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ON THE COVER
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Scenes from a hospital morgue where bodies are taken after death.

Holism in Development: Considering Traditional Ecological Knowledge

Peter Fuqua

He/Him/His

"My name is Peter Fuqua, I graduated from CSUDH in December 2020. My major is Anthropology with a focus on Applied Anthropology. I am interested in globalization, transnationalism, migration, identity, liminality, and digital culture. I am especially interested in how globalization and migration change culture and in the efforts that people take to maintain their cultures."

Introduction

Development projects are programs designed to bring about change to an area. Generally, a project is called for because there is a perceived need, typically in non-western countries. Many groups seek to fund development, and there are many different perspectives about it. Development is conceived of by people from western culture, who make sense of the world through an organization revolving around GDP and a constant drum of progress. Often, The projects that they invest in carry an ethnocentric perspective that fails to consider the lives and legitimate experiences of those living in developmental target areas. The Thaba-Tseka Development Project, for instance, miscategorized the Basotho people as indigenous agriculturalists, failing to take into account the large percentage of the population that traveled to South Africa for work. This seemingly small misunderstanding led to a misguided effort to make Lesotho financially independent, which enriched the area's local political leaders, but

helped no one else (Ferguson 1990).

My study sought to understand the purposes and effects of development projects carried out in marginalized places. To get a foundation on how these projects work, I researched the Thaba-Tseka project, which was active in the late 1970s through the early 1980s. The central ethnography I used for this research was *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* by James Ferguson (1990). Additionally, I investigated how traditional ecological knowledge and a holistic approach can realign development values to be less ethnocentric. This study shows that while development projects tend to be bad for the groups that they intend to assist, there is potential for improvement through a reversal of approach.

For this research, I focused on international development that perceives people's finances as the most significant indicator of their wellbeing, sometimes called financial development. This development process uses western indicators of wellbeing to declare whether a group needs their help and follows up this declaration by implementing western models of success in non-western contexts. There are various institutions involved in international development, and there are longstanding debates as to its viability. Through my study of development projects, I found that ethnocentric principles often form their foundations, suggesting that holistic

reform focusing on traditional ecological knowledge could lead to better outcomes.

Literature

The literature on development is widely critical. In this case, I have chosen particular literature to describe specific instances in which westerners have implemented development while ignoring holistic perspectives. Other papers I have chosen advocate for traditional ecological knowledge to be relied upon in development scenarios. I will be using these articles to illustrate the problematic thought processes which lead development into a space where it fails to perform its primary job. Furthermore, I will advocate for a reimagining of development as a bottom-up process. To show that the underpinnings of development are ethnocentric, I have included a few texts that speak to misunderstandings about culture that upended development projects. The Anti-Politics Machine by James Ferguson will serve as the crux of my argument by illustrating the path and consequences of a specific development project and forming a theory of how development works. I plan to use Ferguson's description of the Thaba-Tseka Development Project to illustrate that assuming a holistic perspective might mitigate development issues. By defining addressable problems as inextricably linked with their surrounding cultures and environments, development can better serve the people it seeks to help.

Contextualizing Traditional Ecological Knowledge as a Solution to Ethnocentrism

When it comes to using traditional ecological knowledge, development tends to fall on its face. Ferguson writes that when the World Bank evaluated Lesotho for development ideas, they imagined the Thaba-Tseka Development Project to boost agricultural production and cattle holdings to levels maintained in Lesotho's pre-colonial economy. The World Bank found numbers that mapped out the recent decline of these industries in Lesotho but failed to incorporate the fact that Dutch settlers had taken most of the land previously used for these purposes in the mid 19th century (Ferguson 1990). If they had spoken to the locals about why they had stopped growing food and keeping cattle, they would have realized that this loss of opportunity caused the Basotho movement towards migrant labor in South Africa. Merely bringing in modern farming techniques or cattle raising strategies would not bring back the land needed for these subsistence strategies to work well. Long-used local subsistence approaches served purposes that the World Bank did not think of, and the development project would have been more effective if they had evaluated it in those terms.

The article "False Forest History, Complicit Social Analysis: Rethinking Some West African Environmental Narratives" by James Fairhead and Melissa Leach explains the value of traditional ecological knowledge.

Fairhead and Leach tell a story of government intervention into environmental practices in Guinea, during which the government ignored local traditions in favor of modern ideas about the environment. After some time, laws that the government enacted caused more harm than good, and it became clear that the ways indigenous people had previously been using the land had been beneficial to it (Fairhead and Leach 2016). Development from a top-down perspective uses the same principles as the Guinean government and therefore misses the environmental knowledge available to it from those sources.

"Knowledge, Learning and the Evolution of Conservation Practice for Social-Ecological System Resilience" is a paper by Fikret Berkes and Nancy J. Turner. The article evaluates the usefulness of traditional ecological knowledge for projects and describes it as a learning method (Berkes and Turner 2006). Many people idealize traditional ecological knowledge as something almost holy. The idea ties into an ethnocentric view of the noble savage in which westerners think of indigenous knowledge as being vastly more important than western thought. The article describes the acquisition of traditional ecological knowledge as the discovery of environmental information. The authors write about times when learning experiences sparked long term culture in indigenous groups, arguing that understanding about the environment tends to happen through mistakes (Berkes and Turner 2006). Once

people understand that traditional ecological knowledge is a valid tool to understand the world, NGOs and governments can integrate it into development projects. Indigenous knowledge is neither holy nor immaterial. It is a tool to be understood contextually.

Nancy J. Turner, Marianne Boelscher Ignace, and Ronald Ignace write in their article, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Wisdom of Aboriginal Peoples in British Columbia," that longevity of relationship between indigenous people and the land that they live on makes their understanding of the land relevant. The authors use case studies of two types of flora in British Columbia and Indigenous relationships with those plants to argue that there is much more under the surface of traditional ecological knowledge than people assume. They assert that there is a trove of expertise right underneath our noses, but because people lack respect for indigenous knowledge, they pass it by (Boelscher et al. 2006). Development projects would do well to engage in investigations into any local knowledge they acquire and must prevent improper usage of indigenous knowledge by examining it through a holistic lens.

Eschewing the Dangers of Collateral Damage Through Holistic Examination

One of the biggest problems with international development is that it primarily justifies its work through economic models. These models leave out critical cultural perspectives, causing them to work differently

than intended. Ferguson explains that the Thaba-Tseka Development Project, operating under the presumption that an influx of money was the best way to fix Basotho farmers' livelihoods, built a road from Lesotho's isolated areas into South Africa. This road was supposed to help farmers in remote areas gain access to the broader market to make more money. Along with the road, the project encouraged farmers to switch from subsistence farming to growing cash crops. Unfortunately, the project failed to realize that the road would flood the market with low-priced, desirable crops from outside Lesotho, disenfranchising local farmers. The project coordinators' faith in modern western farming techniques blinded them to the challenges that agriculture faced in Lesotho's environment. The project encouraged Basotho farmers to grow cash crops, but they failed to produce, and the farmers lost money. The Thaba-Tseka development project could have avoided causing these issues by using a more holistic approach. However, the World Bank, and development itself, often operates without holism in mind.

The article "Endangered Forests, Endangered People: Environmentalist Representations of Indigenous Knowledge" by Peter J. Brosius critiques the glorification of Indigenous environmental knowledge. Brosius argues that the glorification of Penan culture has resulted in its significant decline. The local people have used environmental representations of their culture as a model for representing themselves. Environmentalists'

representations of the culture have affected how people look at them and how they live their lives. The days of Penan isolation are gone, but depictions of the culture represent them as they used to be. (Brosius 2016). Even well-intentioned people can make mistakes in representing a culture. The story of the Penan teaches us the vital lesson that we must look at culture holistically before we promote it or add development to it. To understand the dangers of culture change is to understand the dangers of development, as Ferguson reminds us that, as a rule, development brings culture change (Ferguson 2016).

The article, "Indigenous rights, resistance, and the law: Lessons from a Guatemalan mine" by Amanda M. Fulmer is a broad criticism of a development project that established a mine in Guatemala. The project failed to look at itself holistically, and as a result, it harmed local people. The project was supposed to raise the local area's economy by taking advantage of the natural minerals present. However, the jobs that came out of the project went to outsiders, and so did the money. All that the locals received were the environmental issues that came from the mine. This article questions whether development helps people and decidedly points to the Marlin mine in Guatemala as evidence that development is not here for local people's good (Fulmer 2008). Fulmer's evidence points to a blind spot in development projects regarding holism. Even when developers think that they are using holistic methods to help an

area, they tend to favor their own views when evaluating themselves. The people at the bottom of the social strata are vulnerable and cannot stop malicious programs. Holistic evaluations need to rid themselves of ethnocentricity if development is to help people.

The article "The Development of Indigenous Knowledge: A New Applied Anthropology" by Paul Sillitoe describes how traditional ecological knowledge can be applied holistically to development projects. The author outlines several different incidents wherein indigenous people became interested in western culture that conflicted with their traditional ecological knowledge. The article asserts that the romanticization of traditional ecological knowledge can harm Indigenous people because culture is changing rapidly around them. Finally, the article describes some responsible uses for traditional ecological knowledge (Sillitoe 1998). By understanding traditional ecological knowledge holistically, we can avoid romanticizing it. By approaching traditional ecological knowledge holistically, we can use it as a cog in a new, holistic development.

Ferguson (1990) tells us that the Thaba-Tseka Development Project, from the beginning, was organized from the top down. The World Bank commissioned investigators to write a report about what they believed Lesotho needed, and they never consulted the people who were living their lives there. The project

coordinators did not use a holistic perspective to make recommendations, which resulted in significant unforeseen complications. Specifically, those planning the project did not look into local laws about land ownership and planned to organize cattle grazing zones using fences. They assumed that their perspective on land ownership would translate well to Lesotho but failed to realize the government is the sole proprietor of all land that cattle graze on, so they had to re-evaluate their plans (Ferguson 1990). Suppose they had explored Lesotho with a holistic perspective by taking into account traditional ecological knowledge and customs. In that case, they could have planned something that coordinated with the local culture instead of being forced into the Lesotho government's world.

Rethinking the Foundations of Development

Upon integrating traditional ecological knowledge and holism into development theory, development's ethnocentric roots begin to stand out. However, development's ethnocentricity does not preclude it from reform and does not entirely nullify its usefulness. It is necessary to be critical of development to reshape it as a humanist project that seeks to solve problems people face holistically, instead of dictating what they need. The second chapter of Escobar's Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World is about discovering global poverty in the early 1900s and its problematic nature. Escobar asserts that the early definitions

of poverty have foundations in ethnocentrism and fail to understand the different ways that people live. He argues that development has further centralized money and power in the so-called first world nations and that we need to find a new way to run the world that does not include development (Escobar 2011). For a long time, poverty has been the primary concern of those who are pushing development. Poverty, however, is an ethnocentric idea when applied to many of the places where development projects are prevalent. If we are to rethink development, we must rethink poverty along with it.

Vaughan and Kjetil's book, *The Culture of Power in Contemporary Ethiopian Political Life*, is an overview of the dynamics of power in Ethiopia during the 1990s and the following decade. The authors describe how power has shifted hands over that period, and they speak directly to the effects that power has had on development projects that were in place at the time of their book. The book asserts that we need to be aware of any political implications that development brings so that harm does not come to people development seeks to help. Unfortunately, development project managers often fail to understand cultural conditions holistically and allow governments to consolidate power (Kjetil, and Vaughan 2003).

"Can Foreign Aid Buy Growth?" by William Easterly lays out a problematization of money in development. Easterly explains that old rationalizations for money as the heart of

development are flawed because they do not consider that development money flows through the government before reaching the people complicating its distribution (Easterly 2003). Based on Easterly's statements, I propose that development should transition from a system that pushes capitalism into countries into one that finds people where they are, explores their world using their knowledge, and does that holistically, using any systems at their disposal. Primarily, development must focus on ridding itself of ethnocentrism, especially when evaluating potential development sites.

Ferguson found in his evaluation of the Thaba-Tseka Development Project that the project was not serving the people on the ground were not being served adequately. He asserts that development always brings change, but rarely the change it intends to bring, and even more rare is the instance when it helps people (Ferguson 1990). Ferguson's stance is that development is a product of colonialism based in capitalism and driven by ethnocentrism. Development tends to find itself attached more to the developers than the people the projects are trying to help. The top-down approach that development projects employ allows ethnocentric ideas to sabotage important work. However, my research demonstrates that by reshaping development theory and incorporating traditional ecological knowledge and holism, a new model can emerge that helps people meet their immediate needs without

neglecting their local and global contexts.

Easterly's conceptualization of the money involved in development projects helps us realize a piece of the problem with development (2003). The results of this process are shown clearly in Ferguson's representation of the Thaba-Tseka project in Lesotho. Most points of view tend to lean into themselves, and western ideologies are not immune to such ways of thinking. Once we understand that development is flawed, however, we can begin to reconstruct it. The people of Lesotho would have benefited more from a project that took their needs into account. When the World Bank decided to implement an agricultural strategy and build a road into Indigenous land, fencing off cattle grazing land and ignoring the local customs and culture, they had already failed the people they were trying to assist. If their development project had interviewed locals about how their culture worked or why they went to South Africa to find work, they would have discovered that they needed to refocus their efforts in a different direction. A holistic examination of Lesotho culture would have been ultimately flawed, as Fulmer's story about the Guatemalan mine suggests, but it would have been a step in the direction of correct thinking. Suppose development can overcome its project evaluations' ethnocentric nature and find its feet firmly in Indigenous rights and lives. In that case, holism will become intrinsic to environmental evaluations, and there is a chance that development will be beneficial

to humanity.

The Environment of Development

Environmental anthropology can contribute to development projects because it provides an essential perspective on traditional ecological knowledge. The environments that people maintain through traditional ecological knowledge fall within the purview of environmental anthropologists. Taking the local and geopolitical environments people live in into consideration will produce robust development projects. Holistic examination forces us to look at all facets of a problem, and Anthropologists must advocate for a holistic inclusion of traditional ecological knowledge within development. Current development theory prioritizes money, but environments are a valuable commodity in themselves. There are always reasons for peoples' uses of their environments, and holistic investigation can illuminate their reasons.

It is unclear whether development can become a holistic program that helps Indigenous groups appropriately. Measurement of these sorts of things can be hard to quantify except within research, such as provided by James Ferguson. There are people on the front lines of development, advocating for Indigenous rights, but deciding what is right or wrong for Indigenous people is an ethical dilemma. While the opportunity to help people is present within our current system, "helping" can quickly become pushing an agenda. As we recognize more of globalization's unintended

consequences, we may find that development is an unhealthy concept entirely. Nevertheless, for now, development is here to stay, which leaves us with the uneasy realization that we have a responsibility to make it work better for the people with whom it interferes.

Conclusion

The data compiled in this paper reveals issues that have emerged because of colonialism and globalization over the last five hundred years. As people have moved around the world, cultures have interacted, and many times Indigenous people are on the wrong side of that interaction. In theory, development attempts to quell issues brought to Indigenous people by colonialism but consistently fails to appropriately incorporate Indigenous knowledge. The core concepts behind development declare that income is the best way to measure an area's status and tend to ignore perceptions of reality that fall outside of the Euro-centric point of view. Instead, development coordinators must use a holistic lens to incorporate Indigenous knowledge into their plans. Traditional ecological knowledge must not be venerated but applied to situations contextually. In the past, governments and development projects have ignored Indigenous knowledge, to the detriment of the environments involved.

Anthropological theory indicates that by adopting a holistic perspective, development may avoid causing unintended damage. Individual development projects need to set out

to help specific subsets of the population and be clear about their intentions. In that same vein, development projects must evaluate themselves and the intentions of everyone involved to mitigate any ethnocentrism they might carry into a project. There will always be problems in development, but development can become a better tool for helping people with the right perspectives and information.

How Can Development Move Forward?

The next step should be to rebuild development as a holistic program that helps people directly. Situational opportunities should justify development plans instead of an area's income. Developers must do away with the top-down approach that development currently emphasizes to limit ethnocentrism. Holistic research should be done individually for each development program, replacing emphasizing short-term results with small and steady growth. Prioritizing local environmental knowledge while understanding peoples' circumstances in context is essential to making development viable in the future.

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The New Vanguards How and Why Women of Color are Pioneers of Pop Culture

By: Sarona Geter

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Sarona Geter, I am a senior at CSUDH in my final year graduating in May 2022. My major is Anthropology with a focus in Cultural Anthropology, my minor is in Art History. My interest combines the influence Black Women have on Culture globally as well as American Popular Culture and Art. I want people to recognize the impact Black women have on the world and the labor, racism, and sexism we deal with because of it."

Abstract

American Popular Culture is a worldwide phenomenon rooted in the export and import of mediums we deem to a high standard and look to as a means of escapism from the atrocities and tragedies of the world. There have been movements that spring up in pockets globally that draw the attention of a subculture group of people. Those people come together to create an environment that brings them closer together in support of whatever media they have decided to follow throughout their lives. A "fandom" refers to this group of people united around a particular figure in music, film, gaming, or other pop culture scenario. Recently the term "stan culture" has become interchangeable with "fandom." While history can show that artists and philosophers have always cultivated fanbases of admirers and even devoted followers of their craft, the modernized version of fandom can be attributed to something different, something on the precipice of disaster or greatness, it may just depend on the context in which you

see it as such. The purpose of this study is to understand the influence young women of color (WOC) have on the consumption of pop culture and what becomes mainstream in the genre of fandoms. This paper will touch upon the shifts of fan culture within the digital age and how the interactions, behaviors, and racial alienation endanger the mental health and safe spaces that have been established within their fandoms.

Introduction

As a young millennial woman living in America, I have always noticed a huge divide in the way young women of color have been treated when it comes to expressing love for their favorite media form (i.e., music, movies, tv, and film). There is a clear wide divide between women of color and their white counterparts.

There has always been an open secret that women are perceived as "less" or have their opinions invalidated as ridiculous and blown off, and with women of color that is more apparent than ever. I was three years old when I discovered by happenstance, what fandom was, and I did not have the words for this feeling yet. I grew up in the Nineties, a time when (if you ask me) American Pop Culture was arguably at its peak. I remember watching The Mighty Morphin Power Rangers and automatically becoming obsessed. While I was young and maybe not aware of what I was watching, I knew that whenever my mom turned on that tv and on that show specifically I would sit happily and quietly watch. From that

moment on, I had power rangers everything. From bedsheets, to toys, to VHS tapes, clothes, and Halloween costumes, The Power Rangers became my life. Little did I know that ultimately, I was a part of my first fandom, nor did I realize just how important these moments would be into growing up as a young black girl obsessed with popular culture.

Since then, I have been a part of many fandoms and have made great friends within them and built long-lasting relationships because of them, but there is a part of me that absolutely hates fandoms. I hate them because of the alienation that came with being the only black woman existing within these groups. The older I became the more I started to resent fandoms while I simultaneously started to miss that good feeling in my gut of how it feels to make friends because we both liked the same movie or the same band. Recently, I started to think and recollect on growing up in and out of fandoms, I often thought of why people came together in this way. It is not something that is taught to us, it is something that we tend to gravitate towards naturally and I have always found that the way young women come together to celebrate or bond over pop culture to be fascinating. I have also been fascinated by how racism infiltrates so many of our social interactions. Fusing these two fascinations birthed this study of how these two elements constantly clash.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand

the influence young women of color have on the consumption of what becomes mainstream in popular culture and the genre of fandoms. This study will dissect the shifts of fan culture within the digital age and how the interactions and behaviors between young Women of Color (WOC) and white women create a hostile space where WOC fans do not feel welcomed in their specific genres of interest.

This study will also focus on the racial divides and conflict within young women. WOC have continued to operate in their fandoms and internet spaces as "others" within the whole creating a topsy-turvy of strangely tense relationships. The overall intentions of this study are to focus on why women of color (WOC) continue to be excluded from narratives within fandoms and stan culture despite being a number one driving force.

This study will also briefly touch upon how young women consume their forms of media (i.e., music, movies, etc.) to create harmonious communities amongst themselves and other young women. This topic is significant because young Women of Color are never celebrated in the way that they should be. These young women have the demanding work they put into their fandoms stripped from them and they are never credited. The purpose of this study is to highlight their marginalized voices and better understand how damaged on the inside these shared interest communities are. This topic is near and dear to me because I have navigated my digital life for the better part of twenty-five

years and have been in and out of fandoms because of the mistreatment and normalized racist behavior that I have constantly been told to not take seriously. It has and will continue to fascinate me that communities of shared interest where there should be little to no problems are continuously rife with complications.

Key Themes and Issues

Companionship and togetherness in groups of young women was a number one key theme highlighted within this research. Throughout all interviews, the participants emphasized the theme the young women will always come together to uplift one another, create relationships that are deeply intense, full of love, and long- lasting. Another theme was identity in the age of the internet and how young women find themselves through their fandom spaces. Listening to first-person accounts of how fandom taught the participants how to find their voices, how to make them more confident in their expressions, confirmed the goodness in a shared space of mutual interest. However, despite this deep level of mutual respect, there is a translucent bridge of misunderstanding due to racial and ethnic differences. Through this exploration of fandoms through first-person accounts, another common theme across the board highlighted that all the participants held the belief that women of color in fandom spaces are undervalued, disrespected, and pushed aside due to gatekeeping.

Research Concept and Theories

The initial intent for this research was a little self-serving. As stated before, I am a twenty-nine-year-old black woman obsessed with pop culture. I believe that pop culture can be studied under the branch of Cultural Anthropology due to the culture and social groups aka fandoms/standoms that arise. In the beginning, I just wanted to chat with my friends about fandoms, and why they are significant and why they have always been important to the way young women cultivate lanes in which they are allowed full stop for themselves. I have always held a strong conviction in the ideals that young women, especially young Women of Color, are incredibly powerful forces in the way pop culture is consumed in America.

The word "Fan" according to Miriam Websters Dictionary means "An enthusiastic devotee (as of sport or performing art) usually a spectator" and alternatively "An ardent admirer or enthusiast (as of celebrity or a pursuit)"i. The word, however, comes from the long form of Fanatic, the modern Latin *Fanaticus* derived from the noun form of *Fanum,* a term that originally meant relating to a temple or those "inspired" by deities. It is only later that the term applied to mean someone frenzied and mad to the point their body became possessed by a god.

In 2000, the rapper Eminem released a song called "Stan". An eerie fictional tale about a fan who became so obsessed with the rapper he takes the lives of himself and his pregnant girlfriend. The song became a wide phenome of a cautionary tale of the perils of fame, obsessive idle worship and the topsy-turvy of the relationship artist have with their fans. Growing up, being labeled a "Stan" typically meant you were an overzealous fan and needed to take a step back and remember celebrities are just people. But then, there was a shift. The term now despite the negative connotation, has lost all its demonized intent, and now, being a stan is something impasse, as it is so far into our cultural norm to replace the word fan all together. In 2017, the English Oxford Dictionary added the terms to their dictionary, showing the power of language and the unmistakable power fans have whether that be good or bad.

I have never understood why this group of women that I belong to was viewed as people who do not belong. Why is it that black people who are the creators and originators of most art forms always deemed as the other in what is now perceived as a "White" space? Growing up as a black woman in the white "Alternative" spaces, I never felt safe despite being with like-minded people who enjoyed the same bands as me and were friendly. I always felt like the "Easy" target in a space that for years I felt like did not belong to me. In response, I minimized myself to not try and stand out and to not cause problems for myself. Entering fandom spaces as a woman of color should not be as difficult as it is.

This topic of research was birthed because I am tired of feeling the burden of being the only black woman at a Nine Inch Nails show. I am tired of an anonymous person sitting behind their computers calling me or other Women of Color racial slurs because we dare criticize the way the show Doctor Who treated Martha Jones, the show's only ever black woman lead until 2017. Stan culture do not respect the women of color who create amazing work and give out so much emotional labor. Navigating a digital life as a fan is hard enough, but it becomes increasingly harder when you are not a white person.

Participants and Study Site Description

Subjects of the study are twenty young women between the ages of twenty and thirty and they have grown up between the 1990s-2000s. Each woman was asked how they self-identified, there were eleven participants who self-identified as Black or Women of Color, and nine women who self- identified as white. Ten of these women (five WOC and five WW) were selected for interviews while the entire group of women was given the survey. Participants were selected based on their specific interest in forms of American pop culture, their access to social media, and their participation or knowledge of fandoms. Due to the current Covid-19 pandemic, all interviews were virtual.

Interviews took place through the online platform Zoom and E-Mail. Surveys were conducted through a Google form either before

or post the interview taking place. Participants were able to choose their platform to be interviewed for comfortability and three women chose to be interviewed through zoom while the other seven women were interviewed through email. All interviews that took place through zoom were password-protected, recorded with consent, and stored on a personal computer. The email interviews were only between me and the participants.

The pandemic offered a nice sense of comfortability to the zoom interviews because it was nice to see the subjects in their natural elements. I believe that this offered a sense of intimacy that created a natural environment that was not sterile and offered fluidity in the expression where all participants felt comfortable speaking with me and giving me their unfiltered thoughts. Recruitment sources for the participants were based on personal relationships I have with these women and some recruitment took place through contacting them on their social media platforms (i.e., Twitter, Tumblr, and Instagram), reaching out to them through email, or personally texting or calling. Each participant of the study has been personally selected due to the interest in hearing their thoughts of fandom/stan culture, why or why not they participate in them, and their viewpoints on the racial division within fandom spaces on the internet. None of the young women interviewed belonged to a vulnerable population, despite this, their mental health and comfort were willfully and

well-considered.

If participants felt any discomfort during the interview process the interviews would stop. No participants felt uncomfortable with the lines of questioning and all questions by all participants were answered . If participants felt uncomfortable during the questionnaires, they were free to omit their submissions. No survey participants omitted their submissions. Deception was not used in any form in this study. At the beginning of each interview, I read the oral consent script and record the participant's response, and all participants gave their consent to be interviewed and recorded.

As the sole researcher of this study, I made all the initial contact with all participants of the interviews and surveys. I gave all participants a brief overview of the study and if they agreed to participate, I would begin conducting their interviews. For the survey only participants, I gave a brief overview of study and questions and if they agree to participate, give them the questionnaire. There were no costs or compensation for these women participating in this study.

Background Data

I have always been interested in the relationships and bonds young women form with one another over their love of pop culture. In preparation for interviews, I read different forms of internet message boards, reading books that deal with fandoms of younger women, articles on fandom culture pre- and post-internet, scouring through academic

journals, and talking with friends. The most interesting route of navigation about fandom culture in America is the bonds and friendships that arise from finding out you and the girl down the street loved New Kids on the Block. Being a fan of a certain musical artist, film, book, etc., allows the individual self to come together with another being based on a commonality, in shorter terms, it is something so pure and sweet and based on pure instinct.

Fandoms can create homes for outsiders where a person can have new chosen families and have a place of acceptance of their true minds and bodies. While there are countless articles and books written about fandoms and young women camaraderie, the one I found useful for this research study was *Fangirls: Scenes from Modern Music Culture* written by Hannah Ewens (2020). Ewens captures the very essence of what it means to be a fan and be a part of fan culture and how it feels to find a safe space. "In a way, it was like a secret club. Our personal fanclub - one we weren't taught to have but instinctively knew how to create together. No one is taught how to be a fan, it is something that comes natural to the blood and bones and gives someone a sense of purpose, a sense of enjoyment, peace, escapism, and ease, in a tunelessly chaotic world." ii (Ewens 2020, 3).

Ewens' book came at a pivotal time when young people who participate in fan culture were facing an undeniable amount of scrutiny. Participating in fan culture for young women

and LGBT+ communities gives a sense of belonging and creates a nonpoisonous homestead. Victoria, a twenty-four-year-old white woman living in the United Kingdom states: "A lot of people take comfort in being part of something bigger and connecting with people over mutual interests. It becomes a huge part of who they are and their identity. Loving an artist/being part of a fandom, in my experience, has a knock-on effect on other interests in your life (music taste, clothing choice, aesthetic preferences) which is a big part of your self-expression." iii

The term fandom, unbelievably, can be traced to one long living entity that we all seem to be fascinated with, and something incredibly simple. According to Den of Geek, Sherlock Holmes fans are on record for being the first modernized version of fandom in 1893, although I personally would say it would be the admires of classical composers Franz List, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig Van Beethoven who are the pioneers of the fandom genre. Another origin of the term fandom can be attributed to the science fiction and fantasy genres. These were fans that are labeled as "nerds", who came together and bonding over worlds the mainstream media did not understand. The fandom of science fiction dates to the 1930s with roots globally and in 1939, the World Science Fiction Convention was established. The convention is still held today with only the years during the second world war where the convention was not held

(Worldcon). "We're in a time now where more than ever, girls and young queer people create modern mainstream music and fan cultures. They're the ones at the helm of fan practices that the public have a vagueness awareness of tweeting their favorite artist incessantly, writing fan fiction, religiously updating devoted social media profiles, buying 'meet-and-greet' tickets and following the band around to various show dates." iv (Ewens 2020, 5).

Women, queer, and non-binary people take the brunt of the criticism when it comes to the modernized aspects of fan culture. They become villains to the outside forces in a story that they created. It is sometimes baffling how fan culture globally manifests itself as all over the place deep spectrums. Sports fans, a good 99% of them straight-cis males, get away with murder when it comes to voicing their support for their sports teams wins or losses, they get to almost burn the world down because the Green Bay Packers lost 40-2. However, this same extended grace is not extended to people who are not straight-cis males, they are hounded, doxed (a form of internet harassment that puts address, workplaces, and relatives out into the cyber web and at-risk), ridiculed and mocked for having an interest that deviates from what is considered the "norm". In 2013, On the platform Tumblr, the term "reverse racism" became a thing amongst white users on the internet. Reverse racism in highlight, means that white people could face systematic

racial inequalities in the world. I made a post about racism in fandom saying that people of color could not be racist toward whites in fan spaces, but they instead could be prejudiced. The post, went "viral" and white users on the internet hounded me, threatened to expose my identity, harm me, and I was racially abused with the n-word slur. Most of the users who attacked me, were white men who hid behind their computer screens. It has been over eight years and that moment on the internet has continued to stick in my mind as a moment that highlighted how Women of Color are not respected when they call out racism.

Fandoms are spaces where people come together to celebrate and have fun. However, this does not mean they are not without their faults. The people in them can be very cliquish and mean girls, they can make lives of the other fandom members lives living hells if they so choose to. On top of these aspects, the way race operates in these spaces is in short… weird. There is this myth, that because racism does not blatantly manifest itself, because civil rights happened, because we have had a black president twice, that we live in a "post" racial society. That is wholeheartedly a lie. There is nothing post-racial about the society we live in. White people have adopted a colorblind methodology of not "Seeing" race and this spills over into fandom spaces. For this reason, an abundance of background data came from exploring all avenues of the internet, speaking with a diverse group of women, and implying

and exploring my own opinions of race, standoms and how to make sense of these goods concerning social kinship in young women.

Research Methods

This ethnographic study applied ethnographic interviews and questionnaires. All twenty participants of the study were given surveys. Of the twenty women, ten of them were selected for informal and formal interviews. In the informal interviews, we more or less "riffed" the conversations were a grand scheme of what they think about the subculture of fandoms as a whole and what they generally think about in the grand scheme of navigating the internet. Formalized interviews, while structured still held a sense of ease of a fluid conversation.

From a draft of over forty questions that were narrowed down to thirty in total, each participant that was selected to be interviewed via face to face and email were asked a series of fifteen structured questions. Two sets of questions were asked for WOC and for WW. For WOC participants, the questions included were about self-identity (i.e., if they consider themselves women of color), and did they have feelings of alienation and carrying the burden of stress within their respective fandoms due to race. Other than those two deviations, all interviewed participants were asked the same fifteen questions. The survey conducted consisted of sixteen questions that were broadly termed for yes/no/maybe responses and focused on demographic results.

Findings

The survey gave some interesting results in terms of the range of responses the participants provided. I did not believe the results would vary as much as they did. A shocking find was the highest age range was twenty to twenty-four, while the second shocking find was 55% of women (women of color and white) self-identified as stans. This was shocking due to the fact I thought most participants would not self-identify as stans due to the original negative connotation of the word.
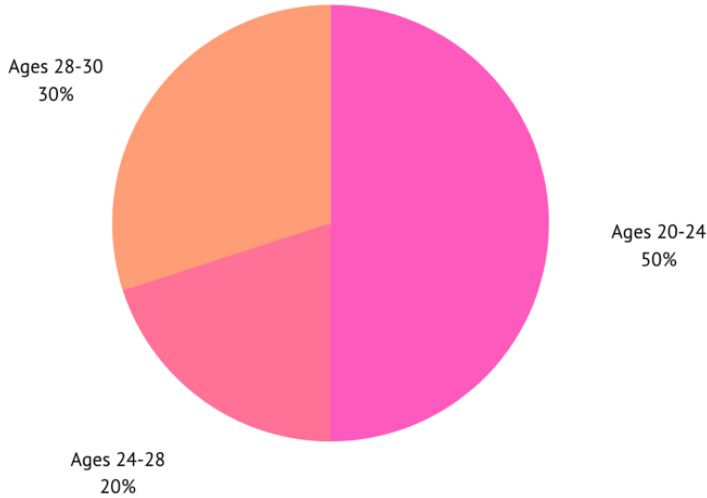

Fig. 1 Pie Graph of age range of Participants. The highest percentage of women surveyed were in between the age ranges of twenty and twenty-four. The second highest percentage of participants came from the age ranges from twenty-eight to thirty, while th least with 20% were the age ranges twenty-four to twenty-eight.
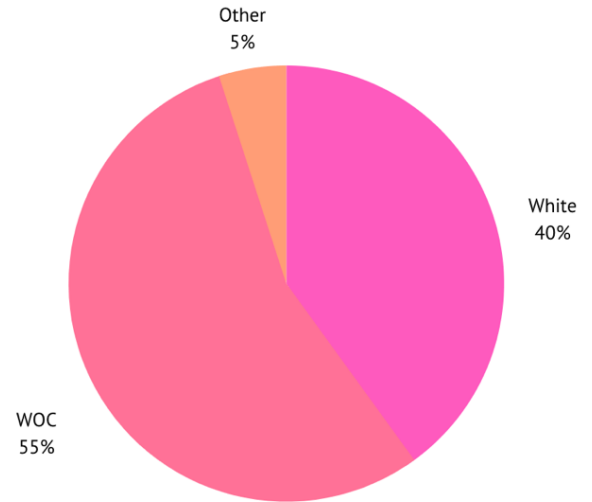

Fig 2. Graph of racial/ethnic background of participants. This graph represents the race/ethnicity of the young women surveyed. The other 5% comes from a participant who did not consider herself a woc, but listed her racial/ethnic identity as Asian instead woc. In fandom spaces, most Asian women identify or categorize themselves as woc.
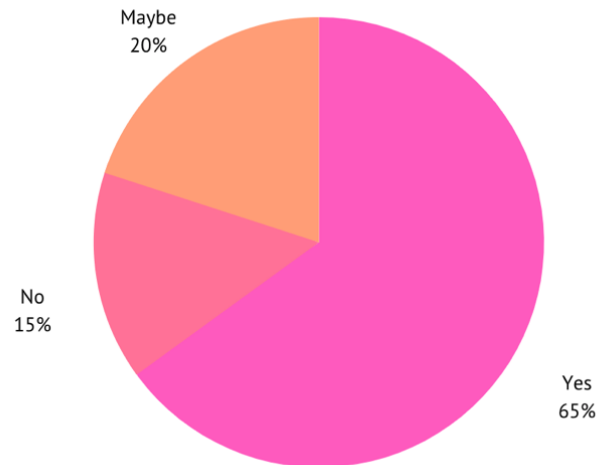

Fig. 3 Graph of who understood the term. 65% of Participants knew the origins and connotations of the word stan while 15% said no and the other 20% said maybe. While the term stan is more commonplace in pop culture, some people still do not know the story and origins of the word.
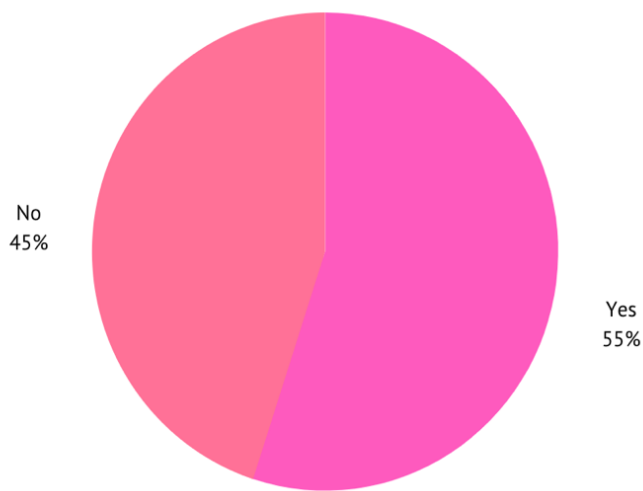
Fig 4. Graph of women who identify as stans. A group of women who self-identified as a stan with 55%, while 45% of women did not identify as Stans. In an overall scheme, this data is significant because it highlights the way the word "stan" now exists as a positive connotation rather than negative.

Data Analysis and Outcomes

To analyze data, content analysis, narrative analysis, and field notes. An in-depth content analysis was conducted in short form listing different hypotheses, listing various news articles, and exploring potential subtopics and points of references. All interviews followed a narrative analysis as I hand-selected women who have led digital lives for quite some time. The participants interviewed have had digital lives for quite some time. The participants interviewed have had digital lives since they were twelve and thirteen and have seen the transformation in fandoms with social media platforms like Tumblr, Twitter, and Instagram. These first-person accounts from women who have been a part of fandoms and have a distinct knowledge of how they function from the outside and inside was a crucial element

to this study.

While focused primarily on WOC, the views of white women were additionally sought out to get a rounded view to inquire about their views on fandom divides and racial division. The research pointed in the direction that young women no matter their backgrounds are, all of them universally understand their power in the way that they express themselves and the influence it has on the consume popular culture in America. Young women are peculiar in a sense that we are told from birth that we are second nature to the man and our thoughts and opinions, while great, ultimately do not matter. However, when interviewing the participants, I was constantly reminded that women are complex, we all have our own thoughts and opinions that come into play when consuming what we like in pop culture. These young women had the ability to critically critique their media consumption while also still being able to have the enjoyment that comes along with being a consumer.

Each woman presented diverse perspectives and highlighted that while yes, a racial division exists and will continue to exist, young WOC and white women, are an integral part of popular culture. They are intelligent, resourceful, and fascinating. Each participant provided a distinct point of view. The women of color who participated in this study offered a collective yet varied view of how racism on the internet and in fandom spaces affects them and the white women gave an in-depth analysis of

their views of the divide.

Interpretation

An interesting element when studying the data for this study unexpectedly came in the form of the current pandemic. Most of America is or should be hunkered down at home trying to stay safe and prevent the spreading of the Covid-19 virus, which means a lot of us are revisiting different forms of media we left by the wayside and that includes checking up on fandoms we used to be a part of. Fandoms as we know though, are not always daises and sunshine. There is a distinct divide that is rife and one that is hardly mentioned and is almost always glossed over.

Racism is rampant in fandom spaces, even more in the digital landscape of the internet, but it is something always spoken about in quite strange ways that borderline gas lighting abusive behavior. According to participants, WOC make up plenty of fandoms and they never get the respect or common courtesy they deserve like their white woman counterparts. WOC are often villainized to unspeakable proportions for daring to speak up and defend themselves against the hatred they receive while trying to exist in the predominantly white fandom spaces.
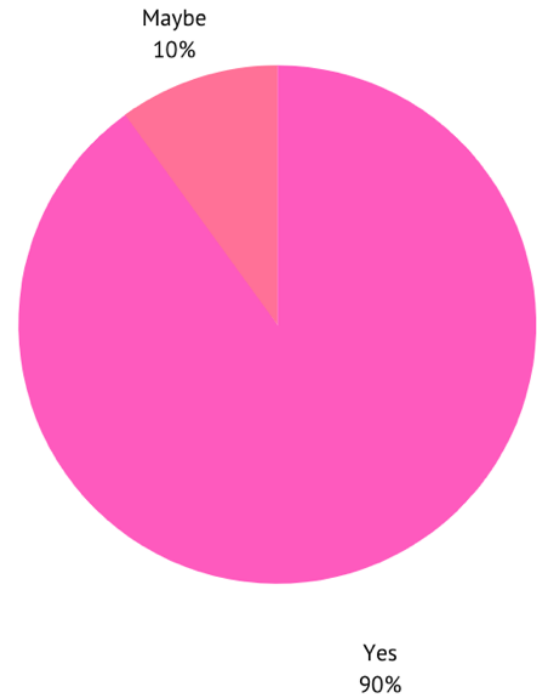
Fig. 5 graph of non-woc who see racial divides in fandoms. An overwhelming 90% of participants agreed that there is a distinct racial divide within fandom/stan spaces.

While most white women assume that there are "woke" and do not "see" race because they are "colorblind" (no one is sure what this phrase even means, although it is used as a descriptor for race), cultural appropriation is another rampant factor in the reasons racial divides exist in the first place. Due to the internet being a vast open space, how language and words carry and transcend to take on new meanings becomes interesting. In spaces where a majority of the participants of fandom are black women , they tend to use AAVE (African American Vernacular English) because it is a language that is shared by these women because of their culture, they understand meanings and intentions and has its own structures of syntax and meaning.

Recently, AAVE terms (i.e., sis, periodt, on fleek, lit, woke, bae, turn up, etc.) have been labeled as "internet slang" stripping away its roots in AAVE because they have been adapted as commonplace via their prevalent use on the internet. When speaking to one subject named Trish, a twenty-two-year-old, Woman of Color from Louisiana, who is heavily into the K-pop fando m highlights that the use of AAVE is excessive: "The K-pop fandom is the main culprit. These folks operate heavily on AAVE and appropriating black American memes into comedic fodder for their marginally talented faves (stan term for favorite artist). Even going as far as to jokingly say they are mixed raced with black to add some element of "coolness" to their personas. Complete foolishness that I admittedly indulged in during my teenage years but soon realized just how detrimental it was."

Carli, a twenty-four-year-old white woman and one of my closest friends from Las Vegas agrees that the use of AAVE becoming commonplace strips the roots and history. She expresses that: "There was a white tiktoker [a video sharing social media platform], a couple of months ago, who said that "Stan language" which is not stan language…using people's you know, slang terminology if we want to simplify it, and saying that it's only exclusive to stans and little white kids? It is appropriation! And I think that you can't constantly use language that is literally exclusive to African Americans and is their own language, it exists in its own form and

people use it incorrectly ALL of the time, but I think white people commonly use slang terms without understanding the context in which it exists in and they use it incorrectly because they think just because they follow black people on the internet they're allowed to use it, and yeah…I am VERY tired of it because it IS cultural appropriation and you're using it wrong." vi

Women of Color are disrespected globally carrying the constant heavy weight attached to their ankles. In fandom spaces, women of color are QUICKLY the villains in narratives for daring to exist and demand they be treated with respect. They are very easily scapegoats and deemed witches for daring to be uncomfortable with racist tropes that are heavily perpetuated in media. When WOC speak out about mistreatment within their fandom spaces, they are the first people to be cast aside. When they speak out about blatant racist writing tropes in their favorite television shows and films, they become hunted and burned and the relationships they have built up over time becoming strained with tension. Racism in fandoms creates a debilitating experience in a space that should be a found home for WOC, we never know how speaking out will be received by our group and how the perception of us will change.
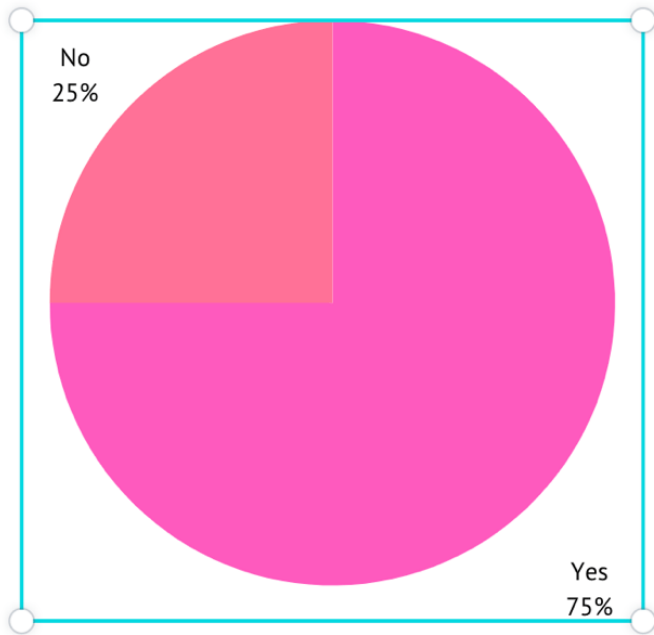
Fig. 6 Graph of racism in fandom culture.
This graph represented the group who identified as WOC who felt that underlying issues of racism in fandoms/stan culture exists.

Racism makes people uncomfortable. That is simple, that is a fact. No one likes to talk about race, because when you talk about race, people assume the position of their personal character being under attack. This is an element that holds so much weight and is heightened when it comes to fandom spaces.Everyone assumes the space of camaraderie and kinship of their found family, based on their one or single commonalities, but as soon as a single difference is pointed out, all hell breaks loose. Trish highlights the racism and burden she carries while navigating being a black woman in the wrestling fandom: "I feel this the most within the wrestling fandom, which is predominantly composed of white straight men. my entire life I have been a wrestling fanatic and I have an intense love/hate relationship

with it. I will defend the sport till I am blue in the face and drag all its problematic aspects in the same breath. hell, the reason I've dealt with the racism, sexism, and overall asshole-ism (shoutout John Waters) of many performers is because I actually do CARE to see it become more inclusive one day." vii

The media also plays a pivotal role in the racial division in fandoms. The way non-white artist gets covered in in magazines is always in such a that downplay their craft. When thinking of an artist like Taylor Swift, her fandom rallies around her white womanhood that journalists feed into. When Swift encounters any sort of criticism for the way she curates her image within the media, her fandom is quick to go for the jugular and it is usually aimed at Women of Color . Women of Color are incredibly hypercritical about Swift's image and the way she constructs it, because it is rooted in this bizarre output of a white damsel in disguise, one that needs saving and everyone she encounters who do not fall at her whim and beck, can be destroyed, and her stans eat this with a knife, fork, and spoon. Journalist Ellie Woodward has chronicled Taylor's habit of playing the victim throughout her entire career, highlighting the way her stans come at WOC on social media platforms with such an incredible level of rage that is always 100% immediately racial. None of them ever go for a simple joke about your parents or how you are maybe not the most intelligent, it is always a very hurtful racial abusive comment.

Stans, good or bad can sometimes either create toxic spaces on social media sites or they can create spaces of welcoming and love, there is no gray level.

For me, this study highlighted an abundance of ideas I have been sitting on like a festering wound. 2020 was a year that was just…terrible. From a global pandemic to constant atrocities such a climate change and constant fires, to constant battles for black lives, 2020 has felt like one incredibly long overdrawn out novel that is not interesting anymore for any of its readers. When interviewing the women of color participants, I remembered that while we deal with racism in these spaces, it has still been a valid source of self-expression, that has allowed us to thrive in other avenues of life. Speaking to Maya, A twenty-six-year-old woman of color who is a high school teacher from Tennessee and a self-proclaimed comic nerd with veteran fandom experience, she stresses that fandoms and pop culture have been an integral point to her career as an academic: "Fandom for me was when I had started to, understand that I could use my degree [in English] in a different way, like for me, it was me going a solid two years of going and applying my knowledge and understanding of pop culture to do academic work." viii

For me, this study bridged a gap of me being able to use my knowledge about pop culture and fandoms and bring them into my space academically as a Cultural Anthropologist. I believe that pop culture can be studied

academically to provide more context to understand American Culture and our socialization in groups. Fandom has given me a lot of space to analyze the space pop culture can exist in academic settings that are not silly.

Conclusions and Potential Applications

Racial harmony in fandoms is a prized commodity, meaning, once you find a group who accepts and understand your race/ethnicity as something that is a part of your identity, you grow to learn that skin color difference does not take away from the shared experience or bond that fans created in the fandom space. In "Media Messages: What Film, Television, Popular Music, Teach Us About Race and Sexual Orientation", Linda Holtzman and Leon Sharpe write: "We learn about the characteristics of the groups were a part of, including our religion, our gender, where we were born and grew up, our race, our socioeconomic class, and our sexual orientation. We also learn about the identity and characteristics of individuals and groups that are different from us. This learning occurs at a time in our childhood when the sources who provide the information are well-meaning people who love us, so this information gets translated as "the truth" in our minds and in our hearts. Invariably, some of the observations we make and the facts we receive are solid and accurate, but other information is based on misunderstanding, misinformation, missing information, bias and ignorance." ix

This quote resonates because social interaction is the foundation for every single human interaction. Every single adult in our lives gives us the building blocks on how to shape our interactions with other humans, and in fandom, the sense of community only extends so far. What happens when these adults are hateful towards another group of people because of the way their skin color differs? That becomes an apparatus that needs to be dismantled from the core and restructured so those differences are not negatives but instead can coexist instead of being ignored. In some fandom/stan spaces, some stans do not venture out of their little bubble, they carefully create and curate an online experience that is tailored to revolve around their fave artist. They do not deal with what they perceive as outsiders, thus living under a rock. This group of people shields themselves from any outside world that can include anyone different from them, by proxy creating tension because they do not want to venture outside of a world, that they know and is filled with people they know.

Coming to the end of the study, I asked each participant if they believed stan culture crossed boundaries (telling strangers or artists to kill themselves, throwing our racial slurs, doxing etc.) and if it is good for mental health. Existing digitally is inherently rough, the internet is open, anyone and everyone has access to you no matter how much you believe you curate a space that is private. Fandoms existing in the age of social media causes a

tricky conundrum that WOC have learned to steer through with a level of expert sophistication. Women of Color will always look out for each other and keep each other safe from the online perils of vicious hate that is directed at them from outside fandoms and even fandoms they are a part of.
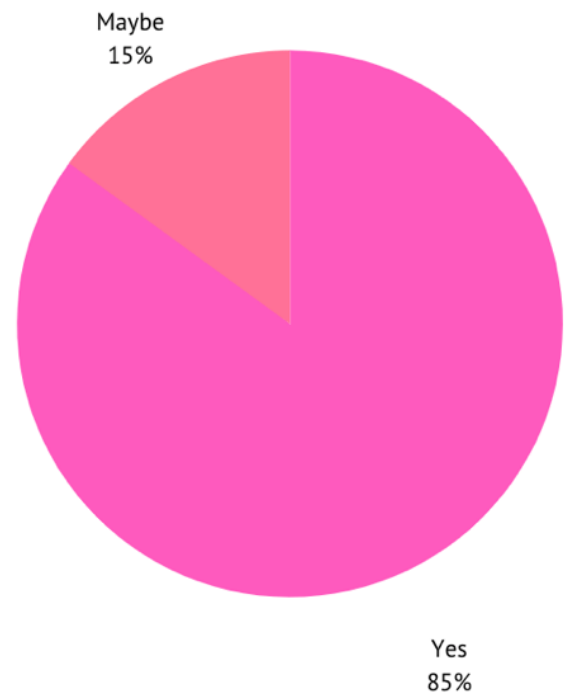
Fig. 7 Graph of crossed boundaries. 85% of participants believe that stan cross boundaries on the internet.

Fandom in the digital age brings new realms in which fans can "communicate" with their faves (stan term for favorite artist). Social media sites such as Twitter and Instagram heighten the element of parasocial relationships causing certain stans to believe that the time they have invested in their fandom means they
have put in the time and effort to earn the attention of their faves and sometimes they will do anything to get it. Boundaries on the

internet, especially on social media websites like Twitter, are already abnormal because it is the internet. How can boundaries exist for something that is vastly wide and open? No one has the proper answers to this question.

Future Research

There are questions for this research that I still have and would like to explore in the future. While here the demographic of women studied were young, I would like to explore possibilities of researching and studying older WOC about their views of fandom and internet culture. Older WOC are a beacon of how to navigate life because they have experienced different subcultures, they have experienced different sorts of vile racism, and they have learned to build themselves differently to carry their weight of being and existing as woc in America.

Another point of future interest would be an exploration of racial divides between women of color. While WOC are nine out of ten commonly grouped as a term of nonwhite, there is also a divide between Black women and non-Black women (women who are mixed race, other ethnic/racial backgrounds such as Asian, South East Asian, Pacific Islander, Maori, etc.) in fandom spaces that is just intense as the divide between WW and WOC. This, however, becomes tricky due to the ethnic background of WOC who are mixed race.

Something complex this study left me wondering was about the center of the internet or rather stan culture holding and continue to

become more commonplace. In other words, can the rapid intensity and fast pace changing of stan culture with all the boundaries crossed, continue to be acceptable without a reckoning of checked behavior? Pop culture will always go through rapid changes. Another point of interest I would like to explore is the sustainability of stan culture. Each participant of the study were asked if they believe stan culture is sustainable. Fandoms have always endured and will continue to hold, however; it is the intensity of stan culture that often leads me to wonder just what can come of it.
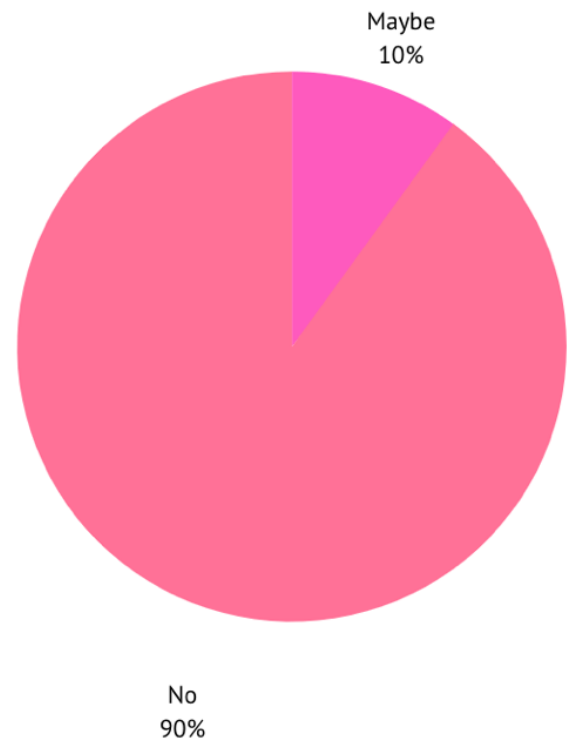

Fig 8. Graph on the sustainability of stan culture. 90% of participants believe that stan culture questions whether stan culture is sustainable or not.

This survey result surprised me. It surprised me because stan culture is essentially a subsection of fandom, so it was surprising to see most participants say no. Stan as a term in the cultural lexicon has become commonplace, with no meaning that is negative or positive now. There is still a small subset group of stans that hold the negative obsessive connotation and it will be interesting to see how they continue to operate in the digital and real world.

There is absolutely no doubt that young women are shakers that attract attention in popular culture, that is a given. They express themselves and consume thei r forms of media in powerful ways that gain attention and power. To be a fan is to be curious, to explore, to find some beacon of light and fandom brings these elements together in beautiful ways. Women of Color in fandom spaces are a crucial undervalued element. They are just as passionate and creative about things that they love, they deserve to take up large spaces in fandoms. Fandoms are supposed to be spaces for everyone despite their differences, and fandom participants need to do right by the Women of Color that exist in them.

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The Problem with Tissue Harvesting in Los Angeles County Morgues

Leslie Gomez

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Leslie Gomez, and I am a Biological Anthropology major in my senior year at CSUDH. I chose to write about the controversy within tissue harvesting because I hope to see future changes made within the medical industry to give the public a more informed perspective on where their harvested tissues go, as well as prioritizing criminal investigations over non-life-saving tissue donations. The balancing act of medical necessities and social morals is difficult , but I believe with more knowledge and conversation it can be done. "

Within a forensic context, it is vital to carefully preserve all evidence located at a crime scene for an effective autopsy to conclude the most probable cause of death of the victim. Providing evidence to support that an individual's cause of death was in fact a homicide allows the authorities, and the court of law, to proceed with the conviction of felons, and provide a safer community. However, what if the most vital pieces of evidence, such as tissue, are taken before a county coroner can examine an individual's remains? Being unable to identify a probable cause of death due to incomplete remains leaves a family without answers and leads to a suspected felon walking free. This issue is becoming more common as L.A County area morgues allow organ donation companies in to fulfill their need for tissue. Instead of placing the justice for an individual and their family first, many tissue donation companies take advantage of the available cadavers. By analyzing various sources, the allowance for procurement companies to invade L.A. County morgues should be under question.

The lack of respect for the guidelines set up between the morgue and tissue harvesting companies creates repercussions for countless criminal cases and leaves the victims of families without closure.

The appearance of organ donation and tissue recovery agencies in L.A. morgues is not new. Ever since the procedure of transplanting was mastered, the need to locate donors, to save lives, has become a vital importance. To save a life by transplant, many factors are considered such as the blood type, the distance between the donor's location and recipient's location, body size, and many other contributing factors (HRSA, 2017). These conditions are specifically for organs; however, the probability of this criteria being met on a frequent nature is, unfortunately, not very common. Due to this reason the number of registered participants on the waiting list for an organ transplant as of 2018 was 188,918, with the number of applicable donors being 17,553 (HRSA, 2019). Nonetheless, this does not hinder procurement companies. Instead, their primary target is harvesting tissue from donors. Harvested tissue can be accepted by most individuals, applied towards numerous procedures, and the harvested material can be processed and stored for an extended period, if the transplant does not occur within the allotted 24-hour timeframe (HRSA, 2020). Since harvested tissue has endless uses, procurement companies seek to obtain as much of this material as possible, however their intentions

are not as pure as people believe. Due to unregulated practices, county morgues have become procurement companies' primary focuses to seek their "desperately" needed materials.

The Practice of Consent

Turning to morgues for tissue seems like a novel idea with little to no draw backs. However, one common problem facing these companies is the practice of consent. Who gives the right of consent to companies to take an individual's remains? In current day standards, donation companies have an easier time taking your tissue if an individual has consented to be a donor before death. However, these companies fail to inform individuals that if their body is involved in a criminal matter, their organs or tissue can legally be taken even if it means that the investigation will be destroyed (Petersen, 2019). Even individuals who have not consented to be a donor have little protection because their decisions can be overturned by their next of kin. In most cases, procurement companies convince grieving family members to allow their staff to harvest, but do not inform them of the repercussions if their relatives body is involved in a criminal case (Petersen, 2019). The right to give consent has always been a delicate matter, and over many decades the United States has struggled to create a law that is equally fair across all platforms (Orentlicher 2009, 302). When this issue first arrived, the states saw the formation of the statute known as "presumed consent" in

the late 1960's (Orentlicher 2009, 302). Under the statute of presumed consent, the state assumes that a person agreed to procurement after death unless the deceased or family member files against it within a timely manner (Orentlicher 2009, 295). This statute was initially used for the harvesting of corneas; however, some states elected to utilize it for organ retrieval as well (Orentlicher 2009, 303-304). The states election to utilize this policy would eventually create countless complications between the public and the law, since some would claim that the right of consent was being given to the state or county morgue rather than family (Orentlicher 2009, 303-304). Presumed consent being handed to the county morgue would not seem like an issue, but within the parameters of a suspicious death, the statute of presumed consent could be used to legally bypass the morgue. To all donation companies, this practice became a novelty. Procurement companies could claim that the harvesting of a cadaver's remains was under the protection of presumed consent for both registered and non-registered donors. However, the statute of presumed consent began to be called into question for several of its flaws, the most prominent being was that its foundation was built on the defective assumption of organ donation decisions (Orentlicher 2009, 309). With viable tissue and organs at stake, achieving a firm consent by the correct party could be legally avoided. These companies with personal interests have

blatantly ignored the rights of families and the cases relying on physical evidence. The traction presumed consent' gained because of its open-ended parameters began to unwind the very fabric of the statute's existence, and a needed revision of this policy was overdue.

The policy regarding consent for obtaining organs or tissue after death needed more clear-cut guidelines. Procurement had developed too many corner-cutting techniques to obtain their "required" human materials. States were placing the value of organs and tissue retrieval over the justice of the deceased, and even the rights a family has to peace of mind. Already existing was the Uniform Anatomical Gift Act (UAGA), which was written in 1968 to set up regulations for the donation of organs; however, the illustrated parameters of who could consent were vague, and states were creating the presumed consent guidelines (Zee 2008, 533-534). Upon the UAGA's revision in 1987, presumed consent became the official elected procedure of organ and tissue procurement with over two-thirds of the states electing to officially adopt the practice of presumed consent (Orentlicher 2009, 300). This official adoption of presumed consent under the UAGA was the official policy for many years, and the official expulsion of this practice would not come until 2006. However, despite the eventual discontentment of the law, procurement companies would find a way to keep the law on their side.

Medical Examiner Laws and Duties Under Revision

Within the procurement industry of human materials, the morgue has become a chief player. Not only is existing consent by the deceased or next of kin needed to obtain organs or tissues, but it is also the medical examiner, who in some cases, needs to provide consent for the release of the body (Timmermans 2002, 558). To the public, the duties of the county death investigator is viewed as important, considering that their findings could lead to a conviction. However, the duties of medical examiners and coroners have been placed under scrutiny by procurement companies to justify their access to all cadavers held within the morgue.

The uniformity between the county morgue and donation companies has always been a delicate relationship. Despite the hold presumed consent had, procurement companies still required the approval of the morgue, in some cases. This practice seems fair since the morgue is still allowing procurement companies to conduct their business. However, the allowance that companies had been given in the rewritten 1987 version of the UAGA was deemed "not enough." In 2003, the Association of Organ Procurement Organizations asked the Uniform Law Commission, an influential group of volunteer lawyers appointed by state governments, to rewrite the UAGA to inhibit coroners from stopping the process of organ and tissue harvesting before an autopsy

(Petersen and Willman, 2019). The allowance of taking organs or tissue before an autopsy carries a possibility that the most key piece of evidence in a murder investigation would be missing, and lead to a "not guilty" when the verdict should be "guilty". Despite the drawbacks, the Uniform Law Commission agreed to rewrite the section of the UAGA regarding coroner cooperation without consulting the National Association of Medical Examiners, and eventually lead to it being passed in 2006 by most states (Petersen and Willman, 2019). The debate of who gets primary access has been a long quarrel since the partnership between morgues and procurement companies began. Most would agree that the rights of the deceased are just as important as protecting the lives of patients waiting for a transplant. Unfortunately, this is not the case, and the successful passage of the rewritten UAGA in 2006 was in part due to procurement companies convincing lawmakers that precuring organs and tissue from cadavers would cause many more deaths on the transplant waiting list (Petersen and Willman, 2019).

The argument of placing the value of life on a high or equal pedestal to the value of justice for the dead is no new sentiment by procurement company lobbyists and has been utilized before in hopes that procuring all human material would swing in their favor. The same situation can be seen in 1999 by Teresa J. Shafer, affiliate with LifeGift Organ Donation

Center in Texas, who openly argued that since organ and tissue donation had the potential to save lives, procurement companies "act from an ethically superior position," and therefore medical examiners should be releasing organs and tissue regardless (Timmermans 2002, 562). The debate over whether the dead in a criminal case holds priority in matters of life or death for an individual on the transplant list has been a long-debated issue. However, this argument is used by donation companies simply as their way to procure as much organ and tissue material as possible. Their tenacious attitude is seen as heroic, in some respects, because they are doing everything within their power to gain an organ or tissue to extend someone's life, but their true intentions lay in the lucrative body market that remains unsupervised.

Harvested Parts Become a Commodity

The true question that should be asked is why do these procurement companies want access to every single body within the county morgue? The answer is completely simple, money. Donation companies are not bending the rules to save more lives; instead, they are bending existing guidelines solely for the purpose of having more organs and tissue to sell and gain a profit. The profit is not merely at a local level achieving small doses of cash, but rather the harvesting of body parts in county morgues is now supplying these so called "charitable" organ and tissue companies to step on the international stage making millions of dollars.

Where are all the organs, and tissues going that are being harvested by these procurement companies? Years after the revised UAGA law passed in 2006, the harvesting revenue from these procurement companies has increased more than 88%, but most of the harvested material did not go to patients waiting for a transplant (Petersen and Willman, 2019). Instead of working to extend the lives of thousands of patients who are in desperate need of a transplant, the procurement companies have moved to selling their inventory of human remains onto a global scale for the use of making a good profit. This international free market that has been opened is considered a million-dollar business, with most of its revenue coming from morgues who have not consented to the procurement of organs (Scheper- Hughes 2002, 64). The tissue from these cadavers were either donors who consented but were unaware of what would be done with their organs, or individuals who became donors via family approval, but were also uninformed on what would be done (Scheper-Hughes 2002, 64). A study in 2017 investigating the amount of American tissue being exported overseas by procurement companies revealed that neighboring countries, such as Canada, have such an available amount of access to Americans body parts that their own procurement banks do not even bother attempting to find donors within their own country (Petersen, 2019). The study also found that skin imports from dead Americans jumped

to 25% in 2012 and was estimated to have a similar double-digit increase consecutively for many years following (Petersen, 2019). Procurement companies stated that they needed more access to organs within the morgue because thousands of patient lives were in jeopardy, but their true intentions behind this push was to fuel the overseas market that has been created. The transactions that U.S procurement companies are engaging with internationally is unfortunately legal, but ethically, they are sacrificing the justice of potential victims for lining their pockets with millions of dollars.

A single human body holds great wealth, and for procurement companies, the concern over harvesting organs and tissue for patients is not a primary focus anymore. Besides creating an international organ traffic trade for wealth, it has also been discovered in recent reports that the typical harvested material such as bone, skin, fat, ligaments, and other important tissues is being sold and allocated to Biotech companies (Petersen and Willman, 2019). Within their scheme of recruiting individuals to become donors or convincing family members to give consent to their deceased family member's remains, these procurement companies are failing to provide information that the harvested material will most likely end up as lip fillers or fat injectors.

The practice of enhancing the human body by surgical or filler enhancement has seen a skyrocketing trend in the United States, and the

science to find what works best for these procedures has led to the utilization of human sourced materials. Since procurement companies have the greatest access to human bodies with their stake in the county morgue, these biotech companies have set up a lucrative partnership and are willing to pay a large sum of money for any parts that can be acquired. As of right now, biotech companies are willing to pay, on average, $434 US for a half-teaspoon of human skin (Petersen, 2019). The entire human body has become a valuable commodity to corporations, and recent reports reveal that just a single human body can supply enough raw material worth roughly $39,024 US (Petersen, 2019). These companies are willing to pay top dollar to acquire fresh human material for experimental trials and supply already existing products. Nevertheless, these companies could care less where their inventories were acquired and if these cadavers were misinformed or if their families were uninformed about where their relatives' body material would be utilized. Procurement companies have strayed from their original purpose of acquiring donations for individuals in desperate need of a transplant and have instead decided to dismiss the respect for the dead and use their parts in a highly profitable money-making scheme.

Untrained and Underfunded Forensic Science

The concerns and evidence that stands against donation companies in the county morgue is without a doubt well known to the

community of forensic sciences, but the public is purposely kept ignorant because these companies want as many individuals as possible to consent to donation, solely for the purpose of making their job of organ and tissue procurement easier. The pressing question that must now be asked is why are procurement companies still in the morgue if they are causing such a problem? Part of the answer lies in the fact that the morgue does not have the funding or resources to function efficiently on its own. Within the county morgue, there are on average over four hundred bodies in crypts, and in most of these cases the morgue is unable to meet the minimum 90-day window to complete an autopsy (Sewell, 2016). In 2016, the Los Angeles County Civil Grand Jury concluded that the Department of the Medical Examiner is extremely understaffed in coroner investigator and laboratory positions, which is creating a significant backlogging to where the coroner's office is close to losing its accreditation (Sewell, 2016). Despite their difference of opinion, medical examiners and coroners have had no choice but to rely heavily on procurement company staff to assist them in the workplace setting (Petersen, 2019). Not having the staff to keep up with the number of bodies being shipped in morgues has forced a partnership with procurement companies and has unfortunately furthered the issue of investigations being upended by unfinished autopsies caused by early organ and tissue harvesting.

An agreed unity set up between the morgue and procurement companies seems like a long-needed partnership considering that both parties need each other to fulfill their work. Donation companies need the tissue that is within the cadavers, and medical examiners utilize the staff given to them to help aid in documenting an autopsy. However, the problem with this partnership is the fact that the staff from procurement companies have no type of forensic or anatomy training, and yet they are entrusted to document the body and all human material removed when harvesting from cadavers (Petersen, 2019). The morgue is trusting staff to document potential signs of foul play, but they would not be able to know the difference between what is normal and what is not if they have no pathology training. The inability of staff to assess foul play is why some individuals do not trust the results from the morgue in criminal proceedings. The staff from procurement companies are then also used to testify on behalf of the morgue as "knowledgeable experts" in court settings since these outside employees were the ones to see the body firsthand (Petersen, 2019). A formal autopsy seems quite rare now except for special circumstances, but now every other individual's fate for potential justice is left in the hands of an untrained employee, whose primary focus is to retrieve human material and not to document crucial evidence. The probability that evidence could be tainted or mishandled is remarkably high, so why does this process still take place?

The answer is that some coroners and medical examiners firmly state that procurement before an autopsy does not jeopardize an investigation since the photos and documents taken by the employees is enough to draw a "reasonable conclusion" to the probable cause of death (Petersen, 2019). Also, if foul play is detected by the employees, the work is to stop, and the medical examiner must be notified immediately (Petersen, 2019). Even despite this rule existing, the procurement companies have no loyalty to the county morgue and obtaining their needed human materials to fulfill their companies needs takes a higher precedent and is reflected in the countless cases gone unsolved in L.A. County due to procurement destroying physical evidence from the deceased.

Investigations Destroyed in L.A. County

In the case of a homicide or any type of criminal case where signs of foul play are suspected, it is crucial for all lines of evidence to be carefully preserved and cataloged accordingly to conclude the most probable cause of death. However, the revised edition of the UAGA has taken this guideline and thrown it away when the deceased has elected to, or if a family member gives consent for a donation to proceed. Organ and tissue donation has taken precedent in almost all cases within the county morgue, and these procurement companies claim that their involvement does not affect the medical examiner's ability to draw a reasonable conclusion, but records of unsolved cases provide convincing evidence against this claim.

The good will nature of procurement companies is a screen that companies hide behind to obtain the quota of human material they "desperately" need. However, recent investigations have presented that in L.A. County alone, more than two dozen cases were found where coroners were unable to conclude why or how the person died due to procurement companies harvesting the cadaver (Petersen, 2019). Several cases have been lost, but without the evidence from the cadavers in those cases, it is nearly impossible to source how many exist (Petersen, 2019). However, the documented cases that present evidence losses due to procurement teams do provide support in the argument that donation companies are upending investigations and hindering the medical examiner's ability to conclude a probable cause of death.

One of these cases includes that of Guillermo Valencia who was found in an East Los Angeles alley with a huge gash on the back of his head (Petersen, 2019). Despite substantial evidence, a procurement company known as OneLegacy received consent from Valencia's relatives to proceed with harvesting his remains. After the procedure was done, the medical examiner, Louis Pena, noted "internal injuries" but could not conclude if it were evidence of foul play or markings left behind by OneLegacy employees since almost all internal organs had been cleared out (Petersen, 2019). The practice of procurement companies

in L.A. County has clearly become a process of doing more harm than good. The case of Guillermo Valencia is one of dozens where grieving families were misinformed about how organ and tissue procurement could jeopardize a criminal case. These cases provide even more compelling towards the argument that organ companies efforts are in fact harming criminal investigations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, procurement companies have been vocalized to the public as heroes because they are working hard to "save" patients in desperate need of transplants. The alleged heroism these companies have advertised is often heavily exaggerated. Procurement companies have a long history of cutting corners to twist the legality of consent in their favor and have worked hard to ensure the county morgues are their mines to harvest "needed" human materials. Prior to death, these companies fail to inform registered donors and families who give consent to donation that in the case of foul play, the probability of their case being solved is almost non-existent. Also, procurement companies fail to inform these individuals that most of the harvested material from the deceased will be going to products of fat and collagen fillers or be used to make a profit in the international market that procurement companies have set up. Many donation companies have their own agenda within the industry of organ and tissue procurement and satisfying these personal

interests have come at the cost of justice for the deceased in L.A. County morgues and scrutinizing the duties of the forensic community.

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Legacy of the Kuay Research Proposal

Kevin Keo

He/Him/His

"My name is Kevin Keo and I am a senior here at CSUDH. I am an Anthropology Major with a concentration in Archaeology, I also have a minor in Asian Pacific Studies. My main interest is in Cambodian Archaeology, with a particular focus on upland ethnic groups. I hope to continue researching the Kuay well into graduate school so that I may showcase that Southeast Asia is not a monolith and is filled with many different people that aren't defined by nationalistic borders."

The Kuay are an upland tribal group residing in their ancestral homeland of the Phnom Dek region of Cambodia. The Kuay have long been thought to be the artisans who produced the various iron products made for the Angkor empire. This "Iron Kuay hypothesis" is the most prevalent regarding understanding the socio-economic intricacies of iron production in the Angkorian Empire. I hypothesize that there was a specific temple structure that either employed the Kuay as trade partners or as enslaved workers to produce these materials for the empire. This relationship between the Khmer and the Kuay would ensure the livelihood of both parties and would inadvertently shape their interactions for centuries to come. Using the current knowledge of Angkorian economics and the modern-day patrimonial system, I will investigate the ancient socio-economic relationship between the two groups.

One of the major regional centers in the Angkor Empire, Preah Khan of Kompong Svay (henceforth shortened to Preah Khan) has been analyzed for decades for its art and architecture, but only recently has it been researched for its possible use as an

industrial and urban center. Dr. Mitch Hendrickson and the INDAP team investigate this in their paper "Reimagining the City of Fire and Iron: A Landscape Archaeology of the Angkor-Period Industrial Complex of Preah Khan of Kompong Svay, Cambodia (ca. 9th to 13th Centuries A.D.).", while their research states that Preah Khan does not support large scale industrial work, the structure was likely the outpost to maintain a Khmer presence near the Phnom Dek mountain. This would allow the local Khmer elite to more easily strongarm native Kuay to meet the needs of the Empire, than if they were a distant centralized power. There is also the possibility that Preah Khan was a separate political entity controlled by the Kuay as the site is markedly different from other Angkor urban centers. Despite Preah Khan's proximity to Phnom Dek, there is not enough evidence to support industrial levels of production due to the lack of fuel and water resources. This study has recreated the map of Preah Khan and from it, we can construct more meaningful interpretations of the feature, however the work is far from over. While we can infer that Khmer elites occupied and saw to the operation of the temple, work still needs to be done as to who supplied the iron materials to the temple.

Historical accounts of Kuay metalwork are some of the only resources we have left of the technological practice, as past experts and practitioners are dying out. Hendrickson et al have identified several smelting styles in their work "Smelting in the Shadow of the Iron Mountain: Preliminary Field Investigation of the Industrial Landscape around Phnom Dek, Cambodia (Ninth to Twentieth Centuries A.D.)". This leads me to believe that there was competition between groups to produce this resource, or that the patronage system was decentralized enough to allow for multiple groups in the region to establish a variety of smelting practices. Pryce et al.'s work "The Iron Kuay of Cambodia: Tracing the Role of Peripheral Populations in Angkorian to Colonial Cambodia via a 1200-Year-Old Industrial Landscape." compounds this information and tries to establish technological continuity between the archaic Angkor style and the historic Kuay style. The research from both articles shows that one of the styles found in "Smelting in the Shadow of the Iron Mountain: Preliminary Field Investigation of the Industrial Landscape around Phnom Dek, Cambodia (Ninth to Twentieth Centuries A.D.)" is similar to the historic Kuay style. However, despite this similarity, there is not enough evidence to cement a technological continuity. Another aspect we must consider is the ritual practices associated with Kuay smelting, an example in which the technological practice is similar, but the ritual is different is Hendrickson et al's study "Forging Empire: Angkorian Iron Smelting, Community and Ritual Practice at Tonle Bak.". The site is in proximity to Phnom Dek and has extensive evidence of prolonged occupation.

. The Tonle Bak site is consistent with Kuay metallurgical practices in the furnace shape and structure but differs in the way the slag mounds were created, and the evidence of ritual practice is different from what is recorded for the Kuay. Hendrickson et al believe the difference in ritual practice could be due to environmental conditions. "Lacking detailed historical documents on iron production, we must consider the influences of resource- and culturally derived factors in generating different scales of production over time and space." (Hendrickson et al, 2017). One of the biggest obstacles in this research of excavating sites is the lack of prolonged occupation in any of the sites. It is understandable then that nothing has yet been confirmed regarding the Angkorian Kuay hypothesis.

My objective is to determine the validity of Preah Khan being an economic hub for the Angkor Empire, I aim to do this utilizing maritime archaeology methods as well as transport archaeology for terrestrial routes. Preah Khan has terrestrial routes to Angkor, and while Hendrickson researched the routes, I believe that further research will be invaluable to our understanding. Hendrickson focused on the terrestrial routes to Angkor, but proposed it was periphery settlements that supplied the iron goods to Preah Khan, so through remote sensing techniques such as LIDAR we will be able to see if there are routes to previously unknown settlements. One of the issues that Hendrickson faced, and I will as well, is the

sheer number of unexploded ordnance leftover from the Khmer Rouge will impede any traditional forms of surveying. It is known that goods and materials were transported with barges on tributary routes, maritime archaeology would allow us to see if there are remnants of these barges residing along these routes. Using a remotely operated vehicle or ROV, I plan to scan the waterways near Preah Khan for archaeological material such as shipwrecks. The canal at Prasat Preah Stung is one of the waterways that should be analyzed, and hopefully, evidence such as finished iron goods or processed iron will be found. Identifying further waterways will be done during the field session. The waterways are likely still in use today, so this will be an obstacle for the ROV. Another obstacle this method has is the timing in which the field session occurs, if it is during the monsoon season the floodwaters may decrease the visibility of the riverbed. This research needs to identify Kuay made goods to have a baseline idea of its chemical composition. Stéphanie Leroy of the French National Centre for Scientific Research is currently undertaking this project, and my research will undoubtedly be of aid to it. My work will undoubtedly be tied to hers as she is a part of the INDAP project and any artifacts that I find will be sent along with her to the French National Centre for Scientific Research for chemical analysis. The bulk of the iron products that she has under study are the iron crampons used in

monumental architecture, so any artifacts that are found will be the same type. Once that is done, we can cross analyze previously excavated materials to build a comprehensive catalog of artifacts, and it is with the hope that we can identify which artifacts were produced by the Kuay. Once we find out that information, we can trace routes that these goods traveled from.

The results of this research will contextualize the Angkor Empire as a whole, as we will understand the socio-political role of the iron industry and the relations between the Khmer and Kuay that resulted from it. The Kuay have been a part of the history of Cambodia for at least if the Khmer have inhabited Southeast Asia even longer, and their impact should not be diminished. It is especially important in the present day that their presence is not ignored as they are slowly losing their cultural identity as they are being assimilated to the Khmer populace.

Through my research, I will argue that Khmer elites utilized Preah Khan of Kompong Svay as an economic hub to collect iron goods from local Kuay populations to redistribute across the Angkor Empire through tributary and terrestrial routes. Using remotely operated vehicles, Angkor waterways will be scanned for archaeological material that would otherwise go unnoticed. Terrestrial routes will be examined using remote sensing techniques such as LIDAR to construct a current map and identify routes from Preah Khan to Kuay

settlements. The Kuay have been an underrepresented group in Cambodian history and scholarship, it is with the hope that this research showcases the Kuay in such a way that their cultural identity is preserved and perpetuated.

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Late Preclassic to Early Classic Maya Transition and Patterns

Astrid Molina

She/Her/Hers

"My name is Astrid Molina, and I am a senior at CSUDH. My major is in Anthropology with a focus in Biological Anthropology and minor in Geography and Geotechniques. My interests include Foresenic Anthropology, Osteology, Biological Anthropology, and Ancient Americas. The transition of the Maya is important as it gives us an understanding of their history and where they are today. The first step is to acknowledge that there wasn't a fall or end to the Maya. I wrote this paper to provide a short explanation of the changes and obstacles that the Maya had to overcome and adapt to."

The transition between the Late Preclassic and Early Classic Periods (c. 150–300 CE) in the Maya lowlands was a time of societal upheaval resulting from two main factors: anthropogenic changes and climate change. The anthropogenic changes refer to the deforestation caused by the people of the Preclassic Period communities. Climate change in this case refers to the sudden stoppage of precipitation in an environment previously characterized by much rainfall. There is also a lot of evidence that the Maya adopted older customs and there was an increased emphasis on trade during this time that influenced the growth of the Classic Period civilization.

There is evidence of altered landscapes during the c. 150–300 CE transition. Evidence shows a lot of deforestation and changing of bajos, or low-lying areas (Coe et al., 2015). Bajos used to be lakes full of water year-round, but with deforestation, they turned into seasonal swamps (Coe et al., 2015). The Maya would cut down trees to plant their crops for farming, but trees were essential to anchor the soil and keep it in place with their roots. Clearing the forest of these trees caused the soil to run off and

eventually the bajos changed into seasonal swamps (Coe et al., 2015). These changes were evident in an excavation pit in bajos from the large Preclassic site of El Mirador. The sediment patterns uncovered in the pit, dating from the Preclassic era, show environmental changes. Sediment samples show changes of color and composition which include light, clay soil that came from hillsides. This light clay soil is Maya Clay. Maya Clay is known as thick, inorganic levels that came from erosion as people began to work the soil. Above the light, clay soil there is soil that has changed to a darker color which indicates that El Mirador was abandoned for some time which allowed the forest to return to its normal environment. After that layer, the soil indicated that once again it changed to a Maya clay layer during the Classic period which indicates a lot of anthropogenic changes (Coe et al., 2015 and Seligson, 2020).

The changes to the bajos, as stated above, made it harder for civilizations, especially larger ones, to have water resources to support their people and crops. Not only was deforestation affecting their water but climate change that resulted in no rainfall for an extended period in a region that depended on it. In the Late Preclassic period, people had to adapt to these changes and there are several lines of evidence indicating an increased competition for declining resources. Archaeological evidence indicates that a lot of sites had to break down their monuments to use them to build walls to protect themselves.

They also dug many ditches and moats to collect water to protect their communities.

Sites that were smaller during this transitional era, such as Tikal, ended up surviving the collapse. This was partly because they were able to create efficient water management systems. The Maya created amazing dams, aguadas, chultuns, and engineered their plazas to capture runoff channels which then deposited into pools. For chultúns or underground water tanks, people would dig through the limestone bedrock and then plaster the walls to make them watertight. The plaza would funnel all the water it could into these tanks (Coe et al., 2015). This shows their adaptation to anthropogenic and environmental changes and their great capacities to survive. The smaller sites that survived also allowed themselves to grow. This meant a reshuffling of the political landscape and new dynasties emerged during the subsequent Classic Period (c. 250–950 CE). This growth also led to larger artificial reservoirs which continued into the Late Classic period. The Maya also maintained water quality and used their understanding and knowledge of wetland biosphere systems by using macrophytic plants, hydrophytic plants, and other organisms such as fish to purify their water (Lucero et al., 2014). In the Petén sites of San Bartolo and Xultún in northern Guatemala, archaeologists have found evidence that indicates that the Maya went to great lengths to create clean water. Using plaster lining in reservoirs and siltation tanks

kept the water secure and using algae to purify the water (Lucero et al., 2014).

At the site of Ceibal, Guatemala, one can find faunal evidence that indicates the change of animal resources during the Preclassic to Classic transition. There is a shift between the proportion of vertebrates compared to invertebrates between the Preclassic and Classic periods (Sharpe et al., 2020). The Preclassic had a greater proportion of invertebrates (mainly freshwater shellfish) and in the Early and Later Classic, they obtained more fish than any other period (Sharpe et al., 2020). The Classic Period assemblages also had more birds and reptiles due to the decline of freshwater mollusks (Sharpe et al., 2020). The growth of smaller sites caused region-wide political changes and marks a decline of freshwater mollusks. There is also evidence of new introductions of animal species such as turkeys and dermatemys river turtles (Sharpe et al., 2020). There is also a variation of resource exchanges (e.g., marine shells) over time (Sharp et al., 2020).

At the site of Kaminaljuyu in the Guatemalan highlands, there are also indications of a growing trade in this region during the Late Preclassic Period (c. 400 BCE–250 CE). Obsidian, a natural volcanic glass, has been found in the Maya lowlands which is not a natural source for that region since obsidian is only found near volcanoes. Mayans traded with people from the Guatemala highlands, where sites like Kaminaljuyu controlled access to the El Chayal obsidian source. The obsidian trade may also indicate why Kaminaljuyu most likely grew into a large site (Seligson, 2020). However, even Kaminaljuyu was affected by the climatic changes of the transitional period as the lake around which it was built, Lake Miraflores, began to dry during this time. Kaminaljuyu was mostly abandoned by the end of the Late Preclassic Period before it grew again during the Classic Period (Seligson, 2020).

Despite the upheaval of the Preclassic-to-Classic Period transition, several Late Preclassic Period developments ended up influencing Classic Period culture. For example, early monumental art depicting the Principal Bird Deity (PBD) has been uncovered at the site of Izapa in the Mexican state of Chiapas which was also seen in Izapa, Mexico (Coe et al., 2015). The monuments also depict stories that recount the Maya creation myths involving the Hero Twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque (Coe et al., 2015). There is a monument with a ruler wearing a PBD mask and headdress which states that this ruler is taking on the role of the PBD as a messenger of the gods. Also, at Izapa, there is a stela (or carved monolith) that also shows the PBD and a crocodile creature with the back end turning into the world tree, or axis mundi. The Maya believed that the Earth is represented by a reptilian creature like this crocodile (Coe et al., 2015). One can find a lot of later Classic Period monuments in the Maya

lowlands that are linked to Izapa and Kaminaljuyu.

There were also local traditions developing in the Maya lowlands themselves during this time, such as the growing importance of kings (Seligson, 2020). Stela 2 from the Late Preclassic site of Nakbe, Guatemala (near El Mirador), shows two rulers wearing belts with 3 jade celts that are shaped like maize cobs (Seligson, 2020). These maize cobs symbolize fertility and having three together refers to the primordial hearth at the center of creation (Seligson, 2020). These artistic traditions and belief systems continued to develop during the Classic Period but had their origins in the Preclassic Period (Seligson, 2020). During the Preclassic, the rulers were messengers for the gods and by the Classic Period, the rulers are then also seen as gods themselves. It is believed that the transition was affected by the growth of large sites like El Mirador where rulers wielded an amount of power almost to the level of gods.

There is great evidence of change and transition between the Preclassic and Classic periods. Many of them including adoptions from sites in many regions of Mesoamerica. The anthropogenic changes and lack of rain played a big role in this shift for the Maya. This led to the survival and subsequent growth of smaller Preclassic sites while the bigger Preclassic sites collapsed. This led to new technology for the Maya to allow them to adapt to the changes and to also add on to their growth. Many of these new technologies,

such as rain capture and storage systems, grew and continued to change during the Classic Period. What happened to the Maya was no sudden demise, it was an adaptation and change that ranged through many years. There was no end, rather, an evolution and transition.

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The Nearly Impossible Conquest of the Guatemalan Lowlands

Cesar J. Ovando

He/Him/His

"My name is Cesar J. Ovando and I am a current senior majoring in History and minoring in Anthropology and the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas at CSUDH. My trajectory is to join a Ph.D. program that intensively focuses in colonial Latin American History. This paper decolonizes the Eurocentric narrative and promote indigenous agency during the Mesoamerican conquest period, which further helps my goals when I apply to graduate school."

For so long, our awareness of Mesoamerica's conquest period has primarily been understood from a Eurocentric perspective. With the dominant influence of Iberian accounts in many American regions, narratives of the conquest have treated the triumph of the Spanish conquistadors as inevitable. These victories are emphasized in military campaigns and colonization efforts. However, that was not entirely the case. Despite centuries of massive influence by the Spaniards, scholars like Matthew Restall have shifted their attention away from the traditional conquest narratives. Instead he and others have turned to archival materials, particularly indigenous language texts to create alternative historical portrayals in Mesoamerica's contact and colonial periods. This focus of study was known as the New Conquest History, which highlights multiple participants and accounts under the analysis of understudied American regions (Restall 2009, 151). By including these accounts into their research, Restall and other scholars have showcased the conquest events through a

a natives' perspectives, which in turn promotes indigenous agency.

Initially, the research conducted by scholars like Restall have only focused on the Nahua in Central Mexico. However, many scholars within the last the few decades have taken their methodologies to Central American, particularly Guatemala, home to a diverse population of indigenous Maya communities. Research about the invasion in Guatemala was split into two categories due to the region's geography. This essay discusses the conquest of the Guatemala lowlands, specifically in Central Petén (Figure 1). After conducting some preliminary research, it was interesting to find out that the Spanish conquistadors were not able to conquer some Maya groups in the Guatemalan lowlands until the end of the seventeenth century, which is more than 150 years after the conquest of the Mexica Empire.
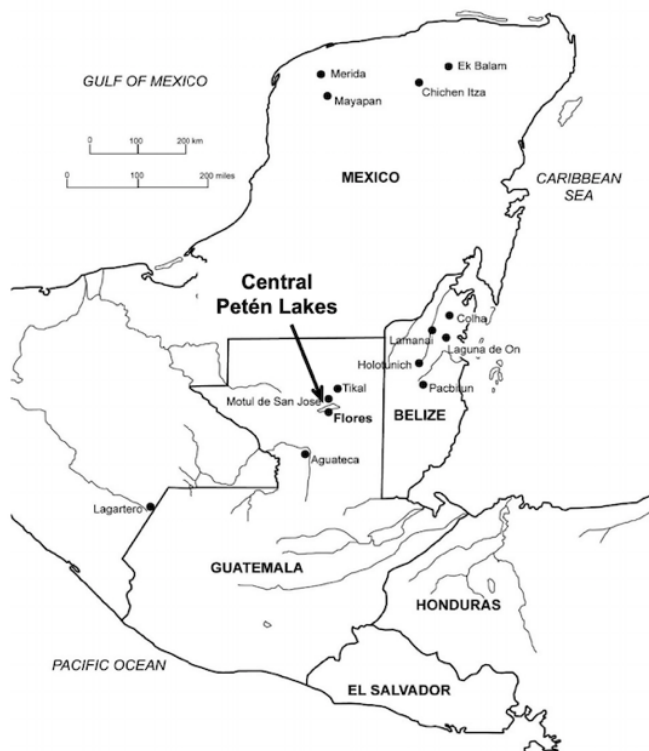

Figure 1. Map showing the Maya region of Mesoamerica. Places included Chiapas, Yucatán, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras. As one can see, Petén is up north from the Guatemalan highlands and sits on the southern section of the Mesoamerican lowlands. Images was provided by Jose Romulo Sanchez Polo, "Weapons and strategies of warfare in Late Postclassic Petén, Guatemala: The use of the bow and arrow" (MA diss., Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 2009), 3.

So, why did it take this long for the Spaniards to conquer the Guatemalan lowlands, unlike their other conquest campaigns? The answer is simple: the Spaniards' ignorance got the best of them as they were not fully prepared to handle against the landscape of the lowlands. In other words, the Maya had more advantages in Central Petén due to the geography and the resources that these communities implicated, which only delayed the Spanish efforts' in conquering the lowlands. While indigenous language accounts were not vast in the Guatemalan lowlands, the conquest narrative in Central Petén still fits within the scope of the New Conquest History as scholars relied heavily on archeological findings and geographical data as evidence.

Confusion in the Lowlands: Understanding the Political Geographies of the Maya in Central Petén

Located in the southern Yucatán peninsula, Central Petén is a vast lowland plain that consists of dense tropical rainforests, a series of lakes, great swamps, and savannah-like areas. Many archeologists and geologist would come

come to know this region as the limestone country because the bedrock is nearly completely composed of the sedimentary stone. Extreme warm climate dominates the region that stretches from Yucatán's low hills to the volcanic mountain ranges of southern Guatemala. In this environment lived various Maya communities that controlled portions of Central Petén. One area of Petén that the Spanish had particular difficulties conquering was the Lago Petén Itza region (Figure 2).
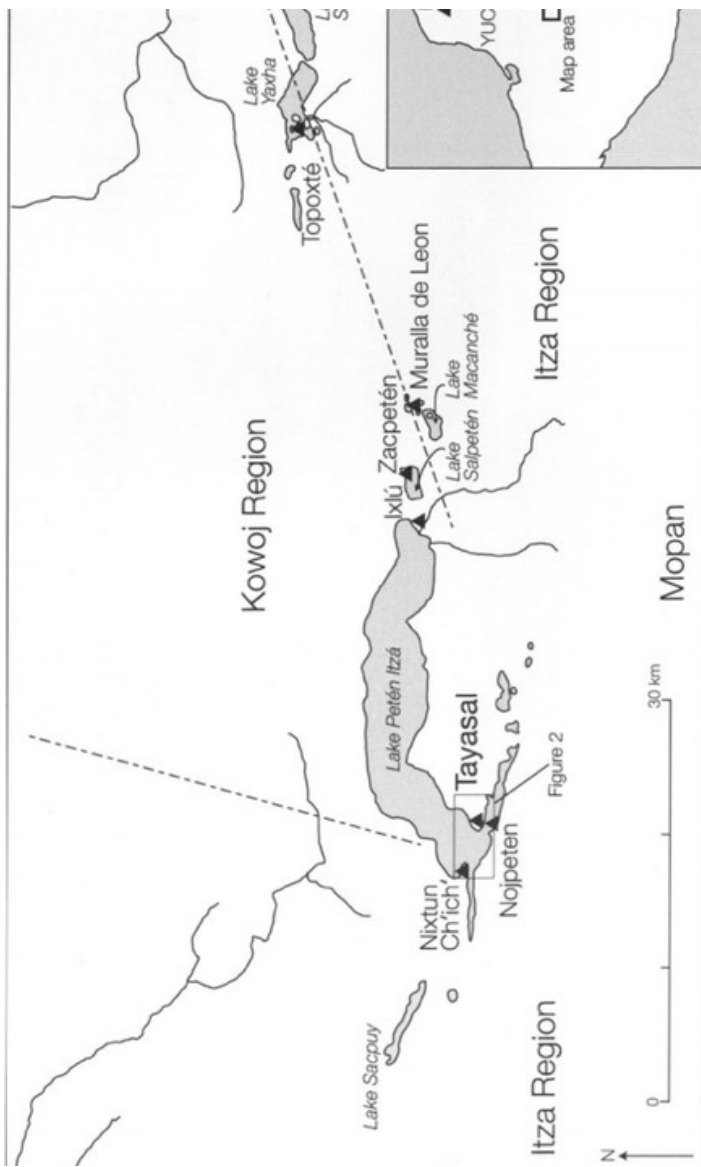

Figure 2. This map displays the Central Lake region that the Spanish sought their conquest sights. As one can see, the Itza and Kowoj dominated the area. According to scholars, this central lake region was the core-periphery of the Guatemalan lowlands. Image was provided Timothy W. Pugh, José Rómulo Sánchez, and Yuko Shiratori, "Contact and Missionization at Tayasal, Petén, Guatemala," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37, no. 1 (2012), 4.

The first problem that the Spanish struggled with during the invasion was their insufficient knowledge of the Maya's political geography in Central Petén. In his monograph The Conquest of the Last Maya Kingdom, Grant D. Jones argues that the Spanish believed that all Maya communities identified themselves as one lineage since they all inhabit the same area (Grant 1998, 21). This Spanish assumption was not true as Lago Petén Itza was controlled by various Maya communities, particularly two strongholds, the Itza and Kowoj. Scholarships have mentioned other groups like the Yalain, but their position at the lake, without a doubt, put them in jeopardy against their aggressive neighbors. At first, these groups boldly promoted their independence from one another as their defensive territories establish boundaries in the lake region. However, that all changed during the conquest's prelude as Don Rice and Prudence Rice claim each territorial group went to war for power and survival. In addition, archeological evidence from the lake region, like caches of human skulls and dislocated human body parts, has suggested

violent warfare between the two strongholds. As a result of the conflict, populations were forced to relocate, and many political sectors were realigned (Rice and Rice 2005, 141). The outcome ultimately made it more difficult for the Spanish to understand the Maya's political geography in Central Petén.

By looking at the map above, the Itza controlled the western, southern, and eastern sections of the lake, while the Kowoj controlled a significant portion of the lake's northern shores and beyond. The confusion of the Maya's political geography in Central Petén was described in an account by a Franciscan friar named Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola. In History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatán and of the Itza, which is translated in English by Philip Ainsworth Means, Avendaño y Loyola documents his journey and stay at Lago Petén Itza. During his stay, Avendaño y Loyola learned that even the Itza Maya couldn't estimate how much territory they actually controlled (Avendaño y Loyola 1917, 17). From this confusion, the Spaniards' conquest efforts were delayed further as they did not comprehend what areas to conquer that were either Itza or Kowoj. In addition, this uncertainty also set back further colonization and religious conversion campaigns. Because of this, the Maya carried multiple advantages over the Spanish due to the lowland's landscape.

Utilizing the Lowlands' Landscape: The Maya's Environmental and Natural Resource Advantages

In the previous section, I introduced a brief summarization of Central Petén's environment. Under the listed climatic and geographical conditions, the path to conquest was much more difficult for the Spanish to execute. Despite numerous attempted entrances and paths to the lake region, the Spanish faced various environmental hardships due to the Guatemalan lowland's geography, which ultimately got in the way of their expeditions. Avendaño y Loyola recalls one of these struggles in his account as he mentions that his group were met with large rivers and long distant muddy swamps (126). These barriers only slowed down the Spaniards' voyage. Supplies were essential to the Spaniards' expedition but very limited. Although Central Petén's geography offer some source of water like the rivers, they are only located within the edges of the region, not in the center. This circumstance means that the Spanish had a scarcity of water. Other supplies were also scarce as Avendaño y Loyola described a situation where his expedition captains would often write several letters to their superiors pleading for supply transports (112). The lack of supply carriage by the Spanish only continues to prove that they had very poor understanding of the Guatemalan lowlands' environmental and geographical contingencies which delayed their conquest campaigns even further.

On the other hand, the Maya in Central Petén were able to survive and sustain life long before the contact period. This was due to their cultural continuities that date back to the golden age, which is recognizably known as the Classic Period. Unlike the Spanish, the Maya had a vast knowledge of the lowlands' landscape, which they used to their advantage by utilizing their surrounding environment. In Central Petén, the Maya had no trouble finding nor storing water unlike the Spaniards. Scholars like Kitty F. Emery suggests that Maya like the Itza purposely settled near Central Petén's lake regions since water was easily accessible (Emery 2003, 36). However, there were some instances where some inland communities from the Kowoj lineage needed to find and store water beyond the lake region. In the midst of field work, archeologists have encountered various sites in Central Petén that showed how the Maya made that possible. One of the primary sources of finding and storing water were aguadas, which were essentially ponds (Figure 3).
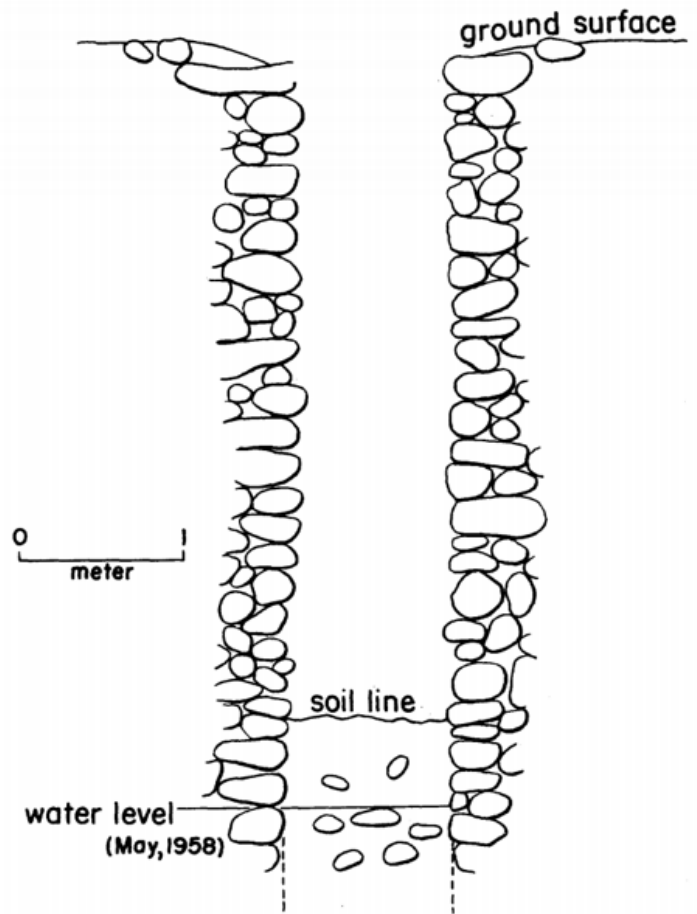
Figure 3. The following images are a depiction of an artificial aguada in Central Petén. Above is a sketch of the pond that starts as a hole, which Maya architecture later improves. The photograph is an excavation site from Central Petén of an aguada remain. Images were provided by William R. Bullard, "Maya Settlement Pattern in Northeastern Petén, Guatemala," American Antiquity 25, no. 4 (1960): 363 and "Preclassic Limestone Quarries, Structure T31, Tayasal," Itza Archaeology: Research into Maya Archaeology, accessed November 28, 2020, https://www.itzaarchaeology.com/limestone-quarries-structure-t31-tayasal/.

According to various archeologists, there were two types of aguadas that existed, naturally made and human-made. Ezgi Akpinar Ferrand et al. have claimed that naturally made aguadas originated from collapse sinkholes, which were later improved by Maya architecture using clay plaster and stone-facing (Ferrand et al. 2012, 85). The process of human-made ponds was a much different. According to William Bullard, most Maya-made ponds originally start with a group digging large holes until it is deep as planned. Then, they would apply the same techniques to improve the pond. Some consider these human-made ponds as quarries and wells since they are usually deeper than naturally made aguadas (Bullard 1960, 363). Since the lowlands consists of an extensive tropical rainforest, aguadas were rapidly filled with water, especially during the wet season. Leaving that said, water was still easily accessible beyond the lake region. With aguadas also serving as storage units, the Maya were able to provide

their agriculture system much more efficiently.

Various wildlife inhabited near the Maya communities in Central Petén, which made food and essential items easier to access as well (Emery 2003, 36). Based on the recovery of several wild animal remains near the lake, Zoo-archeologists have identified various specimens that the Maya consumed. Some examples included turtles, freshwater snails, crocodiles, and sliders.

Despite the Maya favorably hunting near the lake region, they also searched other areas like the canopy forest, savannas, and swamps, which they found other specimens like jaguars, ocelots, and peccaries (38). While most of their hunted prey were used for consumption, scholars have argued that they were also used for other purposes. According to Emery, most Maya communities would often used mollusk remains (marine shells) for decoration. Other examples include using the bones of some animals for hunting purposes such as creating hunting spears and fishing hooks (38).

The Hostility of the Maya: A Militarized Indigenous Frontier in Central Petén

Regardless of their arrival, the Spanish were immediately met by hostile Maya communities in Central Petén, especially the Itza. Avendaño y Loyola provides a description of the Itza warriors in his account. In addition, he explains how he and other Spaniards would have to address war officers

calmly and respectfully so that they do not intrude, which left him worrisome (Avendaño y Loyola 1917, 139-140). The elucidation should be of no surprise since the Maya in the Guatemalan lowlands have had a history of combatant warfare. Jose Romulo Sanchez Polo claims that combat by these communities were distinguished through various forms. Operations included raids, group battled, sieges, one-to-one combat, and in some cases, unfaithful political maneuvers. Besides that, some Maya communities often committed trickery against their opponents such as ambushes, feint attacks, and withdrawals to confuse and disorganize their enemies (Sanchez Polo 2009, 35). Although some of these operational tactics were simple, they were effective against the opposition.

Defense was a common yet effective strategy that the Maya used against their opponents. Most archeological research argue that the Maya favorably installed fortifications as their form of defense. According to Sanchez Polo, some Maya communities would often position their fortified systems close to natural sites based on its topographical features (38-39). One site that proves this claim can be found in Zacapetén, a Kowoj city-state in the northern section of Central Petén (Figure 4).

Sanchez Polo argues that the Kowoj purposely position their defense at this site due to the fact that it was located on a peninsula, which provided significant security to enclosed areas.

Some forms of Zacapetén defense included platform walls and ditches. Even though these defense systems were constructed against other Maya communities, they were effective in holding out against the Spaniards' military tactics and weaponry, which only continued to delay their conquest (40). The use of Maya weaponry was another warfare strategy that had the Spanish worrisome.

Figure 4. The following image is an elevation map of Zacapetén's defensive system around the peninsula. According to archeologists, the Kowoj defensive system stands on the northern edge that separates the peninsula from the mainland. The fortification included parapets, a glacis, and a canal.
Image was provided by "The Defense System of Zacpeten," Itza Archaeology: Research into Maya Archaeology, accessed November 28, 2020, https://www.itzaarchaeology.com/defensive-system/.

he Defensive System of Zacpeten
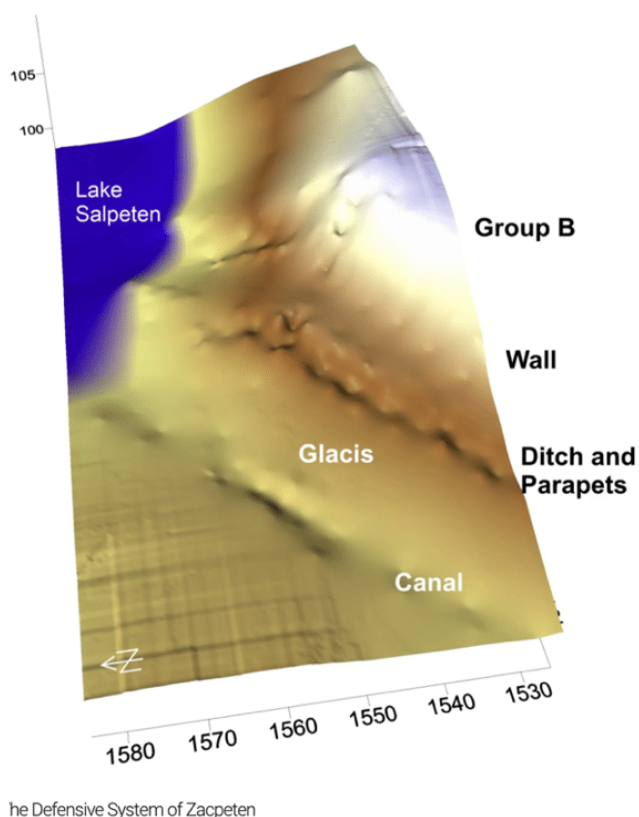
Many Maya lineages in Central Petén carried and used a diverse option of weaponry that inflicted violence and brutality against their opposition. Although they used various components to create their weapons, the Maya favorably used obsidian because it was the best element to make sharp items (Figure 5).

Figure 5. The images above are works of obsidian, the volcanic glass, and the main ingredient to the Maya weaponry's structure. The above picture displays raw obsidian, while the images to the left are products of the component. Upper left, we have small, yet hand-sized blades made by the volcanic glass. This perhaps was the shape that formed the flint daggers. The image on the bottom left, however, are much smaller but sharper and pointier. This maybe was the shape to form the tip of a javelin.

Image was provided by "Obsidian: Blades, Flakes, and Cores," Itza Archaeology: Research into Maya Archaeology, accessed November 28, 2020, https://www.itzaarchaeology.com/obsidian-blades-flakes-and-cores/.

Obsidian is a natural made volcanic glass produced when extruded lava cools down with minimal crystal growth. Forming the glass into a well-shaped blade, the Maya were able to cut and stab the exposed areas of their enemies. The recognized weapons that were made by the volcanic glass were mentioned in Avendaño y Loyola's account such as javelins, swords, and flint daggers that measured up to a quarter of a meter (Avendaño y Loyola 1917, 139-140). The sharp points of an arrow were also made by obsidian (Sanchez Polo 2009, 73). While the Maya also used other weapons like clubs and large animal bones, archeologists have encountered obsidian frequently since it was the most common element to make weapons.

Conclusion: The Ultimate Truth

The Spanish were eventually successful in invading and conquering the Guatemalan lowlands as the Maya in Central Petén were ultimately defeated. However, conquering the Maya proved to be one of the most difficult tasks that the Spanish endured, since most of their attempts failed constantly. With a severe lack of knowledge of the Guatemalan lowlands' landscape, the Maya were not only able to resist the Spanish conquest but hold out against subjugation for more than a hundred years. Despite their fall in the late seventeenth century, the Maya survived and continued their cultural beliefs and practices by resisting and adapting to colonial institutions and policies that were yet to come.

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Response to Management in a Hispanic Farmworker Community in Rural Florida

Nancy Sanchez
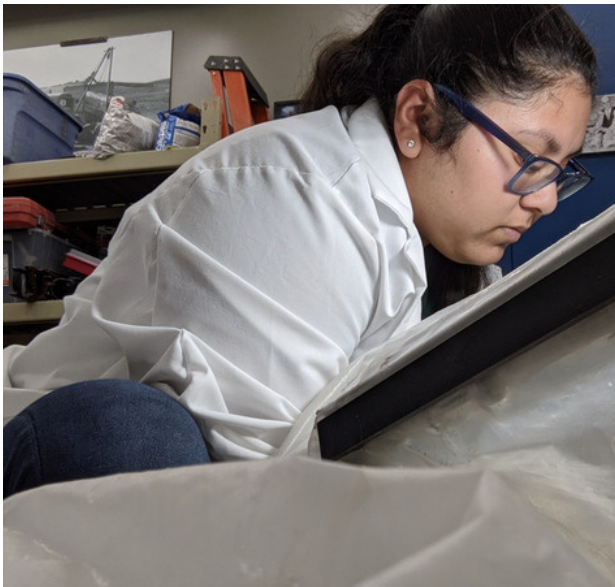
She/Her/Hers

"My name is Nancy Sanchez, I am a recent CSUDH graduate with a degree in Anthropology with a focus on Archaeology. My interests lie in Mesoamerican archaeology, Museum studies, and the cultural heritage of the indigenous peoples in America. As an anthropologist I believe in the importance of addressing community problems and discussing the mistreatment towards people of color."

In a neoliberal healthcare system, the negative effects of society create barriers for individuals living in poverty. Living in poverty means that many people lack the healthcare services needed which results in poor health choices. Tyson et al, in the article, *You Have to Control it However You Can: Type 2 Diabetes Management in a Hispanic Farmworker Community in Rural Florida* by Tyson et al, addresses that political and economic factors affect the availability of healthcare in the Hispanic farmworker community. Along with the inability to have reliable healthcare for rural Hispanic farmworkers in Florida, it has forced them to resort to self-managed health care practices. To understand the issues for the Hispanic farmworker community, I will explain the importance of what the anthropologist role was and their skills, who the stakeholders were, and what differences anthropology made for the rural Hispanic farmworkers in Florida.

The importance of the anthropologist's work, Tyson and his coauthors, was to document ethnographic stories explaining the diabetes management strategies and challenges

the participants faced. The stories demonstrated how important healthcare was needed and how the understanding of diabetes was interpreted in different ways by the patients who did alternative treatments. These alternative treatments were self-managed health care practices that consisted of fitness, herbal remedies, controlling strong emotions, eating healthier, and taking prescriptions when the participants could afford it (Tyson et al 2019). Anthropologists skills of field notes and interviewing the participants are handy when documenting collective issues that were frequently restated in discussions. The importance of the anthropologist gathering the research showed which races have higher rates of diabetes in relation to the Hispanic farmworkers and what the lack of healthcare is doing to the farmworker community in Florida. By explaining the economic constraints and connecting the anthropological research on healthcare the anthropologists were able to prove that health issues are secondary if people in poverty cannot afford healthcare (Tyson et al 2019). The anthropologist even showed how living in poverty, for Hispanics in rural Florida, means that forces like low wages mean non-affordable healthier alternative foods or non-biomedical remedies. Due to this analysis, it corresponded to the factor of how people become diabetic, and the most effective way Hispanic farmworkers thought would save time after working in the fields all day. The anthropological skills to correspond poverty to

the lack of healthcare through the farmworker's experiences just proves how important anthropologists are to connect the issues demonstrated in the community. Through the analysis of the rural Hispanic farmworkers, it further states the interests of stakeholders, like the local clinic, who want to learn more about the rural Hispanic farmworkers in Florida.

The author Tyson and his coauthors, not that the individuals who are interested in the community of Hispanic farmworkers are the local clinic in West-Central Florida and the community of farmworkers. The local clinic seems to want to focus on who gets donations of insulin for their diabetes and how to communicate with the farmworkers to better understand the community. The local clinic has collectively understood that to communicate with the community it needed a bilingual diabetes educator to teach diabetes education classes to these Hispanic farmworkers since many face barriers like education and understanding the English language. The article states, "The clinic staff has incorporated stress and anger management strategies into diabetes education classes to ensure culturally-relevant content" (Tyson et al 2019, 211). Relating to the Hispanic culture and understanding what is relevant to the rural Hispanic farmworkers is how the clinic was able to better gather the data for why the farmworkers have high diabetes. Due to the clinic's input, their interest is impacting positive relationships within the community of

Hispanic farmworkers by helping them best gain control of their diabetes through alternative affordable methods like other over-the-counter medications. With the help of the Hispanic farmworkers, the participants' health also showed how detrimental participants with higher diabetes are because of eating unhealthy fast food and common cultural food like heavy meats, fried food, or tortillas. The local clinic in West-Central Florida noted, that due to poor socioeconomic standards in the Hispanic community it resulted in poor glycemic control/high A1C levels because individuals in the community are unable to manage their diabetes. In order to manage their diabetes the Hispanic communities need insulin however with the high costs very few individuals are able to get donated insulin from the clinic. The Hispanic farmworkers in Florida understand that their health is important but the external factors they faced are continuing to impact them. One major impact towards the farmworkers is due to the lack of transportation because the lack of transportation means that the farmworkers get home extremely late and it is too dark to perform any physical exercises in their communities. While the rural Hispanic farmworkers want to decrease their diabetes, the issues prevent them from doing so as they do not have enough time to take care of themselves or their family members. Along with the West-Central Florida clinic's interest in the community of rural Hispanic farmworkers in Florida, anthropology has

aided the research of the socio-economic effects impacting the Hispanic farmworker community (Tyson et al 2019).

Using Anthropology, showed the impact of socio-economic effects in the community of rural farmworkers by portraying the issues involving poverty and connecting it to the health of these workers. The anthropologists showed the cause-and-effect factors that are continuously impacting the community of rural farmworkers' health conditions and how they have adjusted their lives for their job. The biggest difference it made for the project was discussing the strengths and limitations of the study like the lack of enough participants due to an unwillingness to reveal their documentation. By understanding their strengths and limitations it showed that the differences in anthropology helped illustrate the clinical research validating the anthropologists work and slowly attempting to forward health policy changes. The article even mentions that "Medical anthropologists are particularly well-positioned to utilize ethnography to assess how lived experiences are linked with the social determinants of health and macro-level structural inequalities" (Tyson et al 2019, 213). Anthropology, specifically medical anthropology, encompassed ethnographic research to connect the structural inequalities of no healthcare that causes the health issues of the farmworkers. The differences that anthropology made are to be informative and link the connections to explain the economic

issues impacting Hispanic farmworkers in poverty. Anthropology not only bridges the gap between people but portrays the social circumstances that seen within the community of Hispanic farmworkers in rural Florida. However, in the article, it was not just anthropology that was effective in connecting the issues, but the sub factor of anthropology, medical anthropology, which established how the external effects lead Hispanic farmworkers to become less concerned about their health.

In conclusion, the article portrayed how anthropologists can address the issues of not having healthcare for the Hispanic farmworkers by analyzing their health experiences. It was only through analyzing their health experiences that the medical anthropologists defined the economic issues that the community faced and helped state how the lack of healthcare impacted farm workers heavily, but they tried their best to decrease their diabetes. In the future, the best way to address the issues is to remain working with anthropologists and address it to the state of Florida. This would then raise the issue of how bad it is for people in poverty to not have healthcare and demonstrate the continuous impacts poverty has on the community. With the collected research about medical policies in Florida anthropologists should be able to change and build on community assets by creating trust to the communities they are attempting to serve.

References

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