2010). To make up for missing information about graves, they used soil maps developed by the United States Department of Agriculture to model how soil interfaces impact unmarked grave taphonomy. Although the detection of unmarked graves using GPR proved to be difficult, the researchers argue that this could be rectified by incorporating other information (Doolittle and Bellatoni 2010). This example demonstrates that GPR survey is not a once size fits all instrument for geophysical survey. In terms of unmarked graves, soil conditions ultimately determine if buried bones can be located. Notwithstanding the difficulty, this study shows that understanding formation processes will make GPR survey more precise and productive.

Previous examples demonstrate GPR as an instrument for discovery, but GPR can be used as an instrument for interpretation (Conyers and Leckenbush 2010). Conyers (1995) applied GPR survey to examine El Ceren, a site located in El Salvador. El Ceren is an agricultural village that was buried in a destructive volcanic eruption (Conyers 1995). His survey detected 22 previously unknown structures, but, more importantly, his novel use of GPR reconstructed El Ceren's ancient landscape (Conyers 1995). With more accurate reconstruction of El Ceren's landscape, Conyers (1995) demonstrated that El Ceren's population density was larger than previous considered and he also demonstrated that El Ceren's northern portion was an important public area for residents. Conyers et al. (2013) performed a similar landscape analysis at Lagoa Seca, which is an Upper Palaeolithic site located in coastal Portugal. They imaged two gullies that paralleled were previous excavations revealed artifacts. With GPR, Conyers et al. (2013: 51) reconstructed Lagoa Seca's "geological matrix," which was essential for understanding the context and age of excavated remains. GPR post-processing can reconstruct past landscapes, therefore providing a more accurate window into the past. The shift from GPR discovery to GPR interpretation aligns well with the proliferation and affordability of GPR technology and expertise. Reconstructing landscapes with GPR is still in novel, but as more students become accustomed to GPR survey there will be an explosion of such studies.

GPR Survey in Long Beach

In this paper I have argued that GPR survey can significantly enhance existing archaeological survey databases, which will lead to better site preservation and more accurate and targeted excavations. Moreover, I have presented examples that show

how some researchers use GPR in their research. In this section I discuss a GPR survey conducted at Professor J. Moore's backyard in the winter of 2014. In the summer of 2013 Professor J. Moore constructed a "burned" feature in his backyard to test new equipment acquired by the Department of Anthropology at California State University, Dominguez Hills. From my previous research I have determined that there is no set method to perform a GPR Survey (Casana et al 2008; Damiata et al 2013; Doolittle and Bellatoni 2010; Faize 2013; Gaffney et al. 2004; Leucci 2002; Novo et al. 2010; Weissling 2012), so I decided to approach GPR survey from a "spatially explicit" methodology (Moran 2007). A spatially explicit approach posits that data collected should have real world geographic coordinates connected to it (Moran 2007). This can allow different data sets to be collected in a central database therefore allowing incorporation of GPR data onto spatial databases like geographic information system (GIS) databases. This was achieved by plotting an X and Y axis with the origin being the geographically referenced datum point. From the origin, axes were plotted by heading due north and due west thus creating a geographically referenced survey area that could later be incorporated into a GIS framework (Figure 2). I used a Geophysical Survey Systems Inc. (GSSI) SRI-3000 connected to a 400 MHz antenna. Parameters were set to 50 traces/meter with a depth of 3 meters, and the GPR survey consisted of four profiles spaced .5 meters apart.

Results

(Figure 3) shows the profile results of the GPR survey. Profile 1 shows distinct features which are further evident in profile 2. However these features are not the burned feature Professor Moore created. They are more likely pipes from the sprinkler

system. Profile 3 shows near surface anomalies because of topographic elevation change. The buried burned feature should have been imaged in Profile 3, but, due to topographic change, the burned feature was not imaged. However, in Profile 4 the burnt feature is clearly visible.

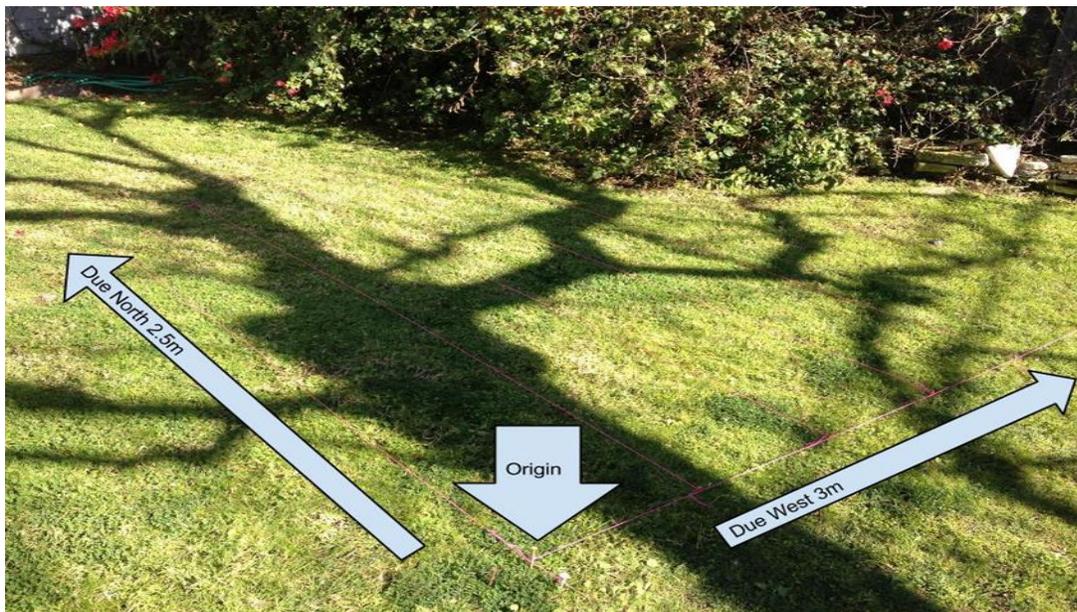
Conclusion

When incorporated into archaeological survey, GPR has the potential to reveal buried features and can situate excavated remains in a reconstructed landscape. Thus, GPR data can enhance archaeological site databases which lead to more accurate and targeted excavations, and it can help archaeologists inventory remains for cultural resource management. GPR applications in archaeology range from the discovery of architectural features, such as dwellings and walls, to the location of unmarked graves. There is a growing trend to use GPR in landscape reconstruction, which suggests that GPR is moving away from its “post-hoc” status towards a tool that is incorporated in research design. As more students learn to use GPR equipment and familiarize themselves with GPR data interpretation, ground penetrating radar will be more widely used. The challenge now is to determine an accurate survey methodology that is common among practitioners that can be easily incorporated into existing archaeological survey databases.

Appendix

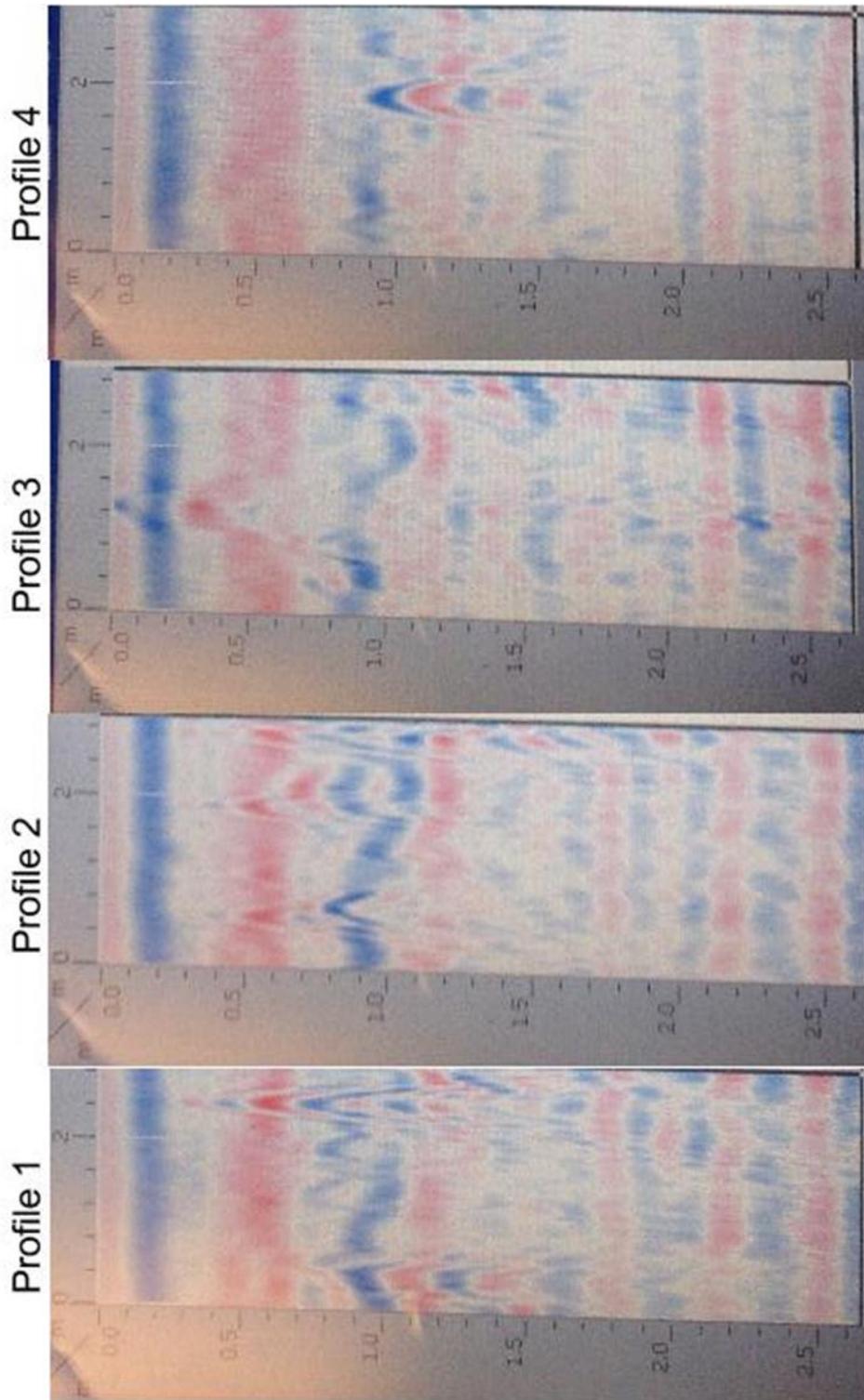


(Figure 1) – Major components of a GPR. (Modified from: <http://www.malags.com/getattachment/Innovation/GPR-Explained/MALA-GPR-principle.jpg>)



(Figure 2) – Survey outline

(Figure 3) – Results from GPR survey.



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Más allá de la montaña: Environmental Justice in Action

By Gabriel Jones

Abstract

In 1993, city officials in Huntington Park, California permitted the placement of a noxious recycling facility that would later cause adverse health effects to the Cottage Street community. Residents contacted a local environmental justice organization, Communities for a Better Environment (CBE), to help them in their organizing efforts to oust what they called, “La Montaña.” After eleven years of advocacy and litigation, the facility was finally removed. Incidents such as this remain all too familiar to environmental justice scholars and activists. This study will explore how the social conditions surrounding the struggle to remove “La Montaña” formed, and how those involved define that particular space. Drawing from anthropological methods of inquiry, I will piece together the events that led to this community victory and generate cultural models of “La Montaña” and the environment.

Introduction

Research demonstrating that minority and low-income communities experience disproportionately higher exposures to environmental pollutants suggests the continued need to address issues of social inequality and environmental degradation (Miranda et al. 2011; Bell & Ebisu 2012; Apelberg et al. 2005; Morello-Frosch et al. 2002). Grassroots activists, scientists, and lawyers maintain the struggle to secure environmental justice for communities facing direct threats to their living conditions (Pellow & Brulle 2005). The focus of environmental justice studies seem to be in documenting environmental inequalities (Maantay 2007; Morello-Frosch & Jesdale

2006; Apelberg et al. 2005; Pastor et al. 2001). Recent partnerships between communities and academics have yielded significant results that aim to directly affect policy-making (Minkler et al. 2008).

Few scholars, however, have sought to discover just what the 'environment' means to environmental justice communities, particularly among Latinos (Peña 2005; Pulido 1996; Lynch 1993). Peña (2005) suggests there is a lack of studies that seek to discover how race/ethnicity, class, gender, and identity factor into environmental inequalities. The relative paucity of research linking environmental inequalities with cultural constructions of the environment necessitates further inquiry. The present study seeks to merge this gap by exploring a specific case in which a predominately Latino community in Huntington Park, California was able to remove an environmental hazard that affected the community's environment.

SIGNIFICANCE AND PURPOSE

In 1994, community members of Cottage Street in Huntington Park, California contacted Communities for a Better Environment (CBE), to aide in removing a noxious recycling facility that towered over their neighborhood since the previous year. Since 1978, this community-based organization has empowered low-income communities of color by preventing and reducing harmful emissions while facilitating sustainable communities that promote environmental health and justice (cbecal.org). Further, CBE commits to a "triangle approach" combining community organizing, scientific and legal expertise in order to achieve their mission.

During the placement of the recycling facility near the Cottage Street community, the owner sought to profit from the city's need for economic development.

Unfortunately, the city permitted the transportation of concrete debris from the 10 freeway after the Northridge earthquake. The rubble would soon prove detrimental to community health. Labeled by residents as “La Montaña,” community members and CBE proved successful in their efforts to remove the facility. After 11 years of activism and litigation, the community rid the 60-foot mountainous rubble of debris from the city (Communities for a Better Environment 2004).

This study will review the events leading to the victory over “La Montaña.” The purpose of this case study will be to explore how the social conditions surrounding the struggle to remove “La Montaña” formed and how those affected defined that particular space. In doing so, I ask the following questions: How did the political and activist components surrounding “La Montaña” develop? What can cultural models tell us about group conceptions of this environment? To answer these questions, I will employ qualitative interview strategies to construct cultural models of the environment (Paolisso et al. 2000) and implement archival research methods. Findings from this research can provide recommendations for other communities experiencing similar problems, better inform policy and decision-making, and advance the understanding of how conceptualizations of the environment factor into environmental mitigation strategies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Despite decades of environmental justice activism, people of color and low-income communities continue to bear a disproportionate burden of environmental pollutants. Born in the 1980s, the environmental justice movement stems from the larger civil rights movement and from the lack of minority perspectives in the environmental movement (Bryant & Hockman 2005). Scholars utilize diverse approaches to

understand this complex social phenomenon and provide necessary litigation tools for communities seeking environmental justice (Brulle & Pellow 2006). Most of the literature on the environmental justice movement (EJM) seeks to document, through case studies, environmental inequalities. These studies examine the relationships between race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and exposures to environmental hazards (Maantay 2007; Morello-Frosch & Jesdale 2006; Apelberg et al. 2005; Pastor et al. 2001).

Some studies focus on the implications for environmental policy reform by exploring the role of community responses in policy outcomes (Minkler et al. 2008; Morello-Frosch et al. 2002). Even fewer studies, however, approach the EJM through a theoretical lens or seek to discover just what the 'environment' means to environmental justice communities (Pellow & Brulle 2005; Taylor 2000; Pulido 1996; Lynch 1993). The purpose of this literature review is to generate a more complete picture of the current discourse on environmental justice by drawing attention to these common themes: environmental inequalities, social justice in the EJM, and cultural conceptions of the environment.

Environmental Inequalities

Groundbreaking studies by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (1983) and the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice (1987) demonstrated discrepancies in the distributions of hazardous waste facilities based on race/ethnicity. Other early studies found similar results, fueling the EJM (Bryant & Mohai 1992; Bullard 1992). Although regulatory agencies integrated these findings into policymaking processes, environmental inequalities still prevail some thirty years later. The focus of

more recent studies, however, has been on exposure levels and subsequent health disparities, segregation, and a community's capacity to respond to environmental health threats.

Brulle & Pellow (2006) note that researchers need to relate environmental inequalities to health outcomes. Studies prior to their review of the literature exhibit some advances in achieving this goal. In their analysis of the Southern California Air Basin, Morello-Frosch et al. (2002) found a strong correlation between the distributions of air toxics related to cancer risks and race/ethnicity. Despite the lack of significant evidence, on average, for point-source based pollutants to modeled cancer risks, the study revealed a number of census tracts in the South Coast Basin where these pollutants clustered. This finding becomes important as I later review studies that indicate the role of racial segregation in explaining environmental inequalities. Additionally, this study found clear discrepancies in estimated lifetime cancer risks from air toxics based on race/ethnicity and income, in which whites remained well below the levels of exposure seen among colored communities throughout each income bracket (Figure 2, Morello-Frosch et al., 2002). Apelberg et al. (2005) conducted a similar study in Maryland by linking modeled estimates to four specific source categories. The results found that low-income and African-American communities bore a disproportionate burden of cancer risks associated with different source emissions. Furthermore, Bell & Ebisu (2012) and Miranda et al. (2011) demonstrated differences in exposures to fine particulate matter (PM_{2.5}) based on race/ethnicity, age, and socioeconomic status.

While health disparities tend to characterize areas with unequal distribution of environmental risks, other factors may further explain this relationship as well. Studies

examining the relationship between racial segregation and environmental health risks suggest a correlation between segregation and exposure to pollutants (Gee & Payne-Sturges 2004; Lopez 2002). Pastor et al. (2001) associated polluting facilities with minority communities in Los Angeles by noting that the siting of these facilities occurred after minorities had already entered the community. A similar study in the same region found a correspondence between higher levels of racial/ethnic segregation and modeled estimates of cancer risks associated with air toxics (Morello-Frosch & Jesdale 2006). Using secondary data analysis, Morello-Frosch & Jesdale (2006) found that Hispanic/Latino populations suffered the most from increased segregation in relation to cancer risks associated with ambient air toxics.

Segregation plays a large role in building social capital (Pastor et al. 2001; Massey et al. 1994) and may affect a community's ability to respond to and combat threats to environmental health (Freudenberg 2004). In their study of geographic poverty concentrations and migrations of African-Americans in U.S. cities, Massey et al. (1994) spoke to how African-Americans remain in poverty-stricken areas through a feedback cycle of discriminatory housing practices and limited social mobility. Brulle & Pellow (2006) relate this phenomenon to environmental inequalities as governing entities and corporations place polluting facilities in areas with minimal political resistance. Additionally, Gee and Payne-Sturges (2004) provide a useful framework for understanding how segregation plays a role in the distributions of environmental health disparities.

Much of the emerging literature on environmental health advances the notion of community capacity (Minkler et al. 2010; Minkler et al. 2008; Freudenberg 2004).

Defined by Goodman et al. (1998), and later modified for environmental health by Freudenberg (2004), community capacity is broadly defined “as [a set of] characteristics that enable communities to protect and improve their well-being” (Freudenberg et al. 2011). In his conceptual framework, Freudenberg (2004) identifies several determinants (i.e. structural, economic, political, and cultural/ideological) that shape community conditions, which in turn affect a community’s capacity to mobilize and protect environmental health. When applied to case studies, this framework proves fruitful in developing and evaluating successful intervention strategies to address inequalities in environmental health. An investigation into the efforts of Toxic Free Neighborhoods in Old Town National City, California (OTNC) reveals an example of the effective strategies employed to remove light industrial pollution in a primarily Latino residential area (Minkler et al. 2010). Similar results from case studies across the nation illustrate how communities develop and reinforce their capacity to defend against environmental inequalities and health threats (Minkler et al. 2008).

Social Justice and the EJM

Aside from an emphasis on the environment (i.e. less pollution, more parks, sustainable development), EJM philosophies encompass a broad range of domestic and international social justice concerns. On a more abstract level, the notion of environmental injustice attacks the core of the capitalist system by underscoring the negative environmental impacts of corporate actions and directly challenging discriminatory power structures (Brulle & Pellow 2006). Nowhere is this more apparent than in the 17 Principles of Environmental Justice outlined at the National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, D.C. in 1991. Peña describes

how the Principles “call for the radical transformation of capitalist technology and support the autonomy of local communities against the tyranny of the global market system” (Peña 2005a:145). At the national and global scale, environmental justice activists tackle this issue by not only demanding stricter environmental regulations, but also by advocating for other social justice causes pertaining to climate change, war, affordable housing, better access to healthcare, and educational reform (Pellow & Brulle 2005; Bent 2003; Checker 2002).

Contributions by EJM theorists, particularly those using social movement perspectives, offer valuable insights to the formation and motivations behind the movement. Taylor (2000) denotes the effectiveness of social movement framing for the EJM. She defines ‘framing’ as “the process by which individuals and groups identify, interpret, and express social and political grievances” (Taylor 2000). Therefore, the manner in which activists frame their experiences will influence collective identities and shape the structure and course that a movement takes. When applied to the EJM, this signifies a minor oversight in the framing of the movement in terms of ‘justice’ (Benford 2005). Benford (2005) notes that the EJM is subjected to the judiciary and legislative tools that operate within a system of oppression, concluding that critical theories may aid scholars seeking to overcome the limitations of current approaches.

In her ethnography of two environmental justice organizations in the southern and eastern U.S., Checker (2002) found that community members incorporated environmental justice concerns into already existing struggles for social equality. Drawing on the environmental narratives of community members, she reveals how these organizations approached environmental advocacy after their primary concerns

over unequal housing, poverty rates, violence, and racial divides. A related study expands on the relevance of social justice issues for Latinos in Albuquerque, New Mexico as it pertains to community health; suggesting that programs that increase social capital (e.g. by improving school dropout rates) will improve the community environment as a whole (Bent 2003). I will clarify what constitutes the 'community environment' in the next section. Furthermore, this study emphasizes how building alliances became a crucial measure to the forging of the collective identity of that community.

Though the focus is on community response frameworks and policy outcomes, other studies attest to the multitude of social justice concerns in the EJM. Minkler et al. (2010) supports these concerns in her case study of Toxic Free Neighborhoods in OTNC. In addition to the larger topic of substantially higher exposures to air pollutants, community members also advocated for more affordable housing for low-income communities. In another example, Freudenberg (2004) discusses how Mothers of East Los Angeles (MELA), a grassroots Latino organization in Los Angeles, originally mobilized to block the construction of a prison in a local neighborhood with the intent to safeguard their children. Organizing efforts eventually transformed to spearhead a campaign against the development of a hazardous waste facility near a high school.

Cultural Conceptions of the Environment

The "environment" is a cultural construct which is shaped by shared life experiences and which differs with ethnicity (Lynch 1993). While scientific methods provide an understanding of the systematic processes and intricacies of the biophysical environment, cultural lenses influence the way in which we view the natural environment

(Cronon 1996). Environmental narratives illuminate the differences in which individuals perceive, interact with, and speak about the environment (Peña 2005; Bent 2003; Checker 2002). Additionally, scholars note that the environment may constitute the social environment as much as the natural environment (Bent 2003). Since Latinos comprise a large majority of the area of proposed study, I will mainly focus on the literature reflecting differing environmental perspectives between whites and Latinos. This does not suggest, however, that the environmental narratives of other minority groups are of less importance in the EJM.

In his review of the environmental history of Mexican-origin peoples in the Southwest U.S., Peña (2005) illustrates how the dominating principles of 20th century mainstream American environmentalist thought value nature in a divergent manner than Latinos. He notes that Latino environmental justice activism in the 1980s and 1990s primarily responded to the separation of nature and society by major environmentalist groups. Latinos and other minority groups perceived the failure to include urban regions and other areas, mainly occupied by the poor and people of color, into environmental advocacy as a dishonor to their communities and a discredit to their local knowledge. Similar explorations of Latino environmentalist perspectives demonstrate how culture and race/ethnicity affects individual conceptions of the environment (Lynch 1993). Using literary criticism and an analysis of Latino EJMs, Lynch (1993) elucidates the divisions between U.S. mainstream and Latino environmental discourse:

What differentiates U.S. Latino environmental perspectives from those of the Anglo-American mainstream is an unwillingness to sever people from the

landscape, the technological from the political, or the environment from cultural identity [118].

Utilizing ethnographic methods of data analysis, specifically the identification of cultural domains, Bent (2003) found that San José community members defined the 'community environment' in terms of contamination and the unhealthy community. She expresses that understanding the community environment is important since it draws attention to the autonomous actions of the community in addressing local concerns.

Discussion

Many scholars in current discourses contend that social justice and environmental concerns are inseparable in the EJM (Peña 2005a; Checker 2002; Cronon 1996; Bullard 1992). Using Los Angeles as her field site, Pulido (2000) posits that a more tacit form of racism, "white privilege," eventually led to the overrepresentation of people of color experiencing disproportionate exposures to environmental hazards in the area. She attributes this phenomenon to suburban development processes in the outskirts of the city that specifically favored whites and contributed to 'white flight' in Los Angeles' core cities. In comparison, Pastor et al.'s (2001) results correlate with Pulido's findings by demonstrating that ethnic turnover in Los Angeles increased the susceptibility to siting of environmental hazards.

Moreover, Pulido's work helps to clarify the reasoning behind the incorporation of environmental concerns into social justice advocacy by grassroots organizations. Freudenberg (2004) notes that MELA continues to fight against prison placements in their neighborhoods under the newly formed pretext that prisons further environmental racism by affecting the inmates and communities alike. Checker's (2002) study relates

in that both organizations utilized the term the 'environment' to bolster their collective strength and advocate for the declining conditions (e.g. poverty or violence) in their own socially constructed environments. As these studies suggest, environmental justice advocacy stems from social inequalities that permit environmental degradation in marginalized communities and the few minority perspectives in environmentalist agendas. Therefore, my intended study will explore how the social conditions surrounding the struggle to remove “La Montaña” formed, and how the community members and political figures involved defined their environment. Through this study, I seek to contribute to the studies that document the causeways for discrepancies in exposures to environmental pollutants by focusing on differences in the conceptualizations of the environment.

Methods

This study will rely on qualitative methods of data collection and analysis including informal and formal interviews. Before beginning the data collection, I will attend weekly meetings at the CBE office, community organizing events, and city council hearings. These actions will allow me to establish a rapport with community members and politicians. After obtaining informed consent, all observations and interviews will be recorded by note taking and audiotaping. The first phase of this research will comprise three months, leaving three months to implement the second phase.

Key informants will be identified using convenient sampling (Creswell 2009). I expect to recruit 11 individuals for this study. These informants will be selected based on their specific knowledge of the case as established between myself and a CBE

organizer (Bernard 2011). In order to build effective cultural models, cultural domains must first be developed (Paolisso et al. 2000). Cultural domain analysis attempts to understand how cultures label and establish categories of information (Bernard 2011). I will first use free listing and pile sorts to develop questions for the interviews, however, these methods will be administered to all participants in this study to check for validity. Both of these methods will take place concurrently in a manner that gives the participants adequate time to respond.

The first phase of this research will include free lists and pile sorts. Free listing is a method of collecting data from simple, open-ended questions on a survey that can later be coded and listed (Bernard 2011). Paolisso and Maloney (2000) found this method was effective in a cultural models approach to addressing environmental issues. I will employ this method by presenting participants with the following questions: “List all the words or phrases that come to mind when hearing and thinking about ‘La Montaña’”; and “List all the people, places, things, or ideas that come to mind when you hear or think about the term ‘the environment’.” Words and phrases gathered from these lists will then be counted and grouped into key terms.

Pile sorts will compose the next set of data collection tools. Pile sorts include the administering of objects to participants, who then sort them out according to the question being asked (Bernard 2011). Gollin et al. (2004) used pile sorts to discover community perceptions related to environmental affairs in the ethnically diverse communities in Oahu, Hawai'i. For this study, I will administer various photos of “La Montaña,” nature scenes, Los Angeles, Cottage Street, Huntington Park, and different places in California and Mexico to participants. Once participants sort out the photos, I

will ask questions pertaining to their selections. This will generate further data that can be used in my interview questions.

The second phase will incorporate formal, semi-structured interviews solely with community members. I have established a relationship with a CBE organizer, and he has agreed to provide translational services for interviews with Spanish-speaking participants. After the transcription of the interviews, data will later be coded and emerging themes identified using NVivo 10™. Additionally, I will triangulate the data gathered from free lists, pile sorts, and interviews with mass media articles and other archival documents (i.e. organizational flyers, memos) to provide a fuller account of the ordeal and further check for validity (Creswell 2009). Once the data is coded and themes have been identified, I will proceed to create cultural models. This method is useful for accessing cultural perceptions of an idea, such as the environment and pollution, and quantifying degrees of difference between group perceptions (Paolisso & Maloney 2000). Furthermore, these will elucidate any differences in the understanding of both “La Montaña” and the environment among all participants.

LIMITATIONS

Due to the amount of data that I will be collecting, I will not be able to conduct more than two formal interviews. Similarly, I may need to reduce my sample size since there are a limited number of individuals who experienced this event. Although my translator is dependable, communication between Spanish-speaking participants and I may be limited because of my inability to speak the language fluently. The amount of time I have to complete this research also may limit the amount of data that I can generate and analyze.

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Influences of Longevity on the Roman Empire

By Christine Ward

Introduction

The Roman Empire was filled with territorial expansion, central administration conflict, and disturbances within conquered lands. Even with all of these problems, the Empire had incredible longevity. The Roman Empire lasted from 27 BCE until 476 CE in the west. In the east, it lasted until 395 CE when it became the Byzantine Empire until 1453 CE. This paper is a general analysis of the influences on the longevity of the Roman Empire. The Empire drew its strength from vast expansion in the Mediterranean basin and used resources from conquered lands to fund its military, administrative, and sub structure projects. The state religion was accepted by Romans to ensure the continued preservation and prosperity of their state (Shelton 1998). The Romans believed that exact ritual form must be performed in order to worship and obtain support from a god. A sense of order was very important to the Romans; it was seen in state religious practice and military service. The soldiers in the military were sometimes conquered peoples that fell under the laws requiring military duty. In return for their service, veteran soldiers were offered land grants in newly conquered territories in order to populate and control the locals with Roman influence (McGeough 2004). The land grant system encouraged loyalty to the state, but eventually the regional military forces offered men up to the throne, and the aristocrats viewed this as a threat to their power.

The longevity of the Roman Empire was due to the influence of Roman culture, material benefits with security, and control by violent reprisals. Two key aspects of

Roman culture were *cultus deorum* and *pietas*. These beliefs cemented and united the Roman Empire. The material benefits of education, public health, sanitation, and irrigation brought prosperity. These systems brought stability to the empire, and along with it came security. But all of these benefits had a price which involved a unified effort of resources and people working together. The state went to great lengths to control the population in an effort to offer benefits and protect itself from foreign threats. The reprisals were often violent and involved harsh punishments. Emperors and governors alike would impose laws on religious worship, family life, and business practices to control populations. Paterculus wrote, "Justice, equity, and diligence, long buried and forgotten, have been restored to the state" (qtd. In Sheldon 1998:236). The reforms introduced by Augustus contributed to uniting the Empire.

Discussion

The influence of Roman culture on conquered lands was installed through *cultus deorum* and *pietas*. *Cultus deorum* means cultivation of gods, a methodical performance of all the rites and practices that will make the gods favorably disposed (Shelton 1998). The practice of *cultus deorum* was performed both by the individual and in state religion. Individuals would worship deities of agriculture, home, and fertility in private. The state religion's rites were completed by priests at public temples. The concepts of morality and ethical behavior were a function of *pietas* of family and civic responsibility (Shelton 1998). The worshipping of gods to obtain prosperity was separate from moral and ethical behavior. Festivals were also held where Romans renewed their relationships with the gods in hopes of reciprocal obligation and prosperity. Romans also practiced divination through haruspices and augury, which

united them in a common thread of belief (McGeough 2004). All of these processes collided together in the Empire and became a mixed ideology that Romans adopted.

Roman culture was also adopted by local inhabitants. When new territories were conquered, the Roman military camps became towns. The intersection of the camp or *castrum* usually became the town center (Kleiner 2010). The soldiers would marry into the local population and bring their Roman culture with them. The Romans also adopted old cult rituals into their new religious beliefs (Sugars 2013). This allowed for an easier integration of local inhabitants into Roman culture. A negative aspect of the Roman culture was the perceived threat that disruption of order would not be tolerated. For instance, mystery religions in which Romans were unfamiliar with the rituals could be considered disruptions. An example of this was the Bacchus rituals, which were suppressed by the senate for having supposed deviant sex and murders (Livy qtd. In Shelton 1998). The Romans believed that order brought peace and harmony, which in turn contributed to longevity.

The Empire did offer material benefits and security to its people. They offered medicine, education, and public health. The temples to the god Aesculapios offered the knowledge of medicine through the priests. The volume of people that the priests spoke with allowed them to obtain medical knowledge, which was shared with people seeking cures. Wealthy men were offered education in politics or law. If a fortunate client could find a patron than he could learn from him or was sponsored to attend school. The patronage system allowed classes to mix and brought opportunities for lower class men to obtain education. Most men entered a trade craft or went to work at a young age. Roman women were expected to have enough education to appreciate their husbands'

wit but were not expected to express opinions of their own (Shelton 1998). If the newly colonized people survived the pillaging, raping, or enslavement from the Roman conquest, then there were benefits to the Roman Empire. The trade routes that the Empire had established in the Near East and Mediterranean basin brought prosperity for Romans and secured longevity also.

Additional material benefits that people had were from irrigation, fresh water, roads, and sanitation. The irrigation allowed for a larger crop production. Fresh water was brought from the aqueduct system to the towns and cities. The Roman roads throughout the Empire allowed people to travel securely, as there were guards along the routes. The public baths in cities contributed to people's health. Roman sanitation was offered to Romans through cesspits in apartment complexes and public latrines in cities. Romans viewed waste removal as an aesthetic rather than health reason (McGeough 2004). Security or stability was encouraged through the state cult. These rituals were performed at public temples by state priests that offered tribute to guards regarding prosperity or success in battles. The Romans watched in silence as the priest conducted the rites. This created unity in the Empire which also influenced longevity.

Control by violent reprisals was used by the state in both the providences and in military tactics. Violence was not just used to control newly conquered peoples but also to control Roman citizens. The Romans viewed order and discipline as virtuous, and the military was used to in act this belief. Augustus installed a standing personnel army in the city of Rome called the Praetorian Guard that enforced the emperor's will within the city (McGeough 2004). This is a direct example of the extreme control the state had over its own citizens. Can one image a standing army in the city of Los Angeles and

how citizens would view this as excessive control of government? An example of this was a complainant that said, "Talk about plunder, and call it empire; than they make a waste-land and call it peace" (Tacitus qtd. In Sheldon 1998:287). The people that Romans conquered could have their land taken, become slaves, and have their families torn apart. If people disobeyed, they could be severely punished or even killed as an example to discourage rebellion.

The violent reprisals were carried out by aristocrats against emperors that had excessive power or abused their power. An example of this would be the case of Julius Caesar. Caesar was supported by the common people and was declared dictator for life. He was assassinated because he was considered a threat by a few aristocrats. The emergence of Christianity, as a mystery cult that most Romans looked down on, was used by Emperor Nero as a scapegoat for the partial burning of Rome. Nero had the Christians eaten by lions for this crime. Christian martyrs were put to death by emperors and governors for not renouncing their faith or worshipping the state religion. The Romans controlled their Empire through violent force with the belief that order was foremost. This violent force did contribute to the longevity of the Empire.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the longevity of the Roman Empire was due to the influences of Roman culture, material benefits with security, and control by violent reprisal. One of the greatest contributions of the Romans was the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* that forms the Roman law code (Shelton 1998), which was inherited by modern Europe. As Romans conquered lands, they realized that sometimes the situations they encountered did not adhere to the pre-existing, formulated laws, so the use of customs was declared to

uphold the statute (Shelton 1998). The other fantastic Roman contribution was the *pax romana* that allowed people to travel throughout the Mediterranean basin. But, there was also a hatred of the Roman rule by the conquered people because of the required tribute and tax. The provincials also complained about the forced labor and Roman arrogance (Shelton 1998). The benefits of the Roman Empire outweighed the negatives because the hardships of life were improved with medicine, sanitation, irrigation, and fresh water – unless one was a slave, in which the hardship would then be a short miserable life. The longevity of the Roman Empire was influenced the strongest by the Roman culture of order, intertwined with violence.

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Chimú vs. Inka: Distinctions of Urban Landscapes

By Olivia Havens

Introduction

In what the Spaniards once called “High Peru” in South America, there developed many various cultures. The greatest development was in the central Andes, stretching across the western highlands and coast of South America, culminating into the Inca Empire. The people before them, the people of the Chimor Empire, who dwelled in the northern Moche Valley, would ultimately be conquered and assimilated by the Incas. Both societies ruled their empires from large city centers, each one fabricating social relations based on their cities constructed and spatial layout.

In the following text I will discuss the physical layout and organization of the cities of both Chan Chan and Cuzco, taking into account the two societies social distinctions, kinship ties, and funerary architecture.

Background

The Inka and the Chimu had two very different views of the world and their places in it. This was based on their individual creation myths. The Inka came to be when a group of four brothers and sisters emerged from the central window of a mountain called Tampu T'oqo (window house). One of the first acts of these four brothers and sisters was to organize the people who lived around the mountain into ten ayllus. From there they set off to build the capital of Cuzco (Urton 1990; Moore 2004). The Chimu's creation myth is quite different and is a testimony to their class organization. Vichama (the cultural hero of the Chimu) saw that the huacas had none to worship them and so prayed to the Sun, who sent three eggs of gold, silver, and copper.

From the gold came the Curacas, Caciques, and the nobles; from the silver came their women, and from the copper came the commoners, their women, and their families. There is a relevant difference between these two myths: the Inka myth describes a genesis of lineages, while the Chimu myth portrays the creation of a class-based society.

Moore (2004) contrasts these two world views and argues their distinctive perspectives are reflected in their funerary architecture. The difference can be seen reflected in forms of the two societies funerary space: individual crypts or caves associated with the Inka, while the Chimu buried the deceased in cemeteries and burial platforms within the ciudadelas at Chan Chan. Moore argues that differences in Chimu and Inka funerary landscapes reflect different conceptions of social order: Inka buried their dead based on kinship, while the Chimu buried their dead based on class.

If the Chimu and Inka buried their dead based on different ideas of class and kinship, then I propose that similar distinctions will also be seen in the layout of their urban centers. I propose this by examining the architectural layout as well as the social hierarchy at the sites of Cuzco and Chan Chan.

Analysis and Discussion

Inka Cuzco

Located at the north end of the Cuzco Valley, the city of Cuzco emerged as the Inca Empire's central capital by about AD 1400, when the Inca had united the region under their rule (Bauer 2004). At its height Cuzco was home to more than 20,000 people, with many more living in villages across the valley. Called 'Tawantinsuyu' by the Inka, the name translates to 'four parts' or 'to divide', and thus it was divided into four

parts, each section defined as what could be seen as far as the horizon. Each of these regions was given its own name: Chinchasuyu, Andesuyu, Condesuyu, and Collasuyu (Fig. 1). The city itself does not follow the system of cardinal points that is the east-west axis. The roads in the city were the axis of division, called the ceque system, which was on par with the roads of the Roman Empire. The ceque system itself was divided into 42 lines outward from the center plaza linking 328 huacas along the roads.

There are two types of information regarding the organization of Cuzco: the ancestral cult system of the royal dynasty, and classification of the 'Inkas by privilege'. The royal dynasty traced their ancestry to a common ancestor through the Inca kings of Inka women and those of non-Inka women. The other, the Inkas by privilege, were groups of people that the Inkas had conquered, usually those of high rank, such as a king and his family. Below the Inkas by privilege were the tribute-paying Inkas, or the commoner Inkas. These people all belonged to an ayllu, or a kinship-group. Spatial organization was directly linked to social organization of these kin-groups.

In addition to the four divisions of the city, Cuzco was also divided into two halves: Hanan-Cuzco, or Upper Cuzco, and Hurin-Cuzco, Lower Cuzco. These two regions had a hierarchical relationship, in that both the commoner and the Inka by privilege lived in Hurin (though Inkas by privilege still retained the rank of nobility). Hanan housed the nobility, though Chinchasuyu was the most important of the four suyus, as it housed the royal family in general. These subdivisions were all inter-related and assigned roles in each section of the territory. The functions of these groups were assigned by the royal family, classified by the ranks of the mothers and the birth order of her sons. The rank of the mother was determined by the genealogical distance to the

king; thus it was the common ancestor that determined the rank of a mother and her sons (Zuidema 1983).

Cuzco had great architectural and functional complexity. The city held royal palaces and homes of the nobility and lower classes, temples, administrative and bureaucratic buildings, as well as a principal temple and several open plazas. Unlike the palaces at Chan Chan, the Inka kings palaces were not as self-contained, and the king often moved freely through his lands. The central plaza was the center of the Inka rituals and ceremonies, with a multitiered platform, the ushnu, as the 'political banner' of the Inka state. The vast size of the main plaza at Cuzco (called the 'Huacaypata') hints that more (all) individuals were able to participate in ceremonies and offer tribute.

The Inka, unlike the Chimu, buried their dead according to patrilineal descent groups. These people were buried in tombs or crypts, in a re-creation of the emergence of the Inka dynasty, told in their creation myth (W. Isbell 1997; Moore 2004). These tombs were made of stones, in the forms of small towers, and were widely documented in the Cuzco region of all four suyus (See photos 3-6). In the case of Chinchasuyu, the deceased was carried on a litter by his descendants and several mourners to his tomb in a funeral march. It was here rituals and ceremonies in honor of the dead were held by their descendants. Ideally, the dead were placed in ancestral tombs, however in some cases they were buried in cemeteries. This was rare however, and only took place when an Inka died away from home, such as in a military settlement.

Ancestor veneration was limited to lineage and debilitated as time went on. Veneration was limited to lineal kin and to ancestors of the third generation. They worshipped their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but were not concerned

with their uncles or cousins, or anyone who did not have descendants. Mummies of kings and lords were the only ones who were venerated by everyone, in addition to their own ancestors (Cobo 1990[1653]:43; Moore 2004). Veneration was also shaped by prestige of the one who had died. It was generally considered those who prospered in life were friends with gods and would be honored in the next life. Thus the Inka went out of their way to honor powerful lords and men, and thus undervalued the average person.

An important ceremonial practice where ancestor veneration took place was the Situa ceremony, a six day ritual that was to rid the city of illness. People with illness and broken ear-holes were sent out of the city, and all peoples from the suyus around the city came to the central plaza, facing their respective directions, and ritually chased illness from the city. Ancestor veneration took place when the mummies were brought out from their tombs and carried on litters by their descendants to the center of the main plaza, to be honored with chicha and feasting as they watched the ceremonies take place. Plazas were spaces for ritual ceremony and encounters, where ancestors were offered food and chicha, honored with dance and prayer and asked to speak with gods on the people's behalf.

Chimu Chan Chan

Chan Chan, the capital of the Chimu Empire, occupied over 1,000 km of Peru's north coast. Prior to being conquered by the Inka, the Kingdom of Chimor was the largest coastal power in South America, ruling from the city of Chan Chan. Three social classes lived at Chan Chan: the nobility, the craft specialists, and the lower class workers (Keatinge and Kent 1973). Each of these classes had a distinct architecture

attributed to their place in Chan Chan's social hierarchy: slum, intermediate, and monumental (Fig. 2). The slums (also known as the SIAR), or the barrios, were agglutinated dwellings with no formal planning, and most of the time were located up against the monumental architecture, the *ciudadelas*. This is where the commoners and the lower class workers lived, located at the edges of the site. The people who lived here were most likely forbidden from entering the *ciudadelas*, as well as had limited access to main streets. Most of the barrios have been destroyed by modern day farming, and thus it is impossible to know its original extent.

The *ciudadelas* themselves were the most sophisticated in layout, as they were built as small cities for the Chimu king and his family. Made of adobe and surrounded by thick walls nine meters high, there are ten *ciudadela* structures, each with various spaces such as room's devoted to storage, on-site cooking facilities, burial platforms and perhaps the most important feature, the U-shaped *audencia*. The *audencia* was an emblem of noble status and state authority, were they functioned as residences/working areas for royalty and perhaps their families. The number of *audencias* at Chan Chan number fifteen, and given the fact that there are so many of them, there is the possibility that they served other functions other than residential. If class separation can be followed in architectural layout, then the resident with the highest status would have lived in the most isolated part of the enclosure.

The intermediate architecture was home to nobility and possible artisans. While we know that artisans were not nobility, they were not considered low class workers, in that they often came into contact with the nobility and kings, due to the high quality goods they produced. These intermediate structures contained planned homes, courts,

small plazas and passageways that were more formally arranged than the barrios, yet not as complex as the ciudadelas layout. These compounds have lower walls than that of the ciudadelas, little storage space, no burial platforms, and lack large plazas. They are located near the ciudadelas and connected in the central section of the city. It is thought that these structures housed an estimated twelve thousand people.

Like the city layout, burial patterns were structured by class distinctions. At Chan Chan, commoners lived in self-contained barrios, and several of these had associated cemeteries. These cemeteries have no headstones that identify the dead, but they contain hundreds of people, and more than likely served more than a single kin group's direct lineal ancestors (Moore 2004). These cemeteries are located throughout the North Coast, all extensively looted, and thus funerary treatment is unknown.

Unlike the commoners at Chan Chan, people of royalty were buried in the ciudadelas, in distinct and elaborate burial platforms. These platforms are hidden inside the ciudadelas, usually at the end of a complex route of barriers and hallways. All evidence points to the special status of the individuals buried there: the size of the platform, uniqueness of the structure, as well as evidence for renovation and of human sacrifice. These burial platforms are funerary architectural space reserved only for the kings at Chan Chan.

A recent discovery of a Chimu architectural model (Fig. 7) suggests that the dead royalty of Chan Chan were honored in ways that were like the ceremonies of the Inka in the great plaza, but with much smaller and selective attendees. Two wooden figurines depict miniature female mummy bundles, while in the plaza is an assembly of musicians, chicha brewers, and two figures seeming to direct the ceremony. The

discovery of the model reveals to us an understanding of the ceremonies that took place inside the ciudadelas. In Chan Chan, the deceased king was honored in the privacy of his ciudadela courtyard in an enclosed space reflecting an ideology of class separation.

Summary and Conclusion

Looking at architecture and layout from an anthropological view, we know that societies create, modify, and organize themselves by the influence of their environment. A single building may represent a wide influence of cultural decisions. For example, the ciudadelas at Chan Chan had an extremely complex and systematic layout, with rooms devoted to storing goods. Warehousing was a main function of noble status, and the fact that nobility had more access to goods shows an aspect of a controlled social hierarchy. In contrast, the Inka of Cuzco had storage houses placed throughout their city, while the central position around the main plaza, where the palaces of the kings were located, was considered a place of power.

Status of individuals was reflected in the structure and placement of their houses. Cuzco was laid out in a way that every building of importance was located around the central plaza and expanded outward. The structure and importance of dwellings, made of stone, mud and thatch, decreased the further a person traveled from the plaza. This is evidence to the planning of Cuzco's layout. Chan Chan had no such planned placement. Ciudadelas, as well as the barrios and intermediate buildings, all seem sporadically placed, with new houses and ciudadelas seemingly springing up where ever there seemed to be available space. The internal layouts of the ciudadelas themselves seem to be the only buildings at Chan Chan with a complex and systematic plan, with a rigidly controlled design.

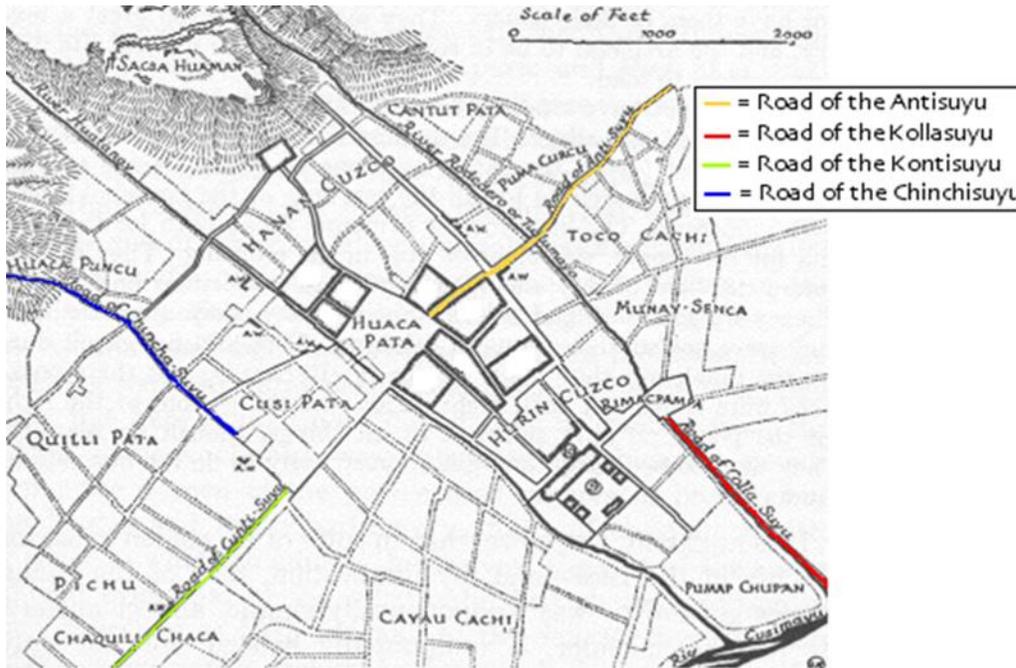
The dead also played an important role in social structure and space. The bodies of the dead Inka were placed where they could be visited and venerated, such as the family tomb, temples, or palaces. They were brought out to the central plaza often, given food and drink and were consulted by the living on important matters. The Chimu did not venerate their dead. Once the king of Chan Chan had died, he was buried in his burial platform in his ciudadela. This was to deny his mortality. It is possible that their passing into the divine was made public to the commoners, but it is unlikely that the king, or anyone, was honored after death.

Landscapes are the creations of interactions between people living in societies with conceptions that are variously rigid or loose, articulate or ill-defined, stable or fluid (Moore 2004). Both the Inka and the Chimu had different worldviews: the Inka, in reference to relationships between the living and the dead, ruler and subjects, had a hierarchy based on kinship. The Chimu had a view of the world based in terms of class. Based on the elements at both centers, such as the dualist division of Cuzco, elite housing and palaces in a central position around the main plaza, and the lack of control and placement of buildings at Chan Chan, we can see that the stratified nature of the two societies is reflected in their built environment, and that they did in fact organize their urban centers based on class and kinship, according to their world views.

Appendix

Table of Urban Distinctions

	Funerary architecture	Open plazas	Ancestor veneration	Spatial order
Chimu/Chan Chan	Burial platforms associated with kings, commoners buried in cemeteries	Lack of centralized plazas, no public monuments	Ceremony for Chimu king at time of death by small select group, no further offerings	Sporadic placement of buildings and dwellings
Inka/Cuzco	Familial tombs, crypts associated with kings and commoners	Various large and open plazas, large central plaza	Mummies exhumed, offered food and drink, consulted often	Dualist division, systematic, controlled placement of dwellings



A map of ancient Cuzco showing the roads leading to the Tawantinsuyu and Hanan and Hurin divisions.

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Photo 1, Ancient map of Cuzco

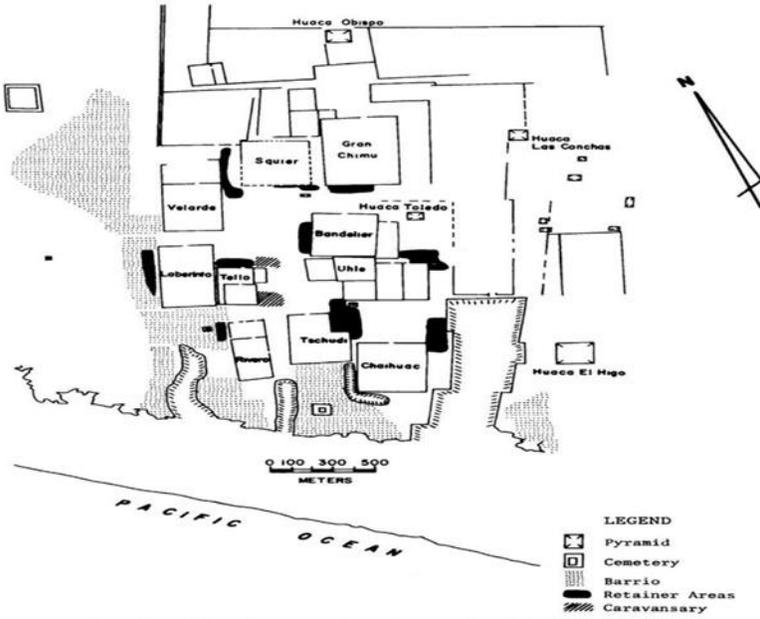


Figure 2. Plan of Chan Chan showing the named compounds and other features of the site.

Photo 2, Plan of Chan Chan



Fig. 6. Burial customs of Chinchasuyu.

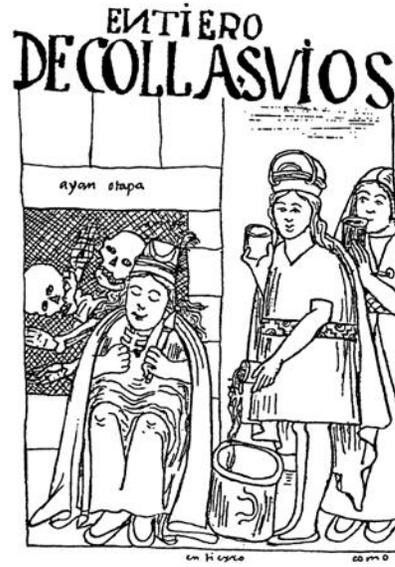


Fig. 3. Burial customs of Collasuyu.

Photo 3, Chinchasuyu burial

Photo 4, Collasuyu burial

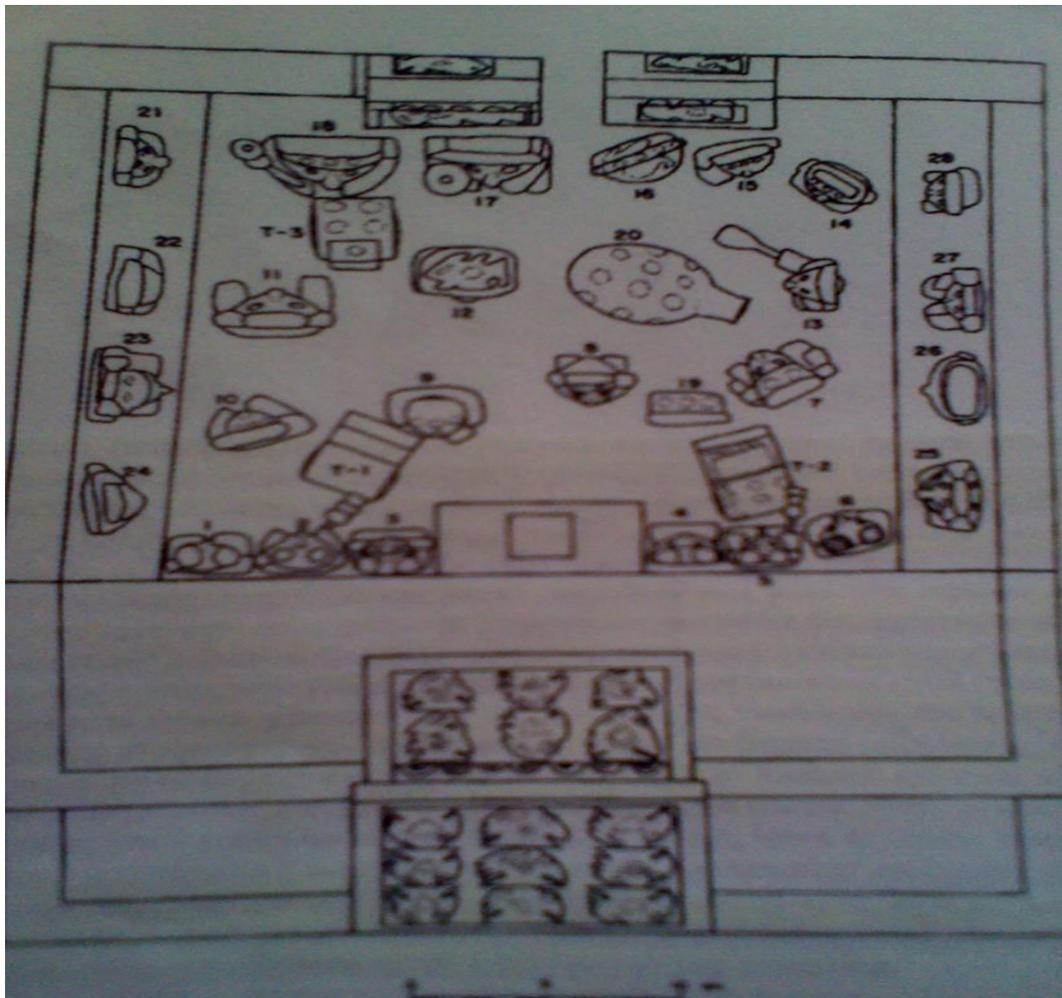


Photo 7, Chimu architectural model

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Folklore Group Culture Behind Blizzcon and The Online Gaming Culture Surrounding Blizzard Entertainment

By Augustine Perez

Abstract

This research focuses on the online community of gamers that spend different intervals of time online in an imaginary world full of history, lore and real life comparisons of everyday life of conflict, stress, and fellowship. Within the community of these gamers, an annual event hosted by Blizzard Entertainment is held at the Anaheim convention center during the second weekend in November. Within the folklore behind the event and its surrounding community lies a complex system of traditions and group behavioral patterns that entail insider jokes and views of the opposing factions within. Modern day pop culture rituals are performed throughout the weekend that include of group bonding between members of the community; for example, after party gatherings, competition for the front of the line, pop culture card and board games, and in some instances hookah exchanges. These factions are referred to the Alliance and the Horde. These two factions battle for supremacy over the weekend convention and do so over battle yells and jokes/insults at each other.

To perform my research I will conduct interviews over the weekend with the various groups in the community. In addition I will record visual interactions and certain polls over what behavior patterns they inhibit over the weekend. For further understanding, it is important that I, a member of this community, provide an inside view

of their actions and rituals that is comprised within the traditions of this pop gaming culture.

Methodology

The methodology in my research is an important aspect to society because it focuses on a new and misunderstood folk culture of gaming. The research is performed during the convention and plans for it were developed before the event to make sure the proper paperwork was in order to proceed further on. Finding further articles online proved difficult to say the least, where this field is still new to the Anthropology community it has been covered by other fields in the academia. While searching scholarly online databases, I found one condensed article that was slightly related to my project titled Gaming Business Communities. Though it is not what I wanted to use primarily in my project but from reading into the article further, I found some sections that do apply to the people in the folk group. As Lloyd Gallagher puts it “the need to develop a strong community environment that supports player interaction, plays a pivotal role in community, individual, and organizational learning within structures” (2012:34).

Providing interviews for the project proved extremely difficult at the time of the convention because of the hectic running around everywhere trying to get people willing to be interviewed. Additionally, waiting for the public relations for the company to approve my interviews with certain key figures that are the company’s historians were deadlocked because of the convention was taking priority over personal media interviews. Luckily, I had worked on questionnaires that could match what I wanted for the research. Such as asking if the participants noticed the influence of the lingo they

picked up in the game and if they happen to notice themselves use the lingo with members outside of the community. Additionally the questionnaires asked what made them become attracted to these games and how many hours they spend playing.

Another method I applied is taking still photography that I referred to off the *Folklife and Fieldwork* handbook, as Peter Bartis states “photographs should include the normal surroundings of the person, object, or performance. They should show, for example, the household of the person interviewed, the use of space, decorations, and characteristic details such as an icon corner or workshop” (2002:13). Lastly I implemented video recordings at different intervals that display the power and excitement that my fellow gaming folk group has for the games and this yearly event Blizzcon.

The limitations for the project were that there was not enough time to acquire interviews by the company employees and participants over at the convention were weary over my request for interviews even when displayed what my project was about, though a handful of them were happy to fill out my questionnaire. Additionally, time for me to run back and forth from my hotel room carrying all of my gear and souvenirs was short because of the events had been scheduled on a strict time frame so having to run everywhere was taxing on my back and energy.

Birth & History of the Folk Nerd Group

There is much to be covered in order to grasp the entire concept and understand how this folk group emerged to be this dynamic and complex. Its history is long and rooted in not rural movements but in urban settings. My experiences in being a part of the movement and group will play a large part in the folklore project through written

accounts, having questionnaires passed out to fellow folk members at the convention so that they can add their own view point as an insider.

The folk group came about in the 90s, at the time when the internet was still in its infancy, and the majority in the group interacted with each other in person. The interactions consisted of weekend social meetings centered around their work week, the daily stresses of everyday life, and terrible days at school. The range of people classified in the group comes from the misfits in society. The term for them is “Nerd”, as some born into the 70s and 80s generations were prolific in mistreating this types of culture. From the mistreatment and abuse, the nerd group became stronger in bonding, leading them to created new forms of interactions, formation of a new language system, material cultures that expand into more complex stories of lore. The games they played went from simple to complex and “epic” adventures that with no concept of time they would stay last for days. The first role playing game was Dungeon and Dragons. While the rules are set in their dungeon books; players are free to modify to match the group composition. Another game that was just as complex and often vague was Warhammer 40k. Both of these games are table top games, which meant that social cohesion was critical for these games to transition smoothly to its ending. In the 90s the internet was becoming more accessible & the nerds who helped program and set the technology on its way were the very same who earlier were outcaste as social rejects.

Evolution

While the history is vague on who was first to use the technology but some can say that it was the game Everquest, as we as the folk group took it and used it to run the same games and more to interact with each other over vast distances allowing

instant communication over the internet. In addition, the communication technology allowed folk groups to talk to each other over headsets while gaming to use simultaneous voice chat and plan tactically. This is when a small team of people, that shared the same ideals and folk group, decided to form a gaming company named Silicon & Synapse which later became Blizzard Entertainment. There are several other gaming companies that sprouted up but none shared the same success as BE. With the success of their games, the BE folk group evolved such complexities with each version of their games. With the role of technology modifying the cultures, the company used it to their advantage to connect fellow “nerds” with each other for the first time in a real time setting.

The different universes of Warcraft, Starcraft and Diablo left proactive communities that have evolved into 3 subgroups that in turn have their own inner workings, traditions, viewpoints and languages. The next portion of the project describes the people who participate in these online worlds.

Main Three Folk Groups

While I am an active member of all three communities, what started it all was the game series “Warcraft”, the folk group molded around the fantasy world of humans fighting against orcs. The Warcraft folk group developed into two sub groups or factions: the Alliance and the Horde. Both of these sub groups created traditions, languages and rituals when inside or outside of the game. Since I am a member of both factions, I see myself stuck with both traditions and often confusing each with the other faction. A tradition that includes all three games is a yearly event called “Blizzcon” and thousands of “nerds” flock online to purchase passes. People would post online the availability of

passes to people who were not lucky enough to get their own. Every year their comrades would be allowed to purchase passes for friends or fellow “Guild Mates”, and in turn help pay for the hotel room while they stay at of the weekend convention. This tradition has been used since the inception of the convention in 2005.

The other two groups that remain are the folk groups belonging to the Starcraft and Diablo universes. The Diablo Universe is set in a world dominated by angels and demons while having humans as the offspring of both races, leaving them as the middle ground to offset the balance. The Starcraft universe takes place in a space setting, where the humans traversed vast distances from earth to only arrive at a system of planets with harsh environments. The humans flourish into independent governments only to be sent into civil wars and then fight for survival against two alien species known as the Protoss and the Zerg.

Folk Groups Expand To Form Group Behaviors and Patterns

This portion of the project dives in further to describe the very essence of what these groups classify as folk people of the modern age. Each group has their own set of behavioral patterns that differ from each other but in other instances seem very similar. For instance, one tradition and ritual is having a guild meeting of local players to meet each other face to face and have a BBQ party. The gathering includes the consumption of alcohol (if they are over 21) or just normal soft drinks for the straightedge members who do not consume alcohol. Occasionally ritualistic acts are performed on the newer members of the community by drinking games or just general hazing to induct them into the social construct of the guild. Another ritual that has been notorious is having large number of members play online together. It is a secular ritual of good luck, and about

taking shots for every person that dies in the game during the course of the raid. Keep in mind that these raids can last up to 6 hours so in reality drinking that much alcohol in that short of time would have a negative impact, but in my experiences it has worked by mere chance that my fellow comrades succeed in defeating the boss without passing out on everyone else.

For the material culture aspect behind the folk community, the lore books were created to push for an enhancement in the storylines that took place in game allowing continuity for the members to imagine further. After the books were taking off in popularity, clothing lines created for these games began but it took a while to gain acceptance in the community because the stigma of wearing such “nerdish” clothing out on the open. Furthermore, the Warcraft folk group has gained acceptance among the pop culture and fame as the result of the success behind the game and its members that every pop joke and lingo is derived from them being used in game that now it is just the norm to be a Warcraft player. More so as Matthew Halpern clearly states “The players bring real-life constructs into their shared virtual world and a new culture grows out of this --one which new players must learn. Events that transpire in this new environment become just as meaningful to the players as their real-world lives. Players incorporating their own identities, behaviors, and curiosities into the game contribute to a more enjoyable in-game experience” (Halpern 2012). As an enforcement of that very ideal, players take what they see and bring their own identity back to the real world

The next topic discussed will be a part of the language evolution within the group and how they use it to determine whether from fellow folk member or outsider. Out of my sample size for the research project I found two participants that can define the

language characteristics. One participant name Allie Melin, when asked if the use of ingame language changed her perspective in communicating with other people outside of her fellow folk group; her response was that she only attempts to communicate with people within her gaming culture. The following phrases she gave on the questionnaire were: OMGWTFBBQ, Alt-QQ, Ragequit, Nerdgasmic, and a phrase Because Blizzard. The other participant named Ry Schueller, explained comparisons on trash talking between the factions among players who belong to certain sub groups. As he states, "Our faction is strong, your faction is weak. It's very much like every fan that follows a sports ball team, that feels strongly for their team and feels negatively towards rival teams" (questionnaire 2013), in short the reality is that we are no different than any common sports fan always having to yell taunts and jokes at the opposite team.

Blizzcon, where communities come to interact and strengthen bonds as an act of social integration

This convention has been the accumulation of fan gathering that the BE could no longer ignore in its demand to host an event where all fans can come together and understand the inner workings of the company. So to capture the ambiance and objective of my project I had to immerse myself into the community. As stated before, from the creation of the convention, the community evolved to forge new traditions and patterns that were not seen in the genre in the past. One of the traditions is the rush to line up overnight after being in line early in the evening to receive their passes. The photographs taken and displayed in the paper at the end will give a better description. Another tradition that just happened out of habit while waiting in line at 1am is the sharing of hookah that some members bring with them. As I was waiting in line, I saw

Christopher Crevliny. He is someone who I have become friends with in the past conventions and was first to line up at 9pm. Every year he brings his hookah gear and sets up with his close friends, spending the night playing a game called *Cards against Humanity*. The reason this tradition happened was because the lines every year get very long to a point they wrap around the convention center; there are over twenty thousand people, and out of those are a hundred people that want to be in the front next to the stage.

Another tradition that is just as ironic is being at a comedy show with hecklers, but the difference we have the main presenters opening up in the morning ceremony of the first day. The video named "Metzen Heckled During the Ceremony" illustrates people randomly trying to screw up his lines for amusement. Furthermore, there is more to the convention than just the opening ceremony; throughout the day there are other activities that allow members to connect on a personal level and meet new people from different states and countries. These activities range from panels that deal with different topics in game developments, voice acting, music creation, and lore to competitions for prizes and fame in the E-sports realm. Members of the community can feel like they are in a gladiator stadium watching their favorite picks fight each other ingame, forging that bond that they commonly share from the competitions to exhibits from different vendors that support the material culture created to share this miniature social economy, which members cherish and circulate ingame and outside in society by spreading the influence of such materials such as clothing.

To go further into depth of the influential complexities that Blizzcon creates, the event has sprung a unique folk group known as cosplayers. As there is no research on

this group, it can be said that further research is needed in the future to study this group more thoroughly. These cosplayers have a set of rules and behaviors that separate them from the rest in the main folk group; one of those rules is that they must have their costumes solely done by their own hands or by professionals that keep their craftwork in the community. A majority of them I took still photographs of while wandering around the convention and backstage of the main area where the costume contest was going to take place. One tradition that these cosplayers have is to meet as one large group on the first day of the convention and allow the media to capture images of them while in their character personas, and then after the media blitz, they walk as a group, entertaining members of the community by answering questions of how their costumes were made. While there are additional traditions and rituals this community applies to their daily lives, the influence it carries is far too large to grasp in a seven page ethnography.

Conclusion

Over the course of the project I have described the complexities the folk group inhabited throughout the history of the franchise and well before it. Traditional anthropology has failed to capture this emerging culture out of the digital world, where people come together and forge a new society. As Bonnie A. Nardi writes and reinforces my objective:

The blockage created by diminished opportunities to study cultures untouched by cosmopolitan markets and states has left contemporary anthropology somewhat unsettled. It is not surprising, then, that some turn to what appear to be new cultural forms emerging in virtual worlds. These social milieux offer up a chance

to cast an anthropological gaze on fresh sets of natives and their exotic ways (2009:28).

Furthermore, the project stands as a small example that this folk group needs in-depth research, which then can be expanded into a longer research paper. When the convention occurs again, with time permitting, a video documentary can be created to display the complexities of the community, their traditions, behavioral patterns, language code switching, and the influence of material cultures in modern society. In conclusion, as a member of this folk group, I hope I was able to shed some light onto what we are as a community and how the way we behave reflects this constant evolving social construct that for a long period of time has been ignored by traditional anthropological viewpoints but can now be fully explored and accepted in the academia.

Appendix



Figure 1: Chris Crevliny testing out his hookah device.



Figure 2: Chris and crew finally getting ready to hunker down for the night

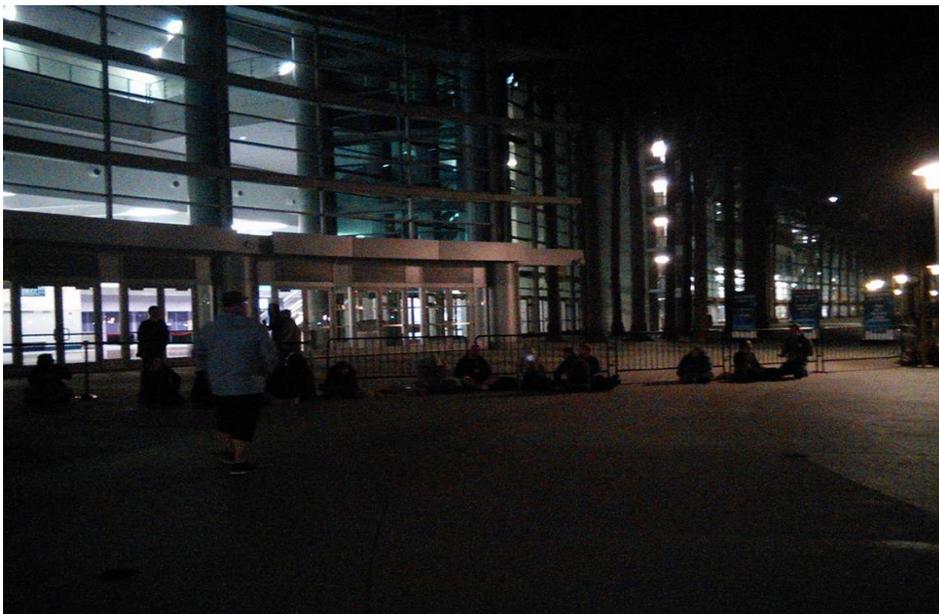


Figure 3: The line at 1am.



Figure 4: the line at 4am.

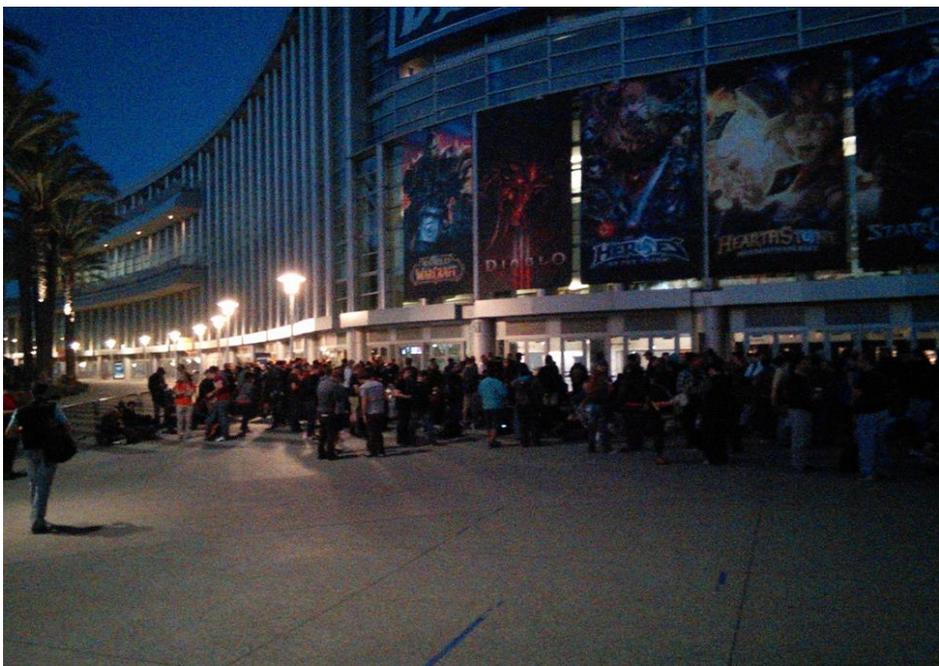


Figure 5: The line at 5am.



Figure 6: The line at 6am.



Figure 7: The line at 7-8 am



Figure 8: Game show themed lore competition



Figure 9: Diablo 3 voice actors and signing panel.



Figure 10: Myself with a group I met on the Blizzcon Facebook group

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The Renaissance Pleasure Faire

By David Rapport

Introduction

For my independent research project I focused on The Southern California Renaissance Faire, also known as “Ren–Fair” or simply “Fair” by those who are considered “Fairfolk”. Through my friends and acquaintances, who have been members of this unique group for many years, I have become increasingly fascinated with what constitutes “Fairfolk”. As a result of my association with these individuals, I am thought of as being with them but not of them. It is this, albeit limited, affiliation that allows me to not only conduct my research, but to learn more than someone the group considers an outsider.

Within the different hierarchies of this group are different stories, dress/costume, language, and customs. Through interviews, field notes, photographs, and historical documentation it has been my goal to gain an understanding of the practices that define the members of this group and the different subgroups within its hierarchy. In addition, it has been my hope to be able to compare and contrast what makes one subgroup different from another.

Approach, Methods, & Preparation

To find out more about the Renaissance Faire, I contacted some people whom I have known for years that are active participants. Most were quite willing to answer some questions regarding the festival and its people. Some were generous and put me in contact with others whom I have never met, though many wished to remain

anonymous. Additionally, as I have been a participant for the last few years, I have my personal observations as to some of the goings on of the festival.

Some of the participants that were spoken with were slightly reluctant to discuss what they knew without either asking me some questions or sharing a drink. As I know Fairfolk who are well known, it made the experience somewhat simpler.

Background

Originating in the United States in the early 1960's, the Renaissance Faire is an interactive festival that celebrates the past by, at least in part, recreating an older world. It allows its participants to go backwards in time and experience one of history's most fascinating eras; the Renaissance. Festivals such as these utilize popular and rather fantastic views of history to encourage audience members to participate in ways that others cannot. Generally speaking, a Renaissance Faire is an interactive performance utilizing an entire environment where audience members are wrapped up in a performance and encouraged to play a character of their own, or at least to play along as much as they are willing. "The Renaissance, to be "reborn", is a time when individuals celebrated the awakening of a new idea, when light was let into darkness. The Renaissance Pleasure Faire celebrates the "spirit" of this period of history, in which people have the willingness to try anything and everything" (www.renfaire.com).

These festivals have a lot in common with actual history, but are equally as inaccurate as they are accurate. The use of myth and romanticized history at the Renaissance festival is sometimes criticized by outsiders. However, those who participate are not all sticklers for detail, as seen by those dressed up as Beetlejuice.

The People

The Renaissance Faire is essentially a great costume party that starts in the early morning and ends mid-evening. In other ways, it is similar to an amusement park without the rides. People will come and go throughout the day as well as wander around the Faire grounds, sometimes aimlessly and sometimes with a purpose. Like parties and amusement parks, those who attend eventually find certain spots that catch their interest and which will keep them coming back.

Generally speaking, there are two main ways that people hear about the Faire. While there are many who will see advertisements for the Renaissance Faire, the majority have heard of the festival through word of mouth. Even still, who goes and why? The simple answer to who attends is anyone and everyone, from toddlers dressed in costume to the elderly who may have been coming for decades... or not. Those interviewed stated that they have been going to a Renaissance Faire for anywhere from two to twenty five years as little as once per year or as much as every available weekend. As to the why, each person has different reasons for attending and the experiences they wish to gain. It is not possible to understand them all as each reason is as unique as the individuals that go and the costumes they wear. Because the Faire encourages individuality beyond what is considered historically accurate, it has the potential and ability to change the ways people see themselves. It does this by trying to get people out of their shells and be someone they may not be for a short while.

The Setting

Those who attend the Renaissance Faire should expect to encounter eccentric characters in an eccentric environment. This environment is usually set out in the middle of nowhere, in a dirt field, in the open air. The Southern California Renaissance

Pleasure Faire is located at the Santa Fe Dam Recreational Area and takes up a space between twenty and thirty acres. Rain or shine, hot or cold, the Fair will take place. Those who actually lived through the Renaissance could not control the weather either.

Material Culture

The Fair encourages “shopkeepers” to sell handcrafted goods having something to do with the Renaissance, though this is not always the case. While it is not the first thing that people on the outside think of, shopping is a large part of the culture. The costumes that are worn and the items carried do more than add to the look of the Faire. Every little detail adds to one’s identity and can further identify a person as being part of Faire. There are always several places that sell different types of clothing, ceramics and pottery, and swords and weaponry. Specialty shops can also be easily found, such as those who carry pirate or wizard items, blown glass objects, and those selling drinking goblets of varying types. In some instances, even the type of drinking goblet can provide different information beyond “that goes well with your costume”. For example, those who carry ceramic jugs are thought of a step above newbie or “Turkey”. For those in the know, it is the wooden mugs, elaborate pewter goblets, animal horn or hand-made drinking vessels that should be used.

Music

Though rituals vary from person to person, one of the biggest commonalities is music. Of the people spoken to, those who are more active participants tend to enjoy a greater variety of music as opposed to those who are not quite as experienced with the festival. I have found that among those who are guild members, an appreciation for the hammered dulcimer is quite common. The hammered dulcimer is a string instrument

that makes a very sweet melodic sound and looks like a cross between a lap guitar and a xylophone.

There are also three musical groups in particular that seem to be very popular among the people to whom I spoke. The Dread Crew of Oddwood is a "heavy mahogany" band. What is "heavy mahogany" music, you ask? It is a blend of acoustic folk rock, heavy metal, punk, and traditional Celtic music... played by pirates. The Merry Wives of Windsor are a group of women who portray lusty serving wenches who sing bawdy songs. The Poxxy Boggards are a self-described "Drinking group with a singing problem". Quite often bawdy, naughty, raunchy, saucy, rude, crude, and profane as is seen in the titles of their albums (for example, Bawdy Parts, Liver Let Die, and Lager than Life). The Poxxy Boggards are a favorite among the patrons who go to the Renaissance Faire. Often performing on the Rogue's Reef Stage (NC-17), they change their line-up every season. There are, however, certain songs that are sung on a constant basis, as they are favorites of the Fairfolk. "I wear no pants" is sung every year as a tradition. One of the other more popular songs is "The Good Ship Venus". "Good Ship Venus", also known as "Friggin' in the Riggin'", is a bawdy drinking song meant to shock with ever increasingly lewd and debauched sexual descriptions of the ship's crew. It is possible that the song was inspired by an actual event, where a female convict sailing on British ship Venus, convinced members of the crew to commandeer the vessel around the year 1806. As this song is so old and well-traveled, there are many dozens of different verses as well as different variations on each. A partial listing of these verses and lyrics can be found in Appendix A. Additionally, this song is so well known that it has even been covered by contemporary musicians, such as "The Sex

Pistols” and the heavy metal band “Anthrax”. One of the patrons that I interviewed, however, was a bit more partial to the traditional Irish folk songs that the Boggards often play.

Entertainment

In addition to the musical entertainment, there are many comedy routines, specifically MooNie the Magnif'Cent & Broom, belly dancing (my personal favorite), games and parades. The joust is something that most people, Turkey or old hat, will try so see at least once a season. When people think of the Renaissance, they will inevitably think of jousting. While there is some danger to the actors and much skill is needed to perform the joust, it is very much akin to wrestling. It is all a production. However, that does not mean that it is any less entertaining. There are many games that people can partake in such as the hatchet toss, bow and arrow, throwing tomatoes at the town drunk, knife throwing, and so forth. The belly dancing is something that many will be interested in for obvious reasons... wink, wink. The parades, though not really interactive to general patrons, are a fun thing to watch. Parades often consist of guild members who are the most involved of the Fairfolk. Watching the glass blowers, blacksmiths, and other artisans work can also be a fascinating thing for people who are not used to seeing such crafts being made.

Frankly, something that I have noticed, that has been confirmed by both seasoned Ren Fair participants as well as the occasional visitor, is people watching as a form of entertainment. Often people will just find a perch and look at the costumes that people are wearing or the guild members interacting with each other. Some of the

more experienced will keep an eye on Turkeys to see how embarrassed they will get at all the debauchery that may or may not be going on.

Food and Drink

One of the largest draws for those going to the Faire is the food and the drink. Everyone who I have spoken with has expressed their love of certain foods that they can only get at the Renaissance Faire. Even newbies know that they will get to enjoy some unusual food, which includes the infamous large drumstick of a turkey leg and once you are full you can use it as a club. There is also the interestingly named Toad in a Hole which consists of a mixed meat spiced sausage wrapped in dough. This is a very traditional British dish. Meat pies and stuffed artichokes are also among some of the favorites of Fairfolk.

Perhaps the most unusual food item seen at Faire is Sin on a Stick. From what I have found, it is something either loved or hated. Sin on a Stick consists of a very large piece of frozen cheesecake that has been dipped in chocolate... on a stick. Upon hearing of this some will think that it is too much while others will simply state "Is that it?" (Anon:2013). To go along with a certain craze, a new item was added to the extensive menu. However, like the secret menu at In-n-Out burger, this was learned by word of mouth only: "Ultimate Sin". Simply put, this concoction is Sin on a Stick wrapped in freshly cooked crumbled bacon. Ultimate Sin, as I learned through an interview, started out as a joke among those who work at the Renaissance Faire during the set up. Apparently, word got around of this idea to the point where everyone wanted it. The owner finally relented on the condition that it not be placed on any of the signs. For this reason, very few people outside of certain circles knew of the existence

of Ultimate Sin. From having known the right people at the time I can say that it was one of the greatest epicurean delights of my life.

Drinking is also a major custom among those of Faire. For “Turkeys” or people new to Faire, it seems that they are most interested in trying mead. Mead is a traditional renaissance drink that can be found throughout Britain, Northern Europe and even the Middle East. Mead is honey wine. That is to say it is fermented honey and not honey added to wine. It is a very sweet drink that is also very light and tends to sneak up on a person. Yes, it is alcoholic somewhere in the neighborhood of 15%. While the allure of its newness goes away quickly, mead is still enjoyed by most who go to the Faire. Some visitors will bring their own bottles and start drinking in the parking lot at ten in the morning, because it is so light and sweet it acts as a nice compliment to all of the very rich and heavy foods that one typically finds at the festival. In fact, there are those at Faire who have been making their own for some time.

While there is no hard alcohol served, there are quite a number of people who somehow sneak in a bottle of this and a bottle of that... primarily rum. If, however, a person is not fortunate enough to know one of these people, beer is served throughout the grounds. For those who are active participants who work the Renaissance Faire, there is a Keg blow out with all the half empty kegs selling for cheap for the workers at the end of the day.

Conclusion & Self-Reflection

Through observations and my experiences as both a “Turkey” and a general participant, I have learned that at no time during the course of the wonderfully long day is any attempt made to lead anyone to a specific place. Either it comes or the surging

afternoon mob nudges him or her to the action willy-nilly. Most tend to be completely unaware of this fact. Those who go completely give themselves over to whatever experience or pleasure that they happen to be having at the moment. Everything is simply eye catching. Regardless of the level of participation, the entire experience is a feast for the senses. It is a hedonist's paradise to make anyone go googly-eyed. Everything is an element of the past that never was mixed with the present.

“The spectators are the component that gives the fair its raison d’être. They direct themselves as if they had been cast in a spectacle. It is as if the crowd authenticates whatever it is that originally draws them there. Interaction on such a massive scale cannot avoid being theatre” (Blazer 1976).

I have also learned that, with little exception, there is little difference between the groups who participate in the Renaissance Faire beyond the level of participation. From what I understand and what I have been able to interpret, once a person moves beyond the status of “Turkey”, they are Fair folk and considered either friend or family. Any rituals, customs, and practices that take place are unique to the individual and not indicative to the group as a whole. Simply put, once you are a part of the group, because of a shared interest in Faire, you are part of the group. However, the commonality between those that I know and those that I have spoken to and interviewed, is a shared love of not having to be politically correct for a time, good food and drink, entertainment, theatre, and history.

Carpe Potus

“Seize the Drink”

With special thanks to friends, family, and fair folk.

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24/7: A Look at the Folk Culture of Lifestyle BDSM Practitioners

By Brenna Smith

The definition of the acronym BDSM as Bondage-dominance and sadism-masochism has been well known to me for almost a decade of my life as I found and joined the folk community based around these practices, but for the purposes of

academia, I will cite Dawn Reynolds' journal article on the subject for the definition: Bondage is the act of submission to another in sexual situations via restraints; dominance is controlling the actions during sexual play; sadism is derived from the name of Marquis de Sade, an 18th century author famous for his fictions based on a person experiencing sexual pleasure at causing pain for another, and masochism is also derived from an author who penned sexual fiction, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, concerning the counterpart to sadism, deriving sexual pleasure from having pain inflicted upon their person (41). Also known as fetishes or kink, those who engage in these sexual acts can range in involvement from casual "in the bedroom" to lifestyle practitioners, where it permeates all aspects of their life, primarily their long-term serious relationships. BDSM has a long history of being misunderstood, demonized and stigmatized by mainstream society (Barker 106), though over the past 20 years, it has experienced a popularity and attention in popular media, with films like 2002's *Secretary* starring James Spader and Maggie Gyllenhaal and the best-selling 2011 novel *Fifty Shades of Grey* (Weiss 104). While the mainstreaming of this oft-misunderstood subculture and folk group serves to normalize what was once demonized (similar to what's happened with the gay community), these popular portrayals tend to be inaccurate and even damaging representations of what BDSM practitioners actually do. In an effort to shine a light on this group in order to demystify and destigmatize it, I interviewed five members of the community who label themselves as lifestyle practitioners.

While variations in human sexuality have existed for almost as long as sex itself, my background research begins at two far less daunting origins: that of the emergence

of BDSM in psychology and the formation of the earliest BDSM club for practitioners within the United States. In David Bramwell's guide to the lifestyle Fetish, written for those curious to enter the community by one entrenched in it, he outlines the origins of BDSM as it exists in the field of psychology. Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing, an 18th century psychiatrist, was the first to bring BDSM to light in sexuality studies, coining the phrases masochism and sadism, as well as using the word fetish in a sexual context (a term originally used in association with African religion viewed as idol worship). He viewed them as mental disorders that required curing. Bramwell goes on to describe Freud's subsequent diagnosis of BDSM, a male-centric disorder based on castration fantasies that did not exist in women (14). As for the formation of the community, the Till Eulenspiegel Society and the Chicago Hellfire Club were the first open organized BDSM clubs, emerging in the early 1970s (Cutler 1). Since then, the BDSM community has developed into a full-fledged folk group, complete with its own jargon, terminology, material culture, folk objects, folk stories, rites of passage, narratives, canon of technique and much more. My independent research focusing on lifestyle practitioners provides an insight into this world.

While I did engage in observation at public BDSM events, the majority of my data comes from filled out questionnaires, as well as one-on-one interviews and observation of kinksters in private. I focused on interacting with five respondents: Harlow Harlot, z, adam, Erica and Bryce, and a male sub who wished to remain anonymous. Before I can present what they disclosed in their interviews, I have to provide definitions of the complex system of terminology present in the lifestyle so vanilla folk (those who are not BDSM practitioners) can understand. Using the words of my respondents (identified in

parenthesis after their definition), I can shed light on the intricacies of the community jargon. BDSM and kink is defined as “sexual behavior considered non-normative” (z), and as “the play stuff that we do like fireplay, needle play, bondage, caning etc. The D/s and M/s is not kink, it describes the power exchange dynamic of our relationship” (adam). adam also defined the terms for practitioners: a top is “someone who gives a sensation” (can also be referred to as Mistress, Master, Sir, Ma’am, Domme, Dom, etc), a bottom is “someone who receives a sensation” (also known as sub, submissive, slave, toy, boy, etc), a switch is “someone who is both a Top and bottom,” a brat is “someone who misbehaves for the fun of it,” and somebody who Tops from the bottom is “the act of a submissive/slave manipulating or misbehaving toward their Domme/Dom/Mistress/Master as a way to get a reaction from them which gets what the sub/slave wants” (what they want=punishment). Each respondent was asked to define what they feel to be essential nomenclature, and while all mentioned the terms listed by adam, z added something that is important to their lifestyle, puppyplay, which she defines as “kink in which one or more participants take on characteristics of a dog.” The mottoes of the BDSM lifestyle are S.S.C. and R.A.C.K. Harlow defines them as “safe, Sane and Consensual, a slightly older saying used as a saying of what your BDSM practices should be” and “Risk Aware Consensual Kink, used more commonly in the younger generation and has generally the same sentiment as SSC.” And finally, a question of etiquette as explained by an anonymous participant: “in a structured relationship, subs refer to their Tops with honorifics, always capitalized: Master, Sir, Mistress, Ma’am, etc. When talking about their Tops, they capitalize pronouns, e.g. ‘my

Master is the best, He takes care of me.’ Conversely, bottoms use lowercase, (e.g. ‘i’) and sometimes aren’t allowed to use ‘my’ ‘i’ or ‘me,’ instead having to use ‘this one.’”

The questionnaire distributed to respondents consisted of twenty open ended questions. It was filled out in varying levels of detail, and the ones who gave the most in-depth responses are the ones to whom the most attention is paid in this paper. The questions were relatively simple, allowing respondents to interpret them and answer them in ways that highlighted what was most important to them as members of the community. The questions were as follows: do you wish to remain anonymous, what is your gender, what is your sex, what is your sexual orientation, what is your position in the relationship (e.g. Top, bottom, Master, slave, etc.), what is the position of your partner(s), how kinky are you (e.g. in the bedroom only, some of the time, 24/7, etc.), how long have you been with your partner(s), how do you define kink, are you “out” as kinky to family or friends, why or why not, what are some aspects of your everyday life that are unique to a kinky lifestyle as opposed to a vanilla relationship, what are some aspects that are the same or similar to a vanilla lifestyle, what tools do you use as a lifestyle kinkster and what are they used for, what are some kinky sayings or terms unique to the kink lifestyle and their meaning, what are some stories unique to the kink community, how did you realize you were kinky and how long have you been practicing BDSM, how did you find somebody(ies) to share the lifestyle with, what are safe places for kinksters to hang out together and do you go to them, and what do you feel are the most common misconceptions about the kink lifestyle? The questionnaire was concluded with a thanks for their time and the option to contact me for a more in-depth interview if they wanted to. It was distributed via an established network of my kinky

friends, as well as using the social networking site www.fetlife.com, a sort of Facebook for kinky people.

Harlow Harlot, my first and most in-depth respondent, is a cis-gendered queer female, and a Top in service. The translation of her jargon-heavy self-identifiers is she's a biological female who identifies as a woman, whose sexual orientation is too complicated to be covered by terms like straight, bisexual, lesbian, etc (she has male and female partners, as well as trans*, genderqueer and genderbending partners). She identifies as a Top, but is learning the ways of being a Dominant by being in service as a submissive to a more experienced Top. She's the member of a kink house, a term used to define a group of people who are bound together in a family via kink relationships, and has been for a year. She has "a female Master who identifies with both male and female energy and mentors myself and two other tops, who are considered my Brother and Sister."



Harlow and H/her family. Figure 1 right picture: Brother (left), Master (center back), Harlow (center front), Sister (right). Figure 2 left picture: Brother (left), Master (center), Harlow (right)

Harlow is “out” as kinky and queer to her family and friends, meaning she is open and does not hide her sexuality. Her life could be defined as “normal,” as she is a fashion student as well as works a retail job at a clothing store, but even some of her kink lifestyle activities can be viewed in the same light: “W/we have family outings. W/we do a family dinner every Tuesday and catch up on E/everyone’s week and laugh and cook dinner and prepare for upcoming events. Sometimes W/we all go out to a club and go dancing. Those are considered O/our vanilla nights.” While there are many tools in the “toybags” of BDSM practitioners that comprise their material culture, there is one

thing that is most important to Harlow: “I've got two collars that I wear when I'm doing service. To remind of my place and what I'm doing. If I forget my collar (which has happened) then there are punishments. The same goes for my Brother and Sister. We've all forgotten our collars and were whipped for it.”



Figure 3. Harlow engaging in puppy play, wearing a collar.

When asked how she found people to be kinky with, Harlow said “I started working at a dungeon with my Sister and Master where I met both of them. Even my personal play partners are connected to that dungeon. I had worked at a dungeon before the dungeon I met everyone at and it was a much smaller less social atmosphere.”

adam is a collared and owned slave to his Mistress of eighteen months. The collar, as implied by Harlow, is by far the most important material item in kink relationships, symbolizing a sub belonging to their Master. An anonymous respondent expands on the subject by saying “a Top doesn't need toys to play with or dominate

their sub, but nothing can replace the feeling of belonging given by wearing your Master's collar." It can symbolize a temporary ownership, for example the duration of a scene (a BDSM play session), or it can symbolize permanent ownership. A collar can be anything, ranging from a ribbon to a dog collar to the expensive permanent "forever collars" that can only be removed with a key. Collaring is a rite of passage undertaken during a Collaring Ceremony. It is like BDSM marriage and can be a structured formalized ritual in which a Top and bottom announce to the kink world that this sub is owned; it includes placing a permanent collar around the bottom's neck but can also include the Top giving their bottom their new slave-name (a name which everyone is expected to refer to them as in the community) and exchanging BDSM vows. Adam lives with his Mistress and says that "while W/we both have careers, my diet, exercise, grooming, hygiene and social behavior is regulated even when we are not together." Aspects of his life are explicitly kinky, such as the procedures and rules he must follow with his Mistress: "i wake Her kneeling with a glass of freshly squeezed OJ. i kneel when i leave or arrive and kiss Her hand. i wait at a meal until she has taken her first bite before i eat." Yet, just like Harlow and everybody else interviewed about their 24/7 relationships, there are "vanilla" aspects to their relationship: "W/we watch TV together, go to the movies, go to amusement parks. W/we talk about our day at work."

Erica and Bryce are the newest lifestylers I interviewed, having been together for a couple months, as well as being new to the BDSM lifestyle. They are learning the canon of technique by attending dungeon parties and bonding with those already entrenched in the lifestyle. They have not acquired any toys of their own yet, but a fellow lifestyler welcomed them to the community by giving them their first toy: a riding

crop. Erica has not yet purchased or made a permanent collar for her partner Bryce and instead improvises from a length of chain when they engage in power exchanges.



Figure 4 right picture: Bryce on the floor (subs not allowed on furniture) while Erica reads. Figure 5 left picture: Bryce helps his Mistress Erica put her shoes on. The improvised chain collar is seen in both.

Improvising toys is an important part of the material culture of BDSM. “It stems from early historical play. There are Victorian pornographic images of people being hit by canes made from tree branches. And in Bettie Page’s pin-up pictures, she and other girls usually spank each other with hair brushes,” Harlow, whose fetishes include 50s housewife play, explains.



Figure 6: Harlow engaged in housewife play.

An industry has sprung out of this reverence for early kink, as z recounts having seen a hairbrush with spikes on the side opposite the bristles sold just for BDSM play, as well as canes made by craftspeople from bamboo and rattan. Harlow laughed when asked about toy improvisation, saying that “the kinky nickname for Home Depot is Dom Depot,” indicating a majority of people purchase supplies for making their own toys, suspension rigs and BDSM furniture at home, “the pieces of wood they give your for mixing paint make great paddles!”

z is a biological male but identifies as genderqueer (their gender is beyond the simple male/female dichotomy, with aspects of both, and therefore will now be referred to with “their” as opposed to male or female pronouns) and as pansexual (they are sexually attracted to all sexes and gender expressions, including male, female, trans*, gender non-conforming individuals, intersexed individuals, and so forth). z is the sub in a relationship with two Tops, relationships that exist independently of each other. z has been with their partners for around a year, identifies as being kinky “most of the time”

and is out to friends, and while their family is aware of their kinkiness, Z's family "does not acknowledge or speak of it." When asked what about their relationships is similar to the vanilla lifestyle, z chose the much more abstract approach, stating that "communication is the key to any relationship, kinky or vanilla." The final anonymous respondent, a male sub who lists his sexuality as "chaste" and is serving a Mistress, did not give much detail but focused on the kinky aspects of his relationship with his Mistress that are different to mainstream vanilla society: "I wear a chastity belt on my genitals constantly. I refer to my partner as Goddess."

Most respondents had a story or two to tell about the kink community, ranging from listing existing prose narratives to recounting legends and tales. The most common examples of published works adopted by the BDSM community given by respondents were the works of Marquis de Sade, while other novels exist. Unofficial fictions abound on the internet in the form of blog posts, short stories and fan fiction (stories written about existing pop culture characters by people who wanted to imagine the sex lives and relationships not covered by the "canon," or "real" storyline). z, who has trouble verbally communicating their desires to their partners, finds relevant stories or art online to share with their Tops as a way of asking for specific play. There are also narratives told by members of the community to each other: adam recounted legends of the submissive so masochistic, or a "heavy bottom," they had toys broken over their backs and outlasted their exhausted Top, or Tops known to be so cruel, sessions with them are recounted like ghost stories around a campfire, with reverence and awe (and usually some desire). There are also numerous cautionary tales, especially since BDSM play can be dangerous and result in permanent injury or death if done incorrectly.

Harlow shared a story, complete with a moral, about working as a professional submissive:

The rule when you're subbing professionally is to only do two of the three following things, blindfolds, restraints, and gags. I think the best story I've heard about why you should follow this is someone I used to work with was assaulted because she didn't follow these rules. When she had first started subbing many years ago she agreed to do all three of those things. About half way through the session the client pulled her underwear down (which is not allowed) and shoved some kind of cream inside her. It ended up being icy hot. And it was still another few minutes before anyone heard her muffled screams enough to come help.

While the BDSM community itself is a fascinating topic, my research exists beyond simply telling the world about it. Misconceptions about the BDSM community abound, and I gave my respondents an opportunity to dispel the ones they find to be the most harmful. When asked "what do you feel are the most common misconceptions about the kink lifestyle," adam answered "that we have had some traumatic experience that causes us to do this or that we were abused or that it [BDSM] is abuse." Harlow shared a similar sentiment: "I think one of the most common misconceptions has to do with women who enjoy being submissive. They're so often looked at as weak and abused (both while growing up and in current relationships). A woman who is strong willed and independent who also enjoys submission is not any less of a person or compromising herself in anyway by enjoying submission." z's was along the same lines lamenting that people think that "kinkers are morally deviant. That they are akin to child molesters or animal abusers." While it is telling of mainstream views of BDSM that all

respondents said something along the same lines concerning the view of kink in wider society, what was most interesting and important for dispelling this most harmful stereotype, the idea that members of this community have experienced some type of abuse or trauma that twisted them into a kinky deviant, was not found in a direct question on the subject, but rather gleaned from their personal narratives: when asked about their self-discovery of their kinkiness, not one mentioned or attributed it to being sexually or physically abused by a partner or family member growing up. In fact, most respondents had happy or affluent childhoods and discovered their sexuality the same way most people do: through the kinds of fantasies that aroused them the most during puberty and masturbation, as well as discovering their desires were legitimate through the plethora of pornography available on the internet.

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The Folklore of Healing Through Ceremonies In An Ancient California Indian Village Site

By Steve Rosales



Introduction

California is known for its beauty and pleasant weather. It is a place with deserts, mountains, oceans, lakes, forests, and valleys. The California that I will be talking about, few people are aware of its existence. It is a California that is familiar to Native peoples and those who study native cultures. I will discuss sacred sites, the places that California Indians consider holy and blessed. These sites consist of burial grounds, ancient village sites, and power places such as ceremonial sites. Many of these sites

are still used today for ceremonies and gatherings for Native people. It is a tradition for us as Indigenous people to come together and celebrate the uniqueness and spirit of the ancestors that once lived on these sacred sites.

On Saturday, October 5, 2013, I participated in the 17th Annual Ancestral Pilgrimage of the Gabrielino Tongva and Acjachemen people of Southern California. The purpose for this Pilgrimage was to carry prayers and songs to honor the spirits of the ancestors as well as obtain peace and healing for ourselves. By visiting these sacred sites of ancient villages, burial grounds, and ceremonial sites, I learned about the struggles California Indians had gone through and are still going through to preserve these sacred places. As a participant observer and a prominent member of the Indian community of Los Angeles, I was in charge of preparing the ceremonial site of Puvungna (the place of creation for the Tongva), which is the site where the healing ceremony took place. During this healing ceremony, we were joined by California Bear Dancers. Bear Dancers are a Native California Indian society that specializes in healing, such elements people bring to be cured by the Bear Dancers are physical sickness as well as the struggles brought by everyday stress. As part of my research project, I conducted in depth interviews, observations, and participated in all of the ceremonies that took place. My main focus for this project was to look at all the rituals that took place in order to prepare one for the great healing ceremony with the California Bear Healing Society. There are many preparatory steps involved in any ceremony for Native people and it's these preparatory steps and processes that I will be talking about in this report.

Approach/Methods

As part of obtaining and collecting data for my research on, “Healing Through Ceremonies In An Ancient California Indian Village Site,” I used various methods. Most of the data I collected was obtained through books, websites, journal articles, observations, participant observation, and in-depth interviews. I found that the most effective method in conducting my research was through in-depth interviews with participants who were conducting the ceremonies as well as the participants that were participating in the ceremonies themselves.

My first interview I conducted was with Rebecca Robles (Figure 1.), who is an Acjachemen Tribal Leader from San Clemente and the person leading the Ancestral Pilgrimage. On Saturday, October 5th, at around 4pm, at the site of Puvungna on the campus of Cal State Long Beach, I had the chance to interview Rebecca Robles. The first thing I asked her was, “What does this Ancestral Pilgrimage mean to you as a Native California Indian.” She responded,

“As a Tribal Leader and spokesperson of the Acjachemen people, this means everything to me because my parents Lillian & Louise Robles worked hard to defend and preserve all the sites we visited during the Ancestral Pilgrimage. It is an honor for me to follow in their footsteps so that we as Indigenous people can continue to fight for our sacred lands and come together for these ceremonies such as the one’s we are having today. The purpose for these ceremonies is to celebrate and honor the spirits of our ancestors and at the same time, healing ourselves from the sicknesses of everyday stresses we as Indian people face today.”

The second interview I conducted was with Robert Bailey (Figure 2.), who was in charge of the Sweat Lodge ceremony and also a Bear Dancer from the California Bear Dance Healing Society. He informed me that he was a Bear Clan Member from the Ohlone Tribe of the Bay Area. Robert, along with other Bear Clan Members traveled from up North to conduct The Bear Dance Healing Ceremony here at Puvungna. One of the questions I asked him was, “As a Bear Dancer, what is your purpose or reason why you conduct these ceremonies?” He stated:

“As a Bear Dancer, I feel that it is my duty to heal the people that need to be healed. We dance because our dances are prayers for the people. When we dance to the drum with our Bear regalia, we pray to the Creator and call upon the heartbeat of Mother Earth. We never dance without a reason, every dance has a purpose. The reason we are here today at this ceremonial site of Puvungna is so that we can dance for the people and heal them by removing all their negative energy. The drum we dance to plays to the beat of the heart and to the beat of the earth. The drum connects us to the Creator and Mother Earth so that they can hear our prayers and give us the power to heal.”

I conducted other interviews on participants of the Bear Dance ceremony; these participants chose to remain anonymous. One female participant that I interviewed was so in shock over how the Bear Dancers in their regalia made her feel. She stated that, “When I was dancing in the circle, I felt the Bears energy come inside me and remove all my negative thoughts and energies I had in me. I felt like if I was reborn, sort of like a ton of weight off my shoulders. I never experienced that sensation before, not even at

my church, and I'm Christian." Another participant who chose to remain anonymous told me that this is his third time participating in the Bear Dance Ceremony. He stated that,

"Since I started coming here 3 years ago, I always felt that I belong here. I feel all the good energy that Puvungna brings to these ceremonies since it's a ceremonial site. All year I wait for this moment to Dance with the Bears to heal me from all the bad energies I collected throughout the year. I cry each time I come here because this place brings joy in my life. I just wish this ceremony was year round so I can feel brand new every time."

As a participant observer, I was in charge of preparing the ceremonial site of Puvungna. The first thing I had to do was to make the ceremonial circle where the healing would take place. My responsibility was to clean and clear the circle by raking it and making a diameter of 30 yards going all around. In the middle of the circle, I had to dig out a pit so that we can setup a fire pit for the ceremony. From there, I had to make an entrance coming from the east gate. The significance of the East Gate entrance is that it represents the direction where everything begins (Figure 3.). I set the Drums on the west side of the circle facing east. From there I said my prayers and offered tobacco to the four directions, Mother Earth, and the Creator above. I also spread tobacco that I had prayed over around the circle. Once I finished, I lit a large stick of sage and begun smudging the circle with the smoke of the sage going clockwise. Then I offered it to the four directions, Mother Earth, and the Creator above so that our ceremonies will be successful in fulfilling its purpose of healing. As you can see everything is symbolic and it's a ritual in itself. As part of doing observations, I saw rituals taking place such as the Sweat Lodge Ceremony and the Bear Dance Ceremony. These two ceremonies are

meant for purification and healing of the spirit. I observed the way these ceremonies were conducted as well as the people that conducted them. As a participant of these ceremonies, I got to experience the cleansing and purification process first hand.

Background

The 17th Annual Ancestral Pilgrimage of the Gabrielino Tongva of Los Angeles County and the Acjachemen people of Orange County, came together on Saturday, October 5th, to celebrate and carry prayers to honor the spirits of the ancestors as well as for peace and healing (Figure 4.). Led by Acjachemen Tribal Leader Rebecca Robles, we visited various sacred sites that consist of ancient villages, burial grounds, and ceremonial centers. We began our journey in San Clemente at an ancient village site the Acjachemen people call, Panhe. Panhe is an ancient village nestled on the banks of the San Mateo Creek that was used for ceremonial purposes as well as a reburial ground in which it's used today. It was a site that was endangered by the development of a freeway but the Acjachemen and the nearby community managed to save it through court battles. We came together to pray for its continued protection (See Audio Recording, "Panhe, San Clemente"). The next site we visited was the mother village of the Ajcachemen people they called, Putiidhem. It's located in San Juan Capistrano just within a mile of the mission. Everyone from this village was sent to that mission after the arrival of the Spanish. Nearby the village of Putiidhem, developers came across a large burial ground that was uncovered during the construction of a High School named, Junipero Serra. They continued construction and disturbed the burials. Most but not all remains were given back to the Acjachemen, but the ones that did, they got reburied in the village of Panhe (May, 2005). Unfortunately, the school was built and

the land was lost, so we go back every year to pray and sing songs for these ancestors that were disturbed (See Audio Recording, “Putiidhem, San Juan Capistrano”). The next site was a very ancient site named, Genga in Newport Beach. The village and the ancestors found here were well over 9,500 years old. Unfortunately, 600 ancestors were disturbed and taken away to build a new gated community housing tract called Harbor Cove, located in the Newport Back Bay (See Audio Recording, “Genga, Newport Back Bay 1-3”).

The final stop of the Ancestral Pilgrimage was the site of Puvungna. Puvungna is an ancient ceremonial site and birthplace of Chinigchinish, the greatest spiritual leader of the Tongva (Eargle, 2000). According to McCawley, perhaps the most significant contribution the Tongva made to the Indian cultures of southern California was the system of beliefs and rituals associated with the creator god, Chinigchinish. The data presently available suggest that this religion developed among the Tongva, originating at the site of Puvungna. The Chinigchinish religion remained prominent among the Indians of southern California long after the introduction of Christianity (McCawley, 1996). Puvungna is located on the campus of Cal State Long Beach and is recognized as part of the National Register of Historical Places since 1974 (Figure 5.). Puvungna has been a religious ceremonial site since its inception and it continues to be. It is a place of healing where the Ancestors came together for ceremony. The word Puvungna itself is referred to as the gathering place (Figure 6.). It is where sacred ceremonies are held such as the Sweat Lodge Ceremony and the Bear Dance Ceremony.

Analysis

The California Bear Dance Healing Society is a sacred society made up of California Indians from different tribes that specialize in healing (Steward, 1934). They travel all throughout California performing ceremonies for people that are in need of healing. Most people, if not all, that belong to this sacred society, are taught the songs, dances, rituals, and ceremonies from the time that they are young boys, ranging from ages 5 to 12. In order for you to become a full fledge Bear Dancer, you have to go through a rite of passage that is private and not shared with outsiders. I do not know the specifics of this rite of passage but believe that it takes place in a private location. As part of the healing process, the Bear Dancers have to heal and purify themselves before performing any type of ceremony.

On Saturday, October 5th, at about 3pm on the north side of Puvungna, the Bear Dancers as well as the Drum group and Singers, performed a Sweat Lodge Ceremony conducted by Robert Bailey of the Ohlone Tribe. As part of being the person in charge of preparing the ceremonial site; myself, Robert Bailey and the rest of the Bear Dancers put up willow branches to make the dome for the Sweat Lodge (Figure 7.). After stabilizing the dome, we dug up a pit for the hot stones that will be going in there during the Sweat Lodge. Once we finished, we covered the dome with thick blankets similar to covers that the army use to cover their tanks and equipment. The layers of insulation made it so that hot air would not escape from inside the Sweat Lodge. Once everything was set to go, all the Bear Dancers and singers waited their turn to get smudged by sage in order to enter the Lodge. One by one, everyone was blessed until the last person entered than they closed the door by covering it with blankets and covers until there was no light inside the Lodge (Figure 8.). They began by praying and singing to

call for the Ancestor spirits to guide them during the ceremony (See Audio Recording, “Sweat Lodge Ceremony Special Prayer”). After it was all said and done, Robert Bailey began picking up the hot stones with a pitched fork and placing them in the pit located in the center of the Lodge. One by one until there were seven stones inside the pit. After this was done they closed the door. The Spiritual Leader inside the Sweat Lodge began singing and praying. Unexpectedly, a bucket of water was thrown on the hot stones and steam began to accumulate, making the temperature reach 120 degrees. It became unbearable to where people began huffing and puffing trying to catch their breath. This is part of the purification process that cleanses your mind and body through pain and suffering. After a couple of hours of repetitive ritual, it became clear that everyone inside the Sweat Lodge was purified and ready for the larger ceremony.

The Bear Dance Ceremony is the reason why hundreds of people come to Puvungna each year to get healed. The Bear Dance ceremony is considered so sacred that it has been closed off to outsiders in the past but not until recent years, they have opened it to all walks of life. During the Bear Dance Ceremony, the Medicine Men or Spiritual Leaders, call for the spirit of the bear to enter the Dancers in their bear regalia. The Dancers become the spirit of the bear, like in my Yaqui culture how the Maso (Deer Dancer) becomes the spirit of the Deer. They get the participants to call out for the Bears to come and join the ceremonies. This all takes place at night time around a fire. As we call out for the Bears to come and join us, the drums sound the heartbeat of the earth to protect and guide us (See Audio Recording, “Ceremonial Drum California Indian Songs”). As the Bears enter the circle, they begin to dance to the beat of the drum, putting them in a trance. As they keep dancing round and round, they begin

taking the negative energy and sickness from the people around them. The Bear Dancers then spit and throw up into the fire, releasing all the bad they collected from the people. After an hour of the Bears dancing by themselves, the crowd or participants join in the circle. But before entering the circle, they have to be blessed by the Medicine Men and enter through the east gate. Once everyone is in, the participants begin dancing to the beat of the drum holding each other by moving in a snake like fashion. The Bear Dancers are in the circle with the participants, picking out people that are desperately in need of healing. I don't know how they do it but they seem to know who the people are that truly need some major healing. This seems to amaze me every time. As the Bears go around the circle healing people, they approach the fire, releasing all the sickness they accumulated from everyone. They spit into the fire, sometimes even throwing up, depending how sick the person was. Other things that are going on that many people aren't aware of because of the sacredness it holds for Indian people, are privately kept secret and outsiders don't know about it because of its significance. Unfortunately, I cannot report this in my research because as an Indigenous person I have to respect private and sacred knowledge. These ceremonies are considered so sacred that photos and video recordings are prohibited. Fortunately, I had the permission of Elders to only do audio recordings. The Bear Dance Ceremony not only has become a part of the California Indian culture, but it also has become a part of Indigenous culture itself because of all the different Tribes that are involved.

Conclusion

The sacred site of Puvungna has been a ceremonial site since its conception. From there the Tongva establish a settlement that became the mother village of their

people, making it possible for their spirit god, Chinigchinich to create a religion that the Tongva and many other southern California Indians have followed even before the arrival of Christianity. Puvungna is known to be the gathering place where people come together to celebrate and perform ceremonies. Even today, we continue to come together at this significant site to honor the ancestors through prayers and songs as well as for peace and healing. The Bear Dance Ceremony has been of a great significance to this sacred site because it brings hundreds of people together for one purpose and that purpose is to heal. Through the Bear Dance ceremony we seek to heal our pain, our sicknesses, and most importantly, our spirit. For this reason, I myself have been a part of this ceremony for more than 15 years and will continue to do so as long as I live.

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Appendices



Figure 1. Rebecca Robles, Acjachemen Tribal Leader and person in charge of the 17th Annual Ancestral Pilgrimage.



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Figure 2.

Robert Bailey, Ohlone Tribal Member, Bear Dancer, and Sweat Lodge Ceremony conductor.



Figure 3.

Myself, Steve Rosales setting up the ancient ceremonial site of Puvungna.



Figure 4.

The 17th Annual Ancestral Pilgrimage flyer.

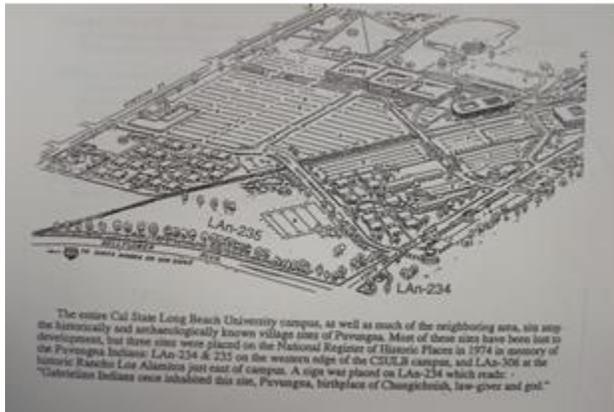


Figure 5.

Map of Cal State Long Beach showing the ancient ceremonial site of Puvungna as part of the National Register of Historical Places.



Figure 6.

The ancient ceremonial site of Puvungna and how it looks in present day.



Figure 7.

Making the dome for the Sweat Lodge out of willow branches.



Figure 8.

Sweat Lodge Ceremony in progress.

Folklore Project: Zendo of the Sacred Heart

By Brandon Gay

Abstract

The purpose of this report is to observe a small group of Zen Buddhists that practice at the Sangha of the Sacred Heart that is located in Long Beach. The report

used participant observation, interviews, and background research to better represent the group. The report covers the participation, the mindset, and the impact of the Zendo on how the home operates. The scope of the report is to describe the Sangha and the Zendo not to analyze the customs or beliefs of its members.

Introduction

The Sangha of The Sacred Heart is a Zendo which is located in Long Beach California, and the daily practices range from three to fifteen persons a day. They meet on Monday and Wednesday Morning, Tuesday and Thursday night, and Sunday afternoon. The main leader of the Sangha is given the title of Sensei or spiritual teacher. The person who holds this title at The Sangha of The Sacred Heart is named Bob; he is the owner of the house where the Zen-do is located. Members of the Sangha are William and Lynn Gay.

A Sangha is a congregation of Zen Buddhists, while a Zendo is where they practice meditation usually in a formal setting. The Sangha began at a Unitarian Universalist Church where Bob was asked to be Sensei. The practices were only once a week, and Bob felt his position as Sensei to a Sangha needed to be conducted in the traditional manner. Bob then brought the Sangha to his home where he was able to hold practices every day. Accessibility issues with the house caused Bob and the Sangha to move to Lakewood, where the practices were held every day for a few years. Recent money issues have left the Sangha in need of a new place to practice, and that is why it has moved to its new location (Bill 2013).

Methods

The primary focus of this research is on the presence of Zen Buddhism in America, how this would largely be useful to the folk group as a whole, and how it is implemented by this small folk group. The information in this research was primarily taken from articles found on JSTOR and a book found in the Sangha of The Sacred Heart Zendo covering Zen Buddhism. The initial context allowed for the second step to begin.

The interviews were informal and non rigid, allowing for the interviewer's lack of in-depth knowledge of the subject not to impede the information gathered through the interviews. The first interviewee was Bill (Figure 1), the owner of the house where the Sangha is located. Bill has been following Bob for over ten years. He is a physical therapist, married, and a father of two. He takes his practice very seriously. This interview focused mainly on the philosophy or lack thereof in Zen Buddhism and how it implemented throughout the practice. The second interviewee was Lynn (Figure 2), who is also the owner of the house and an elementary school teacher. She has been practicing for about seven years. The focus of her interview was more on the Zendo being moved to her house and how she feels it has impacted her daily life. The final phase of the study was participatory observation. This part allowed for understanding of the ritual by explaining the patterns that were entailed in the practice. The focus of this was to describe the rituals, but not to analyze them.

Background on Zen Buddhism

Zen Buddhism is the hybridization of classical Mahayana or the (greater vehicle) Buddhism from India and the Chinese philosophy of Taoism. Taoism, which was already a hybridization, then moved to Japan where it adopted the name of Zen

Buddhism. This religion is currently “secreting” itself into broad American groups such as the Sacred Heart through a form of diffusion (Finney: 1991). Some research sees the movement of Zen Buddhism coming to America from Japan post World War II. The large population of Japanese immigrants to America brought the teaching of the Zen masters with them. The practice of Zen became tremendously popular and formed a “Cult following” by some (Finney: 1991).

Some of the things that Zen Buddhism retains from Buddhism are the practicing of meditation and the ideal that belief that the world suffering is caused by want. The difference as described by Bill is that it is “not $1+1=2$ but rather $1+1=$ something entirely different,” and he says that even the name is misleading: he does not practice Buddhism; he practices Zen.

What is Zen Buddhism?

Currently, there is much debate between people about the nature of Zen Buddhism, mainly on the classification of whether it is a philosophy or not. Alan Watts describes the origins of this classification difficulty the best: “Zen Buddhism is a way and a view of life which does not belong to any of the formal categories of modern Western thought. It is not religion or philosophy; it is not a psychology or a type of science” (1960:17). This lack of classification makes it difficult to discuss Zen Buddhism, and this difficulty presents problems in the interpretation.

Still, the argument persists. The argument for Zen Buddhism being a philosophy can be found in the works of Henry Rosemont (1970). He acknowledges that Zen is not a religion, but he holds the belief that Zen Buddhism is a philosophy. He defines philosophy as not only a way of thinking, because people think every day, but rather as

thinking about why people believe certain things or think a certain way. An example Rosemont uses is that a man can explain that he saw something, and when asked if it was real, he responds because he saw it. This description is not a philosophy because he does not think on why seeing something is evidence. The philosopher would see that as strict empiricism (Henry Rosemont 1970). Rosemont further argues that Zen Buddhist masters would teach their students why they think a certain way, which to Rosemont was a good foundation that Zen Buddhism is a philosophy.

Despite this argument, many Zen Buddhists believe Zen Buddhism is not a philosophy. For example, in his book *The World is the Way It Is*, Steve Hagen discusses the difference of western philosophy and that of Zen Buddhism. He discusses the fact that Zen approaches the reality of things differently. He does so by use of an analogy about an object; when an individual is told the name of the object like squash, it usually satisfies western philosophy mindsets, which are otherwise known as epistemologies. Yet, the Zen Buddhists acknowledge even though there is now a name to the object, this name has not told anything about the object (Hagen 1995). Another point is that Zen is from a very different culture and therefore cannot be addressed through a western epistemology. For example, an early ideal of this philosophy is that it is a thought well; by looking deeper, the Zen Masters may teach how to better one's life. However, it is not the teaching that is Zen but the practice. Therefore, Zen Buddhism is not a philosophy according to the people who practice it (Hudson 1973).

This dichotomy on thinking at present is simply because of the impossibilities of translation to a western audience. The current Zen Masters do refer to Zen as a philosophy as stated by Rosemont but not because the Masters believe that Zen is a

philosophy in the western sense; rather it is the closest context for people in a separate epistemology. This dichotomy of mindsets makes it difficult to properly classify Zen Buddhism in the western world, but this report will side with the belief that Zen Buddhism is not a philosophy but rather an experimental state of mind.

Rituals

The Zendo for the majority of its time is just a house in the suburbs of Long Beach. Only for a few hours a day does it transform into a Zen-do. Lynn and Bill often clean the house in preparation for the event, often sweeping the sitting area on the patio and setting out the pillows to allow for the Buddhists to sit without any problems. They set candles in every room giving a natural light to the area. All the electronic lights are turned off for the duration of their nightly sits. The only noise is the slight hum of the space heater heating the area, taking a little from the harsh bite of the cold. Bill and Lynn do this and then change into their robes in preparation of the night's meditation.

Usually the participants arrive around 7:15 to 7:30 pm to begin the meditation session promptly at 7:45. Some of the arrivals will also change into robes, showing their dedication to the religion, but a majority will meditate in the clothes that they arrived in. They enter the Zendo, find a place to sit, and begin meditation. A preliminary introduction is called out, explaining "Za-Zen or Sitting Zen" and how to properly hold the hands, angle the neck, orient the head, and sit comfortably while maintain an upright sitting position. After the introduction the gong is rung signifying the beginning of Za-Zen.

The sounding of the gong is rung by the person who leads the meditation; the most common leaders are either Bill or Lynn, but sometimes other members will lead

meditation. Bob used to be the only person to lead the practice, but recently, due to health issues, Bob is not able to sit the duration of the meditation and has taken this time to teach some of his followers like Bill and Lynn how to properly lead in his stead.

The form of meditation is different from classical Buddhism, which involves participants to hold their hands, curving their fingers to form two ovals during meditation. In Zen Buddhism the Zen Buddhists hold their hand in an oval form. This is stylization, but is taken very seriously within the group. During meditation the members are instructed to not focus on anything and let the mind go. The introduction contains “let thoughts go through your mind unobstructed” or, as once was explained to me, that thoughts will come and go in the mind: do not follow these thoughts, just let them form, look at them and let them go without holding them. This way is different than classical Buddhism where they are told to focus on one thing, often the breath or the “Ohm” or call they rhythmically do.

The gong, which signifies the beginning of the meditation, is rung again about 45 minutes after the start to signify the end of the meditation period. The group then enters the house and faces the altar which is called the Bodsidan. The person who rang the gong then leads the group in the Bodhisattva Vows or Prayer where the group recites a passage from a Zen text. For new initiates, there are flyers with the words of the chant printed on it for easy reading and giving punctuation to guide the rhythm of reading. The leader then starts by reading the title of “The great heart of wisdom sutra” and then commences hitting a large hollow wooden object called a Mokigo with a stick, which makes a loud knocking sound. The beating of the Mokigo is in time with a syllable of the

chant. The rhythm starts off slow, speeding up towards the middle to where it is faster than normal speech, and then the last line instantly slows down to a crawl.

After the prayer the members wait with their hands at chest height with their hands placed palm to palm. The leader for that night will then stand and walk to the altar and grab a small handful of sticks of incense. The members will then one at a time approach the leader and the leader will light the incense and hand it to the approaching member. The member then takes the incense and puts it in an ash container at the feet of a Buddha statue that sits in the Bodsidan.

After every member has had a chance to place the incense into the ash container, the meditation period is over. The mood shifts from a spiritual seriousness towards a more relaxed posture. Some members will leave at this point with what they came for done, and others will stay for a time that the Sangha members have named Buddha Café.

At the Buddha café there is coffee and tea provided; on clear days the Sangha will sit around a fire pit and talk. Buddha café is the time where the Sensei, Bob, will arrive and sit with the members of the Sangha, talking and teaching as is his status in the group. The discussions will span from evolution to Christianity, and sometimes personal problems are brought up and resolved during this time. Whatever is talked about is what Sensei will teach during the conversation. Sensei usually focuses his attention on the new person in the group, and always Sensei's goal is to help people learn about themselves.

The Buddha café itself only lasts about an hour or so with people leaving when they feel the need to do so. When the last member gets up to leave, Sensei goes back

into his room. Bill and Lynn then blow out the candles, put the pillows away, and change out of their robes. The Zendo becomes a regular house in the suburbs of Long Beach again. .

The Material items:

One can see the influence of Japanese culture in the design of the Zendo practices and in design. In the back yard, the garden is created in a classical Japanese style with a rock garden and plants that are well manicured. The main garden area is made from Mondo grass, trees, and bamboo, all from different locations. The trees are inspired by Bill's visits to other Zen Gardens and many of his Bonsais are based off of what he has seen at local nurseries and the Japanese Garden at California State University Long Beach. Whenever Bill is asked how he planned the Japanese garden he replies that the "Garden would make itself". Bill, for the most part, is in charge of the upkeep and maintenance of the garden and his vision. Like with all Japanese Gardens, the entire point of this Zen Garden is to achieve manicure naturalism.

Another part of the location is the Zendo itself. Built over a period of a few months earlier this year, it is in the format of a simple deck. The wood panels on the floor and enough square footage allow for all the participants to meditate without being impeded. There is a sign that asks for a donation of ten dollars, but a lack of funds will not prevent access. These funds are for the general upkeep of the Zen-do and Sangha, as well providing money for the coffee and tea enjoyed at the Buddha Café.

The pillows on which one meditates are usually stacked to the side, and before the meditation begins, Bill and Lynn set up the pillows to allow for the least amount of disturbance during meditation. The pillows are called Zafu (black pillow) and Zabutan

(purple pillows). The Zafu pillow is the direct sitting pillow and is rounded at the sides to allow the meditator to rock his hips slightly forward to allow for a straight back for meditation. The Zabutan is to provide a cushion for the knees and to prevent slipping of the Zafu (Lynn 2013).

Throughout the garden and the house there are very many Buddha statues all in the sitting position, a reminder of where Zen Buddhism originated from. To resemble the type of meditation practiced at the Zendo, the stone Buddhas have their fingers meet to form a slight oval with the thumbs meeting at the top and the palm of the hand facing up. One of these statues is in the altar called the Bodsidan (Figure 5) to which the Zendo participants recite the Bodhisattva Vows and give a sacrifice of incense.

Impact on the home

While the Zendo was moving in, Bill and Lynn were concerned with the impact it would have on their household. "I was worried how my children would take it" said Lynn on the subject. Yet, despite these misgivings, Sensei and Zendo have moved into the house, and for all intents and purposes, life is relatively unaffected. When asked to explain, Lynn states, "my kids are grown up now," "Bob is not very imposing," and "the people [of the Zendo] are not as imposing as I was worried about." This arrangement is perfect for Lynn and Bill because the home is well-kept, while also giving them easier access to practice at the Zendo.

Limitations

The main limitation of the entire experience was time due to some scheduling issues. Interviewing the Sensei of the group was not achieved. The recording tools used during this report made achieving complete accuracy on the transcription of the

interview difficult due to a lack of an effective rewind button. This only caused mild issues but did not affect the total quality of this report.

Conclusion

Studying a “philosophy” such as Zen Buddhism or just even simply talking to Zen Buddhists about Zen Buddhism may seem to be a daunting feat. The small communities of people that participate in this, for a lack of a better word, “faith” seek spiritual guidance from their Sensei. This community has a loose social order and practices their rituals very particularly with a mindset to break down and understand that a ritual is a manmade construct. This group of people looks at the world through meditation and stays focused on the now. The main difficulty in approaching this topic is how to understand the world of Zen Buddhism through the mindset of an academic, which focuses on the quantifiable, while the Zen Buddhist views it through the experience. When this dichotomy of perspective is ignored, it shows a kind, vibrant folk group that is worth studying to simply understand their practices and beliefs.

Appendix



Figure 1



Figure 2

Figure 3



Figure 4

Figure 5

Attachment 1 Interviews.

B: Bill

I: Interviewer

I: Ok this is Bill Gay part of the ... What is the Zendo called?

B: The Zendo of the Compassionate heart

I: How did it come to be?

B: Really not sure.

I: How did you guys get it?

B: Well our sensei... it started at a Unitarian Universalist church it is a church that allows all kinds of different um belief systems in the same building, you have atheist protestant Jewish and whatever. Well they had a Buddhist center Zen program and typically those guys started the Zendo of the compassionate heart and it lasted about

two years and then my sensei those people quit and they asked my sensei to run the Sangha of the compassionate heart in the church. Well it was only one day a week so its um he went there for a while and he had no intention of teaching or running a Sangha but if he was going to do this he was going to do this right. He took the Sangha of the compassionate heart from the church to his home where he could practice every day. Which were Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday nights Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday mornings and Sundays and that is nine possible times a week he opened his house for size.

I:ok, I have three words that I would need your clarification on so what is a sensei

B:umm ... Teacher

I: Teacher?

B: A teacher of Dharma.

I: Ok so we are going to keep going what is Dharma?

B: I don't know how to describe Dharma either. Dharma is a encouragement to practice. Dharma is pointing to the way. Dharma is by pointing the way is learning that your knowledge is within you and that sort of thing. Was that too vague?

I: No. I understand this religion is entirely vague in a western epis.... (epistemological) sense. I know we have talked about this before but just for the sake of the recording what is size?

B: well in laymen's terms its sitting meditation but we say it's not meditation but that's just what we teach.

I: So what is the difference between meditation and Zazen? Cause most people would see you just sitting there.

B: If you watched someone meditating and you watched someone sitting in Za-Zen I don't know if you could tell much difference. Maybe you could tell slight difference in posture or a slight difference in how they hold their hands or their mudra. In Zazen we face the wall some meditation face they look out or towards to the middle of the room or look out to the land or whatever. The primary difference isn't what the posture is even though that is an aspect of it the primary difference between Zazen and sitting meditation is why we call it non meditation. All meditation has a focus on something and breath, a focus on peace a focus on love, a focus on god or a focus on ohm which is a mantra. Za-Zen is not focused on anything they are trying to be aware of everything.

I: Ok so you guys practice Zazen multiple times in the week?

B: Yes

I: As a ritual practice in a sense?

B: Well... you might... ok...

I: Well the ritual meaning you do it repeatedly

B: Well it is repetitive. I practice every Monday morning Wednesday morning Tuesday night and Thursday night Friday morning and Sundays

I: so what is the purpose of practicing multiple times like that?

B: pause) um (pause) if there is to be anything got out of Zazen but strictly speaking there is not but I am talking to someone who does not understand zazen I have to describe it as getting something. You can't do it once it is something that you have to its like you build up a kind of way of looking at the world.. not looking at the world but interacting with the world and Zazen compliments that and it does not take much non Zazen before that falls away.

I: I hope that makes sense to me later... like when I am typing this up it goes whoa bang. And make sense. But eh checking time(disturbance.

I: When

B: One of your questions is typically about ritual and so I would like to address that I know because I was prepared for the question cause you tend to ask what is the meaning in the ritual and all we have observed is that men ... you can find painting in caves thousands of years ago we have had an attraction to art maybe not all human beings but some you don't have to interpret in any way except that it is an expression of themselves in art. And it seems that members of society seem to be drawn to ritual but we don't we acknowledge that ritual seems to be a part of us but we don't add meaning or purpose or anything to that ritual. We do things like we have chanting or bowing we have you know bowing to one another in a particular way and we bang the gong in a particular time and all that other than directing the service we put no meaning into.

I: So you do it ritualistically but without the meaning that Ritual entails.

B: with the slight exception of running the service itself like ringing the gong at the beginning of the service. It has a purpose not meaning by striking the gong it starts. The actual bowing and stuff is not to find meaning in the ritual is to experience the ritual.

I: I know I seen you guys hold beads and wear robes and hit the mokigo and this is preparation of the next

B: I am on a roll

I: The beads I remember the few years ago the beads were an attempt to bring you back now like the Roman Catholic bring them to god. What are the beads and what is the point of them.

B: the beads themselves have no meaning they are just beads. They are like any other beads they are when you carry them you can't go through your day with beads in your hand without finding out that there are beads in our hand. We use that disturbance as a way to bring us back to now. The beads just told you there are beads in your hand which brings you back to now. It's easy to wash dishes without beads in your hand thinking about what TV show you are going to watch or watching TV thinking how you did not sleep enough last night and you can think while you are laying down to sleep about the job tomorrow. None of this is living in the now. You are just washing the dishes. Or you are just watching TV or you are having a conversation with a loved one. The beads do that err the beads will come up at weird times that will bring you back to now.

I: When people think of Buddhism I know this is Zen Buddhism which is different

B: Very much so

I: when people think of Buddhism they think of Siddhartha sitting under a tree I forget which tree.

B: Foggy

I: And people go OHM and stuff.

B: that's Hindu

I: I know but I have dealt with people like that and this or t of stuff for a long time. I just want to make sure when I write this report that people get a clear picture of what Zen Buddhism is to this Zendo in particular. I can look up papers on what Zen Buddhism is most saying if it is a philosophy or it is not.

B: Well ok well you are asking an awful lot there. We are grateful to the Buddha and his teaching. Buddhism left India and moved to china in which it met Taoism which is what ze3n Buddhism is it is not like adding 1 and 1 and getting 2 it is more like adding 1 and 1 and getting a 1000 or something it is not additive it is not like you took a little of each and got a little of both it is more like it got the aspects and became something unique.

I: ok I think I get it ☐

B: Glad I can help

L: Lynn

B: Brandon

B: So I see a sign for donations over there is that how you afford to maintain the Zendo?

L: Yes. We ask for a minimum of 10\$ for a donation, but we stress that no one will be turned away if they cannot pay. The money usually goes to the coffee and things for the Buddha Café.

B: So where did all the pillows and things come from?

L: all these things Sensei has been collecting over the years. From all over the place the deck itself was however made by a member of the Zendo and the Wall was built by Joe a friend of the family. The garden Bill has collected over the years and he is just letting it form itself while the bamboo wall is new additions we had some family come by and help us add to it to make it look nice.

B: How many people usually show up to sit?

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L: well on weekday mornings we usually have 3 or 4 people show up and on Sunday which is usually a very big day we can have like today about 11 people show up. Most we ever had at one sit was 15 people.

B: So what are the pillows called?

L: Zafu is the black pillow and Zabutan are the purple ones.

B: So why did the Zendo Come here?

L: the Zendo needed to go somewhere and we had the room. We brought Sensei for the same reason. I had my misgivings not about Sensei but on the Zendo in general you know some weird people in my house I was worried that they would impose and I was worried that Tyler and you would not be coping well with the addition but we are happy to see that you have.

B: Thanks Mom

L: No worries

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