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REMAPPING THE WORLD OF AUTISM

by Roy Richard Grinker



As an anthropologist, I have learned that the best way to learn about the rules of any society is to see them broken. That is why sickness, when it prevents people from living up to the rules of social behavior, can teach us so much about culture. When everything goes smoothly and expectations are met, the rules fade into the background of social life and become almost invisible. We learn more when things go wrong, as I found out when I started a research project to study autism across cultures. I wanted to know if autism existed in other cultures, and if so, what people did about it. I traveled to Korea, South Africa, and India, and communicated by telephone and email to mothers and fathers in more than a dozen other countries.

What I discovered in all of these places was that brave and dedicated parents, like the Indian mothers described in this article, wage a constant battle to balance the rules of their society with their own personal beliefs about their children. In every country, it is a mother's eyes that are the first to truly see her child and accept her child's difference. But simply to see a child with autism is not the same thing as helping him or integrating him into a social world. Those doors have to be worked open.

As we will see, a group mothers in India can teach us a great deal about the obstacles to mental health care in India and the rules of Hindu society. These mothers all raised boys with autism, a disorder that always emerges before the age of three, in boys four times more often than in girls, with a constellation of symptoms, sometimes severe and sometimes moderate, that includes impairments in language and social interaction, and restricted interests and activities. Although the symptoms

of autism are the same everywhere, the meaning of those symptoms varies from culture to culture. For these mothers, raising a child with autism in India became an act of resistance against the expectations of their culture. Their stories also help us understand the difference between the concepts of "disease" and "illness." In the view of anthropologist Arthur Kleinman, a disease occurs when something is wrong with our bodily organs or systems, whereas illness is the experience of negative or unwanted changes in our bodies or our ability to function in society. Autism is both a disease and an illness, and it cannot be otherwise.

The experiences of autism—as an illness, not as a disease—even by mothers from the same country can be vastly different. These experiences are shaped by the kind of community each woman lives in, her ancestry, the gender roles that are valued in her culture and how they are played out in her home, her culture's tolerance for diversity and difference, and even her own personality and personal will to care for her child in the face of harsh criticism from the people closest to her. Anthropology can play an important role in understanding how culture affects and will continue to affect the way we view autism, and therefore also, the way we raise our children.

In India, most of the children who would be given the diagnosis of autism if they were in the United States are instead called either mentally retarded (MR) or mad (in Hindi, *paagol*). With either diagnosis, the family must face an extraordinary amount of social stigma. Tamara Daley, an American psychologist who has studied autism in India, believes that many doctors in India actually do know something about autism but are reluc-



tant to give the diagnosis, either because they think there is nothing that can be done to help anyway or because they assume the families they see, many of which are illiterate or poorly educated, will be unable to understand what autism means. Until 1999 the Indian government did not even recognize autism as a disorder.

Consider the case of a teenage boy I met in New Delhi named Rohit. Before he was two, Rohit's parents knew something was wrong. He didn't speak much, showed no interest in social interaction, had rigid, patterned behaviors, and an odd gait. Rohit's parents tried religious healers but when there was no improvement in his behavior, they moved on to medical doctors who diagnosed him with mental retardation.

By the age of 5, Rohit was interested mostly in memorizing license plate numbers and showed great skill in identifying vehicle makes and models. By the age of 8, his speech though still delayed was articulate and fluent, but he had no friends. He still kissed and hugged his mother in public, which is inappropriate in India, and used obscene words when talking to neighbors. Pediatricians said that Rohit needed a more lively social environment. No elementary school would take him, so his parents paid \$60 a month to place him in a good private school for a diverse array of children with special needs, many of whom were blind, deaf, mentally retarded, or had cerebral palsy. Rohit was enrolled under the diagnosis "mental retardation."

Six years later, when Rohit was 14, and just as socially impaired as ever, a British-trained psychiatrist in Delhi came to the school to give a lecture to parents about developmental disorders, including autism, and urged the school to administer an autism rating scale to its students. The idea was to screen potential cases for further diagnostic assessment. Rohit's parents resisted. They had already seen dozens of doctors over the years and each time they were told that Rohit was mentally retarded. They'd already gotten comfortable with the diagnosis.

After the lecture, still knowing little about autism, they told the school director, "Rohit cannot have autism because he looks fine physically." Ten months later, the school prevailed over the parents' objections. Rohit was tested and then diagnosed with autism. Further examination showed no evidence of mental retardation. In fact, his IQ is above average. The psychiatrist promptly prescribed

a small dose of an anti-depressant that helps reduce anxiety and, in people with autism, facilitates assertiveness. Within three months the family reported that Rohit's social relatedness had improved noticeably. It had taken them fifteen years to get proper treatment for Rohit.

There is emerging in India a disjunction between doctors, who often rely on outdated medical literature, and parents, who are increasingly well informed. The parents' source is the internet, a central character in nearly every autism story I've ever heard, anywhere. Many Indian parents have set up Google alerts to send themselves daily notices of every news article published on autism in any newspaper in the world. Through such information, autism is slowly but surely becoming less exotic in India and so also less shameful.

One day, as I talked to a group of three Bengali mothers waiting to pick up their children from the only school for autistic children in New Delhi (pop. 14 million), called Open Door, I noticed a remarkable similarity to some of the positive conversations I had heard in the United States. In the U.S. parents often talk about whether Albert Einstein or Isaac Newton were high functioning autistic people. Newton, for example, spoke little, had few friends, and was extremely awkward socially. In India, such comparisons involve religious figures. One of the Bengali women commented to me, "You know, our god, Siva, was like an autistic person. He couldn't relate to others, he walked around naked." The other women lit up and joined in. "He had no friends!" "Yes, he was totally disconnected from the world." "He was abnormal." Of course, they are right, and this is why Siva's parents-in-law to-be were so outraged that their daughter might marry him.

"I heard that Ramakrishna was autistic too," one woman said, but she could not say why. She was referring to the Bengali saint, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who was illiterate and bizarre, but revered in India. As a child, he wore girl's clothing and acted like a girl, sometimes pretending that he was a widow or an abandoned wife, and he worshipped the Lord Krishna through *madhurya bhava*, a woman's deeply spiritual desire for her lover. He was thought to be *paagol* (mad) but also divinely inspired.

There is a long tradition of unusual saints and other holy men and women in India who had special powers but who were incapable of having appropriate social relationships. In this context, it is not that surprising to hear

mothers describe their children with autism as untainted by the evils of civilization and with terms like “pure” and “close to God.” In fact, an important stage of the ideal Hindu life course is the eventual separation from the social world, the renunciation of society, with the greatest value given to the forest dweller who abrogates all social ties and family obligations.

Despite the extraordinary cultural variation of India—where there are close to four hundred different languages in a country roughly one third the size of the United States—Hindu child rearing practices are remarkably consistent. Among all Hindu communities, the mother and child are nearly inseparable for the first two years of life, with mothers holding their children at the hip even when working around the house. Up until the age of two or two and a half, children are kings, sleeping with their mothers, the breast always accessible enough so they never have to cry for long. Weaning usually occurs between the ages of 2 and 3 but in many cases, where there is no younger sibling, a child may breast-feed until the age of 5 or 6.

In general, Hindu boys are tied to their mothers until about the age of 5, when mothers no longer indulge them and they enter the world of the father and his extended family. Some Indian psychoanalysts have suggested that the tie between the child and the mother, especially between the son and mother, is so close that it is almost pathological. A boy is so important to a mother’s status in her family and society at large that her emotional attachment to him—or reverence—may be excessive from a western perspective. The father is typically disengaged during early childhood. While the child is enmeshed with his mother, however, the father and the extended family are always nearby. Gently the mother weans the child not only from the breast but from the dependence on her and pushes him or her into the bosom of the extended family: the father and, figuratively speaking, dozens of mothers.

The mother essentially renounces the son around the time he enters primary school. Mothers tease their children by suggesting that they will give them away, discouraging attention-getting behaviors, encouraging self-restraint, and, if they do indulge the child, rejecting them afterwards. For example, a mother might say, “you had your milk, now get out of the house.” Other relatives push him to voluntarily abandon his mother. They guide him to either the extended family, joint family, or both, rather than to inde-

pendence, and promote a familial rather than an individual identity. This structure is changing rapidly, especially in urban India and in the Indian diaspora, where men and women are entering competitive marketplaces that place a high value on individualism. Still, just as Americans idealize the nuclear family at a time when nearly half of all American children live in single parent households, the ideals of the conventional Hindu family persist. For the mothers of children with autism, however, the disorder disrupts any hope of having their children merge with either an extended or joint family.

Throughout the world, autism is commonly considered a disorder that is about being socially disconnected, and this is true in India as well. Still, in India, autism takes a culturally specific form where the child is largely disconnected from his or her extended family and the maternal bonds remain unbroken. Mothers of children with autism don’t feel comfortable asking their in-laws to take a greater role in raising them. Such a mother will not trust her child to anyone. The mother of a mute and mentally retarded autistic child knows her child is incapable of leaving her to spend more time with the extended family, even if the extended family is willing. She will not even try a simple gesture of separation, such as asking a child to get permission from his or her grandparents to eat candy or play a game. Common acts that Hindu mothers use to foster separation, such as teasing the child, have no impact when a child cannot comprehend the meaning (for example, handing the child to a distant relative and saying, “You take him! I don’t want him anymore! I’ve cared for him enough!”).

Shubrha and her husband Rajiv lived with their son Gautam in a joint family enclave until Rajiv was relocated to Delhi. “It was a relief in many ways to be away from my in-laws,” Shubrha told me. They never blamed me for causing his mental problems and behaviors, but they did blame me for not doing the right things to help him. They said I was too overprotective, that I kept him home too much, that he didn’t have an exciting environment to help him learn how to talk or be social. After a while the constant criticism gets to you and you think to yourself, ‘okay, if you know how to do it, *you* do it, you are *supposed* to do it anyway if you are his grandmother,’ but then nothing ever happens. But that was okay for me because I knew I could take care of him better than anyone.”

When Gautham was almost 11, he started to go to a school for children with mental retardation not far from his home in Delhi. Though he had been toilet trained a year earlier, he now started to soil his pants on the way home from school, sometimes putting his hands into his pants and playing with his feces. Once home, he refused to let anyone wash him, so Shubrha had to have someone physically restrain him while she cleaned him up. After a few weeks, Shubrha decided that the only way to extinguish that behavior was to let him sit and stink in his own feces. "It was horrible," she said. "The house smelled so bad, Gautham had rashes on his thighs and buttocks. I had to keep scented candles and incense burning most of the time, but I held out because I knew the only way to stop the behavior was to show no reaction to it. My husband kept saying, 'how much longer can you take it?' I think it took the better part of a year but it worked."

Within a few years, Rajiv and Shubrha divorced. Shubrha now felt free to raise Gautam by herself, often in ways that others might find shocking. When Gautham was about 15 years old, he began to show an interest in sex. He became increasingly irritable and violent and sometimes scratched and hit himself. "No one gives you advice about handling these sexual matters," Shubrha said, "especially in India where people have so many hang-ups about sex." At a conference about special education in Delhi, Shubrha met a young American graduate student and asked for his thoughts. Gautam, he believed, needed some kind of course in sex education, but since Gautam was nonverbal, he needed to be educated with visual aids like photographs and videos. Such images are illegal in India, but Shubrha knew she had to break the law. With the graduate student's help, Gautam learned how to manage his urges and his mood improved dramatically.

From the perspective of most parents, what Shubrha did might seem bizarre, but I found it made perfect sense, and that it was a deeply compassionate act. Parents of autistic children everywhere improvise, they do what works, and they know their children learn *concretely*, through what is real, visible and tangible rather than through abstract discussions, like lectures about the birds and the bees. There is no denying that Shubrha clearly improved Gautham's emotional health and taught him what is arguably an important life skill. And that is something she can be proud of.

Amla, another Bengali mother living near Delhi, considers that she has become a "Bohemian." By this she means that she is ill-suited to the society in which she lives, and that she dislikes convention, including materialism and her conservative parents-in-law. "My husband Anil became a Bohemian too, which made him an unsuitable husband, or at least a poor provider. A couple of times he came home without a paycheck and a receipt showing he'd donated the whole thing to a shelter or a hospital." When their autistic and only son, Sunil, was twelve, her husband died suddenly of a heart attack. Normally, the eldest son arranges the cremation and lights the fire by putting a flame to the deceased's lips to symbolize the spirit leaving the body.

"It was chaos in the house," she recalls, "people coming into the house, and the body was there—the typical Hindu thing—and Sunil was going crazy. He was unable to comprehend what was going on, why his father was lying dead in our house, and the crying visitors were too much. He stuck his fingers in his ears and screamed and screamed. I was devastated enough, but I couldn't do this to him." So Amla did what few Hindu women are prepared to do. She took Anil to an electric crematorium and lit the cremation fire herself.

These days one can find urban Hindu women arranging funerals and even cremating their husbands—all Hindus cremate, unlike Muslims who bury—but it is still a clear violation of Hindu laws, and in a conservative family it is unforgivable. Traditionally, women are not allowed to step foot in the burning grounds, and this is true among all Hindus, regardless of linguistic or ethnic group. Her side of the family was appalled, and her husband's family vowed never to see her again.

Mamta's village sits at the foothills of the Himalayas, near the old British hill stations in northern India. She comes to Action for Autism wearing jeans, tee-shirt and sandals one day and then a traditional Indian sari the next. She tells me that when her first child, Ohjyu, was eighteen months old, he didn't seem to behave like the other children did. "I took him to a baby show. They have judges, and mothers exhibit the babies. The babies all did little tasks and won prizes. But my baby wouldn't do anything. I had no idea what was wrong and I didn't even know the word autism."

On the way home from the baby show, she remembered having seen an article about developmental delays in an old issue of the Indian magazine, *Outlook*, and dug it out of the trash. The article listed the symptoms of autism, some of which Ohjyu had, like poor eye contact, speech delay, and an inability to respond to his name.

“That killed me. It was so painful and I didn’t share it with anyone, not even my husband. I knew he would be unwilling to believe that something was wrong. I didn’t tell my own parents.”

Eventually, however, Mamta convinced her husband to take Ohjyu to a pediatrician. The doctor said that Ohjyu’s speech was delayed because they lived in an isolated home in the mountains. He recommended taking him into a more stimulating environment, which she and her husband arranged by moving to the city of Gwalior. Although she contemplated terminating her second pregnancy for fear of having another disabled child, her husband refused to even consider it. In Gwalior, little changed for the better with Ohjyu; in fact, he looked worse. So they moved back to Nainital.

Unable to watch the progressive deterioration of her son and against the advice of her husband, and the outrage of her parents-in-law, she devised a plan. She was going to learn how to interact with him and help him learn, even if it meant abandoning her husband and parents-in-law in their mountain village for months, an action many of her friends and neighbors thought was outrageous. Mamta could only imagine the insults hurled behind her back. She took the wide-eyed Ohjyu, along with his infant sister, on the 7 hour train ride to New Delhi. There, a child psychologist diagnosed Ohjyu, then four years old, with autism. Armed with this diagnosis she decided that she was going to reach Ohjyu.

“I belong to a people called the Kumaon, and we don’t have many medical experts. I knew something was wrong, but, convincing my people? I cried nights. I was irritable, depressed. My husband avoided me and spent more time working. But now it’s out. I spend most of my time with my mother-in-law, and we don’t fight much. I respect her power. But I did disobey her. She didn’t want me to go to Delhi or see the psychologist. Now when I see these other mothers here in Delhi, I say, ‘you have to do what you have to do.’”

Mamta’s mother-in-law resisted attempts to understand Ohjyu’s developmental problems because she believed it was her husband’s family’s responsibility. So, on their behalf and leaving Mamta at home, she traveled into the hills to see holy men and tantrics, some of whom said that Ohjyu was possessed by a demon. She eventually reached a conclusion and told Mamta: her husband’s family had failed to please the god of the subcaste.

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of boys in Hindu families. Sons carry on the family line and carry out the rituals that are crucial to success in this and subsequent worlds. So in Mamta’s community when a girl is born, goats must be sacrificed to please the unhappy village god; only then will they make it possible for boys to be born and be born healthy. When Ohjyu was born, it had been thirteen years since Mamta’s parents-in-law had made the last sacrifice. “They wanted to do the sacrifice earlier,” Mamta says, “but something kept happening to prevent it. They’d get ready to kill the goats, and then someone would be born. But you can’t do the sacrifice at that time without causing big problems. Then someone would die and you can’t do the sacrifice then either.” So Mamta’s parents-in-law now promised to sacrifice fourteen goats, at a cost of about 1,500 rupees (about \$35, U.S.) per goat, to the *devi*, or god, a form of Lord Shiva named Khandenagh. The god is represented by a small pile of stones in a temple in the mountains, where it is tended by priests who perform a small worship ceremony for the *devi* twice a day.

So when I asked Mamta if her parents-in-law blamed *her* for Ohjyu’s condition, she seemed perplexed. “They blame themselves for not making the sacrifices. But they do blame me for learning about autism, for leaving them, and for listening to the autism center instead of the priests.”

Shubrha, Amla, Mamta and the other women I met in India were not going to let stigma, or tradition, or even law get in the way of helping their children. The disturbances they had to deal with were collective because they felt the pressures of Hindu custom. But even if there were no social stigma, they would still be left with personal and emotional turmoil. That is because diseases, however much we see them as biological or material in nature, are total life-changing experiences for parents, families, and communities. The writer, Susan Sontag, once argued that we’d all be better off if diseases were seen only as biological events. She protested the punitive uses of diseases as

metaphors—the way tuberculosis was once the figure of death, or the way people talk about the evils of society as cancers. She argued that if we could rid ourselves of any non-material discussion of illness, there would be less stigma and more social support for the ill, not only those suffering from the most stigmatizing diseases such as AIDS and leprosy, but also for people with more invisible afflictions such as mental illnesses. But if we see a cancer, for example, simply as a tumor, we might easily ignore the com-

plexity of human experience. If we see autism as just a brain disorder, we might miss the little victories that people experience each day as they cope with this illness, not only in the United States, but in New Delhi, and the hills of northern India.

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ANTHROPOLOGY CHANGING THROUGH TIME: THREE DECADES OF ANTHRONOTES®

by Ruth O. Selig



Since 1979 the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology has brought the perspectives and scholarship of leading anthropologists to a wide audience through the award-winning publication *AnthroNotes®* and the introductory text-reader *Anthropology Explored: The Best of Smithsonian AnthroNotes*. By examining three decades of *AnthroNotes®*, the dynamic shifts in anthropology and the emergence of public scholarship become clear, as the field of anthropology has become:

- More involved with community and collaboration;
- More involved with examining social issues and conflicts; and
- More self-reflexive (aware of how one's own culture affects one's view of another culture).

In addition, anthropologists now are more likely to

- Apply their findings to the real world;
- Use new technologies to turn old assumptions upside down; and
- Engage their subjects in their work as colleagues and collaborators.

For example, more professional anthropologists are willing and even eager to become involved in the lives and problems facing the people they study as well as in the

social and political issues impacting the modern world. Carolyn Fleur-Lobban's 1999 *AnthroNotes®* article, "Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights," describes her involvement with the issue of female circumcision in the Sudan and the impact of particular laws on women's lives.



The examination of the *AnthroNotes*[®] lead articles since 1979 yields clues as to why these fundamental shifts have taken place. The analysis also indicates reasons why there are increasing ways to bridge the worlds of academia, education, public scholarship, and museums, as anthropologists become increasingly engaged in the world around them.

History of *AnthroNotes*[®]

Let me begin with a bit of history. Almost 30 years ago, a team of four (including myself, Alison Brooks, Ann Kaupp and JoAnne Lanouette) launched the *AnthroNotes*[®] publication at the Smithsonian. It was illustrated with ink drawings by the late anthropologist and cartoonist Robert L. Humphrey of George Washington University. I like to call *AnthroNotes*[®] “the little engine that could,” because it headed up the hill as a six page newsletter for local participants of the George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program, an NSF-funded teacher training program. Two teacher training programs, in Washington (1978-82) and Wyoming (1984-85), with their core, semester-long courses built on an in-depth monthly topic approach, laid the foundation for a subsequent 28 year publication effort to bring anthropology and archaeology to a wider audience, particularly in schools.

AnthroNotes[®] has always had the same three-part mission: 1) disseminate original, recent research to help readers stay current in the field; 2) encourage those teaching anthropology to utilize new materials, approaches, and community resources; and 3) more widely disseminate anthropology, particularly in schools. Once a six page newsletter, *AnthroNotes*[®] became a 16-page publication printed three times a year and then transformed again to a mini-journal of twenty pages published twice a year, containing articles on cutting-edge research authored by nationally and internationally known anthropologists. Today, *AnthroNotes*[®] reaches K-12, college, and museum educators and non-academic anthropologists and archaeologists in 50 states and 50 countries. Almost all *AnthroNotes*[®] articles are solicited from anthropologists throughout the country or written by the editors. The publication is mailed to 9,000 readers but increasingly it is read on-line (<http://www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro/outreach/anthnote/anthback.html>)

In the mid-1990s the Smithsonian Press approached the *AnthroNotes*[®] editors about publishing a compendium of the publication's lead articles as an Introductory Reader to the entire field of anthropology. The first edition of *Anthropology Explored: The Best of Smithsonian AnthroNotes*[®] appeared in 1998 (edited by Ruth O. Selig and Marilyn R. London), and in 2004, a second, much expanded edition was published (with P. Ann Kaupp joining as editor), and a free, on-line *Instructor's Guide* was prepared and made available electronically (http://www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro/outreach/anthropology_explored.htm)

***AnthroNotes* Changing Through Time**

To analyze the changes reflected in *AnthroNotes*[®], I began with a simple listing of the approximately 50 lead articles from two specific 10 year periods: 1981-1991 and 1995-2005.

1981-1991

During the first ten year period, there were 26 lead articles, eight on physical anthropology, ten on archaeology, and eight on cultural anthropology, including linguistics. The majority of the articles were concerned with the cultures of the Americas (North and South), with an emphasis on new ways of viewing the past, shown by both new research findings/methods and relevancy to social concerns. The editors commissioned articles that emphasized new methodologies and relevancy, always trying to reflect current trends in the anthropological literature of the time.

Lead articles of this period that reflected new approaches focused on topics, such as New Gender Perspectives; Multidisciplinary Approaches as seen in Ethnoarchaeology, Ethnohistory and Taphonomy; New Research Findings in Human Evolution and the Settlement of the Americas; Ape Language Studies; New Fossil Finds; and Chimpanzee Studies, including field studies and language studies in laboratory settings.

Examples of other lead article topics that addressed societal relevancy or social concerns included Refugee Children in School, School Age Pregnancy, Applied Linguistics, Creationism, Ape Conservation, Student Fieldwork in the Community, and Aging in Various Cultures.

Some of the best and most satiric Humphrey cartoons come from this 1980s period. The cartoon below accompanied Alison Brooks' article about Ape Conservation in Africa.

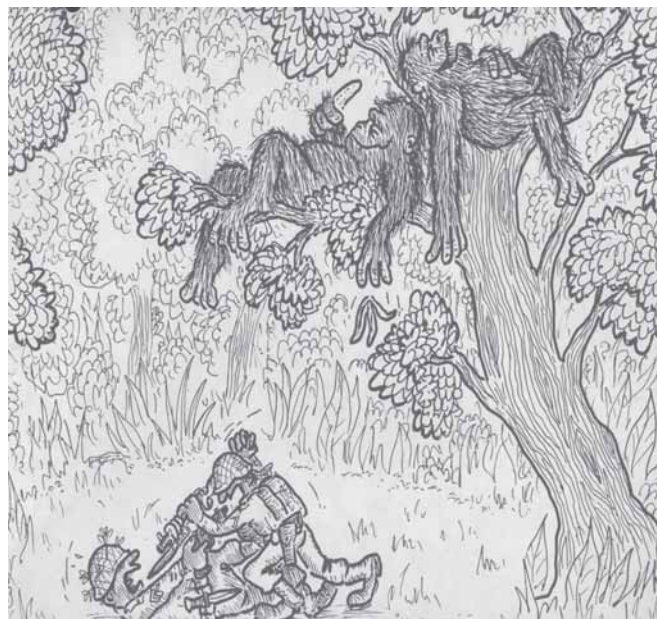


1995 – 2005

The second group of *AnthroNotes*[®] lead articles reflect a slow, steady, but definite shift in emphasis and approach. The articles became more global and environmental in topic; more issue-oriented and conflict-focused; and many articles reflected collaboration with indigenous communities. As might be expected, there were fewer archaeological and more cultural articles during 1995-2005.

Many of these articles reflected a concern with current and sometimes contentious issues. Articles covered such topics as Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights; Linguistic Survival Among the Maya; Refugees: Worldwide Displacement and International Response; Collaborative Ethnography; Disease in Human Evolution; Aggression and Violence in Humans; and Body Art as Vi-

sual Language: Tattoos and Piercing. Humphrey reflected this shift of emphasis in his illustration of Robert Sussman's article, "Are Humans Inherently Violent?"



Conclusion

AnthroNotes[®] not surprisingly offers us a reflection of the changes that anthropology has gone through over the past 30 years. One can see a growing concern with relevance, social issues, collaboration, and working closely with communities, as well as more involvement of anthropologists in the social and international issues of the day. It may be, in fact, that anthropology is entering a new phase of the discipline, looking ahead with renewed confidence and willingness to accept new views of what doing anthropology means. From a history that grew out of colonialism, anthropology today is a discipline with new agendas, new data, new technologies, and new frameworks. At the same time, a core four-field approach still remains at the heart of the discipline. It is likely that the trends discussed in this paper will continue into the future, along with new concerns reflecting the contemporary world.

Ruth Selig is an editor of AnthroNotes[®].

[This article grew out of a paper presented at the 2006 American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in San Jose, CA.]

REDISCOVERING THE FILM SERIES *FACES OF CHANGE:* *AFGHANISTAN*

by Jennifer Lacroix



Documentary Educational Resources (DER):
www.der.org

I recently screened *Kabul Transit* (2006), a new film created by David Edwards and team, at Williams College. The film, utilizing unique editing choices, portrays contemporary Afghanistan – Kabul, in particular. The film showcases children running with cigarette lighters and tours a Canadian army base (complete with video games, color television, cable channels, and a make-shift “store” where soldiers can buy power bars, chips, and souvenirs to take back home to the family). This is quite the juxtaposition to the Afghanistan that Norman Miller brought to life in the classic *Faces of Change* film series of the early 1970s.

The *Faces of Change* series was originally created with funding from the National Science Foundation to showcase five different “cultures” or countries at five different altitudes. The selected countries for this inter-disciplinary project were Bolivia, Kenya, Afghanistan, Taiwan, and the Soko Islands off the China Coast. The objective of each of the film crews was to study five identical themes – rural society, education/socialization, the rural economy, the role of women, and political/religious beliefs – in each of the aforementioned five geographic locations. Norman Miller, now a retired professor from Dartmouth College, oversaw the original production and direction of the series. Wheelock Educational Resources, of Hanover, New Hampshire, distributed the films. Film Essays and User Guides were also created to accompany each of the films. These educational resources proved helpful for K-16 teachers who chose to use the films in their classrooms.

Although all five of the series of films are clearly valuable and an excellent tool for replicating the field experience for students who might not otherwise get to “see” some of these areas of the world, there is one series that stands out – Afghanistan.

Until September 11, 2001, the country of Afghanistan, vertically sandwiched between Iran (to its West) and Pakistan (to its East), sitting below Turkmenistan,

Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, and barely stretching a shoulder to touch a tip of China, was probably more known for its textiles (the Afghan blanket) than anything else... except, maybe, poppy fields. Then Afghanistan was broadcast on every media network across the United States and beyond, suddenly front and center news.

Ethnographic documentary films are an informative way to explore both physical and socially constructed concepts of culture. The ethnographic research in the *Faces of Change: Afghanistan* series was conducted by Louis and Nancy Dupree, an American team of anthropologists who had formerly taught at Duke University. By illustrating the complex relationships between Afghan individuals and their society, the Duprees examined the social construction of identity and the multiplicity of experiences individuals navigate in various social landscapes. Harvard educated Louis Dupree (deceased), the lead anthropologist for this particular film series, first visited Afghanistan in 1949 and again in 1950-51, where he gained access to an area of Northern Afghanistan called Aq Kupruk. He was approximately 320 miles northwest of Kabul. This is the area where most of *Faces of Change: Afghanistan* takes place.



The five-part film series visually demonstrates what life in the early 1970s was like in this particular region of Afghanistan. Most of the films are observational in style, at times involving only some sub-titles so as to create a more authentic experience for viewers. The filmmakers, David Hancock and Herbert DiGioia, no doubt made a lot of these decisions as co-directors in charge of both camera and sound respectively. Both Hancock and DiGioia are well known in the field of visual anthropology for their contribution towards early observational cinematic style. For more information on the filmmakers, see the Spring 2006 article by Anna Grimshaw in *Visual Anthropology Review* (Vol. 22, Issue 1, pp. 34-45).

USING THE FACES OF CHANGE SERIES IN TODAY'S CLASSROOM

The entire *Faces of Change* series is available through Documentary Educational Resources (www.der.org). The following are some examples of lesson plan objectives and questions relating to the Afghan series.

Lesson Plan Objectives

Students will:

- Investigate the level of agricultural technology at the time, and compare it to today's levels
- Examine the role of the worker/laborer: Who is working (i.e. age, sex, etc.)?
- Explore the role of music, in particular the role of flute playing and singing
- Observe the interactions between various peoples from both different labor roles as well as economic divisions
- Look at the role of dress as a function of lifestyle

Before the Film

Teachers should ask students to discuss some of their pre-conceived notions regarding Afghanistan. What pictures come to mind? Where do they come from? How do the media impact these "pictures" or stereotypes?

- Following the discussion, have students jot down five questions they have about Afghanistan or Afghans in general.
- Have students think about their relationship to either rural or urban societies.
- Students could also think about their personal relationships to family and friends. If they have a



sibling relationship, what are some of the dynamics involved with it?

During the Film and/or After the Film

Due to the fact that there are five different themes explored in each of the films, teachers may choose to divide exploration questions according to each of the films as exemplified here:

Main Films (30-40 minute format)

Rural Society: "An Afghan Village" (44 minutes)

- What role do wheat and sheep seem to play in this village? What are some of the major resources in your village/town/city?
- How do you think the filmmakers gained access to this community? Is it important for researchers to establish rapport before conducting an ethnographic study? How would you go about building friendships if this were your assignment?
- What observations can you make about this area based on this visual survey?
- What questions would you ask a native Afghan, if you could, about the observations you have made from the film?
- What do you think has changed (or not changed) since the 1970s?

Education: "Naim and Jabar" (50 minutes)

- The teacher may want to remind students that these films were made pre-Soviet and pre-Taliban invasions; with this in mind, how are the aspirations of the two friends in the film, Naim and Jabar, depicted?

- How do the boys express their feelings about school, family, and friends to the filmmakers? How do their views change during the course of the film?
- Describe your school setting: Is it rural or urban? How many students are in your class? What qualifications did you have to meet (if any) in order to attend your school? Do you sometimes take your schooling for granted? Why or why not?
- If you could be involved with the reshaping of the educational structure in today's Afghanistan, what would you choose to include? Why?
- The original User's Guide notes that when any marriageable women between the ages of 13 and 40 was present, it was necessary to stop filming. Therefore, footage of these unveiled women, even if obtained, could not be used. How does this correlate to the modern images of Afghan women that you see today? Are the women still "hidden?" What may/may not contribute to this?
- What are your views regarding the role and status of women; attitudes toward children and child-bearing; work processes; marriage and family; and child development?

Support Films (15-minute format)

Rural Economics: "Wheat Cycle" (16 minutes)

- How do the filmmakers depict the importance of wheat cultivation in northern Afghanistan?
- What are some of the steps required in the process of growing and harvesting wheat?
- How are different agricultural and economic processes (i.e. reaping, threshing, winnowing, and milling) demonstrated? [Teachers may want to review these vocabulary terms on the board]
- What do you know about the pre-industrial agricultural process? How does this compare to how you get your food?

Women: "Afghan Women" (17 minutes)

- Do you see a lot of women in the series at large? Why do you think the producers decided to have a separate segment for the role of women as a theme?



- Do you think that the regular film team – all male – was allowed to film this segment? Why or why not?
- How do you think the film team for this piece (Nancy Dupree and Josephine Powell) gained entrance into this private community of women? Do you think it may have been difficult to do? Why or why not?

Belief Systems/Political Integration: "Afghan Nomads: The Maldar" (21 minutes)

- The *Maldar* refers to the mixture of faith and distrust that has kept nomads and sedentary people separate yet interdependent over the centuries. Based on this, what observations or speculations can you make in regards to this un-narrated footage?
- What are the roles of the wealthier nomads passing through a community?
- What are some of the political views of the nomads who are portrayed in the film?
- Can you think of a social group in American culture that would be similar to the nomadic groups seen here?
- Can you identify the transvestite in the film? What role might the transvestite serve in Afghan rural society? What evidence exists of his economic position? [Note to teacher: this scene occurs about 34 minutes into the film: it is the scene with the Jeshn "dancing boy" who dances to entertain the crowded teahouse.]

Note: DER is currently working to secure funding to restore and provide wider access to the *Faces of Change: Afghanistan* film series. Plans include an interactive website that teachers can use to download the digitally revitalized films as well as to access lesson plans and other contemporary resources.

Jennifer Lacroix is a Special Projects Director at DER.

TEACHER'S CORNER: INTRODUCTION TO ARCHAEOLOGY & ART ARTIFACTS

by Stefanie Elkins



Grade Level: 6 - 12

Timeframe: one 50 minute class period (not including optional activities).

Overview

This lesson introduces the student to the concept that even though archaeology is considered a science, archaeologists study man-made structures, art objects and artifacts in order to make interpretations about cultures of the past.

Quality Core Curriculum (QCC) Objectives

Standard 14: Expands and develops a personal position on aesthetics: Why do people create art? Does art have to be functional? Must art be beautiful? Why are certain objects considered art and others are not? How do we justify these arguments about what is art?

National Arts Standards for Arts Education

Content Standard 4: Students analyze, describe, and demonstrate how factors of time and place influence visual characteristics that give meaning and value to a work of art.

Lesson Objectives

1. The student will define the role of an archaeologist and how this science makes determinations about our past through the man-made art objects, or artifacts, that ancient cultures have left behind.

2. The student will engage in a discussion about what defines art and artifacts and the differences between modern Western notions about art versus views that ancient societies held.

3. The student will participate in small group activities where he/she will analyze, describe, and draw conclusions about the culture whose "remains" will be contained in a folder and correctly complete the corresponding "Magazine Culture Survey Worksheet."

4. The student will learn through discussion how important it is to know the context in which an artifact is found in order to understand the culture that created it.

Teacher Resources

Folders containing laminated magazine cutouts that depict man-made objects - one folder for each group.

**Optional:* Examples of ancient artifacts (laminated photos or PP presentation)

**Motel of the Mysteries*, by David Macaulay (1979)

Student Materials

Pencils

Magazine Culture Survey Worksheets (one for each group of three to four students)

Motivation/Hook

As soon as students are seated, present the following scenario and questions:

"Imagine that it is the year 3000. A team of archaeologists has recently started to uncover the classroom you are in now. The team has documentation that a massive earthquake happened in the year 2007, instantly destroying and burying this area. As the team begins to dig through the remains, they slowly uncover artifacts that reveal the lifeways of the people that occupied this room."

Ask:

- What would have survived the earthquake and been preserved? What would have decayed?
- After studying the artifacts that would have survived, what do you think the archaeologists would conclude about your culture?
- Would they find enough evidence to determine that this room was part of a school?

- What do you think archaeologists would conclude about your hobbies, lifestyle, and families?
- What would an archaeologist speculate about the things you worship or idolize?
- How about the things you ate?

This scenario allows students to engage in a discussion that introduces the concept that the things they create, wear, and surround themselves with says a lot about the culture in which they live. It also creates an introduction to a discussion about the definitions of art and an awareness that art is a reflection of the influence a culture has on the beliefs of an individual.

Ask:

- What is the difference between an art object and an artifact?
- Is an artifact considered art if it is aesthetically beautiful? What if it is crudely made or considered not attractive? Is it still art?
- Do you think that ancient craftsmen considered themselves artists? Were the artifacts they created intended to be beautiful or serve a specific purpose?

These questions should stimulate conversation about how we define art and how other cultures, past and present, defined art. It also opens the way for students to understand that unless we understand the culture in which an art object was created, we may never fully understand its meaning and therefore make false assumption and conclusions about that culture.

Ask:

- Do you think the archaeologists could come to any false conclusions about your culture? Why or why not?

*** Optional Activity 1**

Allow five minutes for questions and discussion. You may want to use this time to introduce the difference between an archaeologist, anthropologist, and paleontologist. Even though this lesson focuses on archaeology, it is important that students be able to differentiate between the various roles that scientists play in an archaeological dig and how art is a vital and unique part of archaeology. This distinction also shows the overlapping of subject areas and how each one depends on the other, thus reinforcing cross-curriculum ideas.

Activity

1. Divide class into groups of 3-5 students.
2. Hand each group a folder that is filled with laminated magazine cutouts. Have each group sit around a designated desk or table and empty the folder contents. Because these cutouts are from modern magazines, students will recognize a lot of the "artifacts." Emphasize that we are interested in interpreting what the artifacts are and what they say about the person/people who owned them. State that all of the folders contain "artifacts" they will recognize, but it is up to them to determine what the artifacts and remains say about the people who owned them. They should only use information in the pictures.
3. After examining the "artifacts" for several minutes, each group should discuss and draw conclusions about the culture that created the "artifacts" using the Magazine Culture Survey sheet (described at end of article). Allow 15 - 20 minutes for this activity. Each group should fill out a survey sheet for each artifact.
4. Each group then appoints a spokesperson or selects group members to address certain questions. First of all they should present the rest of the class with the artifacts they found. Then, depending on the grade level, you may ask questions from the Magazine Culture Survey or let them present their findings in front of the class (this would be appropriate for high school). Each group should be prepared to describe why they came to the conclusions they did about their folder's "culture."
5. Allow each group at least five minutes to answer the questions or to present their conclusions.

Optional Activity 2

1. Students may remain in their groups.
2. Hand each group a few pictures of ancient artifacts. Note that these artifacts will be ones that the students may **not** recognize.
3. Each group will try to guess the identity of the artifact and its purpose.
4. This activity should cement the idea that unless one understands the culture and context of the art object/artifact, it may be impossible to identify the object and its purpose.

At this point it might be fun to introduce the book, *Motel of the Mysteries*. This book is only 96 pages, full of great illustrations, and has a 7th grade reading level that is appropriate for high school students. The book tells of future archaeologists discovering the buried remains of an American motel room in the 41st century and the mis-identification of just about every artifact found. The book hilariously explains the traps that archaeologists may fall into when trying to explain the past using present day knowledge and sensibilities. The events portrayed in the book show the reader just how easy it is to make mistakes when one does not fully understand the culture in which one is excavating. Introducing the book also allows for inter-curriculum connections with English and literature.

Closure/Review

Emphasize that the “remains” just analyzed say a lot about the people who left them behind. Suggest that they think about what archaeologists might conclude about the remains left in their own homes or bedrooms. Remind them that artifacts and art remains reflect everyday life and thus are extremely important to archaeologists when they make conclusions about past cultures. This could also lead to a discussion or spin off lesson about modern art and what it says about our culture today.

Assessment

- Did the student express understanding of the role of an archaeologist?
- Did the student participate in active listening and

participate in class discussion about what defines art and artifacts?

- Did the student actively participate in the group activity on magazine culture?
- Did the student show through participation that he/she grasped the concept of how art reflects the culture in which it was created and thus can tell us much about the past?
- Did the student complete the activity sheets correctly?

Magazine Culture Survey Worksheet

Prepare a chart with the following nine headings for the students to fill in describing each artifact:

Food:

What did they eat? Where did their food come from?

Geography:

Where in North America did they live?

Time Period:

What time period did they live in?

Economy:

How did they make their living?

Religion:

How and what did they worship or believe in?

Leisure Time:

What did they value or do for recreation?

Natural World:

Evidence of other life forms such as animals?

Values:

What is considered important in the society?

Other conclusions:

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SUMMER FIELDWORK OPPORTUNITIES

Teachers, students, and the general public can become personally involved in the field of anthropology through field schools and research organizations. This article provides the names of organizations that offer programs particularly suited for students and teachers.

Anthropology departments at local universities and colleges, state historic preservation offices, and state archaeological societies often organize local archaeological excavations and frequently accept volunteers with no previous fieldwork experience. The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) offers a listing of state archaeologists as part of its yearly field school listing for the U.S. and abroad. This publication, *Archaeological Fieldwork Opportunities Bulletin*, includes more than 250 opportunities with all information about costs, deadlines, age requirements, and archaeological sites to be excavated and analyzed for each field school. This listing can be accessed online at <http://www.archaeological.org/webinfo.php?page=10016> or purchased for \$19.95 (2007) from Oxbow/David Brown Books, PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779; (800) 791-9354, (860) 945-9329; fax: (860) 945-9468; or email www.oxbowbooks.com. To learn about other AIA resources, go to <http://www.archaeological.org> or aia@bu.edu

Visit the website of *Archaeology* magazine (www.archaeology.org), published by the Archaeological Institute of America, to subscribe to the magazine or call (877) 275-9782. This website also features online site tours, interactive digs, reviews and shows, and interviews as well as a link to AIA's travel tours.

Organizations to Contact

Earthwatch

Earthwatch, an international non-profit organization, offers a range of opportunities for teachers, students, and the general public to assist scientists in the field. Opportunities for Special Education Fellowships are available to teachers. Contact: Earthwatch, 3 Clock Tower Place, Suite 100, Box 75, Maynard, MA 01754; (800) 776-0188; (978) 461-0081; fax: (978) 461-2332; email: info@earthwatch.org www.earthwatch.org

Passport in Time (PIT)

Passport in Time is a volunteer program of the U.S.D.A. Forest Service. PIT volunteers work with professional archaeologists and historians on national forests throughout the country. Volunteers can participate on such diverse activities as archaeological survey and excavation, rock art restoration survey, archival research, oral history gathering, and analysis and care of artifacts. Projects occur year round and there is no fee to participate. Contact: PIT Clearinghouse, PO Box 15728, Rio Rancho, NM 87174; (505) 896-0734, (800) 281-9176, Fax: (505) 896-1136; email: volunteer@passportintime.com; www.passportintime.com



Old Pueblo Archaeology Center offers hands-on experience for ages 14 and up in archaeological and historical methods at a Hohokam site (A.D. 750-1450). Children can experience archaeology through simulated digs and site tours. The Center develops inexpensive courses and workshops on ancient and modern southwestern cultures. Contact: Old Pueblo Archaeology Center, P.O. Box 40577, Tucson, AZ 85717-0577; (520) 798-1201, fax: (520) 798-

1966; email: info@oldpueblo.org; <http://www.oldpueblo.org>

Heritage Expeditions are educational tours and programs about historic and prehistoric sites on national forests that chronicle America's past and are disappearing through the ravages of time. Heritage Expeditions provides opportunities for the public to learn about and help conserve non-renewable heritage resources; fees from those experiences are used to protect and manage heritage sites for the public. For more information on this program, contact USDA Forest Service; (208) 373-4162 or visit <http://www.fs.fed.us/recreation/programs/heritage/expeditions.shtml>

ArchaeoExpeditions, sponsored by Cultural Expeditions MEC Canada, Inc., offers opportunities for those 18 years of age and older to participate in archaeological projects with museums, heritage programs, and archaeologists working in the field. This year's projects take place in Spain, Canada, England, and Sweden. Contact: ArchaeoExpeditions, Westgate P.O. Box No. 35012, Ottawa, K1Z 1A2 Canada; (800) 866-682-0562; www.archaeoexpeditions.com/exped.html; email: info@archaeoexpeditions.com

Crow Canyon Archaeological Center is a non-profit institution specializing in Southwestern archaeological research and education. Programs for adults, teens, educators, families, and school groups offer participants to learn about archaeological field methods, laboratory techniques, and excavation. Crow Canyon also offers domestic and international travel opportunities. Write or call: Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, 23390 County Road K, Cortez, CO 81321-9908; (800) 422-8975 or (970) 565-8975, ext. 146 or (970) 565-8975; fax: (970) 565-4859; <http://www.crowcanyon.org>.

Center for American Archeology, Kamsville Archeological Center offers a summer field school for high school students and adults 18 years and older and a family dig, as well as hands-on activities in basketry, ceramics, flintknapping, and village reconstruction for grades 2-12. The field school takes place at a nearby Middle Woodland Hopewell village site (ca. 50 B.C. – A.D. 205). Contact: Center for American Archeology, PO Box 366, Kamsville,

IL 62053-0366; or call (618) 653-4316; fax: (618) 653-4232; email: caa@caa-archeology.org; <http://www.caa-archeology.org>

The U.S. Experiment in International Living - Summer Abroad offers high school students three to five weeks of immersion in a another culture in Asia, Europe, Africa, the Americas, Oceania, or Asia, through homestay, language-study, and ecologically-focused programs. Contact: The U.S. Experiment in International Living - Summer Abroad, P.O. Box 676, Kipling Rd., Brattleboro, VT 05302; (800) 345-2929 or (802) 257-7751 or TTY (802) 258-3388; fax (802) 258-3428; email: info@worldlearning.org; www.worldlearning.org.

Mississippi Valley Archaeology Center (MVAC) conducts research in the upper Mississippi River valley, offers archaeological field work and other educational opportunities for teachers and students. Contact: MVAC, 1725 State St., La Crosse, WI 54601; (608) 785-8463; Fax (608) 785-6474; e-mail: bruce.jody@uwlax.edu <http://www.uwlax.edu/mvac>

MVAC is offering a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute for School Teachers, "Touch the Past: Archaeology of the Upper Mississippi River Valley," July 9 through 27, 2007. The Institute, open to all U.S. teachers, will be held on the University of Wisconsin - La Crosse campus, with field trips scheduled to archaeological sites across the state. This is an opportunity for twenty-five K-12 teachers to gain three weeks of study of the process of archaeology and the major cultures of the Upper Mississippi Valley, including how these societies adapted and evolved over the past 12,000 years. More information about the Institute and registration can be found on-line at: <http://www.uwlax.edu/mvac/neh.htm>. The deadline for applications is March 1, 2007. For additional information, please contact Bonnie Jancik at janck.bonn@uwlax.edu

<http://www.Cyberpursuits.com> lists world-wide archaeological field work opportunities and schools, providing web pages to sites and projects, organized by geographic region and discipline (i.e. underwater archaeology).

ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE PUBLIC WEBSITE

The Society for American Archaeology Public Education Committee has created a new set of web pages on *Archaeology for the Public* www.saa.org/public.

This new SAA website is a clearinghouse for information on archaeology designed to interest and inform a wide variety of audiences including students, educators, and professional archaeologists seeking resources to use in their public education efforts. Back issues of the SAA quarterly newsletter *Archaeology and Public Education* (1993-2004) are archived here, while current information on archaeology workshops, conferences, field and lab opportunities, and archaeology months can be found under News and Events. People looking for an archaeological site to visit on their next road trip, or students researching a homework assignment, will find the selected archaeological sites indexed by geographical region and by type useful. Educators looking for lesson plans or classroom activities will find a variety of good sources including archaeology program materials developed by educators. Frequently Asked Questions about careers in archaeology will be helpful to students considering archaeology as a profession, while anyone interested in archaeology will enjoy the movie and book reviews, artifact of the month, and other listings in Fun for All Ages. Brochures, "How-To" Guides and Fact Sheets have been included as downloadable PDF files. Readers are encouraged to use the Feedback forms provided on the web pages to comment and to suggest additional links for the pages. For more information on the web pages, please contact Maureen Malloy, Manager of Education and Outreach at the Society for American Archaeology (email Maureen_Malloy@saa.org).



INTERACTIVE ARCHAEOLOGY WEBSITES

The "Uluburun Shipwreck" and the 'Umayri "Four-room House" are online interactive archaeology projects that provide students authentic learning experiences and allow them to analyze archaeological data to answer a series of research questions. The projects are the creation of educator and archaeologist Dr. Ellen Bedell and colleague, Dr. Elizabeth Perry of The Ellis School, an independent college preparatory school in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Students hone their critical thinking skills by going through the same scientific process as archaeologists in



analyzing data from a Late Bronze Age shipwreck off the coast of Turkey and an Early Iron Age dwelling in Jordan. The shipwreck site teaches about historical archaeology, and the house site teaches about anthropological archaeology. The Uluburun website has a map of the shipwreck and a female diver who drags a magnifying glass over the site map to illuminate the artifact numbers, which students can click on to see a picture of the artifact. The 'Umayri "Four-room House" site is directly connected to an American Schools of Oriental Research affiliated excavation in Jordan. The website shows how archaeologists are uncovering evidence of daily life in the ancient Near East. Thousands of bones from the site show how closely this population lived with domestic animals.

These websites are located at <http://sara.theellisschool.org/shipwreck> and <http://sara.theellisschool.org/ironage/index.htm>. They can be downloaded from the internet and burned on CDs.

(continued)

SMITHSONIAN'S DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY ONLINE EXHIBITS

(<http://www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro>)

Lakota Winter Counts. Pictographs of memorable events recorded by Lakota historians between 1701 and 1905. An excellent Teacher's Guide is part of this site.

Unmasking the Maya: The Story of *Sna Jtz' ibajom*. A Mayan cooperative gives a new voice to the people of Chiapas.

African Voices. This permanent exhibit in the National Museum of Natural History examines the historic diversity, dynamism and global influence of Africa's peoples and cultures.

Agayuliyararput, Our Way of Making Prayer / *Yup'ik* Masks. This traveling exhibit was the first exhibit to bring Yup'ik masks and ceremonial materials to a wide audience in their native context.

Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People celebrates both the contemporary expression of Ainu ethnicity and the experiences of the Ainu past through beautiful craftsmanship, rich oral tradition, and complex rituals.

Benedicte Wrensted: An Idaho Photographer in Focus. Wrensted (1859-1949) photographed Indians of Southeastern Idaho reservations. Her work lay in obscurity for decades until brought to light by the detective work of a Smithsonian anthropologist while researching photographs for the Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians*.

The Canela Indians of Northeastern Brazil. Explore the daily life, artifacts, environment, and ritual life

of the Canela people, with whom emeritus curator Bill Crocker has conducted anthropological fieldwork since the 1950s.

Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska celebrates the wide diversity and common ancestry of these North Pacific cultures, providing an entirely new understanding of the peoples on both sides of Bering Strait.

Dread History: The African Diaspora, Ethiopianism, and Rastafari. The Rastafari fashion their vision of an ancestral homeland through a complex of ideas and symbols known as Ethiopianism, an ideology which has informed African-American concepts of nationhood, independence, and political uplift since the late 16th century.

Expeditions - 150 Years of Smithsonian Research in Latin America celebrates the Smithsonian's pioneering contribution to the study and preservation of the natural history and cultures of the Americas. Nearly 100 artifacts, photographs, original documents and rare books originally exhibited at the Inter-

American Development Bank's Cultural Center Gallery are presented on this bilingual site.

Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People of Southern Alaska. "What does it mean to be Alutiiq?" The answer flows from history, values, traditions, and spiritual beliefs; from the bonds of family and language; and from lives lived close to the land and sea.

Red Cloud's Manikin and His Uncle's Shirt examines photographs of early manikins representing Plains Indians in the Smithsonian Institution during the 1870s.



Royal Gifts from Thailand. The symbolic exchange of gifts between Thailand and the United States established a bond between two very different nations and sealed a friendship that endures to this day.

Textiles of the North American Southwest explores the weaving traditions of the American Indian and Hispanic residents of the North American Southwest, one of the most important centers of handwoven textile production in the world. Over the past 2000 years, weavers in this region have created a wide variety of textiles that express, in both design and technique, the changing circumstances of their lives and the extensive flow of ideas across cultural frontiers. The weavings presented here, drawn from the extensive textile collections of the Smithsonian Institution, testify to the skill and creativity of these weavers and to the dynamism of their weaving traditions.

Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga. 1000 years ago, Leif Eriksson became the first European to reach North American soil. This exhibit illuminates the origins and impact of this pivotal moment in history, shedding light on the Vikings and their expansion across the Atlantic from Scandinavia.

Written in Stone: Inscriptions from the National Museum of Saudi Arabia. In the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, inscriptions were etched, engraved, pecked, or even sometimes carved in bas-relief on stones or on the rock-faces of cliffs and hills. This online exhibit features 54 museum objects that bear examples of ancient epigraphy.

Other online exhibits

Camping With the Sioux: Fieldwork Diary of Alice Cunningham Fletcher

Canela Body Adornment

Drawing the Western Frontier: The James E. Taylor Album

Henry Wood Elliott: An American Artist in Alaska

Kiowa Drawings

Selections from the Field Journal of William Duncan Strong (Honduras, 1933)

Squint Eyes: Artist & Indian Scout

Tichkematse, A Cheyenne at the Smithsonian

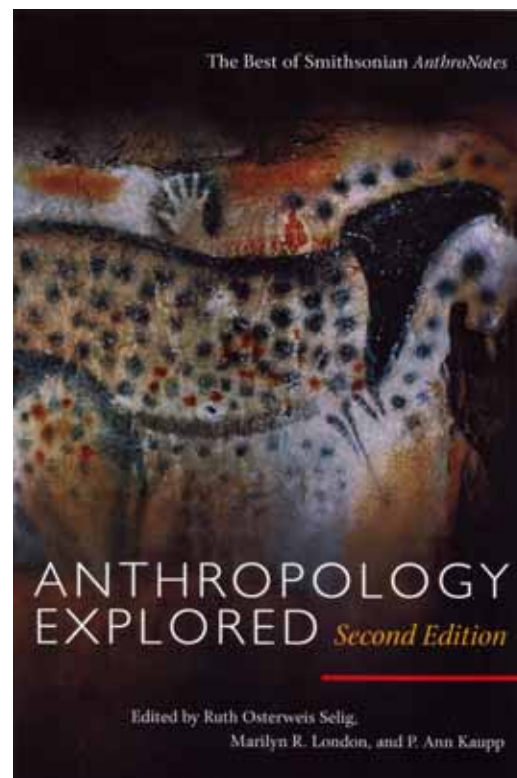
Online exhibits on *collections care* can be viewed at <http://www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro.htm>.

ANTHROPOLOGY EXPLORED

This revised and expanded edition is edited by Ruth Osterweis Selig, Marilyn R. London, and P. Ann Kaupp (Smithsonian Books). Foreword by David W. McCurdy; illustrations by Robert L. Humphrey. (Smithsonian Books/HarperCollins. 496 pp. 54 black and white illustrations.)

Free Instructor's guide is available online at http://www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro/outreach/anthropology_explored.htm.

Order *Anthropology Explored* from Amazon.com or Google: *Anthropology Explored Revised 2nd Edition*. For a desk copy or a classroom adoption, call HarperCollins at 1-800-242-7737. ISBN#: 1588340937, or contact seligr@si.edu



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1. To more widely disseminate original, recent research in anthropology in order to help readers stay current in the field;
2. To help those teaching anthropology utilize new materials, approaches, and community resources, as well as integrate anthropology into a wide variety of subjects; and
3. To create a national network of anthropologists, archaeologists, teachers, museum and other professionals interested in the wider dissemination of anthropology, particularly in schools.

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