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STUDENT CROSS-CULTURAL FIELD RESEARCH

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Identity and Authenticity:
Cultural and Ethnic Implications
of Preserving a Tibetan Identity in India

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Abstract

This paper presents a cursory examination of the relationship between ethnicity, nationalism, and culture among youth and young adults as they are assigned and establish belonging within the Tibetan, diasporic group identity. My theoretical approach is based on a constructionist foundation and is grounded in three specific sections. In the first, I argue that Tibetan youth who are born and raised in India are ethnically Tibetan, the same as their counterparts who still live in Tibet today. However, in the second, I present how their diasporic condition has contributed to the hybridization of their culture and cultural identity. This leads to a third section, where I postulate that this hybridization creates a sense of authenticity on the part of those raised in India, feeling they are the more true, more real Tibetans. My goal is to disentangle the notion of cultural preservation based on data I collected during two visits at two Tibetan settlement communities in India. The data I present is fully qualitative and holds no generalized or inferential qualities.

Introduction

About fifty years ago, a large group of Tibetans, including His Holiness the Dalai Lama, fled from Tibet to India. The group maintained that they were fleeing from ethnic genocide experienced at the hands of China's invading army. China's political rule was under the communist regime of Mao Zedong, who sought to institute major social changes and industrialize China. Zedong sent his armies into Tibet, claiming it to be a historical region of China. He entered as a liberator, freeing the Tibetans from their feudal bondage under the hand of the Dalai Lama's Buddhist regime.

Unlike most of the regions of China, Tibet was inhabited primarily by a single ethnic group. Then and now, the Dalai Lama and those who fled into India claim that Tibet was and should remain autonomous from China's rule. Arguably, Zedong's social ideology of a classless society was initially exercised in Tibet and ultimately lead to the Cultural Revolution in mainland China. He sought to displace ethnic Tibetans from the social and cultural institutions that distinguished them from groups in other parts of China. Thus, sending Chinese soldiers into Tibet was intended to impede Tibetans from asserting their own cultural identity. As such, ethnicity and culture have become primary social categories in the Tibetan struggle for a free Tibet.

The freedom to claim and assert an ethnic identity is at the core of the Tibetan refugee experience, including their decision to leave Tibet and the subsequent movement for a free Tibet. A movement to reclaim their homeland is at the same

time a movement to reoccupy a space in which the Tibetan people can live and raise their children as Tibetans. Led by the Dalai Lama, Tibetans left Tibet to preserve their culture from those who sought to enact change in their homeland.

To begin to understand the implications of this effort to preserve their culture, I argue that it is pertinent to present and discuss ethnicity as a social category and culture as a cooperative system of ordering and making one's world meaningful, particularly in relation to identity construction. I intend to identify cultural and ethnic identity as distinct theoretical concepts, paramount to my ability to frame identity in the Tibetan-in-exile experience.

Theoretically, approaching culture and ethnicity through a constructionist framework is not unique (Cornell and Hartmann 2006; Nagel 1994; Aydyngun and Aydyngun 2007). Since Berger and Luckman (1966) presented their classic treatise on the social construction of reality, multitudes of works have followed showing how society is an ever-changing construction that emerges from constant interplay between structure and agency. Within this interplay, the societal norms of former times provide an intangible structure within which individuals today can act, live, and exercise their own self-determination. Their actions, however, are always performed within social and cultural constraints that were constructed by actors of previous generations.

Thesis

In this paper, I will present how the notion of authenticity has developed in the Tibetan youths' effort to remember their past within their constructed identity. I argue that these youth face seemingly paradoxical identity conflicts as they attempt to negotiate their received sense of who they should be with the reality of who they are. This identity conflict highlights the tension between the assigned identity that young Tibetans born in India are consciously taught with the identity they naturally develop from their social environment. The sense of being Tibetan that they receive from parents and/or elder group members who knew Tibet, I associate with their ethnic identity. It is their sense of belonging to the same group as other Tibetans. Their cultural identity, on the other hand, I associate with their immediate, day-to-day social environment. In this way, culture and ethnicity are not synonymous, as there are multiple groups of Tibetans raised in exile who claim the same ethnicity yet are raised in divergent and distinct socio-economic environments. Culturally, these groups are different from one another. The point I make to distinguish between categorical ethnic distinctions and cultural identification is not to say that the two are mutually exclusive, only that ethnic identities are much more conscious than cultural identities, which are both conscious and unconsciously developed from the immediate necessities of their day-to-day living. In a sense, ethnic identities are more ideological while cultural identities are more pragmatic—linked or rooted to the immediacies of place.

Related to the conceptualization of ethnic and cultural identities, I argue that in the perception of cultural preservation lays the notion of cultural authenticity. Those who went into India and escaped Zedong's planned social upheaval perceive themselves

as "real" Tibetans. The perception of an authentic, in-exile Tibetan identity on the part of born-in-India Tibetans is the primary focus of my argument. The perceptions of cultural authenticity among other groups of Tibetans, namely the progenitors of these youth or their majority counterparts who remain living in Tibet today is not addressed in this paper and is beyond the scope of this research.

In establishing my argument, I will first present a historical perspective of the constructed nature of a Tibetan, ethnic identity. This is an important foundation for my argument; ultimately, to preserve an identity, it has to be a singular identity. Historical reconstruction, a theoretical point to be discussed below, seems to be producing this single version of what it is to be Tibetan. Through a constructionist framework, I will present the implications for standardizing an identity and how identity becomes a normative narrative of how one should be. It is here that the differences between cultural and ethnic identity become salient. Neither the youth who are born in exile nor those who are born in Tibet and migrate into India are culturally what the founders of the in-exile movement, the original refugees, expect them to be as preservers of the Tibetan identity. Those born in exile face the constant threat of forgetting their true selves. Conversely, those born in Tibet, under the influence of China, and who later migrate to India, are stigmatized and seen as being backward by those raised in exile settlements. Though all are ethnic Tibetans, there are many different varieties of Tibetan culture.

Methodology

The implications of identity construction, particularly within diasporic populations, are difficult to identify in full. Recognizing this, the limits of this work are significant. In fact, few conclusions may be taken from this research. My intention, therefore, is to offer a theoretical starting point—an initial interpretation of how the Tibetan-in-exile identity is experienced in two Tibetan settlements in India. I conducted this field work in 2006 and 2007. In each of these two-month periods, I interviewed and observed how Tibetan youth relate to the creation and maintenance of their born-in-exile identity. In this study, I will emphasize the youths' negotiation between their cultural and ethnic identities. Alternating between remembering their parents' heritage and planning for their own livelihood outside of Tibet, the youth struggle to forge a future for themselves in their refugee settlement camps.

The culmination of two field studies, the first was conducted between May and July of 2006 in McLeod Ganj, India, and was taken up again a year later in Bylakuppe, India, in September of 2007. McLeod Ganj is the center of the Tibet-in-exile movement, where I researched the role of Buddhism in Tibetan identity. Two weeks before I left McLeod, however, I realized that within the community there was no single identity. From my interviews and conversations, I received different accounts of the participants' relationship to Tibet and the in-exile movement. I observed a social division within the community along the boundary of Tibetans born-in-India and Tibetans born-in-Tibet. This division was experienced mostly among young Tibetans. The majority of the older Tibetans I met were born in Tibet prior to China's occupation.

These first generation, exiled Tibetans left with or shortly after His Holiness' flight. Today, the majority of the Tibetans who are still filtering out of Tibet and into India are young. Because of this, the social division was discernible primarily among the youth, those who are referred to as "youngsters" in their communities. Recognizing this, I refocused my research population and chose to look at these youth whose ages ranged from teenage, secondary school students to late-twenty year-olds.

Many, if not most, of the Tibetans who come to India today are filtered through the refugee reception center that receives around two thousand immigrants annually from Tibet. The center is located in McLeod Ganj, the political center of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile and many other non-governmental, free-Tibet oriented organizations. For this reason, there is a significant draw to this area for both born-in-exile Tibetans and born-in-Tibet, recent arrivals. The division between the two groups was difficult to ascertain initially as members of both groups identified themselves as Tibetans. They all spoke of having come from Tibet, their homeland, albeit actual or imaginary. Yet, those born in exile and those born in Tibet didn't associate with one another. I became intently curious as to how this distinction of birthplace became a significant social boundary, an observable line of division. And thus, what was to become my research problem and new interest was born, two weeks before the group with which I was traveling was scheduled to continue our tour of religious, pilgrim sites in India.

With this new focus and direction, I returned to India in September 2007 to gather more data. I chose to stay in Bylakuppe, a large Tibetan settlement located about twenty-five hundred kilometers south of McLeod Ganj. I was interested to see if similar social divisions existed in a much larger, agrarian community, different from McLeod Ganj's smaller and primarily tourism-based economy. After a period of settling into the community, it became apparent that again, I needed to refocus. Bylakuppe, I would learn, remained mildly isolated from the other Tibetan communities, the majority of which are geographically situated in the north of India. I came to realize that the theoretical connection between the two locations is the effort required on the part of the youth to bring together their cultural and ethnic identities and negotiate the tension this process creates.

Methodologically, I remained qualitative in my approach. I was interested in how the Tibetan youth and young adults both perceive and live in their settlement communities. For this reason, participant observation and interviewing were my primary methods of data collection. As stated above, my time in these communities was relatively short. To compensate for this, I visited mainly with older youth whose capacity to speak English and our similarity in age facilitated developing deeper trust. In McLeod Ganj, I interviewed approximately twenty-five respondents. In our exchanges, I gave as much significance to informal interviews—trust building conversations—as I did to structured, formally arranged interviews. By these standards, each day I potentially conducted dozens of interviews. Therefore, I had to discriminate on what information I recorded. Thus, by the time I focused again my research question, I came away with around twenty-five recorded interviews, ten of which were with key informants—friends—with whom I met frequently.

In Bylakuppe, I logged interviews with around twenty individuals, fifteen of whom were informants I met on multiple occasions. The larger number of informants in Bylakuppe marked the difference in time spent there compared to my time in McLeod Ganj. In the former settlement, because I began more focused, I met and engaged in more intimate research conversations with more informants than previously in McLeod Ganj. My research was informed by and responsive to the feedback received from those interviews.

Historical Background

"I would argue that the essence of the Tibet issue is the identity of the Tibetan people. If Tibetans lose their national identity then there is no more issue of Tibet. Tibetans would then be simply minority nationality Chinese and the history of Tibet as a distinct nation would come to an end. Chinese policy is clearly directed towards that goal" (Smith 2003: 207). The Tibet issue, as Smith classified it, is a question of identification. Even more, it is a question of who has the social authority to identify whom. The Tibetan children who are born and raised in India develop their culture in India. They cannot, therefore, choose to identify themselves void of India's surrounding cultural influences. Jonathon Friedman (1992) pointed out, "Self definition does not occur in a vacuum, but in a world already defined." Astutely, he expressed that individual and social identities are not merely left to the choosing of the individual but are influenced by the world in which he/she is raised (p. 837). "Identity, here," Friedman continued, "is decisively a question of empowerment. The people without history in this view are the people who have been prevented from identifying themselves for others" (p. 837). This interplay between assignment and assertion of identity raises the question of authority. As I will show, this interplay does not occur only between cultural and ethnic identities in the Tibetan settlements but also on a much larger scale between the in-exile movement for a free Tibet centered in McLeod Ganj and the Chinese political authority that currently presides in Tibet.

The in-exile movement came into India in 1959, when His Holiness the Dalai Lama and about eighty thousand fellow Tibetans poured across Tibet's borders into Nepal and India (Kolas 1996: 55). They came seeking refuge from the Maoist-led, cultural-assimilationist doctrine and Chinese Liberation Army whose goal it was to suppress and eliminate any group who asserted or claimed a social and historical tradition that diverged from the centrally planned ideology of Mao Zedong's communist regime. The refugees who fled Tibet wanted to find a place where they were free to continue asserting their Tibetanness, to assert that which the Chinese intended to destroy.

A power struggle between Tibet-in-exile and China-in-Tibet has emerged. The in-exile movement is comprised of those who fled from Tibet into exile and reorganized themselves, rallying around His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to form an organized resistance against the Chinese. Their cause, the struggle for a free Tibet, is oriented with the purpose of reclaiming their homeland and regaining the freedom to live and assert their own perception of Tibetan culture and identity within Tibet (Smith 2003: 212).

At the same time, however, China is in Tibet. China represents Beijing's political authority and influence which has seized control over the Tibetan territory and has continued to exert control over those who live there. In fact, China's presence and security force in Tibet became so strong that "only in Shanghai, it was said, were there more SSB officers than in Lhasa" (French: 2003: 180). China avows a different political history than the Tibetan authorities who were in place in the early fifties. China maintains that Tibet has always been a Chinese territory and accuses the Dalai Lama of separatism and leading a rebellion against its government. China's policy is aimed at keeping His Holiness out of Tibet and controlling the political atmosphere within Tibet.

In this way, divergent accounts exist as to the history of Tibet. What it means to belong to that history and what it means to be Tibetan is interpreted differently by the in-exile Tibetans and the Chinese-in-Tibet. Within each account, complex processes of historical reorganization are at work, engaged by actors with different and specific goals. The focus of this paper is to show how the in-exile account has become a narrative that is received as reality by the Tibetan youth who are born and raised in India, a narrative that creates an ideological, utopian vision of Tibet (Anand 2000: 277).

In defending and legitimizing their claims over the Tibetan territory, both Tibet-in-exile and China have engaged in reorganizing and reconstructing a moral relationship to Tibet. Warren Smith, who authored the *Transformation of Tibetan National Identity*, argued:

> Chinese propagandists have had to paint a picture of old Tibet as a "dark, barbaric, feudal Hell on Earth" from which Tibetans were liberated by the Chinese Communist Party. This image of traditional Tibet, forcibly inculcated in the minds of both Chinese and Tibetans, justifies the Chinese conquest of Tibet, denigrates Tibetan culture and devalues Tibetan national identity (2003: 208).

China constructs its presence in Tibet as that of a liberator. Smith further pointed out, however, that if China allows the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet, it would be conceding that its presence in the Tibetan region has been imperialistic and therefore condemnable. Conversely, Tibetans-in-exile claim "it is the destruction of the Tibetan psyche that has been most damaging. The stealing of [their] homeland, attempts to eradicate [their] religion and the creation of conflict and distrust among Tibetans" has caused Tibetans to suffer and impede their ability to assert their own way of life within Tibet (Demtön Khang, Exhibition Catalog, p. 29). This, among other examples of perceived Chinese imperialism, is on display with photographic support in Demtön Khang, the official Tibet museum located in McLeod Ganj. In the main exhibition, entitled *A Long Look Homeward*, a Tibetan refugee, Ratu Ngawang, is quoted: "Presently, we are witnessing the genocide of Tibetan culture and identity. There are already more Chinese than Tibetans in Tibet" (Exhibition Catalog, p. 53). In-exile Tibetans explicitly claim that Tibet has always been sovereign in defining its own political, religious, and cultural existence. In opposition, the Chinese assert that Tibet's sovereignty is a myth and it politically belongs as a region of China.

To make and defend their claim, the first and possibly most important step for exiled Tibetans is to establish their solidarity as a single people, forming a united opposition against China and Mao's assimilationist regime. This unity is important, as mentioned in Smith's statement above, for if the Tibetans lose their national identity, there is no more need to free Tibet. The Chinese would not be perceived as imperial tyrants but merely fellow countrymen who are implementing a more centrally organized polity. Thus, a distinct Tibetan culture and identity is central to the claim that Tibetans were once nationally organized, evidenced by their ethnic, Tibetan identity. To validate the urgent need for the Tibetans who fled Tibet with His Holiness to protect and safeguard their liberties as Tibetans, it is vital that they vibrantly maintain and emphasize that which the Chinese threatened to remove: their ability to express and assert a Tibetan identity.

Constructing Tibetan Ethnicity

In exile, the dislocated Tibetan populous is not simply rebuilding what once existed in Tibet. Benedict Anderson (1991) made this point in his theory of imagined communities. He stated, "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist" (p. 6). The imagining of a Tibetan national community, then, is not only a process of remembering but of creating.

Friedman supported Anderson's theory when he added, "All identity is expressed in a type of historical process [. . .] a deeply context-bound process in which the real continuities are present in the form of identities that are constructed in relation to people's immediate conditions and everyday existences" (1992: 841). The motivation driving this process, Friedman explained further, is derived from the specific social world the subjects inhabit at the time they are constructing their self-identity (p. 837). It is necessary for exiled Tibetans to present their national identity according to their present, displaced situation. In order to regain their homeland, they must produce a history of a united, vibrantly sovereign Tibetan people. The refugees' children, born in India, have never lived in or intimately known Tibet. Yet, to make their parents' status meaningful—as well as their own lives in the Tibetan settlements of India, the children have to carry on their parents' cultural heritage, their parents' intimacy with Tibet as their homeland. The children receive and must accept an account of Tibet as a birthright the Chinese have imperialistically taken. Therefore, they maintain their connection to a land they otherwise would not know or find emotionally relevant to their immediate environment.

Tibetan, as an ethnicity and nationalistic base, has become a central point of identification to those who claim, yet live away from, Tibet. Tibetan has concurrent ethnic and nationalist implications. In their ethnographic study of the displaced Crimean Taters, Aydingun and Aydingun (2007) asserted the comparable nature of ethnic and national identities. They argued that ethnicity is closely related to, though is not always synonymous with, nationalistic identities. Though nuanced differences exist between national and ethnic categories, there is no simple, clearcut distinction between the two (p. 116). Joane Nagel (1994) stated that ethnicity

is always politically constructed. It provides a vessel or category, a boundary that defines the group and determines who is a member and who is not (p. 154). Cornell and Hartmann (2007) likewise proposed a constructionist approach to ethnic boundary formation. They agree that ethnic and national identities can, though they do not always, hold the same implications—an alternative view to that of Nagel (p. 36). An ethnic/national identity creates a boundary, an "us" and "them," separating and protecting a group's interests based on the sentiment of common heritage which sets it apart from others. In the movement for a free Tibet, the assertion of a unified Tibetan ethnicity is at the same time a nationalist claim. It is an appeal to the past, claiming Tibet as their homeland.

Dibyesh Anand (2000), an Indian scholar who has written extensively about Tibetan representation in diasporic settlements, affirmed, "Contemporary expressions of Tibetanness [. . . are] more a product of the processes of modernization, colonialism and displacement, than of some historical nation" (p. 274). Patrick French (2003) supposed similarly that the arrival of immigrants in India created the necessity to create a larger, theoretical Tibet:

> It became necessary to develop a pan-Tibetan identity. Its focus was the idea of *Po Cholkha Sum* the unity of the three historic regions of ethnic Tibet: Amdo, Kham, and U-Tsang. People who had previously identified themselves with a particular region now became consciously Tibetan (p. 14).

French's description reveals Tibet, prior to China's entrance, as more regionally oriented. The inhabitants perceived their socio-political allegiances centered within their respective region and not in a unifying center that brought the three traditional regions together politically. When French asked the Dalai Lama's foreign minister of the Tibetan-in-exile movement why the exiled government maintained a claim over territory that it did not control before 1950, the minister explained, "We made our map as not to leave out any Tibetans, so they didn't feel isolated. We are going for the whole of Tibet" (p. 14). Prior to China's entrance into the region of Tibet, there existed a stronger identity to belonging to one's region than to belonging to ethnic Tibet. Thus, the construction of Tibet is accompanied by the simultaneous construction of the category of Tibetan. Traces of this regionalism, as will be shown, still exist in settlement communities today.

Tibetan ethnicity, or Tibet as a nationalistic, ideological homeland, is a socially constructed identity that came after Tibet came under China's strict assimilationist policy. The threat of assimilation is what spurred the nationalist movement, and the need for the identification and classification as Tibetan. As nomads, the indigenous populations of these three regions maintained markedly isolated and scattered centers of population. Heather Stoddard (1994) acknowledged, "The Tibetan people at large were aware essentially of two types of identity: religious and regional affiliation" (p. 125). Tibetans' loyalty, she pointed out, "belonged to a particular school or monastery, looked up to a particular religious leader, and owed allegiance, often of life and death, to their own regional group" (p. 125). Living in what she

called various cults divided in separate regions, Stoddard added, "[On the] eve of Chinese invasion, Tibetan society was not quite as homogeneously traditional as we sometimes might like to believe" (p. 128). The strength of Tibetan as an identity for those living in the three regions came to bear primarily after it was threatened by the invading Chinese. The Tibetan identity that refugee children receive while in exile is a singular identity. The narrative or notion of what it means to be Tibetan is a standardized representation of who they need to be in order to be a true Tibetan.

Largely on the basis of religious affiliation, once disassociated groups within the Tibetan regions have come together to assert a singular Tibetan identity in exile. "More than anything else, the suppression of religion has alienated the Tibetan people from their Chinese rulers. The suppression of religion has become a metaphor for Chinese repression in general, in a process where religious expressions have come to stand for resistance" (Kolas 1996: 55). The Chinese understood this point well. Ironically, it may be one of the few points on which China and the exiled Tibetan leadership agree: China's liberation army targeted first and foremost the religious identity of the Tibetan people. If the Chinese were to overwhelm the people of Tibet in their entirety, then they would have to strike at them where they were most united—Buddhism. Though divided in four sects or philosophical traditions, the majority of the three regions of Tibet identify with the Tantric tradition of the Vajrayana school of Buddhist philosophy, a division of Mahayana Buddhism (Trainor 2004: 162). Intuitively, the Chinese assault on religion also centralized Buddhism's position in the Tibetan resistance against the Chinese. As Kolas (1996) further pointed out, "From the Tibetan perspective, religion provides a more legitimate set of values than the Communist Party doctrine" (p. 56). Likewise, as Buddhism became a primary point of Tibetan unification, the Dalai Lama represented "a personification of the protector deity of Tibet [which] is the primary symbol of Tibetan unity" (p. 57).

Prior to China's assault against Tibet's Buddhist tradition, Tibetans did not see themselves as members of the same ethnic group. In addition to Buddhism, French uncovered during his travels in Tibet at the end of the twentieth century another point of unity among the groups living in the Tibetan region: they all regularly consumed *tsampa,* a barley porridge. In 1959, the year China's cultural assault climaxed and the Dalai Lama left for safety in India, a letter appeared in the *Mirror,* a local paper, addressed to all tsampa eaters. At the time, tsampa was the most basic element that united people: "[. . . it] is the sub-particle of Tibetanness. It transcends dialects, sects, gender and regionalism" (p. 12). Even among Tibetans in exile today, tsampa is still highly revered as a traditional and cultural mainstay. Before being Tibetan became a legitimate category by which those living in the region could unify themselves against the Chinese, the call for a united stand was made in the name of all those who ate tsampa. Until the Chinese challenged tsampa eaters, they lived isolated and independent enough from one another that they didn't need to see themselves as one. Because the Chinese identified them as a single people, they too had to begin seeing themselves as one. Ironically, Zedong's assimilationist policy set in motion the need for a single Tibetan ethnic category. For perhaps the first time, Tibetans shared a

common trait that was significant enough to bring them together—their desire to live autonomous from Chinese control.

Discussion of Tibetan Ethnicity

In McLeod Ganj, I noted the strong role Buddhism held for those I met and came to know. Tenzin, a middle-age owner of a bookstore with whom I visited during various unhurried afternoons, has lived for many years in India. In his store, Tenzin sells popular novels as well as philosophical literature. Joking with me one day, he estimated that 90 percent of the books he sells are to foreigners who want to learn about Buddhism, meditation, and other religious practices. Along with purchasing these books, Tenzin continued, it was common for his customers to ask him to explain some aspects of Buddhism. Because he is Tibetan, they would suggest, he should know about Buddhism. Inevitably, he related to me, he would have to clarify to them that just because he is Tibetan, he doesn't necessarily have a detailed knowledge of Buddhism. In fact, unapologetically, he told me that he knows very little of Buddhism beyond the few daily spiritual exercises he performs. Yet, on a different occasion, as we explored aspects of Tibetan culture together, Tenzin suggested that religion was the mainstay of the Tibetan culture: "Religion and everything else go together." Even the Tibetan government, although secular, is still religious in his perspective.

"In the monasteries there are very learned monks; they know." Tenzin's explanation about how Buddhist philosophy is maintained, seemed to highlight an interesting dilemma toward his self-perception as a Tibetan. That which is Tibetan is inherently Buddhist, yet as a Tibetan, one doesn't necessarily need to have a deep knowledge or understanding of Buddhist philosophy. That, Tenzin explained, is what the monks are for. Since reconstructing their ethnic identity, one centered on Buddhism, religious practice has become a standard of being a true Tibetan. Yet, as I came to discover, Tenzin is not alone in his perspective. Many Tibetans I met felt that knowledge of Buddhist philosophy rightly resides among those dedicated to it—the monks and nuns in the monasteries and nunneries. Though the Tibetan reconstructed identity is centered on Buddhism, it isn't something accessible to all of the population. The role of Buddhism in the lives of Tibetans exemplifies the difficult negotiation of ethnic identity with cultural identity. On the cultural, day-to-day level, Buddhism is experienced less by lay Tibetans, while on the ethnic level, it epitomizes what it is to be Tibetan.

Shing Shing was born in the Tibetan region of Kham, one of the three regions exiled Tibetans claim as their homeland. He came to live in India as a teenager. From him, I gained new insight on how differently Tibetans born-in-Tibet and those raised in exile view their relationship with Tibet and the nationalist movement to reclaim it. In his account, Shing Shing related to me that he came from the region of Kham, not Tibet. Later, as he talked about his friends, he referred to those who are also from Kham as his "country-mates." Even more interesting was how he explained to me that the Tibetan language he grew up speaking was much different than that spoken

in exile. The dialect spoken among Tibetan youth raised in India comes from U-Tsang, the largest of the three regions. Now that a reconstructed and official Tibetan standard exists, there is one language, the dialect from U-Tsang. After arriving, Shing Shing was placed in school and learned this new Tibetan dialect—correct Tibetan. He told me that he was grateful to study in India. He attended TCV Suja, the Tibetan Children's Village that receives the Chinese-speaking immigrants from Tibet who, though Tibetan speakers, usually do not speak the preferred Tibetan dialect.

Years have passed now since Shing Shing first arrived. He no longer remembers the dialect he spoke from Kham. Because of this, when he calls home to speak with his mother, they must communicate primarily in Chinese. In school, Shing Shing was taught what he was told was his true history, one that was not available to him in Kham. He was teased by exiled Tibetans who called him Chinese. Others suggested that he go by his Tibetan name, Sonam. He told me that he prefers Shing Shing, however. When I asked him how this treatment made him feel, he shrugged it off. "At home, the Chinese were my friends." In his school in Kham, there were only a few Tibetans amid the hundreds of Chinese students. "They were nice to me," he explained. It was the schools and teachers who discriminated against him and the other Tibetan students. Tibetans were the ethnic minority. Coming to India was a chance for Shing Shing to receive a better education than his family felt he could receive in Kham. In my view, he did not come to India to participate in an exiled movement against the Chinese. Living in lower Dharamsala, a few kilometers below McLeod Ganj, Shing Shing usually spent his time reading and studying. He enjoyed spending time with some of his classmates who are also from Kham. Together, they study Chinese linguistic symbols and the English language. Despite the fact that Shing Shing is Tibetan, the same as his exiled counterparts, culturally he is different. Although he was raised in Kham, a historical region of Tibet, Shing Shing could only become properly and authentically Tibetan in India where the true Tibetan culture is perceived to have been preserved.

At a different children's village, Upper TCV, Khrag Penpa is the music and culture director. Penpa coordinated cultural shows and taught traditional Tibetan music and dancing. I asked him what he felt was important to teach the school children about Tibetan culture. "We have a flag, an anthem, a leader; we have country, a flag, a map. The newcomers know little about these things." Shing Shing is a newcomer. He learned about these things in school in India, in a formal learning environment. To teach Tibetan identity, there has to be a single narrative of what it is and what it represents to the individual. Only as a singular identity can it be disseminated to all children equally, to newcomers and born-in-exile Tibetans alike. Calsing, a newcomer I met briefly during an afternoon at an outdoor café, explained that he saw a Tibetan flag for the first time upon crossing the Tibet-Nepal boarder. "I asked people what it was; I didn't know. The Chinese restricted cultural knowledge about Tibet." To Penpa, the Tibetan narrative that Calsing and Shing Shing have received while living in the Tibetan settlement communities of India gives them a country. The notion prevails in these communities that only as a refugee can a Tibetan accurately

appreciate their true heritage—the country they lost. Counterintuitively, as a refugee, a Tibetan must belong to no country in order to have a country—a homeland. The newcomers must be taught that a theoretical country is more meaningful than the physical, literal homeland they left. "Migration is a one way trip," wrote Stewart Hall. "There is no 'home' to go back to" (Cited in Anand 2000: 277). I asked Tenzin, the bookstore owner, if he felt that he is a refugee. "Yes," he replied. "What is a refugee?" I followed. "A refugee doesn't have any rights. We could apply for citizenship in India, but we don't want this; we want to be Tibetan first."

Constructing Tibetan Culture

In India, the exiled Tibetan government emphasizes a united Tibetan identity. Rhetorically, they claim their unity upon cultural terms. More appropriately, however, I argue that this union is conceptually ethnic and not cultural. Maintaining this distinction between ethnic and cultural identities does not suggest that they exist independent and mutually exclusive of one another. Moreover, the distinction becomes significant in the case of a diasporic, dispersed population that seeks to maintain a sense of belonging and singularity among its members, particularly as the group spreads across multiple lands and borders. Culture, as I argue, is that which enables a people of a specific locality to engage socially. It enables collaborative living that is only possible if a group shares similar meanings within their symbolic world. Tibetans are a global group and in every land in which Tibetans live, they are an ethnic minority, including Tibet, which (as indicated previously) now hosts more Chinese than ethnic Tibetans. Tibetans who remained in Tibet have incorporated elements of Chinese culture as the two groups have had to negotiate a system of understanding that would allow them to interact and live together. Likewise, those living and born in India negotiate and integrate a range of elements from the myriad Indian cultures among which they live in settlements across the subcontinent. Culturally, they are not united. Their strong association with Tibet as their homeland, however, with a common shared ancestry, does unite them—they are ethnically and nationally Tibetan.

It is a common human experience to associate culture with place, to root it in a homeland. Though we take this rooting to be real, it is a practical impossibility. Culture can never remain fixed or be preserved in a single place much less as it is spread throughout the Tibetan diaspora. By Clifford Geertz's definition, culture is "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (Geertz 1973: 89). Culture is simply that which makes social living possible. It is fundamentally connected to place but never fixed to it. Culture enables the people of a particular place a symbolic means of collaboration. As such, it must remain perpetually responsive and flexible, malleable to those for whom it provides a world view imbued with meaning. Culture cannot be treated as if it were a material object to be captured and preserved. Cultural preservation carries more rhetoric than practicality,

though it does serve as a powerful symbol of national alignment—as many Tibetans may agree.

Within the boundary of Tibetan ethnicity, there exists, therefore, the possibility for significant cultural variation. Nagel metaphorically related ethnicity to a shopping cart and culture as that which fills the cart (1994: 162). Tibetan is the category within which different varieties of cultures may exist. Aydingun and Aydingun likewise described cultural identity as the content within a group's ethnic boundary. In their study of diasporic Crimean Taters, they found that as culture changed and became hybrid outside of the Crimean Peninsula, this change did not correspond with a change in ethnic identity (2007: 116). The Taters maintained a strong group identity yet began to develop hybrid cultural identities as they were displaced from one another. In the Crimean Taters' struggle to preserve their identity, they maintained an intact ethnic identity. It was the content within their claimed ethnicity—their culture—that changed (p. 118). From their findings, the authors proposed the necessity for treating ethnic and cultural identities conceptually separate (p. 119). The exiled Tibetans' efforts to preserve their constructed and reorganized identity has created a standardized, fixed idea of what it is to be Tibetan, outside of Tibet, safely preserved from the grasp of China. This identity is an ethnic boundary that is taught to Tibetan youth who are raised as displaced refugees. Culturally, however, these youth develop different identities as they are raised in an environment different from their parents and different from one another. There are over fifty settlements in South Asia with others in Europe and North America.

Culture, to which I would also add cultural identity, is commonly compared to an iceberg. The iceberg metaphor emphasizes that the overwhelming majority of what constitutes culture lies below the observable surface. Beneath visual culture, which comprises roughly a minimal 10 percent of the metaphorical berg, is buried another 90 percent of cultural ice that is much less visible and, in many cases, taken for granted. These deeper fields of meaning are the ethics, morals, and other underlying values that allow us to find and attribute meaning to our physical and metaphysical worlds. On the surface of culture are the elements that can be performed and displayed. Clothing, food, music, and dance are a few of the easily recognized and sometimes cliché surface elements. The values and meanings of these artifacts are what lie below the surface, making the symbols and rituals of daily life meaningful. Preserving culture is the process of attempting to maintain a constant state for the visual, identifiable aspects of culture. The meanings, however, do not and cannot remain fixed. With time, particularly across generations, life patterns and cultural traditions give way to newness and to change; so too must a person's ability to relate to the change, to find meaning in the new. Even when physical artifacts and performed rituals remain, they too receive new meanings over time, as is the case in the Tibetan diaspora. Amid the rhetoric of preserving, remembering, and remaining Tibetan, living in India has necessitated that Tibetans develop new ways of knowing, interpreting, and understanding their world—developing a new culture. Thus, while ethnicity remains, culture perpetually changes.

Discussion of Tibetan Culture

In McLeod Ganj, I came to recognize that different Tibetan identities were being displayed, all by individuals who professed an overt Tibetan lifestyle. Sonam, for example, is Tibetan and he likes hip-hop music. I suppose that throughout our friendship, I always wondered if his taste for hip-hop music, along with the other Western influences around which he so comfortably surrounded himself, came in spite of—or flowed congruent with—his perception of his Tibetanness. While I was in McLeod Ganj, I spoke to him almost every day. Near the end of my stay, as I was preparing to leave, Sonam agreed to meet with me for our first formal interview. Sitting over hot lemon drinks, Sonam recounted, "Now I wear these clothes. I listen to hip-hop music; I like rock and roll. We don't listen to traditional m usic. Why?" Leaning forward, he told me that he was going to "give it to me straight." He continued, "Now we are refugees, and we have good help; that is why we have this culture." Sonam sold handicrafts to tourists. Like many of the exiled Tibetans, his livelihood and subsistence was directly tied to foreigners who came expressing interest in his commodified culture. Culturally, following Geertz's description, he is Tibetan of a different variety than his parents. Contrary to much of Western thought, Sonam isn't an exotic Tibetan frozen in time (Adams 1996). He lives in India and has learned how asserting his Tibetan ethnicity is instrumental in creating economic possibilities for his future. Culturally, he is removed from his parents' Tibet that no longer exists.

I appreciated Sonam's friendship. Amid the streams of other Westerners whose pilgrimages to McLeod hint of dubious mysticism, Sonam treated me differently. He trusted me with his own identity uncertainties. From our conversations, I came to feel that at a deeper level, Sonam recognized that he wasn't culturally the same as his parents. I came to see him not as Tibetan, but as free-Tibetan. His sense of himself was formed within an environment oriented toward returning to Tibet—seeing it free. Yet, at no time had he ever known Tibet. Sonam was born in West Bengal, an eastern state in India. His Tibetanness was imagined. One day he asked me, "If you were Tibetan, and Tibet went free, would you go back?" I didn't answer him. He, likewise, didn't answer me when I returned the question to him. He did offer, "There is nothing there to call mine [. . .] where would I go?" Another day, when the same question was again before us, Sonam was more sure. Identifying that he is Tibetan, he affirmed that he must return. "If the Dalai Lama goes, I think we all go." Recognizably, Sonam's ethnic and cultural sense of himself overlap, but he experiences an inner conflict in knowing how to relate to Tibet, to his parents' land—his ideological land.

I thought of Sonam later in Bylakuppe. Waiting for an auto-rickshaw outside of the Namdroling Monastery, I casually asked a teenage monk who waited with me why there were only elderly Tibetans walking the sacred, clockwise path of *cora* around the temple and monastery grounds. He smiled and said, "[The youngsters] are different." "Different how?" I questioned. In his limited, but still good English, he responded, "Hip-hop." I wondered if any other word could be as telling. I may not know the full intention of what this young monk was conveying, but I can appreciate the impact of hip-hop as a vibrant difference between the generations—between the

cultures. In both McLeod Ganj and Bylakuppe, I observed youngsters reciting lyrics to Akon and other hip-hop heroes who pervaded their settlement camps. Monks watched Eminem music videos on their cell phones and downloaded Enrique Iglesias ring tones. The influences might not have been exclusively hip-hop, but they were foreign and their presence was undeniable.

I asked Pema, a young father in Bylakuppe, to walk me through how one preserves culture. If living in exile as a Tibetan refugee is a pursuit to preserve the culture that the Chinese threatened to destroy, how does one preserve it? "To preserve culture is to not lose good heart—compassion and caring. Old people are so good. They have these qualities [. . .] we shouldn't lose good heart. Food, religion, clothes, medicine, language, handicraft, these are lesser parts of culture," was his response. "How successful do you feel the younger generations are at keeping these qualities?" I wondered out loud. "Youngsters are losing good heart," he answered. "Society is now more rich. Due to development of community, mind is becoming stained. But this is happening everywhere, not just in one community—whole world is changing." Pema was born in India and has already begun raising his own family. He has a daughter and a son. The cultural changes Pema described are taking place at a moral level, and he feels the changes are not exclusive to Tibetans. They are occurring globally. Preserving one's culture, I have come to feel, is a psychologically stabilizing pursuit, not a literal or achievable process.

In McLeod Ganj, I visited the head branch of the Tibetan Women's Association. I was curious about how the directors of the association feel about the hip-hop tendencies of the Tibetan youth. In my meeting with Dhedon, she expressed her feelings toward outside world influences that young Tibetans face while living in India. Westerners are not intentionally coming in and trying to pull up Tibetan culture, she explained, but "the youth are absorbing it; they are changing." Her language was strong: "The hip-hop culture as it came in a few years back, was more dangerous than the Chinese." Without my needing to ask, she expounded, "With the Chinese, the cultural change was not voluntary. It was forced and could be resisted. The hip-hop trend and movement among the youth was voluntary, it was accepted and embraced." Because culture is responsive to social and physical environments, change isn't seen as a threat when it is welcomed, unconsciously or otherwise. Change does, however, threaten a community when it disrupts the shared meaning that links generations. With this change, the symbolic universe of shared meaning—the culture—is no longer homogeneously maintained. In the Tibetan diaspora, the refugees who maintain their dislocated, refugee status will continue to face the onslaught of cultural transformation.

Negotiating Ethnic and Cultural Identities

When displaced, the reality that may exist in one social milieu cannot be transplanted in its entirety to another. The characteristics and exigencies of space upon its inhabitants are seldom the same. To Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), cultural change is described as inventing tradition. "Culture shock and social changes are generating conditions where new traditions are needed. The social patterns in which

the old traditions were invented no longer function, making necessary the formation of new traditions to fulfill the newly emergent social needs" (p. 4–5). Anand supported this view and articulated that rather than taking identity as a given, it should be considered "socially and politically constructed [. . .] identity is always mobile and processual [. . . it] should be seen, not as an artifact or an outcome, but as a construction, a process never completed" (2000: 273). The Tibetans who are consciously attempting to preserve their identity are successful in maintaining a strong, ethnic Tibetan identity, and it is their cultural identity that became hybrid while in exile. The youth who are born in India are ethnically Tibetan, the same as those who live scattered throughout the wide ranging diasporic settlements. Culturally, nevertheless, their contexts, experiences, and social realities vary. Thus, there are many different Tibetan cultural variations.

The cultural disparity that exists within exiled communities is significantly marked along generational lines. Berger and Luckman conceptualized the process of social change as one that slowly evolves through a cyclical process of generational identity dissemination. In their classic work, the *Social Construction of Reality*, the authors describe social maintenance as a practice of typifying and institutionalizing behavior. This habitualizing of individuals' day-to-day routines makes worlds stable and socially negotiable, particularly between generations:

> The most important gain is that each will be able to predict the other's actions. Concomitantly, the interaction of both becomes predictable. The "there he goes again," becomes a "there we go again." This relieves both individuals of a considerable amount of tension. As long as the nascent institutions are constructed and maintained only in the interaction of A and B, their objectivity remains tenuous, easily changeable, almost playful. [However] all this changes in the process of transmission to the new generation. The objectivity of the institutional world thickens and hardens. The "there we go again" now becomes "this is how these things are done." A world so regarded attains a firmness in consciousness; it becomes real in an ever more massive way and it can no longer be changed so readily. For the children, especially in the early phase of their socialization into it, it becomes *the* world. For the parents it loses its playful quality and becomes "serious" (1966: 59).

Once a particular way of living—culture—is passed from parents to their children, the family's shared world becomes firm and is experienced as real. The older Tibetans who left their lives in Tibet and came to India came to preserve their identity. Passing this identity onto their children is the primary mechanism to insure continuation of their Tibetan heritage. Not everything that has been meaningful to the parents can be passed on, however, for the children inhabit a different world from their parents. The "good heart" that Pema described is a concept he received from his parents that was developed in Tibet. The children in India, who are asked to be Tibetan and have this "good heart," are being asked to be the kind of good that was constructed in Tibet. As such, any influences that enter the youngsters' lives that were not present or

available to their parents in Tibet, as they constructed their concept of "good heart," is perceived as threatening and impeding the youngsters from being true Tibetans. This is the paradox young Tibetans face as they are raised in India. They are asked to be something that is not accessible to them, to grow up Tibetan outside of Tibet.

For the youth who receive this identity, it is at once an imagined and a foreign world. The cultural reality of their refugee community places the Indian-born Tibetan youth in a precarious and paradoxical crisis of identity. On one hand, their parents request they not forget who they are. On the other hand, the "who they are" is being formed in an alternate cultural context than that in which their parents' was formed. To preserve something that is never complete requires making static an identity that, if stopped, will alienate those who adhere to it to from their immediate environment. The Tibetan identity is in effect an ethnic boundary made rigid and passed on to the youth. The parents also expect their children to remain culturally Tibetan, to remain the same kind of Tibetan as they are.

It is in the standardizing of the Tibetan identity by the exiles to preserve identity that Tibetan youth are seemingly divided from their parents and grandparents who were born in Tibet. They are perceived by their parents and grandparents as "forgetting" and "losing" themselves—losing their culture. This, I argue, is the first effect of treating culture and cultural identity as if they could be fixed and preserved across generations. Secondly, these youth are raised outside of Tibet, safely away from the identity-stripping efforts of the Chinese. Because of this, their Tibetanness is a more pure identity. Those born in exile, like their parents who escaped the Chinese, are the "real," "true" Tibetans. This perception of authenticity separates them from their majority counterparts who still live in Tibet today. It is estimated that about 120,000 Tibetans live in exile, while over 5.5 million still live in the Tibet Autonomous Region (U-Tsang) and the surrounding, now Chinese, provinces (Kham and Amdo) (French 2003: 288). Those still living in Tibet are perceived by exiled Tibetans as "backward." The implications of being an authentic Tibetan, a Tibetan-in-exile, separates the children from their parents by way of forgetting, while at the same time separating both by way of perceived cultural superiority from their ethnic counterparts who remain in Tibet.

Discussing the Negotiation of Ethnic and Cultural Identities

Anand wrote, "For the older generation of refugees, the homeland is the place where they once lived. For later generations of refugees, the homeland is, in a certain sense, not a real place; it is a utopia" (2000: 277). He further pointed out that the children are longing for a home that they have never inhabited. It is in this sense that Anand called their memory for home, their nostalgia, an imagined memory for a particular Tibet, a pre-1959 Tibet. In India, the later generations continually call into question identity changes in the way they perceive themselves, using this pre-1959 imagined memory as their standard. They were born Tibetan, pure and true; they learned as they grew to guard against becoming anything else. Whether change is wrought by education, employment in cities outside of the settlements, or emigration

to Western countries, the youth seem ever wary of forgetting themselves or losing their culture. Thinley expressed this sentiment with me one day on the roof of a French bakery in McLeod Ganj: "In college, I felt like I was losing my culture, my way of living." He commonly met with other Tibetans who attended the university with him in New Delhi: "There was a small number of about twenty-five Tibetans who formed an awareness group, and we would meet regularly. We would talk about these things, culture and tradition." Thinley shared with this group his interest to open a Tibetan cultural center:

> [At school] our way of living was becoming out of touch with the Tibetan way of living. The examination dates were the same as the Tibetan New Year. We could not celebrate the New Year for five years. There were things that we tried to do. Decorate an alter, dress, visit the monastery in the mornings. Other things kept getting in the way of what we wanted to do. Situation got things out of control. We couldn't live the way we wanted to.

Thinley completed a law degree in Delhi and now works for the Tibetan Government-in-Exile, International Relation Center. He commented that in Nepal there are no cultural centers. They don't need them, because "the Nepalese are more warmhearted. There, Tibetan culture is more visible." In India, cultural centers were necessary because "culture was harder to find here, more easily lost." Much like Pema, Thinley equated cultural preservation with maintaining a "good heart." Thinley identified the need for a social environment where that Tibetan good heart could easily subsist. In Nepal, Tibetans may replicate and produce a lifestyle that more closely resembles that which was lost in Tibet. Culturally, Thinley saw them as even purer Tibetans than those living in India.

In Bylakuppe, I became friends with Sonam, a Tibetan woman who has spent considerable time exploring questions of identity among her Tibetan neighbors and ethnic counterparts in other settlements. She likened her identity as a Tibetan refugee to a dream: "The Tibet struggle was handed to us, as a dream gift." Her domain for understanding her relationship to her parents was enlightening. Her "dream gift" identity, as I understood it, was her way of describing something that didn't feel real, "because it was handed to us by the older generation, we were raised by older generation. We never experienced the motherland." More than anyone before, Sonam helped me to begin seeing what it meant to her to be born and raised in India.

Though she was born in the geographically distanced Bylakuppe settlement, Sonam traveled throughout India to study and work. Now in her late twenties, she revealed that many of the other Tibetans with whom she was raised in Bylakuppe are growing weary of the camp. The desire to travel away from the camp, she explained, "has traveled like wildfire. There are so many leaving without thinking; they just go because others before them went." What do they have here if they stay, I asked her. One step ahead of me, she went on to describe how there are no jobs in the settlement community, even to the point that she empathized with those who had left. She too would travel if she had the opportunity: "Tibet, USA, Canada, Europe," she said with

a half grin. Sonam exemplified to me the complexity one faces in her situation. She acknowledged that her parents have passed on to her a meaningful heritage. But, unwittingly, she and her exiled counterparts are held in check by their dream gift. Like Thinley, Sonam recognized that it is necessary to leave the settlement to develop the skills and qualifications to make a life for herself in India. This predicament she shares with many, if not most, Tibetan youth. On one hand, Sonam called the settlement a "neutral zone" that "makes Tibetans feeble who stay living [there.] There is a difference in their character. They have no thrill in life." On the other hand, leaving is seen as changing and forgetting. For those youth who do leave, they seem to do so with one eye looking forward and one eye looking back, desperately trying not to disappoint their parents and grandparents.

In McLeod, I met Norgyal and Asang, who were roommates living away from their parents. Like most of the born-in-Tibet newcomers I had met, they didn't share the same burden of forgetting themselves like the Indian-born Tibetans. They didn't look at their coming into India and submitting themselves to new cultural environments as problematic to their identity. They came to India to study. Norgyal, a monk, awaited return to his monastery, and Asang, who was non-monastic, spent his days learning English and spoke of an American girlfriend he wanted to visit in Chicago. During the few visits I had with them, the two friends described how they felt living in McLeod Ganj. "[In India], there are two kinds of people, those from India and the newcomers," said Norgyal. "Those raised in India like Western and Indian culture; newcomers like Chinese music and movies." Obviously, Norgyal's simplified account of the two groups was in reference to media tastes, but underneath the simplicity, there is a telling recognition that culturally, each group sees the other as different.

From the viewpoint of those raised in exile, Thinley admitted that he rarely associated with newcomers. During our discussion about the divergent social groups, Thinley paused, and after acknowledging that he shared little interaction with newcomers, he suggested that I meet with them and inquire how they feel about the born-in-exile group with which he associates. He wondered if they felt excluded, segregated, and said, "There is no avoidance of interaction with newcomers, and when there is a discussion, it is common for everyone to interact and participate. But there is a difference in [the newcomers'] talk; they have less education, and it is apparent." Socially, the groups are distinguishable.

Sonam, who sells handicrafts in McLeod Ganj, spoke more sternly, chiding the newcomers for "only [looking] for white skin. The newcomers are most guilty of this." He made his point suggesting that they were forgetting their religion, and that it is not right to go after girls the way they do. "This time, there is less marriage between Tibetan and Tibetan. Many people want marriage with Western girls. They marry and leave. Those born in India have much less marrying and leaving. They have own religion." When I asked Sonam if he and his friends interacted with newcomers, he returned, "Not possible; can't understand newcomers. They cause problems with girls." Sonam began to speak in a quiet voice, leaning in toward me so that I could hear without him raising his voice:

> The newcomers come and start going with girls. This you don't do in Tibetan community. In 1999, there were no buildings, no newcomers. Now there are more, more, more. The newcomers come from Tibet [. . . they] go with girls. Sometimes we watch and see this boy going with that girl, and we say he is not doing right; he is not living his religion. Friends between the two groups, Indian born and newcomers, much less.

Sonam continued to relate his concept of right and wrong based on his notion of being Tibetan that he received from his exiled socialization. Based strongly on his ethnic identity, which includes a strong element of religion, Sonam has learned to see his own notion of Tibetan as a truer, more correct version.

Likewise, in Bylakuppe, selling together in a tourist shop adjacent the Namdroling Monastery, Tenzin and Nomdol, who were both born in India, joked with me about how they refer to newcomers as *Gatchei* (translated to mean "orthodox"). Tenzin explained that those coming from Tibet are backward thinking: "They are speaking Chinese; they have to." Laughing a bit, Nomdol added, "If you call it to their face, they get very mad. They are short-tempered and come like they want to fight." Explaining how the Tibetans are coming into India, Nomdol also thought it humorous that they sometimes come with or riding on yaks. When I questioned if that is how his parents came as well, he became solemn and affirmed that they did, almost as if he had never made the connection before.

Intermixing in exile, the younger groups easily recognize each other's differences. However, those born in India have a difficult time negotiating and accounting for their own cultural variation from that of their parents who were born in Tibet. As bearers of their parents' identity, they view their dream gift identity as a normative standard of who they ought to be. Somehow, the dissonance the youngsters experience from not being who they impossibly are asked to be seems to create a psychological reaction that keeps them from openly acknowledging the cultural variations that separate them from their parent's cultural identities. This cultural blindness, as it were, is what, in my view, makes their forward-looking decisions problematic. The born-in-exile children have no livelihood in their settlements. Even more, they are told to get a modern education. As they do, they begin to jettison themselves from their home settlements out into a world of change and cultural transformation—a change ever distancing them from their parents, whose identity they are being commissioned to preserve.

Conclusion

As I presented the exiled, Tibetan identity, I discussed how the ethnic category of Tibetan has been constructed and then objectified as it was standardized and passed on to the subsequent generations of Tibetans born and raised in India. Tibetan is thought of and experienced as a specific, real identity. Culturally, however, those who are assigned and grow to claim their Tibetanness vary within the national, ethnic category to which they belong. Their culture is always their most recent meaningful interpretation of their self within their social and physical environment. Culturally,

therefore, their identity is never completed. As long as there are tomorrows, it can never be completed.

In historic Tibet, there were three distinct regions; the inhabitants of each dressed and lived differently, interacted sparsely, and spoke in their own way. After leaving Tibet, the need to unify as a single body required the formation of a nationalist movement, and the formation of a government in exile. In their displaced reality, this new government and His Holiness had to act pragmatically. They consciously and subconsciously chose which aspects of Tibetanness were important to keep and use daily. The rest went into the museums, their seeming cultural closets. In these closets hang their past cultural artifacts. They hang as they are remembered, as they are imagined. In India, the children are raised with the *Chubas* (clothing customarily worn in Tibet), butter tea, and *tsampa*s of the past. As Tenzin explained, "We don't need to wear the traditional stuff; it is up at TIPA [Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts]; it comes out for special ceremony and celebration." Dusted off and put on again, the traditional Tibetan is remembered on a timetable of special celebrations.

In McLeod Ganj, my most cherished friend was Dakpa, an accomplished monk who would enjoy a cup of hot tea most evenings while we visited and shared our lives, allowing him to practice his English. In our final conversation, Dakpa related his feelings after attending a culture competition at the upper Tibetan Children's Village. "I was so happy," he laughed heartily. He was happy watching school children perform songs and dances from his culture. Imagined or not, Dakpa showed me that those aspects of his culture are Tibetan. They are his Tibet. They became so when they became meaningful. In approaching culture and ethnicity as social constructs, I am neither looking for a proper nor an improper construction. Theoretically, a constructionist approach doesn't view culture as right or wrong but by what it means to those who claim it as theirs. Dakpa finds meaning in these cultural shows. They are culturally significant regardless of whether they always have been or recently have become Tibetan.

My argument has consisted of three theoretical sections. The first, constructing ethnicity, explored the creation of a single Tibetan ethnic/national category. In the second, I contrasted culture with the category of ethnicity and nationality, showing how it is also constructed yet is much less resistant to change as Tibetans live away from their homeland. Finally, I brought ethnicity and culture together, using them to illustrate how Tibetan youth who are born in exile may in one moment suppose themselves truer Tibetans than those who are currently living in Tibet today. Nonetheless, they constantly battle the cultural gap that ever separates them from their parents, whom they are supposedly emulating and whose identity they have been commissioned to preserve. These youth and their parents are no guiltier of constructing their identity then we are of constructing our own. It is their recently displaced circumstance that makes visible a process that is fundamental to all cultures and societies. Social construction is a process that underlies all social life.

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The Invention of Tradition: Changes in Basket Weaving in Santa Clara, Guatemala

Amy Maxwell

Abstract

In Santa Clara La Laguna, a highland Guatemala community, basket-making traditions are rooted in town history and economics. Recently, though, local basket making has been changing. Cane basket making is becoming a more celebrated occupation, though less common, and the traditional styles are being innovated for new markets. These changes are occurring due to shifts in supply and demand, growth of craft markets, and improved infrastructure that has increased association with the Other (the world outside Santa Clara). In this paper, I discuss the influences of basket weaving upon local concepts of tradition. These changes in tradition are influenced both by local leaders and the general population, by their treatment of the basket in local celebrations, education, and rhetoric, as well as by the way the town is represented to the Other in the marketplace. As goods flow from conception to marketplace, they are a source of income, a means of solidarity for the town, and a means for differentiating themselves from the Other. The baskets bolster perceptions of community identity in the face of the modernization welcomed after the civil war. They also represent the struggle of the people to create a more prosperous future for themselves and their families by manipulating the past of their fathers.

Introduction

The main street of Santa Clara la Laguna is crowded with people. They line the edges standing or sitting, pushing to see the passing parade. A flatbed truck drives slowly past us—the cab and the back covered in woven mats. A variety of baskets, each made in a unique style, adorns the wooden awning that shades one of the recently elected town queens. Sitting amidst the houseplants adorning the bed of the truck, colorfully dressed in traditional dress, she throws out small baskets to the crowd from the moving truck. A little girl scrambles to pick one up, trying to beat other children to it. When she proudly displays her newly acquired trifle, her mother says, "Give it to Amy as a souvenir of the day and her stay in our town." The little girl willingly hands over the basket to me.

During the town fair, Santa Clara bustles with outsiders who come to enjoy the festivities and sell their wares. This is the time for the town to shine. *Clareños* (citizens of Santa Clara) celebrate their local culture and tradition, including the importance of yellow cane and the baskets made from this material. Although the basket is an integral part of the traditional identity of Santa Clara, the adornments described in the parade are a recent development. Cane is still thriving in the area, but it is not as utilized as it was in the days of the Clareños' ancestors. Within the last five years, the use of and market for the baskets are changing, and the basket-making trade is being given new

importance, though fewer people participate in it. I was led to ask, "Why are new styles being created; why is the preference for making them growing so quickly; and how is this affecting their views of tradition?"

I argue that in the midst of a present defined by change, Clareños are looking to the past to create their future by imbuing the basket with symbolism. The basket, through rhetoric, education, community activities, product and marketing development, and increased tourism, has come to represent their community and its progress, thus continuing a process of tradition invention. In turn, these influences are helping to shape local traditions while affirming community identity in a positive way.

To begin, I discuss the concept of tradition and the way a people manipulates it as a result of social change or interaction with the Other. Guatemala has facilitated the flow of people, goods, and ideas throughout the country by improving their infrastructure, primarily by repairing and building highways. And in the face of changes brought about by outside influences, the Mayan culture is also shifting and adapting. I will show that in Santa Clara, this type of change is apparent as the work of making baskets is transformed from an economic means of survival into an art form while retaining its original use and value. I then discuss the rhetoric and performance with which local leaders and townspeople solidify the basket as a symbol of Santa Clara's identity for themselves and the Other. Similar to the day when I received the basket as a reminder of my time in the town, other Mayas, Guatemalan mestizos, and foreigners view the baskets they get through their interactions in the town and outside markets as a reminder of Santa Clara and its people.

The Concept of Tradition and its Invention

In order to understand the Clareños' changing traditions, we must first begin with a discussion of what tradition is as well as why and how it is manipulated. The concepts of tradition and authenticity are debated topics in anthropology and folklore, some calling into question their very existence. The debate stems from the fact that culture is a fluid entity that is constantly adapting to the environment and adopting ideas from other groups of people (see Glassie 1995, Hobsbawm 1983, Linnekin 1983). Glassie defines tradition as "the creation of the future out of the past" (1995: 395). Instead of creating a new definition in the midst of debate, he takes the approach of putting tradition in its broader context of history and culture. History, he states, "is not the past," but rather "an artful assembly of materials from the past, designed for usefulness in the future" (Glassie 1995: 395). History and tradition are quite similar in that they can be manipulated and constantly revised. Tradition is also linked to culture because, as "a key to historical knowledge, [it] is to be understood as a process of cultural construction" (Glassie 1995: 398). According to Glassie, anthropology, during the period from 1910 to 1960, stripped culture of history. He argues that culture is still bereft of the concept of history and is resistant to time. Tradition can be the link that is needed to make culture and history come together (1995: 399).

Again, tradition is a fluid entity that connects history to present culture and to the future. Hobsbawm agreed with this idea in the *Invention of Tradition*, though he

differentiated between true tradition and invented tradition. He defined invented tradition as "a set of practices . . . of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (1983: 1). By using the term "invented," Hobsbawm, Ranger, and the contributors to their volume "equated invention with inauthenticity" (Thomas 1992: 213). Indeed, Hobsbawm differentiated between genuine tradition and invented tradition by stating that invented tradition's connection to the past is "largely factitious" (1983: 2).

Glassie refuted Hobsbawm (1992) and similar thinkers (see Moeran 1984: 122–4, 133–5, 166–7, 178, 213–4, 232) by saying, "The fact that cultures and traditions are created, invented—willfully compiled by knowledgeable individuals—seems a surprise to scholars who cling to superorganic concepts and who invent, in order to sharpen spurious contrasts, uninvented, natural traditions" (1995: 398). Thomas, in his study on Pacific Islander identity, also brought up the point that in more recent literature, "it is now emphasized that created identities are not somehow contrived and insincere, that culture is instead inevitably 'tailored and embellished in the process of transmission,' and that that process is 'dynamic, creative—and real'" (Linnekin 1990: 161; cf. Jolly 1992) (Thomas 1992: 213). In summary, scholars have debated the authenticity of traditions that create continuity between the past and the current state of the culture.

Authenticity aside, tradition is constantly being invented by peoples for a number of reasons. Hobsbawm declared the commonality of tradition invention worldwide, and stated that it mainly occurs during times of "rapid transformation of society" (1983: 4). In these cases, social changes occur that challenge or destroy the usefulness of the peoples' previous traditions. He contributed the cause of these changes to shifts in supply and demand. He then differentiated between tradition and custom, saying that tradition is linked to a historical event whereas custom is merely what the people routinely do. Tradition is indeed not a construct of "traditional" societies, but rather one of the Western world, which looks for a static nature in more "primitive" societies. For example, during colonialism the local government structure changed in response to outside influences (Hobsbawm 1983).

Glassie also claimed that although tradition and change are usually dubbed polar opposites, tradition is only an opposite of change involving a clean break with the past, when there is no resemblance between the new and the old. In a similar light to Hobsbawm, Glassie declared that the true opposite of tradition is oppression: oppression is the enemy, the thing that overcomes and subdues tradition (1995: 395–6). Modernization, on the other hand, also creates a stage for inventing tradition. Glassie stated, "The dramatic changes of modernization depend upon the simultaneity of continuity, and they are countered by revival, by efforts to revitalize the perduring collective, spiritual, and local dimensions of human existence" (1995: 387). A variety of forces play on the creation of tradition in this setting as interest groups and other members of the community come together in an effort to teach their traditions (Glassie 1992: 399).

In more general terms, tradition springs from interaction with the Other (Thomas 1992). Linnekin pointed out that ethnicity construction is evidence of the way we "create ourselves through our social categories" (1983: 250). The invention of tradition is not limited to those in positions of power or importance such as scholars or revitalization movement leaders but is a natural part of social differentiation. Having a defining tradition is an attribute of being "other" no matter what the other party be. Tradition is reflexive in nature, being created as it is lived and thought over. "People's consciousness of [traditions] as categories affects their content" (Linnekin 1982: 250). Breaking with Hobsbawm, Linnekin explained that nationalistic movements manipulate tradition and cultural concepts for political gain, but local, rural people invent their tradition merely by living a their own cultural model (1982: 250).

Following this same line of thought about the creation of tradition on a small scale, Tuleja, in his introduction to a work of collected essays on the subject, presented four points on the invention of tradition. First of all, he stated that we can see the wide variety of tools groups use to distinguish and manipulate their identity. Indeed, the authors of the essays discuss means for invention ranging from the bearing of testimony at an African-American women's sewing circle to the glorification of the Maine lobster. Glassie provided three categories in which people work when creating something that is considered traditional. "In one dynamic," he stated, "the whole is repeated. In another, entities are dismembered and essences are preserved. In a third, what is preserved is a general tone, a sound, a look, a certain spirit" (1995: 408). Tradition plays a part in every creative act in which a person "[merges] preservation and experimentation in performance" (Glassie 1995: 408). Indeed, each person in a community puts their individual stamp on the creation of tradition (Linnekin 1982; Glassie 1995). All people within a culture use the resources they possess to create, constantly taking their cultural context and "imbu[ing] it with dynamic content and interpretation" (Linnekin 1982: 241). This creation out of an existing past by all parties leads to the variety of ways in which tradition is manipulated within society, which Tuleja expounds on.

The second point Tuleja makes is about the "value of conspicuousness" (1997: 8). Symbols are not always chosen for their political, social, or religious meaning, but sometimes for the mere reason that they are visible. Symbols "must be at once expressive, publicly expressible, and mnemonically markable" (Tuleja 1997: 8) in order for them to act as distinguishing features and provide community solidarity. Symbols are not always chosen because they inherently *have* meaning; sometimes they are *assigned* meaning. Saxe said "symbolic expressions create a heightened form of experience on which life is not merely lived but endowed with meaning" (1997: 122). A people is not what they actually do but what they present as their reality to the outside world (Tuleja 1997: 8).

Tuleja then pointed out the "importance of communication and contrast in establishing identity" (1997: 8); in other words, interaction between and within groups is essential in order for differentiation to occur. Others stress the importance of communication within the community and between cultures. Glassie defined the living

of one's life as performance. With the preface that the definition of folklore resides in webs of human communication, Glassie demonstrated that when there is performance, there also exists a communication between audience and performer (1995: 402). In opposition to Hobsbawm (1982), the literature in recent years has focused on a bottom-up invention of tradition: on how people living up to their cultural expectations is considered tradition invention (Tuleja 1997; Thomas 1992; Glassie 1995). An example of intercultural communication is found in the tourism industry and the cultural products that people use to set themselves apart. These goods are a product of interaction with the Other (see Christen 2006; Erickson 2003).

Tuleja also explained the importance of usable pasts and stated that history and shared memory are the key resources for the creation of tradition and identity. This idea is a reiteration of the way performers use their past in order to create the present in preparation for the future. When interacting with the audience, performers' interpretations are validated because of shared experience and memory (1997: 12–3).

Thus, we see how the creation of tradition acts as a bridge from past to future and is a process that is reinforced both from the bottom-up and the top-down. These acts of creation come in many forms and occur for a variety of reasons. Generally, formerly isolated peoples change in response to interactions with the Other. These traditions may or may not be perceived as being authentic in light of their conscious manipulation. All of these elements combine in a grand performance of tradition as found in the Clareños' use of the basket as their defining cultural symbol and the ways they manipulate it and give it meaning through government discourse and in their daily interactions and work.

Santa Clara and the Basket

In order to understand how and why the people of Santa Clara are manipulating their own traditions, we must first understand the history of the basket—from the history is born the tradition. Basket making is a craft that stretches back generations and is rooted in ancient Mayan history. This history is perceived differently among those who still make these baskets, those who do not, and those who are the more educated members of the town.

I spent six months conducting field research in Santa Clara La Laguna (from 2007 to 2008). Santa Clara is nestled between mountains and overlooking Lake Atitlán, a crystal-blue lake in the western highlands of Guatemala. Clareños identify their economic base to be the cane basket, even though it is not necessarily their main source of income. Although they have proclaimed themselves "the Land of the Basket," only about half of the people in Santa Clara make baskets and only one-third produce them on a regular basis. Despite this fact, away from the center of town, the roads of Santa Clara are still lined with groves of yellow cane, evidencing the continued presence of basket makers. Split cane and completed baskets are seen drying in the sun. The straight yellowed ends of cane waiting to be prepared poke up from behind the lamina roofs.

According to the Clareños, the yellow cane basket has nearly always been integral to the town's economic survival. The work of basket making is still celebrated for the connection it has to the survival of their fathers. To evidence this sentiment, the town elders tell their version of a story in the Popul Vuh (the sacred book of the Ancient Mayas), which dates the arrival of cane to pre-Columbian times. The story is said to come from chapter nine of the Popul Vuh: Two twin heroes, Junajpu and Xb'alamke, are invited to a ball game in Xib'alb'a, the underworld. Before leaving, they give cane to their grandmother, saying, "Grandmother, we are going to the ball game, but we want to leave this cane planted. . . . If these canes grow, it is a sign that we are alive. If these canes whither it is because they have killed us" (Anastasio, personal communication).

The town's current mayor, Anastasio, explained that the original name for the K'iche' capital, El Quiche, was Q'umarkaj, which translates to mean "rotted cane." He also cites the book *Cronicas Indigenas de Guatemala,* written by Adrián Recinos, that describes the expansion of the "sixth king of the generation of the kings. What he did was go about expanding his territory. . . . The king came out from Quiche and began to travel around until he passed through Santa Clara. . . . So it is from there that we begin to think that the art of making baskets came from there at that time . . . in Pre-Hispanic times. What that means is that this is not new."

Less-educated basket makers also describe the origins of the basket as being a creation of their ancestors that came down to them through the generations. As explained by Tat Lu', my basket weaving teacher, the ancestors had a large meeting to discover how to make baskets, because times were hard and they needed some form of economic gain. After practicing and practicing, they created the technique that has been passed down.

Furthermore, the better educated demonstrated the antiquity of cane in the area by sharing the example that one of the days of the Mayan calendar is the same name in K'iche' as the name for cane: *aj*. Again, Anastasio explained that the meaning of *aj* is fertility, work, production, and life: "If it sprouts, it is because we are free. . . . There are offspring. . . . Everything changes, but the people live on." In Santa Clara, the respect for cane is as high as for corn, a crop that is considered sacred to the Maya because of the importance it has for sustaining the people. In days past, these two crops were the means of survival and the economic base of Santa Clara. Though the people bless their corn field four times during the growing and harvest season, cane does not receive such treatment. As Tat Lu' explained, "The cane grows by itself. We don't bless it. We don't distrust the cane because it grows so quickly. You only put a small shoot in the ground . . . and within the year you will have cane to work with." It is not until the baskets are ready and the vendor is ready to sell that they will light a candle or have a ceremony for good business.

Traditionally, the baskets were produced for the coffee harvest. They were made by the dozen each day to take down to the southern coast for sale on plantations. This tradition persisted until the introduction of plastic containers for collecting the harvest. The basket makers of Santa Clara had to find a new market in order to

sustain themselves. Tat Lu' described the new basket styles that were introduced for diverse household uses like holding baby chicks, eggs, tortillas and beans: sometimes they had tops, sometimes not; sometimes they were rectangular, sometimes other shapes. Vendors began taking their baskets to large markets in other parts of the country to sell.

When discussing their work, basket makers always emphasized the connection of basket making to subsisting daily and stressed the value of hard work. Children are taught the value of hard work by helping the family early in life, thereby learning the importance of the work their parents do to sustain their family. Anastasio explained basket making as a family oriented profession that teaches these important life lessons across generations. Most commonly, the father has the role of splitting and stripping down cane in preparation for weaving. The children and wife then begin to weave the baskets. Customarily, the women are responsible for taking the baskets to the local market, where others will buy their goods to resell in the larger markets located in other parts of the country. In this way, cultural values are transmitted from generation to generation.

Not only do Clareños identify themselves as basket makers, but members of other communities in the municipality of Sololá and the Lowlands see them as such. For example, while traveling down to San Pedro, a popular tourist destination on the shores of Lake Atitlán, I sat next to an artisan, Fredi, who sold macramé jewelry in both San Pedro and Panajachel. In the course of our discussion, he told me that in these days people from Santa Clara hardly make baskets anymore. When he was a boy, on the other hand, the Clareños would go everywhere in the area and were the primary basket suppliers for the region.

Along with baskets being associated with the Clareños' ancestors and family values, they are also equated with poverty. Most people were thrilled when they discovered that I was learning to weave baskets. One woman expressed her approval by saying, "It is good that [the students] learn [to make baskets] because it is our poverty." Because the basket is so strongly tied to their forefathers, it also represents the way of life and daily struggle of those who came before them. Tat Lu' often told me about the standard of living in the old days: before he was born and during his childhood. Before, people ate simply, even meagerly, and did not have much variety in their meals. He explained, "They did not have so many animals. Their clothes were plain, only wearing the traditional dress for the town. They did not have shoes."

Maria, the daughter and wife of former basket makers, said, "Before, many families felt like the work was discrimination." For her, it represented discrimination against women, and because of her work with her family, she was denied the opportunity to go to school. Now she can barely understand Spanish. She does not want the same fate for her children and has not taught them how to weave baskets. Her attitude is representative of many who push for modernization in the community.

Cane baskets therefore represent the ways of the Clareños' forefathers. The baskets are important to those who still make them because basket weaving is a

legacy passed down to them. The origins of cane also have Mayan roots, but this fact does not carry much weight with the less educated who are not well versed in town history. From their own perceptions of history, Clareños both invent traditions as a representation of past ways of life and reinvent them in the face of change.

Modernization and the Basket

Indeed, the community is in the midst of change. In the last fifteen years, Santa Clara has experienced a great deal of change. About twelve years ago, for instance, a paved section of road was built connecting the Pan-American Highway to Santa Clara and then continuing down the mountain to San Pedro and Lake Atitlán (both popular tourist destinations). With the new highway came floods of people in and out of the community and new opportunities for business, education, and overall growth. In response to these changes, the basket has also been transformed.

Two of the first changes were the creation of new jobs within the community and more opportunities for commuting to jobs outside of it. In the community, money is now earned through a variety of means. Many people still work in their fields or hire themselves out, but others now have jobs working in carpentry or construction, or as tailors or bakers—in addition to owning land. A whole transportation industry opened up with new buses, vans, and trucks that transport people along the new highway. Men, women, and children all contribute to the economic situation of the family, who may have a little shop or sell sliced fruit outside their door, for example. The mother may embroider or weave. The children help with house cleaning or selling in the market, while the father works the corn fields.

In response to these new opportunities, many are choosing to put the work of their fathers to one side in pursuit of less tiring, more lucrative jobs. One aged basket weaver described to me how his children had grown up and looked for jobs elsewhere: "They don't make baskets. Only me. Since they don't like it, they go do another thing. This is my work." The work is no longer his family's work; it is only his.

One of the most striking examples of the town's rapid expansion is the town square's transformation. The town center is the business center and periodic market location (see Little 2004). Within the last ten years, the square has been completely remodeled: once a dirt area with makeshift stalls made from wood and plastic, it now consists of a new municipal building and two permanent commercial centers complete with a landscaped garden courtyard and fountain (that has running water during the rainy season). All three of these projects were marked with plaques signifying them as the past mayor's projects, who left office in 2007.

Another appreciated difference is the change in the opportunity for schooling in Santa Clara, which occurred within the last two generations. People over fifty commonly described their situation like basket weaver, Maria: "Because there wasn't [school] before, not like today, . . . I only went three years." In fact, many Clareños who now have school-age children were not given educational opportunities when they were younger. Now there are many who go away for a high school or university education. Also, the Santa Clara extension of the Pan-American University celebrated

its first year in May 2008. Opportunities for education are now there for those who value it. These educational opportunities lead to more diverse occupations within the community and outside of it.

New growth and transportation have also brought new types of visitors to the community. Lake Atitlán has been a popular tourist destination since the 1930s (see Little 2004), and as such, the towns on its edge have been greatly influenced economically and culturally by foreign and Guatemalan tourist traffic (see Little 2004; Ehlers 1992; Carlsen 1992). Being located farther up in the mountains, Santa Clara was not on the tourist track. Today, it still is not a common destination, but its popularity is growing. Maria's husband, Miguel, explained, "Ten or fifteen years ago, [foreigners] weren't here with us. They mostly visited Atitlán, Panajachel, and the tourist places around the lake, but when they opened [the road from the highway] to here, [people started coming]."

Also in Santa Clara, members of the Peace Corps now work with the municipality's ecotourism department in order to increase the visitors to Chuiraxomoló, the ecological park complete with scenic zip line. In the last year, they were visited by "twenty-five foreigners each month and ten or fifteen hundred nationals," according to a former director of the park. They see the foreigners' visits as being good for the town's economic development.

With the recent transformations to the town and its economy in business, education, and overall growth due to flows of more people in and out of the community, the basket is again being reinvented to suit a more prosperous future—just like when plastic replaced the Clareños' baskets on the plantations. Opening Santa Clara to outside visitors also allows for easier access to funds for developing the handicrafts of the town through development groups.

The primary organization people cite when explaining the recent changes in basket styles is Copikaj, a basket-weaving cooperative. Copikaj was started with the help of a Xela-based organization, FUNDAP, a foundation for research and cultural development, which has programs throughout Guatemala. One of its divisions is Prosem, whose mission is to promote entrepreneurial projects. Copikaj specializes in different styles of cane and bamboo baskets for exportation. Its leaders asks local weavers to make certain types of stylized products that are both useful and ornate, such as baskets, lamps, and hampers. In addition to exporting the baskets to outside markets, they sell them in a small, local shop in the town's commercial center. Buying goods in this shop is different from buying goods directly from a local basket weaver: the prices in the shop are fixed and are, in some cases, almost twice as high as those when buying directly.

Not all of the weavers in the area are part of this organization. In 2007, the group consisted of thirty-five weavers from the community, but in 2008 that number had dropped to fifteen. The staff includes two women who run the office and the micro-lending section of the project, which funds staff salaries, exportation, product development, and other costs to keep the group running. One man, Julio, is in charge of the production and exportation of the baskets. He is the primary

creator of new styles, making models that the other weavers follow. The weavers may create different styles for submission to Julio, but in the end, they produce the styles requested by the cooperative.

Indeed, Copikaj has had the greatest influence in expanding cane as a material for creating household items. From the time the cooperative was started in 2003 up to 2008, the number of styles has grown from around ten to over forty. Julio takes the baskets to various expositions, where he interacts with artisans from all parts of Guatemala.

The struggles Copikaj has in finding a market is an example of the challenges facing artisans all over the country. There are some artisans who make things from bamboo and who are involved in the cooperative but who also sell in other parts of the country. Prices for their cane baskets are low because of bamboo handicrafts and baskets imported from China. Julio does not know how these baskets are produced—whether by machine or by hand—but knows they are affecting the sale of his products. The markets he has found in Guatemala include shops, hotels, and offices in Xela, Panajachel, Guatemlala City, and Huehuetenango, as well as open-air markets in Xela and Totonicapán. Julio also looks for more markets in which to sell Copikaj's goods. For example, he and other representatives of the cooperative traveled down to the coast, but the baskets were not profitable there. They also tried selling them in El Salvador, but there were problems with the border police coming back across, and they lost all of their products after not selling much there anyway. They do not want to sell in Mexico for fear that similar difficulties will arise crossing the border.

One of Copikaj's largest consumers is Hiper Pais (a grocery store owned by Wal-Mart) in Guatemala City, so it follows that its main consumer base is made up of Guatemalans rather than foreigners. Julio postulates that foreigners generally do not buy the wares he sells (he says only about 5 percent of Copikaj's sales are to foreign tourists) because of the bulkiness of the product. He also assumes that those who do buy Copikaj's baskets use the product here but leave it when they go.

Just as he seeks new markets, Julio also seeks new designs. Previous to 2008, the Copikaj's leaders had worked with a Spanish woman and a Colombian man, both designers, to expand their product line. During the two months I worked with them, Julio was also scheduled to work with a designer from Guatemala City, whom he had met at a designer-artisan match-up activity in Sololá. At that activity, he asked me to take pictures of the other items. When I left after my two months were over, he was exploring his woodworking skills, mixing mediums similar to those we had seen in other places, like at the activity in Sololá.

Copikaj is a prime example of how Clareños are using the new resources available to them, such as the new sources of funding and the new markets, to reflect outside people and ideas. Julio and his associates directly influence the types of baskets that are made by some basket weavers of Santa Clara, as well as the types of baskets that represent Santa Clara in emerging markets. As shown in the example of the foreign designers and the use of mixed mediums, new ideas from outside sources are being introduced to recreate the basket for those new markets.

But the cooperative is just one example of how Clareños are adapting to the changing economic and social environment. One family who lived in my neighborhood is an example of those who have taken the making of new styles into their own hands. They started making different styles of baskets about the same time Copikaj began. They receive their inspiration from magazines featuring plastic containers and by copying designs made of reeds that come from the El Quiche area and are sold in Totonicapán (a regional artisan market in which they sell every Saturday). The family reported that their designs are unique, because they are made from cane and are very popular in the market.

Other Clareños continue to sell the styles that became popular when plastics replaced baskets produced for the coffee harvest. These vendors sell in the town market on Tuesdays and Saturdays, bringing their various sizes and shapes of baskets. The baskets are less ornate than those developed in the last five years, but are still popular with the people in the area. The wealthier basket weavers act as middlemen, buying from the local market and then selling the baskets in other markets, like those in Sololá or Xela.

Mario, a basket weaver who sells in Santa Clara's market, used to work with Copikaj but is not affiliated with it anymore. He complained primarily that retailers like Hiper Pais have a practice of returning the goods that do not sell after three months. Because of this practice, there is not always work for the cooperative's basket weavers, since Julio must sell the goods that were returned first. On the other hand, according to Julio, Mario is no longer part of Copikaj partly because he sold their designs on the side, which is against the cooperative's bylaws. He later resumed working with it, but after two years began selling their designs on the side again. Mario still makes baskets for his wife to sell in the town market, but he prefers weaving the Copikaj styles. "People like them," he said. "They want to buy them because they are pretty."

There are also those who still weave baskets the way they did in their youth. One example is Nicolas Santo, a sixty-eight-year-old man who attended three years of school. He continues to make his half-dozen each day and to visit the plantations in the Lowlands every few weeks to sell his wares.

As described above, many factors influence the development of different types of basket weavers, including the modernization of the town and changes in supply and demand. The basket's physical changes are not the only ways it is being reinvented. People's perceptions of the basket both inside and outside of the town are also changing, and basket weaving is becoming less common as the population and other opportunities increase. The importance of basket weaving is being carried down through generations by rhetoric and the act of weaving, itself.

Means for Inventing the Basket

Based on interviews I conducted with both Clareños who identify themselves as basket makers and those who do not, I found that unless their family identifies themselves as basket weavers, the individuals do not consider basket making to be

a custom of Clareños. This fact puzzled me greatly since that perception differs from the ideas I had both seen and heard from town leaders. I found that the invention of the grand tradition of basket making is a "top-down" phenomenon created by the most educated. As described earlier, those who make baskets have a simpler perspective of the trade's history and worth. Marisol, a student and former town queen, commented, "I believe that almost none of the people are giving [the basket] any importance. They are worrying about their jobs, which [are] not handicraft production." While the townspeople do not assign the same importance to the basket, they continue to support the tradition by participating in town activities and customs.

For those who still make baskets, the work is important because it provides economic support for their families and a certain respect for the work of their fathers. A sense of town pride and identity comes through more official avenues. The basket is being incorporated into the new way of life just as it is being transformed to fit the more modern version of the town that has been created during the past decade. As Tuleja stated, there are a wide variety of tools groups use to distinguish and manipulate their identities (1997: 8). For the Clareños, these tools include official publications and discourse, education, town activities and displays, and new markets where the basket debuts.

First of all, the municipality solidifies basket-weaving as a tradition and a part of the Santa Clara identity through discourse. They are driven in part by the stories that prove the antiquity of cane, baskets, and their town, like the one Anastasio, the current mayor, told. In official statistical reports the local government produces each year, the basket is included as one of the major economic activities of the people. The fact that they produce such statistics is not surprising since much of the population of Santa Clara still claims that everyone in the town has a working knowledge of basket weaving. A more striking example comes from a speech I heard after the annual parade in 2007, where the speaker lauded the basket and placed it on the same level of cultural importance as their traditional dress. This type of discourse is not uncommon, and the people hear the speakers' messages. For example, Mario explained to me that he does not think the work of making baskets is dying out because the baskets still sell. He explained that baskets produced in other locations (such as Canada, he said) break and are not biodegradable. The ones in Santa Clara go bad and go back into the earth. He followed this sentiment by saying he had heard this from the mayor and other educated people in the community.

Another way the municipality has solidified Santa Clara's identity is by officially naming the town "the Land of the Basket." Anastasio explained, "It wasn't done with a prideful intention. . . . Rather, since it is the art of the people, it is a medium of subsistence. At the departmental level of Sololá, [Santa Clara] is the municipality that is best distinguished by this art. . . . It is a trade of all. . . . It was given merit because it is a work of the family. Simply put, one must elevate or praise this trade in honor of its inhabitants. That is a conviction." This phrase of praise is now found on official tourism pamphlets and other documents produced by the municipality.

Copikaj is another example of municipal manipulation of tradition. Though not an official body of the mayor's office, the cooperative is highly praised in personal conversations by the mayor and his associates. The town leaders support the cooperative by purchasing baskets for town activities. Also, according to the ecotourism department's current and former directors, town leaders are considering working with Copikaj to stock the souvenir shop in the park and have even begun discussing the possibility with them [which I will discuss later]. For the mayor and the community leaders, the cooperative is a sign of modernization that they can market as a concrete example of their forward thinking. Anastasio's brother said, "Today, the basket is not only found here but is a transported art. It now has a cooperative . . . so I believe that we are modernizing even more the situation here in Santa Clara."

Another vehicle for incorporating the importance and usefulness of the basket is the school curriculum. Anastasio, who formerly worked as the director of the secondary school, explained that among the young, "very few are those that still learn this trade." He hopes that there is no danger of the tradition's extinction and believes that to prevent this extinction, it is necessary to teach basket weaving in school through an industrial arts class: "They should learn it," he said. And I often witnessed school children practicing crocheting or heard them talking about learning to make pine needle baskets as part of their education.

Anastasio, in his role as director, also created an application for the basket in teaching Mayan math, which he published in a guide for local educators. The Mayan math system is not widely used anymore but is resurging as part of the revitalization movements that have swept through the country in the last fifteen years. Anastasio explained that using baskets was a way of putting math in context for the children who are familiar with baskets and weaving them. He started by explaining the Mayan number *zero*. In Arabic, zero means nothing, but the Mayan zero means life, strength, and potential. He showed me the fleshy, hairy, oval-shaped part that grows on the knot. From this part grows another cane, which is why it symbolizes these virtues. They chose other parts of the cane to signify the numbers *one* and *five.* He also developed different symbols (all having to do with baskets and the weaving process) for addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. By using cane to teach traditional Mayan math, educators are pairing a local tradition with an old one. The curriculum conveys a sense of pride and usefulness to children, both weavers and non-weavers alike.

The basket also has a strong presence in local traditions (though it is not often directly associated with them), which again reinforces its usefulness and importance to the Clareños. Tat Lu' told me, for example, "If there is a marriage, you bring *tamalitos* since there is a custom of taking tamalitos to the woman. . . . So you carry a big basket of tamalitos [and also keep] bread in your basket. . . . [Also] inside the basket goes the pot [of *caldito*] so that no one gets burned." With this statement, Tat Lu' expressed something I had been noticing at town events: the basket is always present in a secondary status. Its legacy is to have mostly a helper role.

One of the most anticipated traditions of the town is the annual fair, where vendors and partygoers alike join in celebrations dedicated to the town and its patron saint, Nicolas (who was a young basket weaver). Part of the town fair is a large parade featuring the older school children and floats entered by various businesses in the community. For the last three years, Copikaj has entered a float, but this year considered not entering because they were defeated in last year's float contest. The representative from Fundap who frequently visits them and is in charge of overseeing the project status urged them to enter a float since it would be one of the best marketing tools they would have in the year. The group responsible for the music and entertainment, the Association of Basket Weavers, took it upon themselves to go door-to-door asking for donations. With these fund-raising efforts, they can provide music in honor of Santa Clara de Asis, another patron saint. They chose the name of the association because basket weaving is the work of the community. The stages they set up for the concerts are always decorated with greenery and woven decorations.

The importance of the basket is also portrayed in other artistic town activities. First of all, folkloric dances are included in the program of almost every large town and school function. The dances performed always tell a story and depict ritualistic or other types of scenes from everyday life. Examples of the types of dances include representations of past traditions (such as certain courtship rituals, or annual traditions like the grapefruit fight that takes place during the Holy Week). The basket usually plays a role in the scene, if appropriate. Again, as Tat Lu' described, it takes a supportive position and is often integral in carrying goods to and from the market or in carrying bread from house to house during Holy Week.

One activity where the elements of discourse and the representation of the basket come together is the selection of the town queen or, literally, the town flower (*ukotz'ij tinamit*). Every year the gym is decorated with cane decorations, and baskets are often given to the judges or crowd as gifts from each candidate. (In 2008, the majority of the baskets were purchased from Copikaj.) Each candidate also contributes to a folkloric setting when entering the gymnasium before taking her place on the stage. Through questions and speeches, each candidate promotes town ideals about education and women's rights; mention of the basket varies based on the question topics.

The performance of Santa Clara tradition does not end after the election of the new *kotz'ij*. The kotz'ij will travel around Guatemala as the honored guest of other town queens during their own fairs, where they will pass on their crown to the next elected queen. Marisol, a former kotz'ij, said, "When I go as an invited guest, I always take little baskets. Since this is 'the land of the basket,' I have to take baskets. If it were the land of, for example, pine needles, I would have to take pine needles. There the people see that Santa Clara is indeed the land of the basket. It is very important." The kotz'ij expands the reaches of the importance of the basket in Santa Clara's identity beyond the town and the markets the Clareños frequent. Following Saxe, the Clareños endow their daily lives with meaning through the use of the basket in performance.

The town and its basket makers also find other ways to perform their traditions to new audiences. One way is by selling baskets in the new markets Copikaj is exploring. The weavers reach a broader base of consumers, both Maya and mestizo. Their products aid in the creation of the traditional Mayan image produced for tourists in the Lake Atitlán area, since many of their consumers are hotels or restaurants frequented by these foreigners. When describing that the houses in the area used to be made of corn stalks, one basket weaver said, "Now what is made from cane is becoming traditional in tourist places around the lake. In houses, restaurants, and hotels, it is an enjoyable and admired craft." The new uses of cane are being integrated into a traditional world created for those who are generally unfamiliar with the Mayan ways of life.

The town itself is seeking out new ways to broadcast their created tradition to new audiences. With the increasing number of visitors coming to Santa Clara, the municipality is working to improve its ecological park. The former head of the park described their plan to build a visitor's center that will "have a cafeteria . . . and an area of exhibition and souvenir sales. So the idea there is to sell the handicrafts of the people." As of now, the structure is built but lacks the services and shops. They still plan to have basket weavers doing demonstrations of their craft. Currently, Julio and representatives from Santa Clara, Santa Lucia, and San Juan are discussing collaboration on creating a tourist route that begins at a lodge in Santa Lucia, proceeds to Chuiraxomoló in Santa Clara, and then goes on to San Juan, where the tour group would witness a traditional Mayan home. The leaders of Copikaj are collaborating with others in the project and hope to sell Copikaj's products in each of these locations.

With expansion of the craft, Copikaj is also facing the same problems that the entire Guatemalan craft market faces. Those in charge of the cooperative complain that there is not always work for the artisans or that their basket prices are not competitive in the market because of cheap exports from China and bamboo handicrafts that are quite popular these days. Copikaj's representatives are, in turn, forced to pay the artisans less for their work or face huge losses. Rigoberto, a teacher of bamboo handicrafts, said regarding a direct market for handicrafts:

> I think that each craftsman should have a place to offer his product. One of the problems here in Guatemala is that there are many artisans, but there isn't a market. So, since handicrafts often saturate the market here, what [craftsmen] try to do is have a direct market for exportation outside of the country to the United States, Canada, Germany, and different countries. But here, exportation is not easily available.

Copikaj is just one of many projects in Guatemala geared toward making handicraft production a lucrative trade. One way the government is attempting to help the situation is by encouraging what they call *Rescate de Artesanía* (Handicraft Rescue). They hold workshops in many communities, where they teach new techniques to aid the production of old crafts, setting them apart. Copikaj and town leaders are helping this "rescue," though it is not explicitly a part of the movement. They, along with other basket weavers who have transformed their product to keep up with market

demand, are trying to maintain the image of the importance of the basket so it does not die out. One housewife said, "If they put it to one side, there it will die and then there will be nothing. There will be no one who makes baskets. . . . It will be like we don't know anything."

To reiterate, the Clareños use a variety of tools to reinvent their basket-weaving tradition in the face of modernization, including official publications and discourse, education, town activities and displays, and new markets where the basket debuts. By these means the tradition stays fresh in the mentality of the townspeople, though fewer of them are using the basket as their primary means of income. Though most of the rhetoric concerning the importance of the basket to Santa Clara identity originates from local leaders, this idea is being acted out in townspeople's participation in customs such as dance, the town fair, and the selection of the town queen. With these presentations, and the creation of new niches and markets, the basket is also being broadcast as essential to the Santa Clara identity to others in Guatemala, thereby keeping the tradition alive in the mentality of the Other.

Conclusion

As Glassie (1995) stated, each person leaves his or her own mark on tradition. Those who live now will pass on their work and values as they see them. Anastasio and others laud the basket as being family work, with all members participating in the weaving process. Within basket-weaving homes, these skills are being taught to the next generation. In the education system and community activities, the importance of the basket is displayed for those who no longer have weaving skills. These activities also serve to imbue the basket with meaning for those who still work with cane, giving them community support after years of the basket being a symbol of poverty. A particular basket weaver said, "I don't know why there wasn't [other work]. The people didn't have the mentality to rise above the way of life of our ancestors. They were very conformist." Now that there is a market and people like their styles, there is a motivation to make them. Indeed, here we see the influence of Hobsbawm's idea of supply and demand continually working upon the traditions of the people, from the first production of the basket out of economic necessity to the creation of new ways to manipulate cane in response to new markets.

All three of Glassie's categories for inventors of tradition are found within Santa Clara. The first, those who recreate the whole, are found in basket weavers like Nicolas who continue to make baskets for the lowland plantations. Those who make the newer styles for use in the home represent the category of those who take apart their tradition while still preserving the essence. The third category, where only a general tone or feel is preserved, is evidenced in those who use bamboo instead of cane to make baskets, and in the newest designs in Copikaj, where the product is mostly wood with some cane accents. All three of these types of products are still considered the traditional work of the people.

For the Clareños, the question of authenticity is not in reality a debated issue, because the new traditions were born out of an ancient past (even though the

tradition is taking on new forms). In fact, through the years, they have used the basket to differentiate themselves from other Mayan communities and (now that tourism is becoming a larger industry) to accentuate their "otherness." This cultural differentiation has been a creation of both the leadership and the basket weavers. We see the concatenation of parties all coming together to influence their tradition. The parties range from interest groups like Fundap and the scholars of the community to the basket weavers who are essential to creating the tradition by living it.

Moreover, I have shown that in response to new and increasing interactions with a variety of markets and people, Clareños are changing the forms they create with cane, the basket. Its new forms are quickly becoming a solidified tradition in the minds of the Clareños and others in Guatemala because of a variety of performance and rhetoric in town functions and in the marketplace.

Through the artists who have created and continue to create new designs for modern needs, we see an example of the artists who Glassie said "take control, and . . . are performing when their multiplex responsibilities fuse in the heat of creation. Isolating within performance its valence of historical responsibility, without which it could not be, we have come again upon tradition" (1995: 402–3). They take the responsibility while creating their future traditions, "at once, [keeping] faith with the past, with their deceased teachers, and with the present, the mumbling members of the audience who seek engagement now and might act later upon what they learn. Then, performers must keep faith with themselves" (Glassie 1995: 402). Basket weavers do feel they are preserving the work of their fathers while still providing for the future. By helping to construct meaning inside and outside of the community, performers express the faith they have in themselves.

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Hiva Usu: Preserving Sacred Choral Music of Tonga

Robert D. Swenson

Abstract

Hiva usu is a unique genre of choral music arising from the interaction between Tongan and Protestant Christian missionary cultures. The genre is characterized by its exploration of biblical texts and religious themes and by a distinctive sound which results particularly from the quality of the soprano and alto voices, and homophonic singing. In the second section of this paper, a collection of six pieces are presented which represent the diverse compositional styles and techniques that fall within this musical tradition.

Introduction

The Kingdom of Tonga is a small island nation in the South Pacific, situated south of Samoa and east of Fiji. The early history of the people who inhabited these islands is unclear, because written language did not exist there until Westerners arrived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Oral tradition holds, however, that music and singing has been an integral part of Tongan society since the beginning. Remnants of the earliest song forms and performance practices were documented by early explorers such as Captain Cook and William Mariner (Moyle 18).

Protestant missionaries from England first set foot in Tonga in the early nineteenth century. Along with a radically new theology, they brought with them a musical style rooted in western European tradition. Tongans whole-heartedly embraced Christianity and eagerly integrated elements of European culture into their own—both in a religious and in a musical sense (Campbell 56–57). This combining of cultures resulted in a unique style of hymn singing that blended Western tonality and form with traditional Tongan musical practices. Before about 1850, only hymns from the official Wesleyan church hymnal were sung, but as the style's popularity spread, native Tongans began composing their own hymns, incorporating elements of traditional Tongan life into the text. In time, this newly constructed musical genre would be given the name *hiva usu* (Moyle 25).

Hiva usu is important to the history of music in Tonga, because it is the source from which other important musical genres came, including *hiva kakala* (accompanied love songs) and the immensely popular song and dance style, the *lakalaka* (Shumway 467). Despite hiva usu being such a fundamental part of Tonga's musical heritage, very little effort has been made by scholars to analyze examples and to better understand what makes it unique (Stillman 96).

From April to August of 2007, I conducted on-site field research in the Tongan Islands with the purpose of preserving examples of hiva usu through the mediums of audio recording and written transcription. I also conducted several firsthand

interviews to better understand the history and theory of hiva usu as understood by contemporary Tongans. This paper is a synthesis of the information collected and analyzed during that period.

In Part I different aspects of hiva usu will be explored, including compositional style and form, contemporary performance practice, and religious subject matter as a framework for composition. Part II contains six examples of hiva usu that have been transcribed into traditional notation with accompanying musical analysis and translations of the texts.

A deeper look into this distinctive art form will provide the reader with a greater understanding of the musical idioms that make hiva usu unique, as well as a glimpse of the remarkable faith and religious fervor that is an inseparable part of Tongan society.

Part I: History and Definition of Hiva Usu

History

The origins of hiva usu trace back to the arrival of the first Christian missionaries from Europe. Protestant missionaries attempted to teach native Tongans to sing hymns during worship services, but the melodies and harmonies were altered by the people and the songs were sometimes hardly recognizable after a short while. For example, songs that were composed in a major key were performed in a minor key because it was closer to the tonal framework that Tongans used in their own traditional music before the arrival of the missionaries (Linkels 4). William Moon, an early Protestant missionary to Tonga, wrote in his journal (14 June 1830):

> Several of our excellent tunes are spoiled by the natives from singing them in a minor key; others are so completely metamorphosed that we scarcely know sometimes what tunes they sing.

Although Tongans readily accepted the singing of Protestant hymns, they were not willing to fully abandon their own musical heritage. They sang the Protestant hymns in the same manner that they would sing traditional *hiva 'a'alo,* or ancient rowing songs (Moyle 23).

Eventually Tongans began using music that the missionaries had imported as a rough framework for composing their own hymns in their own style. This is how hiva usu began.

Definition

The word "hiva" means "music" or "to sing." The term "hiva usu" is universally understood and used in conversation throughout the Tongan islands. Strangely, however, the word "usu" does not, to date, appear in any Tongan language dictionary and its exact meaning is unclear.

Several scholars in the field of Tongan studies have offered varying definitions for the word "usu." Dr. Amanaki Havea, a native Tongan and an expert on Tongan music, describes the term "usu" to mean "self inspired" or "self expression." Another expert, Sione Manu, associates it with "imagination." Dr. Richard Moyle, author of *Tongan Mu-*

sic and arguably the world's leading expert on the history of music in Tonga, describes the word "usu" to mean "composed by ear," "happy," or "stimulating" (Linkels 5).

During my field work, I interviewed a local expert who offered yet another definition. Viliami Tovo, a practicing choir director with the Church of Tonga, described hiva usu this way:

Koe "usu," 'oku tatau pe mo 'ete ha'u pe ha taha 'o fai pe ha fo'i talanoa mai 'ikai ke te 'ilo kita pe koe ma'u mei fe 'ae talanoa pea u tala atu leva 'e au "ko ha fo'i usu e," 'a ia ko ha fo'i me'a ta'emo'oni ia. Ko ia, ko e 'uhinga 'oku ui ai 'e he kakai Tonga ko e "usu," 'uhinga ko ha hiva ne 'ikai ke fa'u'aki ha tu'ungafasi. Na'e fa'u pe 'e nautolu 'i he ongo pe 'anautolu fakanatula pe 'ae kakai 'i he taimi ko e.

"Usu" is sort of like if someone came up to me and told me a story that I didn't know the source of, I would say, "That's nothing but usu," meaning "I don't know if it's true or not because it was just hearsay." Therefore, the reason Tongan people call it *hiva usu* is because it was not taken from a definite source, like a piece of written music. They composed it according to the way they naturally felt.

Based on other formal and informal interviews I conducted while in Tonga, this definition seems consistent with the way everyday Tongans describe hiva usu.

Subcategories

The term "hiva usu" can be difficult to understand because of the fact that it contains multiple, slightly-differing definitions. When trying to understand the term "hiva usu," I find it useful to draw a comparison from the word "opera." The word "opera" could refer to one of at least three things in conversation:

1) The original operas composed by Peri, Monteverdi, and others in the early seventeenth century.
2) One of numerous subcategories growing out of the original opera genre that have unfolded through the years, such as bel canto, opera buffa, or musical theater.
3) A specific *style* of singing.

The term "hiva usu" functions in a similar manner. First, it can refer to the original genre composed by native Tongans at the arrival of the first Christian missionaries during the nineteenth century. There are also a number of subgenres that have grown out of or have been inspired by the original genre. These are oftentimes collectively referred to as hiva usu. The following are examples of song categories that have grown out of the original hiva usu genre:

1) *Hiva fakahokohoko'ofa* or *hiva fakakupukupu:* Hymn-like compositions by Tongans that are mostly homophonic and include a strong refrain. (Sometimes they are translations of hymns with an original chorus added.)
2) *Hiva solo:* Hiva usu featuring frequent soprano (sometimes tenor) solos. This genre shows an influence of European solo music but still retains a distinct

Tongan style. These are later works composed after the Tongans learned more about European music.

3) *Hiva himi:* Translations of European hymns sung in a Tongan style (Linkels 4–5).

These subcategories are not always definite and, in practice, musical selections may be a combination of two or more subcategories.

The common element that unifies all of these subcategories is the style in which they are sung. Just as we associate opera singing with a specific vocal sound related to an accompanying set of common performance practices, the term "hiva usu" often functions as a stylistic descriptor rather than a specific compositional genre.

Hiva Usu Style

Based on my research and analysis, I have identified three broad elements that are common across all subcategories of hiva usu. First, the texts are adaptations of stories and doctrines from the Old and New Testaments. Second, the soprano and alto voices each have a unique timbre that is the same in all types of hiva usu performance. Third, hiva usu is, for the most part, sung in purely homophonic style (with the exception of solo sections found in hiva solo).

BIBLICAL TEXTS

Around 1855, the first accounts of hiva usu were recorded. The texts, written by native Tongans, were adaptations of sermons heard at church services. This practice became increasingly popular, and by 1884, the year the first edition of the Tongan Bible was printed, it was widespread throughout the kingdom (Moyle 26).

Popular themes in early hiva usu included the creation from the book of Genesis, the story of Moses and the children of Israel from the book of Exodus, the life of Jesus Christ from the books in the New Testament, and the Second Coming from the book of Revelation.

This practice continues today in more recently composed hiva usu. It is interesting to note, however, that older hiva usu tend to stay truer to the actual text of the translated Bible while newer selections are generally more liberal with word choice and content.

SOPRANO AND ALTO TIMBRE

The unique quality of the soprano and alto voices in hiva usu is usually the most striking attribute to a first-time listener's ear. In Western music, differentiation among voices is, for the most part, a function of vocal range alone. In the performance of hiva usu, the soprano and alto voices are astonishingly different in timbre as well.

The alto *(kanokano)* is the lead voice. Singing within—but by no means limited to—the lower female register, the altos produce a harsh, penetrating sound that can be heard clearly through the other voices. This voice part is not limited to women alone but is often the choice of smaller children who frequently sing in church choirs.

The sopranos, by contrast, produce a tone with a much freer and more open timbre. They maintain this clear tone throughout staggeringly high passages.

Only grown women sing in this section and its numbers are usually fewer than the altos.

HOMOPHONIC SINGING

Another common element in hiva usu style is homophonic, block-chord singing. Like many other hiva usu stylistic elements, this has been a trademark of Tongan music since long before the arrival of the European missionaries.

The *tau'a'alo,* or "rowing song," is an indigenous genre that was sung while groups of men traversed the islands in large canoes. Later on, the genre evolved into songs sung on land to accompany any type of manual labor. In time, women's voices were also added. These songs were sung in three-part harmony or more, using a pitch collection that resembled minor mode (Moyle 184–186).

When Tongans began singing Christian hymns, they sung them in the homophonic style of the traditional tau'a'alo songs they knew. To the relief of the early missionaries, major mode eventually replaced minor mode in hymn singing, and primitive voice leading and harmonies were, for the most part, repressed by more refined European tastes (Moyle 24).

There are, however, some homophonic elements of the tau'a'alo songs still prevailing in hiva usu. For example, the earliest notated examples of tau'a'alo songs indicate that doubling of the soprano and tenor lines was common (Moyle 189). This is a common practice in many hiva usu selections as well. Parallel fourths and fifths are common in tau'a'alo songs (Moyle 190). Likewise, they are heard frequently in most hiva usu songs (although they are less common in written hiva usu).

Another interesting commonality between tau'a'alo harmony and hiva usu is the frequent use of ornamental appoggiaturas when resolving to the I chord. For example, a singer may choose to resolve to the third scale degree of the I chord by first singing the fourth scale degree and then sliding downward. It is also common to slide from the fourth or sixth scale degree to the fifth or from the second to the first. Interestingly, resolving from the seventh scale degree up to the first—a practice that is commonplace in Western music—is rarely heard in hiva usu.

Part II: Six Hiva Usu Selections

The following section contains six samples of hiva usu that have been written out in traditional notation (either by aural analysis or from numerical Tongan notation). I selected these particular samples because of their usefulness in illustrating the diversity of styles and techniques employed in the composition of hiva usu. Each example is accompanied by an English translation of the text, and a short analysis of the piece.

The first two selections are examples of hiva fakakupukupu. The third is an anonymous traditional hiva solo. The last three examples are hiva solo selections written by a widely known modern composer in Tonga named Sitiveni (Stephen) Fonua. This acclaimed composer's work was made popular by frequent radio broadcasts of the Church of Tonga Choir from Ngele'ia, Tongatapu, in the 1980–90s. The diversity of Fonua's musical style may be observed in these three samples.

Sample 1
Ke Tau Hiva Fiefia
(Let Us Sing With Joy)
Anonymous

KUPU 1
Ke tau hiva fiefia 'i he 'ofa 'a e 'Otua
'Ene 'omi kitaua mei he ta'u kuo 'alu
Ko Sihova na'a ne taki si'etau fononga
Ko e 'ave ki he kolo ta'engata

VERSE 1
Let us sing with joy because of the love of God
He has brought you and I from the past year
Jehovah has led our journey
And He will lead us to the eternal city

TAU
Tokanga'i 'a e 'ofa 'ae 'Otua
Na'a ko ha faka'osi ta'u e
Ka ta teuteu mu'a ke vave he ko 'eni pe
'A e taimi faingamalie

CHORUS
Take notice of God's love
Lest it be your last year
But let us prepare quickly for
Now is the only opportunity

KUPU 2
Si'i fononga na'e fai 'Isileli he toafa
Hulu 'a e faingata'a ne tau mo 'etau fononga
Ko Sihova na'a ne taki si'etau fononga
Ko e 'ave ki he kolo ta'engata

VERSE 2
Israel wandered in the wilderness
Great were the afflictions that we encountered
Jehovah led our journey
And He will lead us to the eternal city

KUPU 3
Nofo mo ke 'amanaki 'oku vave mai 'a e taimi
Ke veteki 'a e nofo 'oku tau nofo 'i ai
Ka ke 'ilo ko e nofo muli 'eni 'oku fai
Oku ofi ke veteki 'a e nofo ni

VERSE 3
Watch and look forward for the time is near
When this life we are in will end
Know that we are only strangers here
And the time is near when this state will end

Background

This is a fairly popular hiva usu number, sung in multiple regions of Tonga. The transcription here is from a recording of the congregation of the Free Church of Tonga in Mataika, Vava'u, on 29 June 2007. The transcription of the music only contains the first verse (for editorial reasons), but in the recording, all three verses are sung.

Analysis

The text of this piece is not a particular Bible story, but rather a sermon on a point of doctrine. The message is that we need to take notice of God's love and care in this life because this life will soon end. Mention is made of the children of Israel in the second verse (a very common theme for hiva usu). Interestingly, the tense changes suddenly from the first line of this verse ("Israel wandered in the wilderness") to the second ("Great were the afflictions that we encountered"). Rather than saying "we are *like* the children of Israel," the singer suddenly *becomes* one of Israel's Hosts.

Textually, this piece is representative of most congregational singing done in Tongan churches: primarily homophonic, block-chord singing, with occasional call-and-response segments (m. 18). In the chorus, the bass line is present only in the second half of each phrase. In this manner, more important lines of text receive added emphasis.

The doubling of the soprano and tenor lines reflects the influence of tau'a'alo singing, as does the straight, pulsing rhythm heard through most of the piece (excepting

the dotted quarter- to eighth-note patterns that occur frequently beginning at measure fourteen, and the barred eighth-note pairs at measures seventeen, eighteen, twenty-one, and twenty-five).

Sample 2
Ne Hiva 'ae Tau Isileli
(The Hosts of Israel Sang)
Anonymous

KUPU 1	VERSE 1
Ne hiva 'a e tau 'Isileli	The hosts of Israel sang
'I he'enau tu'u ki kauvai	When they stood on the other side
Mo e tahi kulokula:	Of the Red Sea:
"Ka ko Sihova na'e taki!"	"Jehovah has led us!"

TAU	CHORUS
'E Sisu e, ko Koe pe,	Jesus, only you,
Tuku ke u hufanga ai	Let me take refuge in Thee
Si'a ngaahi laumalie	Your beloved spirits:
Sino mo e 'atamai.	Body and mind

KUPU 2	VERSE 2
Meliame mo e kau fefine (kau fefine),	Miriam and the other women
Na'a nau tu'uaki 'a e hiva ('a e hiva)	Offered songs of gratitude
Mo e me'e fiefia	And happy rejoicing
'i he'enau tu'u ki kau vai.	When they stood on the other *side*

Background

The music for this example is also a transcription from a recording made in Mataika, Vava'u, on 29 June 2007. Although not quite as popular as *Ke Tau Hiva Fiefia*, this is another selection sung in multiple regions of Tonga.

Analysis

The text to *Ne Hiva 'ae Tau Isileli* describes the events that took place after the children of Israel had crossed the Red Sea and were safe on dry ground. In the Old Testament, the book of Exodus (chapter fifteen) describes how, upon reaching dry ground, the children of Israel sang. The second stanza is taken directly from verse twenty of the same chapter:

And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances (KJV 101).

Just as in *Ke Tau Hiva Fiefia*, the chorus of this selection suddenly shifts from third person to first person, putting the singer in the place of the Hosts of Israel.

There are two noteworthy musical features in this selection: first, the pervasive use of call and response texture, and second, the frequent changes in meter during the chorus. During each verse, the bass line echoes the end of each phrase (see m. 2). During the chorus, however, the ensemble essentially splits into seven parts where half of the tenors, altos, and sopranos are the *call* and the remaining four parts are the *response* (m. 9–10).

When the chorus begins at measure nine, the tempo remains the same as in the other verses, but rather than continuing in a straight, common time rhythm, each beat is felt as a triplet, creating a strong 12/8 feel. The harmonic rhythm is sped up slightly in measures thirteen to fifteen by switching momentarily from 12/8 to 9/8. This sudden change serves to heighten energy right before the final cadence.

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Sample 3
Ko e Lupe
(The Dove)
Anonymous

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Laumalie maliu hifo	The spirit came down
Hange ko e lupe	Like a dove.
Si'i lupe, si'i lupe	Little dove, little dove,
Si'i lupe ko e taipe 'e Sisu	This little dove is a type of Jesus.
Si'i lupe 'ene maliu hifo	The little dove came down.
Mei he langi	*From heaven*
Lupe 'ene ha'u mo e melino	This dove came with peace
Si'i lupe ko e pele 'o langi	This dove is the Beloved of Heaven
Fakataipe ko e lupe kuo ha'u	*The dove that has come was a type*
Lupe fekau	The dove was commanded
Pele 'o langi	*Beloved of heaven*
Sisu ko e lupe ia	Jesus is the dove
Ke tau fiefia	*Let us be happy*
Kuo 'i mamani	Because to the earth has come
Sisu Kalaisi mo e melino	Jesus Christ and peace
Lupe fekau	The dove was commanded
Pele 'o langi	Beloved of heaven
Ko Sisu Kalaisi	Jesus Christ
Ne 'omai	Has brought
'Ofa ne hoko	Love that was like
Ia ko e lupe	A dove.
Ko e lupe koe	This dove is
Pele 'o langi	*The Beloved of Heaven*
Ko ia te ne	He will
Ikuna'i 'a e	Overcome the
Maama faingata'a	Difficult world
'Oku tau 'i ai	That we live in.
Ko ia 'e hoko	He will become
Ia ko e lupe	The dove.
Ko e lupe koe	This dove is
Pele 'o langi	*The Beloved of Heaven*
Sisu 'ofa e!	What great love of Jesus!

Background

This is a very curious selection among traditional hiva usu, because it is very detailed in the manner in which it is performed (unique rhythms, alternating soloists with choir, intricate melodic lines) yet it seems to have been transmitted orally through the years and the source is unknown. Variations of this song may be heard in different villages of Tonga (although it is not known in all regions). Each variation differs with

regard to tempo, soloist choice, and other musical elements. The transcription included here was taken from the 29 June 2007 recording in Mataika, Vava'u.

Analysis

The message in *Ko e Lupe* is that Jesus Christ is the "dove" who has brought peace to the earth and who will eventually overcome all evil. It is not clear whether this has reference to the dove mentioned in the first chapter of John in the New Testament or if it is purely metaphorical, independent of any literal biblical reference. The lyrics in this selection are mostly fragmented pieces of words and phrases as opposed to complete sentences telling a story. This suggests that the text was meant to serve the music and not the other way around.

The piece begins with all voices singing the melody in unison. Just as in *Ne Hiva Isileli,* this song features frequent alternation between straight 4/4 and triplet-based 12/8 patterns (m. 5–6). At measure eleven, a trio (consisting of one alto, one tenor, and one bass) sings a short, slow homophonic phrase, wherein the rest of the ensemble immediately responds with a faster, unison passage. The trio then sings another passage, similar to the one before, after which the basses sing a short, two-measure response. This pattern continues, with some variation, until measure forty-two.

In the Mataika recording, the singers frequently used a technique that is common in the performance of hiva usu, which is the appoggiatura resolution to the I chord. An example of this technique may be observed in measure thirteen of *Ko e Lupe,* where the bass soloist's note resolves quickly from C up to D. Another example is found in measure twenty-seven, where the tenor resolves from C to B-flat. Since these types of resolutions are ornamental devices used at the discretion of the performer, only a few select examples have been notated for the purpose of analysis.

The section of music from measures forty-three through fifty-nine is a call-and-response in 6/8 meter featuring two verses of text, each of which is sung twice. In the middle of this section is a single 7/8 meter measure placed directly before the penultimate phrase in the trio. This subtle rhythmic "hiccup," together with the entire ensemble singing a V chord on the second syllable of the word *lupe,* creates a unique sense of unsettledness right before the final call-response couplet.

Sample 4
Ko e Tala'ofa 'ae 'Otua
(God's Promise)
By Sitiveni Fonua

Ko e tala'ofa 'eni 'a e 'Otua ki he'ene
Fanau 'oku nau talangofua,
Mou fanongo ki he 'Eiki, 'ene ngaahi
Tala'ofa ki mamani e.
'Oi au he 'ofa ko e fakalaloa
'A hotau 'Otua ka tau mo'ui ai.

This is God's promise to His
Children who are obedient.
Listen to the Lord, these are His
Promises to the world.
I am amazed at the Mediator's love;
Our God has made intercession and we shall yet live.

Ko e palomesi na'a Ne tala	His promise that he gave is
"Ko Hoku toto ko e fakama'a	"My blood shall cleanse you
'A ho'omou hia."	From your sins"
Ke 'oua te mou lata ke nofo 'i taimi	Do not be content in this life.
Mou teuteu pe 'a ho fale	Prepare your house,
Ko e nofo tutuku pe 'oku tau fai.	For this is only a temporary stay.
Mou tu'u pea mou fakaha	Stand up and testify that
Ko ia te ne ikuna te ne ma'u 'a e pale koula.	He who overcomes shall receive the golden reward.
Ko e 'ofa 'a hotau 'Otua!	How great is the love of our God!
Sisu, 'a ho'o 'ofa	Jesus, Thy love
'I Ketisemani 'o tauta'a koe'uhi ko au	In Gethsemane; thou did sweat for me.
Sisu ke ta fe'ao mo au?	Jesus, wilt thou stand with me?
He ko ia pe te ne tu'u 'i he fe'ao mo au	I know He is the one who will stand with me
Te ke to'o au ki ho fatafata 'o'ou	Thou shall hold me in Thy bosom
Ha'u a hoku 'ofa'anga	"Come, my beloved"
Ho'o 'ofa hulu fau ne fai 'i Kalivale	Your great love was shown on Calvary.
Ke mou tokanga ki he 'aho 'o e 'ahi'ahi	Take heed in the day of temptation
Ke mou ui pe ki hono huafa.	That you are calling upon his name.
'E Tamai, 'oku mau tangi 'iate Koe	Father, we cry unto Thee
Ke ke 'afio au pe 'e Koe	Look down upon me
He kuo lahi 'emau hia kiate Koe	For I have sinned much against Thee
'Eiki e, ke ke 'afio pe kiate au	Lord, I beseech Thee to hear me
Ke ke tuku mai ho'o 'ofa	Send down Thy love
Ki hoku fale he mamahi	Into my sorrowful house
Ke ke fanongo ki he'eku tangi	And listen to my cry
Ki ho fofonga.	Unto Thee.

Background

    This is the first of three songs created by the Tongan composer Sitiveni Fonua that are presented in this collection. Powerful original texts, complex rhythmic devices, and atypical harmonies make his music stand out among recently composed hiva usu. The three songs that appear in this collection are all examples of the subgenre hiva solo. Transcriptions into traditional notation were made from numerical Tongan written music and from aural analysis.

Analysis

    The text in *Ko e Tala'ofa 'ae 'Otua* is a sermon on the basic tenets of Christianity: God has promised that his obedient children will be saved from destruction, because Jesus Christ has suffered to cleanse them from their sins. Particularly moving are the two solo/small group verses (m. 74 and m. 129) which are both prayers—first to Jesus and then to God—acknowledging the greatness of deity and pleading for help in overcoming sin.

    The first section (m. 1–73) is sung in four-part harmony with the basses interjecting short, disjunct melodic lines between phrases. There is a melodic motif that first appears at measure fifteen and then reappears intermittently throughout the entire piece (m. 22, 68, 78, 89, 115, and 123).

The rhythm in this first section uses triplets, eighth and sixteenth note sets, and frequent changes in meter to give it a unique, constantly changing rhythmic feel. Particularly jarring is the 4/4 to 3/8 to 5/8 back to 3/8 sequence found in measures thirty-seven to forty.

At measure seventy-four, a men's quartet sings a slow, drawn-out phrase, after which the choir sings a quicker, succinct response (a repeat of the main motif from measure fifteen). This pattern continues through measure 106. At measure 107, the quartet and choir continue in a call and response pattern, but the tempo is faster, and the choir is echoing the words of the quartet.

Measure 129 marks the beginning of another small ensemble/choir call-response section, but this time it is a women's trio of only soprano voices. Notably high pitches, such as the high D in measure o149, are not uncommon in passages like this. Moreover, in performance, it is not uncommon for the choir director to raise the key by half of a step and repeat the same passage in order to showcase the range of a particular soprano singer—a practice known as *hikihiki to* (raising the 'do').

Sample 5
Selusalema
(Jerusalem)
By Sitiveni Fonua

Kolo ko Selusalema	City of Jerusalem
'Oku ke fungani koe	You are the greatest
'I he ngaahi fonua	Of all the lands
'A hono faka'ofo'ofa	Her beauty
Mo hono masani	And brilliance
'Ae kolo ko Selusalema	City of Jerusalem
'E ngalo koe he ha?	How could you be forgotten?
Hono 'ikai ke ngangatu	It is as a sweet fragrance
'Ae tala 'o Selusalema	The story of Jerusalem
'Afio ai 'ae 'Otua	Dwelling place of God
'I Selusalema e	In Jerusalem
Na'e mahu tafea	Flooded with great pain
'Ae kolo tapu.	Was the Holy City.
Selusalema (hoihoifua)	Jerusalem (beautiful)
Fungani koe (he 'ikai te ke ngalo)	You are the greatest (you shall not be forgotten)
Ki he 'Otua 'e Selusalema e (faka'ofo'ofa)	Unto God, Jerusalem (beautiful)
'Ae pele 'ofeina (ko koe pe!)	The beloved place (only you!)
Ko 'eku 'ofa'anga ('ae 'Otua)	My love (of God)
Selusalema 'oku tapu ('e Selusalema e)	Jerusalem is holy (Jerusalem)
Hoihoifua hono ngaahi teunga (mo masani)	Her garments are beautiful (and brilliant)
He 'ikai ngalo koe	You shall not be forgotten
'A 'eku haohaoa ('i he ngaahi pule'anga)	My ideal of perfection (among all kingdoms)
Selusalema (he 'ikai fufu koe)	Jerusalem (you shall not be hidden)
Selusalema hono 'afio'anga (kolo ha'u)	Jerusalem, His dwelling place (city of coming)
Selusalema (he 'ikai ngalo koe he ha)	Jerusalem (surely, you shall not be forgotten)
'A hono faka'ofo'ofa!	What exquisite beauty!
'E Selusalema lata'anga 'oe 'Otua	Jerusalem, the place where God is pleased
'I Selusalema e!	In Jerusalem!

Background

Jerusalem is considered by many Christian sects to be the holiest city in the world because of the number of significant biblical events that took place there. The text of *Selusalema* is far from being a heavy doctrinal sermon or a recitation of a particular biblical story. It is, rather, a simple tribute to this holiest of cities.

Analysis

The text repeatedly emphasizes the idea that Jerusalem will not be forgotten. This is probably an allusion to prophesies made by numerous Old Testament prophets about the future destiny of this once-magnificent city. The prophet Zechariah recorded:

> Thus saith the LORD; I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem:and Jerusalem shall be called a city of truth;and the mountain of the LORD of hosts the holy mountain (Zechariah 8:3).

Similar prophesies were made by other Old Testament prophets (see Isaiah 1:26, Jeremiah 3:17, and Joel 2:32).

The song opens with a men's quartet, singing homophonically in 6/8 meter. At measures four and twelve, the phrases end abruptly with a slurred jump up to a staccato note. This simple compositional device adds interest to this otherwise plain and rhythmically stagnant section.

In measures fifteen to twenty-seven, the choir sings 'ah's and 'mm's as the background for smaller groups singing the main part. This is an idea that does not appear in earlier hiva usu selections and is probably borrowed from the Western musical repertoire. Likewise, the repeated staccato 'ah's the men sing (from measure twenty-seven to measure fifty-nine) are the result of Western musical influences.

As with *Ko e Tala'ofa 'ae 'Otua,* rhythm plays an integral part in this song. The unique rhythmic motif first found in measure thirty-four in the men's quartet, paired against the straight, staccato pattern in the lower voices, drives the rhythm forward. Each phrase ends with the same slurred jump to a staccato note that was found in the opening section.

Abrupt changes in meter give character to this selection and add special emphasis to important points of text. For example, measure thirty-seven is an eighth note shorter than the previous measures, causing the phrase *ko koe pe!* (only you!) to jump out of the text, much like the impromptu vocal pleas so commonly heard from members of the congregation during Church of Tonga worship services.

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Sample 6
Fakamaau Tuku 'ae 'Otua
(The Final Judgment of God)
By Sitiveni Fonua

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Fakamaau tuku 'ae 'Otua	The final judgment of God
Mo e fonua.	And the land.
'E ha'u ia.	It will come.

'E pa 'ae ngaahi mana	The thunder will roll
Pea ulo 'ae fonua	And the land will be brightened
'O holo mo e ngaahi mo'unga.	And the mountains shall fall.
'E ha'u ia.	It will come.
'E pa 'ae ngaahi matavai	The waters will burst forth
Pea hake mo e ngaahi peau lahi.	And great waves will rise up.
'E ngalulu 'ae fonua	The land will shake
Pea fakapo'uli 'ae langi 'i 'olunga.	And the heavens above will be darkened.
Pa 'ae mana.	The thunder will roll.
'E ifi 'e he ngaahi hosite 'ae talupite	The hosts of heaven will sound trumpets
Pea 'e tu'u 'ae kau mate fakalongo pe.	And the dead shall quietly arise.
'E ha'u ia.	It will come.
'E mavaeua 'ae langi na	Then the heavens will split
Pea 'e ha'ele mai 'ae Foha 'oe Tangata.	And the Son of Man shall descend.
Pa 'ae fatulisi he fonua.	And storms will rage across the land.
Pea 'e ongo 'ae le'o mei 'olunga:	And a voice shall sound from heaven:
Ko e fakamaau tuku 'eni 'ae 'Otua.	"This is the final judgment of God."
Mou tu'u hake a	All ye come forth
'Ae ngaahi tanu'anga	From within graves
Mou tu'u 'a ho'o ngaue.	And your work shall cease.
Ha'u a koe kiate au!	Come unto me!
'Oiau si'i le'o 'oe kau mate	*'Oiau*, the voice of the dead
'I he ha'ele mai 'ae 'Eiki ta'ane!	At the coming of the Lord!
'Oiau!	*'Oiau!*
Haleluia!	Hallelujah!

Background

This song was written by Sitiveni Fonua toward the end of his life. It is representative of a more mature, experimental style seen in his later music. This transcription is taken from a recording made at a Church of Tonga *po hiva* ("night-sing") on 22 May 2007.

Analysis

The song's text is an amalgam of various biblical revelations regarding the end of the world, and the Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. The text paints a vivid picture of the various events that will take place, such as great thunder and lightning, earthquakes, the voice of God sounding from heaven, the appearance of Jesus Christ, and the resurrection of the dead.

The song begins in a style reminiscent of early Gregorian recitative melodies where a passage of text is sung on a single reciting tone, changing pitches only at the end of the phrase during a final cadence. In this example, rather than a single pitch, a closely-spaced C major chord acts as the 'reciting tone.' The singers sing the entire phrase on this chord and then sustain the final syllable from an IV to an I cadence. This compositional device is used repeatedly throughout the song.

Text painting is frequently used in this piece as a compositional tool. At measure thirteen, the fugue-like entrances in each voice, beginning with the basses, resemble

rolling thunder: *Pa 'ae mana*. The subito piano at measure seventeen creates an echo effect, much like the soft fading away of thunder.

Perhaps even more deliberate is the example found in measure twenty-six: *Pa 'ae fatulisi*. The heavily accented note at the beginning of each two-measure phrase is, again, the sound of thunder striking the earth.

Another, less-perceptible example of text painting may be observed during the section that describes the resurrection (m. 32–46). The women's voices are singing short, two-measure, homophonic phrases about the rising up of the dead from their graves. The phrases start out low and then, by rearranging the chords into different inversions, get higher and higher in register, symbolic of the dead rising from their graves.

In this same passage, the men are singing a repetitive series of stacked chords gliding back and forth by half of a step. This provides an eerie, ghost-like accompaniment to the women's voices. This unsettling accompaniment sung in the low register could also be representative of movement in the earth as the dead are preparing to rise.

At measure fifty-six in the music, there is a short improvisational section that takes place on the recording that is not present in the transcription because of notational limitations. During this section, Fonua employs a surprisingly advanced compositional technique. The singers are presented with two or three short melodic phrases and are asked to sing them at random moments and at different tempos when cued by the conductor. The result is a veritable cacophony of sound. There is, however, an element of sonic uniformity in that all the voices are still singing in the same major key. The intent is to replicate the jubilant singing of the hosts of heaven that will take place at the close of the final judgment.

The improvisational section leads seamlessly into the final portion of the piece which is clearly a direct quote from the final measures of Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus*.

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What Motivates Rebellion? A Study of Romanian Peasant Revolts

Samuel P. Weeks

Abstract

What causes one group of peasants to join a rebellion while another group does not? In this paper, I examine this question by discussing the existing literature on motivations for peasant rebellions and, from these, deriving several hypotheses as to what might be a cause for motivation. I then examine two villages in Romania, one that staged a significant rebellion against the Communist Party during the 1940–50s, and another that showed no signs of resistance at all during this same period. From these studies I find that different motivations existed for people and that these correlate with their varying levels of involvement in the anti-communist rebellions.

Introduction

Revolts against an authoritarian regime carry a great inherent risk, yet there are still people willing to revolt. These revolts often occur on a local scale but can grow to be a regional or possibly a national rebellion. Under an authoritarian regime, most villages within a region are subject to the same rules and repressions as all the other villages in the region, yet rarely do all the villages revolt together. What are the catalysts that cause one group of peasants to rebel while nearby peasants remain obedient to the regime?

As eastern Europe fell under Soviet control at the end of World War II, the Red Army established communist governments and began implementing Soviet policies, notably the policies of nationalization of industry and collectivization of agriculture. Nationalization was aimed mainly at the large-scale industries in the cities, but it was not limited to this, as small-scale industries in rural areas were also taken over by the state in the name of the worker. The leaders of the newly established communist regimes had several motives to nationalize industry and collectivize agriculture that went beyond merely pleasing their masters in Moscow. Günther Schmitt argued that "by transforming agriculture, the communist regimes just established in those countries were to be stabilized by securing the political support of the peasantry, which in most countries formed the majority of the population. The redistribution of land was seen as a way to win the support of the rural population" (1993). New regimes also believed that state-run collective farms would be more efficient and, therefore, more economically effective than would be a series of small, privately owned farms.

The Romanian Communist Party (PCR), following World War II, wasted no time in implementing Soviet industrial and agricultural policies. At this time, the majority of the Romanian population (roughly sixty percent) was made up of peasant farmers

(Institutul 2000). The Soviet collectivization of the early 1930s was brought about by violent means, and there was a great resulting backlash in the form of peasant rebellions. Fearing similar uprisings, PCR decided to adopt a gentler approach to collectivization. In order to gain land for collective farms, the party seized all plots of land exceeding fifty hectares (Tamas 1989). PCR adopted a policy of free choice in joining a collective, but to encourage people to join the party, they imposed heavy taxes on private farms and created laws limiting land ownership. PCR began to employ quiet scare tactics, including sending the children of uncooperative peasants home from school and making short-term arrests for very minor infractions (Institutul 2004).

Since business owners were such a small part of the Romanian population, and since there was little popular support for them, PCR was more direct in its methods of nationalizing industry. All industries legally became the property of the state, often with a party member as the head of those industries. Any resistance was met with beatings, imprisonment, or execution.

Many regions in Romania saw very little opposition to the forced nationalization and collectivization. Other regions, notably the mountainous regions around the Carpathian Mountains and the Apuseni Mountains, were hotbeds for peasant reaction. Revolts were mostly small scale, often confined to individual villages but sometimes included an entire commune collectively organizing against party officials. Rebels commonly beat or killed party officials, destroyed party property, and openly destroyed party symbols. This was one of several regions of Romania that had a high concentration of anti-communist revolts; other regions, however, never staged any sort of a rebellion at all. What makes some peasants rebel while others remain relatively docile? What aspects have to come together to successfully incite a revolt?

In this study, I am looking to see to what extent certain factors, namely government repression and the social ties within a village, explain the general willingness of Romanian peasants to get involved in the revolts against the Communist Party. My findings are based mostly on a series of documents from Romanian libraries and archives as well as interviews conducted during the summer of 2007 in the mountain village of Răchiţele, near Huedin, Romania. This village was the central base for the Şuşman Group, a rebel guerilla group that resisted the PCR from 1948 to 1958. I also use the village of Lujerdiu to draw comparisons to Răchiţele, since Lujerdiu is in the same region as Răchiţele but didn't show the slightest signs of rebellion.

In this paper, I discuss the relevant literature on peasant rebellions, followed by a discussion of the theories that are relevant to the Romanian case. I then discuss my research design, followed by my findings regarding the Şuşman Group and the levels of participation of the various residents of Răchiţele.

Literature Review

Many scholars have theorized potential causes of peasant rebellion. One of the earliest of these scholars was Karl Marx, who argued that the exploitation of the wealthier classes would cause a collective movement on the part of the lower classes. Marx argued that the heart of the revolution would come from the proletariat class in the

cities and that the peasants would only play a minor, supplementary role in the rebellion. The peasants' contribution would be limited to uprisings against landlords (Wood 2003).

This theory is not applicable in the case of Romanian peasant rebellions in its traditional sense. Romania had already undergone a series of land reforms in the 1920s that had left the peasants happily in control of their own small plots of land. There was, in general, a rather respectful relationship between the poor farmers and the wealthier peasants, and by the time the rebellions began in 1948, PCR has already brought down the wealthy peasants.

In taking over the wealthy landlords' land, however, PCR, while claiming to follow Marxist ideas, had not given the land to the peasants but had kept it, and in doing so had set itself up as the new wealthy landlord. In rebelling against PCR, the peasants were rebelling against the wealthy landlord who ruled over them. Therefore, this theory may, in a paradoxical way, be applicable to the Romanian case.

Other scholars have argued that the spoils of a rebellion are what motivate peasants to join a rebellious movement (Olson 1965). The problem with this theory is that many of the rewards that come from a rebellion are common, public goods, and are, therefore, also available to those who do not take the risk of participating in the rebellion. Rebel groups sometimes offer immediate incentives particular to those who join the movement, such as protection from government repression or from other rebel groups. Rebel groups may also make promises to those who join their movement that are applicable after the rebellion is over, such as more land or political influence in the new regime. However, this theory too is not entirely applicable in the Romanian case. Though there were many small movements against PCR, these movements were generally quite independent of each other, and were not the kind of large movement that could give believable promises of rewards for those who offered support.

Elizabeth Wood said that "another approach to the puzzle of collective action suggests that preexisting social networks and a shared collective identity might provide frequent and multifaceted contact based on shared norms" (2003). This is the idea that tight-knit communities are more likely to rebel than are communities without a close social network. A close community appeased will be very unlikely to rebel, while an angered close community is very likely to stage a rebellion. Close social ties increase a person's willingness to take the risks that come with rebellion (Moore 1966).

Jeff Goodwin argued that state repression, when felt at an extreme level, can on its own motivate people to rebel. "Unless state violence is simply overwhelming, . . . indiscriminate coercion tends to backfire, producing an ever-growing popular mobilization by armed movements and an even larger body of sympathizers" (Goodwin 2001). When state repression reaches a certain level, *then* it becomes justifiable and plausible for citizens to rebel against the repressive regime in order to violently remove it from power.

Some scholars suggest that these social movements emerge at the sign of widening political opportunity (McAdam 1982). This is especially true for the larger groups

of rebels who seek to take power from the regime, particularly at times when that regime shows signs of weakness.

The perception of an increased likelihood of outside assistance would also increase the willingness of many peasants to rebel, despite the risks that come along with this rebellion. Those who organize and incite collective movements may cite such political opportunities as a way of garnering support for their rebellion.

The historical context of the Romanian peasant rebellions lends an interesting aspect to the study of peasant insurrection. Recognizing the United States' assistance of South Korea in the Korean War, the Romanian rebels had a powerful reason after World War II to expect Anglo-American intervention in their insurrections. But the number of rebellions saw a sharp decline following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 in which the West failed to come to the aid of a large anti-communist rebellion in Hungary, leaving those rebels at the mercy of the Red Army. This particularly lends credibility to the idea that the Romanian rebels had expected Western assistance in their rebellion. The Romanian case may allow for a greater understanding of how such expectations affect a rebellion.

Many of the theories presented in the existing literature on peasant rebellion are applicable to the specific cases on which the authors focused but are not applicable in many other cases. Also, many of the studies on peasant rebellions have tended to focus on one theory that seems to explain the rebellion as a whole, assuming that all participants became involved for the same reason. In this paper, I am attempting to show how different theories explain the varying levels of involvement of participants in a peasant rebellion.

Răchiţele and Lujerdiu

Securitate (Romanian secret police) records from 1945 to 1955 show 1,196 armed resistance groups in Romania, with the apogee of the resistance movement occurring between 1948 and 1953. These resistance groups were generally lightly armed with knives and hunting rifles. Their actions were generally either sabotage–diversionary or intimidation–terrorism type attacks against state-controlled targets. Because they were lightly armed and they believed the soldiers were simply Romanian boys being pushed from behind by the real enemy, they generally tried to avoid directly engaging the military (Bande 2003).

The Securitate began a large-scale program aimed at quelling the resistance movement in 1948. Colonel Birtaş, leader of the Securitate, outlined a program for meeting this goal, calling for the liquidation of these groups through a systematic, perseverant, and coordinated action of the gendarmes and the Securitate and through an organized system of information-gathering in every region of the country (Birtaş 1948).

Răchiţele

The Şuşman Group was one of the more significant resistance groups. Teodor Şuşman was well known throughout the region surrounding Răchiţele. He was relatively well educated, wealthy, and was involved in politics and business through-

out the region. He was an active member of the National Peasant Party, Partidul Naţional Ţărănesc (PNŢ), and was the mayor of Răchiţele for several terms of office throughout the thirties and early forties (Jurju 2002). He owned the town store, eight hectares of land, a wide array of livestock, a lumber business, and 295 families of bees (Radosav 2003).

He was especially popular in Răchiţele for his role in saving the village during World War II. Following the Hungarian takeover of northern Transylvania in 1940, access to Huedin, the nearest large city upon which Răchiţele relied for supplies, had been cut off. The people of Răchiţele were trapped between the mountains and an impenetrable border, with very limited food (Jurju 2002). Şuşman organized a caravan through the mountains to Câmpeni, where he took the lumber from his business and traded it for provisions. He then selectively distributed the food amongst the villagers, giving it to those who were in the most need, particularly to the women who had a husband fighting in the war (Flocă, Ionuţi 2007).

Having read about the peasant situation in the Soviet Union and particularly the reports of the famine in Ukraine, Şuşman was strongly opposed to communism. He spoke out against PCR publicly, and he urged all in the region of Răchiţele to remain opposed to it, claiming it was a phase in Romanian politics that would shortly pass (Radosav 2003).

Şuşman was replaced as mayor of Răchiţele in 1945 by Suciu Paşcu. Paşcu had once been a friend of Şuşman's and a partner at his store but had been caught stealing from the store in the late 1930s; they had been enemies ever since. Recognizing the changing tide of politics in Romania following the war, Paşcu had joined PCR, hoping to gain an advantage (Georgiu 2007).

PCR quickly came down on Şuşman and his friends. Because of his open opposition to the party and through the influences of Suciu Paşcu, he quickly came under the scrutiny of the party. Because of his wealth, Şuşman was labeled a class enemy, and the party began to seize his property and possessions.

Şuşman understandably tried to resist PCR seizure of his property. On 18 August 1948, the gendarmes arrived unannounced to arrest him. Since he wasn't home, they arrested his son Visalon. Şuşman heard about this and immediately went into hiding in a nearby valley where he had been working. Due to the inattention of the gendarmes, Visalon escaped later that day and joined his father. They were also joined by two of his other sons, Traian and Teodor, Jr. Only his wife, Catrina, and his young children, Emil and Romulica, remained home (Radosav 2003).

Two of Şuşman's close friends, Ioan Popa and Teodor Suciu, were also forced to flee to avoid arrest. These two joined with the Şuşmans in the mountains to form a resistance group. They were joined that fall by Ilie and Nuţ Lazăr, two brothers who had fled into the mountains to avoid obligatory military service.

The group assumed that communism would only last a couple of years before Romania was liberated by the Americans. These beliefs were spurred on by the radio broadcasts by the *Voice of America*, which they heard on battery-powered radios Şuşman had brought with him into the mountains (Jurju 2002).

The Şuşman Group relied heavily on the support of the villagers from Răchiţele for food, weapons, and shelter in the winter. Four group members were arrested during run-ins with the Securitate in the village that winter. However, for the rest of 1949 and into 1950, the Securitate remained rather lax in their search for the Şuşman Group. In the mid-1950s, the Securitate and the military were reorganized in the region, and both became much more fierce in their search for Şuşman. Any villager with a suspected link to the Şuşman Group was brutally interrogated. As a result, popular support for the Şuşman group actually grew, and they were joined by four more people fleeing Securitate interrogations: Gheorghe Mihuţ, Roman Oneţ, and Mihai and Lucreţia Jurj (Radosav 2003).

In October 1950, the group decided to fight back against the state. Several raids were planned and executed, including an ambush of the cashier's cart for a local, state-run logging company, raids on several state-owned co-ops, and the kidnapping and execution of Suciu Paşcu (Radosav 2003).

In December 1951, Şuşman became extremely disheartened with the way his rebellion was going. His wife had died while he was in the mountains, his two youngest children had been deported, one of his sons had been arrested, and there was no sign that the Americans were ready to make good on their promise to overthrow the communists. On 15 December, he locked himself in a barn above Răchiţele and shot himself in the head (Ioniţoiu 1996). He was found the next morning by a local boy who came to feed the sheep (Moldovan 2007).

The group continued for several more years in a rather uneventful cat-and-mouse game with the Securitate. The group members continued to raid state-owned facilities, but they were slowly picked off one by one and either given life sentences in prison or executed. Following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Securita*te* doubled its efforts to shut down resistance movements. By 1958, the group had been reduced to only two members, the brothers Visalon and Teodor Şuşman, Jr. On 2 February 1958, the Securitate arrived early in the morning at the home of Florea and Floarea Romul. Upon a search of the premises, they found nothing, and after two interrogations of the couple they were about to leave. However, upon trying a third interrogation, Floarea began to yell that she did not fear their threats. This seemed suspicious, so another search of the premises was conducted, and upon moving some of the hay in the barn loft, several Securitate officers were fired upon by the Şuşman boys. Following a shootout of two hours, some hay in the barn caught fire and the barn quickly burned to the ground. Medical examinations the next day showed that the two corpses removed from the wreckage were those of the Şuşman boys (Iosif 1958).

Lujerdiu

During the same time that all of this was happening in Răchiţele, the village of Lujerdiu, on the other side of the county was taken over by PCR and met with no significant resistance. Lujerdiu is a farming village in the hills, about forty-five kilometers north of the county seat Cluj-Napoca. When PCR came to power, the farms

of Lujerdiu were collectivized, a move that was extremely unpopular among the local peasants. Farmers were forced to give up all of their land and all of their equipment, or face having their children removed from school. Within families, a great amount of outrage was expressed, but none of this was ever shown publicly out of fear of the Securitate. Despite the extreme unpopularity of PCR and its policies, no one in Lujerdiu or any of the surrounding villages ever dared to violently resist the party (Gorzo 2007).

Lujerdiu and Răchiţele have a lot in common. Both villages are roughly the same size, having a population of around four hundred people. Since they are so close together, they share a common history and culture. They are both similar in social class structure, being poor and made up almost entirely of peasants (Centrul 2008). At the time of PCR's takeover of Romania, the ethnic breakdown of the populations was nearly the same, with everyone in Răchiţele being ethnic Romanian (Boc, Petru 2007) and all being ethnic Romanian in Lujerdiu except the village blacksmith (who was Hungarian) (Gorzo 2008).

There are several key differences between Răchiţele and Lujerdiu that may be important for this research. Many in Răchiţele were employed in the lumber business, taking advantage of the mountain forests surrounding their village, while Lujerdiu was almost exclusively agricultural. As a result, the citizens of Lujerdiu had to deal with the PCR policy of collectivization of agriculture, while the residents of Răchiţele faced the nationalization of industry. The religious affiliation of the populations shows some differences, too. The area around Răchiţele was 95 percent Orthodox, while the area around Lujerdiu was only 79.7 percent Orthodox (Centrul 2008).

Theory

Romania is an appropriate case for the study of peasant rebellion against an authoritarian regime because of its unique situation. The peasants were rebelling against the state in Romania, not against a particular class. However, in taking over the land in Romania, the state had set itself up as the wealthy landowner that Marx theorized would be the object of a peasant rebellion. The weakness of the large-scale rebel groups adds an interesting dimension to the Romanian case, as the rebellions within the villages are more likely to have begun due to internal catalysts rather than from pressures applied by more widespread rebel organizations.

The Romanian peasant rebellions will be the perfect case for examining a number of general hypotheses on rebellions. Several of the theories presented in the literature on peasant rebellions might have had an effect on the rebellions that occurred in Romania. These hypotheses are are discussed hereafter.

Hypothesis I: "Vin Americanii" — *The Belief in Foreign Intervention*

A group of peasants may rebel in an attempt to cause problems to the regime, hoping that they can help especially when an outside power intervenes on their behalf to overthrow the regime.

The hope that the U.S. and British would come to their aid may have played a major role in the willingness of peasants to rebel against PCR in spite of a rebellion's

inherent risks. The rebellions came on the heels of World War II, which saw, from the Romanian perspective, an Anglo-American alliance that liberated half of Europe from a repressive and radical regime. The U.S. and Britain were making radio broadcasts via *Radio Free Europe* and the *Voice of America*, promising that if the people of Eastern Europe would resist the communists, then the British and the Americans would shortly intervene (Flocă, Ionuţi 2007; Roşu 2007). The belief was quite widespread that this alliance would soon come to the aid of the rest of Europe, recently fallen under a new type of repressive regime. The belief was only increased as the Romanians read about the American intervention in Korea, trying to free the South Koreans from an aggressive communist regime. If the Americans were willing to go to war in Korea to save a people from the communists, why wouldn't they save the Romanians? This question, looming in the minds of the Romanian peasants, may have been a major cause of their willingness to rebel against PCR.

There are several difficulties in testing this hypothesis. First, Romania had closed borders following World War II, so I must try to determine what the people knew about world affairs at that time, as only their knowledge at the time can have had an effect on their decision making. Differentiating what they knew then from what they know now is difficult, but it is clearly important. The second difficulty regards technology: there were radio broadcasts being transmitted by the West into Romania at the time of these rebellions, but how many of the peasants received these broadcasts? Romanian peasants were very poor following the war, so certainly the numbers of them who had access to a radio would have been limited. I must determine how much knowledge they had access to at the time.

Hypothesis II: Response to Repression

While a moderate amount of repression will generally not elicit a violent response, once that repression crosses a certain threshold, some of the repressed will retaliate; peasants may rebel simply as a response to repression by the regime.

The peasant rebellions in Romania are an excellent case for studying the effects of violence on a citizen's likelihood to rebel against the regime. However, repression must work for at least some of the population, or else authoritarian regimes wouldn't use it as a means of achieving their political goals. Repression probably has a polarizing effect, driving some to rebel against the regime out of anger while causing others to side with the regime out of fear. There are many cases of state-sponsored violence in Romania at this time, so I should have many opportunities to analyze this hypothesis.

There are two potential difficulties with this hypothesis. First of all, I must determine which came first, the repression or the rebellion. I hypothesize that rebellions came as a partial result of previous repression received from the state, but in some cases the repression may not have come in any significant form until there were signs of rebellion. Once I've determined that the repression came before the rebellion, another difficulty will be to decide to what degree the repression, as opposed to other factors, caused the rebellion.

Hypothesis III: Personal Relationships

> Social relationships within villages are a key factor in motivating people to join rebellions since they are often begun by a popular community figure and then quickly joined by other villagers who have a close personal relationship to the instigator.

Rural Romanian society is very traditional. The Romanian village social system is very close-knit, so this theory initially seems quite feasible in explaining the willingness of a group of peasants to join a rebellion. Since most Romanian villages are quite small, many of the people in the villages are at least distantly related, and all have had close social interactions with each other on a regular basis. It is quite likely that a group from within a village or region that staged a rebellion would have been closely associated with each other prior to the start of the rebellion.

It will not be very difficult to determine whether close social relationships existed between the rebels before the rebellion began. The difficulty will once again be in determining to what extent this played a role in the rebels' decision to fight.

Hypothesis IV: Topography

> Though not a direct cause of rebellion, the terrain surrounding a village plays an important role in the feasibility of a successful anti-state peasant rebellion.

Romania's diverse geography makes it an excellent case to test this hypothesis. About one-third of Romania's land is on flat plains, with small forests scattered about. Another third of Romania is covered with hills. However, hooking through the center of the country are the rugged and thickly forested Carpathian Mountains. A village located in the mountains may be more likely to rebel than a village on the plains or in the hills simply because the mountain villagers have canyons, caves, and forests in which to hide from any subsequent crackdown by the regime.

The difficulty with this hypothesis will be to determine causality. Did the terrain serve as a motivating factor in the rebels' decision, or was it simply used to their advantage once they had already made the decision to rebel?

Research Design

In order to test my hypotheses, I generally used more qualitative methods than quantitative. The large number of villages in Romania, both involved and uninvolved, would make counting tedious and would make it difficult to represent the individual motivations that cause people to become involved to a certain degree in a peasant rebellion. By doing an in-depth study of a case of rebellion, I saw the varying individual motivations for which people became involved in a rebellion against PCR.

I spent a great deal of time doing library research in books and periodicals while I was still in the U.S., studying examples of peasant revolts in other countries, both from the Soviet Bloc and from other regions. The general literature on peasant rebellions outlined many existing theories. The reports on peasant rebellions in Romania showed which of these theories might be applicable, as well as the general regions that seemed to be more rebellious.

The majority of my research was conducted in the summer of 2007 in Romania. I spent four weeks in Bucharest working with several contacts at the Romanian National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, who provided me with several Romanian texts on peasant rebellions in Romania. I also gained access to the Biblioteca Academiei in Bucharest, which has among its many resources several books on party policies regarding the peasants, as well as some books on specific cases of rebellion.

My primary research site was, again, Răchiţele, a small village in the Apuseni Mountains of Transylvania that was the epicenter of one of the more significant peasant rebellions in Romania. This rebellion, led by a former mayor of Răchiţele, Teodor Şuşman, lasted from 1948 to 1958. This seemed an appropriate case study for several reasons. First of all, Răchiţele is a village relatively isolated from any cities, so the number of possible variables that could have played a factor in the rebellion is greatly reduced. Second, Răchiţele is in a county *(Judeţul Cluj)* that is mountainous on one half and hilly on the other half. Therefore, a comparison could be made between areas that have very few cultural differences, but where the terrain is quite different.

I gained acceptance into the village by offering to help with farm labor, using this to win the villagers' trust, and, as a result, they were more than willing to speak to me about the rebellion. Three key villagers guided me in my research. One was an older man who had grown up during the rebellion and who was well liked and respected throughout the village. The second was the local Romanian Orthodox priest, who, since that region is almost entirely Orthodox, was widely respected. The third was the clerk at the town market, who publicized my presence and set up appointments for me to conduct interviews with different villagers each day, since she had daily contact with everyone in town,.

While in the village, I performed thirty-six interviews with villagers in both Răchiţele and in the neighboring village of Scrind-Frătineşti who had been alive during the rebellion of the Şuşman group. The actual interviews were rather informal and generally did not take much longer than half an hour. The majority of the interviews were one-on-one, but many were also in small groups usually consisting of a husband and a wife. The interviews were often conducted during a short break between chores as the villagers sat down to rest and talk with me.

The interviews usually began with the villagers giving their recollection of the rebellions in Răchiţele. Their accounts were for the most part homogenous with what had been said in the literature on the Şuşman Group. After asking about the history, I would often ask them their opinions on the rebel group. This would naturally lead into whether or not they supported the group, opposed the group, or remained neutral throughout the rebellion. Depending on their answer, I would then ask them about the level of involvement they or their families had. It has been long enough since the fall of communism that those who were involved were not afraid to say so, although those who other villagers accused of having collaborated with the Securitate would always avoid answering my questions regarding their involvement. Through these interviews and the published information regarding

the rebellion in Răchiţele, I gained a good understanding of the motivations of those who participated in or assisted the Şuşman Group.

I compared the situation surrounding the rebellions in Răchiţele to the situation at the same time in a village from the hilly side of Judeţul Cluj, Lujerdiu, a village similar to Răchiţele but in which there was no significant resistance to the PCR policies. I collected information about Lujerdiu from a series of interviews with a former resident and from several publications by local government regarding the demographics and situation of Lujerdiu.

Findings

"Vin Americanii"—*The Belief in Foreign Intervention*

A study of the Şuşman group shows several reasons why people were willing to get involved in a fundamentally hopeless conflict. There is a great deal of evidence to show that one of the key motivating factors for those participating in anticommunist rebel groups was a belief in an Anglo-American-led intervention against the Soviet Union and its puppet governments. This belief was widespread in Romania. PCR was well aware of this belief, too, and made efforts to discredit the rumors. An April 1946 report from the Prefect of the Capital Police *(Prefectul Poliţiei Capitalei)* discussed the "persistent rumor that there is an imminent war between the occident and the Soviet Army." The report claimed that these rumors were perpetuated by the recent work of the American and British Armies in Greece and Turkey (Circumscripţia 1946). The National Peasant Party (PNŢ) openly hoped for this intervention; however, it was recorded right before the party's dissolution in 1948 that "with each day that passes, fewer and fewer believe that the prediction that the Americans are coming will actually happen" (Onişoru 1998).

This was certainly a motivating factor for Teodor Şuşman. "One of the definite motivators for [Şuşman] to become a mountain terrorist was the belief that this would be a short war that would be shortly won. He thought that he just had to wait it out a year or two and the Communist Party would be finished . . . [The group] had a radio, and they listened to *The Voice of America*, and they believed that the Americans were coming to put an end to this Communist Party repression quickly" (Radosav 2003). The belief in the coming of the Americans seems to have been one of the key factors motivating Şuşman to lead his resistance movement.

Other members of the Şuşman group also believed that they would receive assistance from the West, and this was cited many times as one of their motivating factors. Group member Lucreţia Jurj, in later years, speaking about the group's motivation, made several references to this: "Everyone said that it wouldn't be long, it wouldn't be long, to be patient, to keep hiding. They all believed that it would happen, that the Americans would come. . . . This meant everything to us in the mountains, the coming of the Americans. . . . We knew that their coming wouldn't be a peaceful event, and we were prepared to help them to topple the leaders of the PCR. If a conflict were to begin, we were ready to act behind the lines, in the villages . . . This was our whole mission when they came. However, if they weren't going to come, then . . ." (Radosav 2003).

Teodor Suciu, the last surviving member of the group, said in an interview, "We didn't think that communism would last that long, so we figured that if we held out then we would be able to win. We thought that the Americans and the English would help us like they helped the Germans . . . We would listen to *Vocea Americii* to hear what was going on, and they kept encouraging us to resist. We hoped that they would come. It gave us hope" (Suciu, Teodor 2007).

The belief in a Western intervention that would free them was a very important motivating factor for the members of the Şuşman Group; however, it does not seem to be the primary motivating factor for participation. In interviews with group members and family of group members, the events surrounding their decision to join the rebel group never had anything to do with hoping for a revolution or Western assistance but seemed to be more of a response to violent interrogations or impending arrests. Once they had joined the group, however, the belief in a Western intervention seems to have been unanimous, and, as one village member pointed out in an interview, "What kept them going was the hope that they had in the Americans" (Flocă, Ionuţi 2007).

As for the people in the village who assisted the group but were not directly involved as members of the group, the belief in a Western intervention against the communists seems to have mattered little in deciding whether or not they were willing to involve themselves. Nearly every person interviewed mentioned the *Voice of America* broadcasts, but it was always spoken of as a motivating factor for the members of the Şuşman group, never as a motivation for those who remained in the village and assisted the group members.

In Lujerdiu, as in Răchiţele, there was a general hope that the Americans would come and overthrow the PCR and the Russians. However, in Lujerdiu the idea that the Americans would come was more of a rumor; no one in Lujerdiu at the time had a radio, so no one actually heard an American broadcast encouraging revolution or implying assistance. To the citizens of Lujerdiu, *vin Americanii* was just a rumor, not a promise. "Everyone in the village hoped that the Americans would come, but no one really dared to believe it" (Gorzo 2008).

Response to Repression

The response by PCR to Şuşman was extremely violent. Many villagers in and around Răchiţele were tortured or executed, and many spent time in PCR's forced labor camps. One author cited the PCR violence as the key factor in the formation of resistance groups in the mountains of Romania in the years following World War II (Bande 2003). Party repression was clearly a key cause in the formation of the Şuşman group. Though he was certainly greatly influenced by the *Voice of America* radio broadcasts, Şuşman did not begin his resistance movement until PCR attempted to arrest him. Since his sons were also targets of the Securitate, they all decided to join their father in the mountains. Other failed arrest attempts forced Ioan Popa and Teodor Suciu to join their friends in the mountains.

Gheorghe Mihuţ also joined the Şuşman group to escape the repression of the Securitate several years later. Following the death of Şuşman's wife in 1950, Mihuţ,

who had been a friend of the Şuşman's before the rebellion, dug a grave for her. Because of this, he was labeled as a supporter of the rebellion and was publicly beaten. He became a popular target of the Securitate, as his brother later related: "When they kept beating him and harassing him, he couldn't handle it any longer, so he went to join Şuşman in the mountains" (Mihuţ 2007).

The repression of the Securitate was very thick in Răchiţele. Villager Ionuţ Flocă gave the following account:

> When the Securitate started to get annoyed at the Şuşman group, the army came. At this time, you could hardly move in Răchiţele without being questioned. If you lit a lamp at night then the *Securitate* was on you wanting to know what you were doing at night and why you weren't asleep. People in the village who were mad at their neighbors were even known to lie and say that the Şuşman group had been helped by that particular neighbor, and then the Securitate took out their wrath on them. When you would go up into the mountains to get cheese from the shepherds, you first had to be checked by the Securitate, who took a full account of every bit of food and cigarettes that you had on you, and when you got to the shepherd another Securitate officer would check you to make sure that you didn't have any less provisions than you had had when you left the village, to make sure that you hadn't given away anything. Anytime you walked anywhere, especially in the early morning or evening, you couldn't walk 100 meters without being stopped by someone and having to show them your identification. (Flocă, Ionuţi 2007)

The repression had a very polarizing effect on the villagers. Several of the villagers, as noted above, were driven to leave their homes and join the armed resistance. Many, however, were thoroughly discouraged from offering any assistance to the Şuşman group, particularly those with families. Out of the thirty-six interviews I conducted in 2007, ten of them stated that they or their families had tried not to get involved because they had a large family with many children, and they did not want their children to become orphans. "We saw people getting beat for him, and we were scared to get involved. We were a poorer family and we had a lot of kids, so my parents didn't want to get involved. If they got arrested, what would their children do? They hadn't seen or heard anything—that was the secret to staying alive and happy" (Teodoruţ 2007).

To re-emphasize my point, the repression of the Securitate had a polarizing effect in Răchiţele. Repression was probably the single greatest motivator for those who got actively involved in the rebellion. However, the fear of repression caused many who would otherwise have helped the group to avoid giving any assistance. For the uninvolved, the fear of repression encouraged them to remain that way, while for those who were already more involved, the repression served to motivate them to become more fully involved by openly joining the resistance.

The repression in Răchiţele was far worse than that felt in Lujerdiu. While there were village leaders and occasional inspectors who were a part of PCR, there was no

real Securitate presence in the village. The repression in Lujerdiu was basically limited to threatening to withhold goods and services: children of dissenters were removed from school and provisions were withheld from dissenting families, while families that showed good behavior and worked extra hard had the potential to receive extra food supplies. These policies seem to have been sufficient, as there was no rebellion, and there were no reports of anyone needing to be arrested (Gorzo 2008).

Personal Relationships

The social networks of Romanian villages were very important in determining whether or not one would get involved in the resistance movements. "The formation of [the anticommunist resistance] groups was generally based on family relationships, neighborly relationships, and rarely on political grounds" (Bande 2003). This was certainly the case in Răchiţele. While the majority of the members of the village were members of PNŢ, political parties were never cited as a reason for the armed resistance. Personal relationships were cited in almost every case as a reason for whether or not Răchiţele villagers assisted the members of the Şuşman group.

Every member of the Şuşman group had a close personal relationship with Teodor Şuşman. Three of the group members were his sons, and the rest were close family friends. Teodor Suciu said that there was no question that he would join Şuşman in the mountains; they were friends (Suciu, Teodor 2007). After reading several sources and conducting many interviews, however, it seems that a close personal relationship was not necessarily the primary cause for joining Şuşman in his rebellion. In every case, it seems that the individual was facing repression because the *Securitate* was aware of the close personal relationship between that person and Şuşman, and this repression is what actually led the group members to join him.

For the villagers who were not members of the Şuşman group, their personal relationship with Şuşman appears to have played a very important role in deciding whether or not they would support the resistance movement. The immediate families of the group members were all quietly supportive of the groups. Ioan Mihuţ, whose older brother was group member Gheorghe Mihuţ, said of his older brother, "He would come from time to time to get food from mom. They never did catch him there though. They arrested mom because they figured that she was feeding them, though they had no evidence. She spent five years in jail, and I was stuck wandering from relative to relative in the village without any parents. . . . People helped the group because they loved them. They were good people" (Mihuţ 2007). Nicolae Georgiu, son-in-law of group member Ioan Bortoş, also offered assistance: "I worked in the forest, and I would meet them to give them supplies. In 1950, someone told the Securitate, and I was arrested. I was sent to Jilava, and then to Poarta Albă (forced labor camps). They would put rubber glasses on me for transporting me. I lost so much weight that I only weighed 45 kilograms when I got out, after one year and eight months" (Georgiu 2007).

There were also many who were not related to the group members but were willing to help: "I remember one of the men in the village. We found out later that

he had housed Şuşman in his barn for two winters. He did it because they were old friends before Şuşman went into the forest. That was the winter before Şuşman killed himself. When they found out, they took the old man who had helped him, and they shot him" (Suciu, Ispas 2007).

There were also many who supported the Şuşman group not because they were close friends but out of a feeling of gratitude for Şuşman's role in providing food for the village during the war: "My parents spent two years in jail, and we children were on our own. My parents knew where he was hiding, and they even gave him food, but they wouldn't tell the army. They weren't really that close to Şuşman before, but he had helped our family during the war, and one of our cousins was a servant in his house, and he was good to her. He traded wood for food during the war to feed us in the village. They were a great family, and good people, so we helped them" (Floca, Sabina 2007).

Many in the village did not support the resistance *because* of their relationship with Teodor. Some even supported the Securitate because of this. "He was actually my uncle, but my parents didn't like him at all. They had had a fight, and our families didn't get along at all. We refused to give him anything, but all of our children suffered anyway" (Boc, Ioan and Ana 2007). Other relationships, too, were influential in deciding whether a person helped the Şuşman Group: many of those who supported the Securitate were related to Suciu Paşcu, the communist mayor of Răchiţele.

A person's social relationship with Teodor Şuşman, the leader of the resistance in Răchiţele, was very closely correlated with that person's level of involvement with the resistance movement. Those who were not actually members of the group but were willing to assist the group cited in every case their close relationship, either as a friend or as family, with at least one of the members of the Şuşman Group. Those who opposed the group by either refusing to assist the group or by helping the Securitate had, in many cases, a poor personal relationship with Teodor Şuşman and his companions.

Topography

A study of the peasant rebellions in postwar Romania reveals a pattern regarding the terrain of the places that had anti-communist movements. While individuals rebelled in all parts of the country, the places that had the largest-scale popular rebellions were almost entirely in the mountainous regions of the country. This makes sense, since the mountainous regions afforded both rough terrain and forests to reduce the Securitate's visibility and to increase the rebels' chances of successfully hiding and carrying out their guerilla actions against state-owned facilities.

According to Securitate records, there were two hundred resistance groups and thirty-three "terrorist bands" in operation in Romania in 1949, and on a map, nineteen marked principle centers of armed resistance may easily be identified as existing in the same year. The greatest density of the armed resistance movements were seen in Bucovina, Munţii Apuseni, Argeş, Muscel, Vrancea, and Tulcea (Bande

2003). This clearly shows that there is a correlation between the location of resistance movements in Romania and the shape of Romania's mountain ranges (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Regions with the Greatest Density of Peasant Revolts
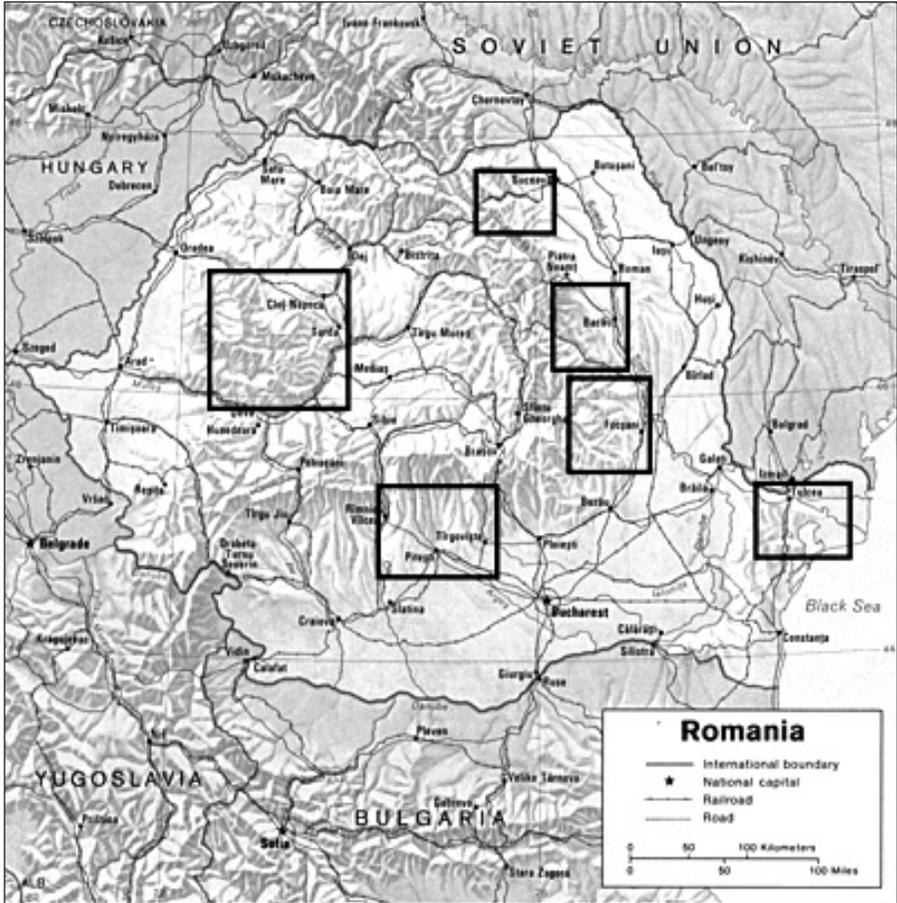
The terrain surrounding Răchiţele was used to the advantage of the Şuşman Group's members. The thick forests blanketing the mountains surrounding Răchiţele provided shelter for the rebels in which they could hide, move rather freely at any time of day, and coordinate attacks. It also provided the village members a shelter in which they could give supplies to the group members without running a high risk of being seen.

The actual village layout of Răchiţele itself was also an advantage to the members of the Şuşman Group. Unlike many Romanian villages that are very centralized and surrounded by fields, Răchiţele is very spread out. Though the village has a population of only four hundred, the main road through Răchiţele runs seven kilometers from

one end to the other. The village branches through several canyons, and includes the occasional isolated homes that dot the mountainsides all around (See Figure 2). With the village so spread out, it was extremely difficult for the Securitate to effectively police everywhere at once.

Figure 2: Topographic Map of Răchiţele and Surrounding Areas

The terrain around Lujerdiu was not conducive to a rebellion. Lujerdiu is situated in a shallow valley surrounded by hills. The hills are forested, but the forests are neither as large nor as thick as the forests surrounding Răchiţele. While the topography was not as flat as many of the regions in southern Romania, the area surrounding Lujerdiu did not have the natural features that were so advantageous to the rebels in Răchiţele.

The village itself was also a disadvantage to anyone trying to incite rebellion. The houses in Lujerdiu are all centralized, with all the houses being compacted together as they are in cities, while the fields cover all the area surrounding the village. The homes in Răchiţele, following the bends of the canyons in which the village lies, are far more spread out. Though both villages have a population of around four hundred,

the area of Lujerdiu is very small compared to the area of Răchiţele. This would have made Lujerdiu a much easier village for the Securitate to monitor.

Was the terrain around the village actually a motivating factor for those who rebelled? In none of the written accounts of the Romanian rebellions was it suggested that the rebels chose to rebel because of the presence of mountains and forests. However, several of the people interviewed spoke of how the terrain lent its advantages to the rebels and allowed them to be so effective, and it is obvious from the map that the terrain was an important factor. Those peasants who lived in regions that did not offer natural protection and cover disliked PCR just as much as those who lived in the mountains, as evidenced by the Securitate records which show that there were a great number of arrests in every part of the country for actions that were considered rebellious (Institutul 2004). However, any rebellions in the non-mountainous areas never had a chance to really get started before they were crushed by the Securitate. Since the terrain was conducive to a rebellion for those who lived in the mountains, their rebellion was more likely to have the longevity to be considered significant. The terrain was therefore an important factor in whether or not a significant rebellion against PCR occurred, but it was not a deciding factor for those who joined a rebel group.

Conclusions

The way one heard that the Americans were going to come and liberate the Romanian people may have played a factor in how likely one was to actually revolt. The rumor that the Americans were coming was widespread in post-war Romania, but in the cases used in this study, the only ones who actually heard this directly from the *Voice of America* radio broadcasts were those who were actively involved in the rebel group. Many of those who heard it secondhand from these group members were willing to assist them. However, those in Lujerdiu who heard of the coming of the Americans only as a distant, hopeful rumor did not rebel at all. Though not the most important factor, the belief in an American intervention may have been an important factor in the peasants' decision to rebel against PCR.

The type of repression used in Răchiţele differed from that used in Lujerdiu. In Răchiţele, PCR used force, threats, and arrests to enforce their policy of nationalization of industry. In Lujerdiu, PCR tended to use incentives for those who cooperated with their policy of collectivization of agriculture and withheld these incentives from any who dissented. The strong-arm tactics used by PCR in Răchiţele seem to be the primary motivating factor for those who chose to rebel, and when compared to the program of incentives used to motivate the peasants of Lujerdiu, the use of repressive tactics by the regime is clearly an important factor in motivating the peasants to rebel.

Social relationships seem to be an important motivating factor for those who assisted the group, but not necessarily for those who were directly involved in the group. While all those who were involved in the group were close friends or family of Şuşman, they almost unanimously joined the group not because of this relationship, but in order to flee and fight back against the repression that had targeted them because of their relationships with Şuşman. Those who joined the group later were

all friends with Şuşman, but they only took part in the rebellion because they assisted the members of the group until they came under the suspicion of the Securitate and were in danger. It may be concluded that close social relationships with those leading the rebellion was not a motivating factor in one's decision to join the group; it was, however, seemingly the most important factor for those who were assisting the group from the outside.

From a general study of the locations of peasant revolts in Romania, it is clear that the terrain played an important role in where rebellions were likely to occur and where they were not. The comparison between the terrains of Răchiţele and Lujerdiu show this as well: the layout of Răchiţele and its surrounding topography was highly conducive to guerilla fighters, while the layout of Lujerdiu and its surrounding area was clearly not as conducive to this type of rebellion.

There are many factors involved in the motivation of peasants who rebel against a totalitarian regime. Some factors, such as the terrain around the peasants' village and the belief that a foreign intervention will come, increase the likelihood of a rebellion. The most important factor in determining whether someone will support a rebellion appears to be that person's relationship with those who are actively involved in the rebellion. The most important factor in determining whether or not a person actively joins the rebellion appears to be the type and ferocity of the repression which that person receives from the regime.

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Beyond Remittances: Husband Migration and its Effects on Wives in Rural Mexico

Jared Wilkerson

Abstract

The role of husband migration in the lives of wives is little studied in rural Mexico. In this investigation, I use both quantitative and qualitative methods to discover some effects of husband migration on the psychological well-being and gender role ideology of wives. Contrary to predictions based on current trends in American literature, I argue that women with migrant husbands have poorer mental health, concurrently scoring *lower* on a measure of gender role traditionality. Results indicate a need for further investigation of the applicability of American research traditions on the subject of migration.

Introduction

The five villages I studied are known in the literature as sending communities. This means that they are villages, known as *ranchos,* from which a large proportion of the people, usually men, migrate to another place in search of work. According to my census data, migration from these particular villages is usually temporary, is usually to the U.S., and, according to my census data, is usually repeated. A culture of migration has grown in the ranchos that Kandel and Massey (2002: 981) have described in this way:

> Within such communities, international migration becomes so deeply rooted that the prospect of transnational movement becomes normative: young people "expect" to live and work in the U.S. at some point in their lives. Males, especially, come to see migration as a normal part of the life course, representing a marker of the transition to manhood, in addition to being a widely accepted vehicle for economic mobility. International migration is cultural in the sense that the aspiration to migrate is transmitted across generations and between people through social networks . . . children from families involved in U.S. migration are more likely to aspire to live and work in the U.S.

As a cultural phenomenon, migration is more than just a way to make money. Most boys in the villages decide from a very early age that they want to go, and as Kandel and Massey point out, for many it is a rite of passage. Although education is on the rise in the villages, many of the young men drop out of school, under pressure from the migrant culture, in order to make their first trip. Therefore, it would be simplistic to say that husbands make the decision to migrate based on perceived economic need alone, but economic well-being *is* the most palpable outcome for the family and the most overt motivation to leave. Regardless of the increased financial stability produced, however, husband migration from rural Mexico to the U.S. produces at

least two unintended consequences for wives: development of nontraditional gender role ideology, and decreased well-being (see Figure 1). I intend to explore these consequences both from ethnographic and statistical viewpoints. Through these explorations I will show that the ethnographic and statistical data support each other and lead to the explanatory model found in Figure 1. Before arriving at the data, I will provide the reader with a description of the ranchos, a literature review, and a description of my methods.

The Ranchos

The ranchos are small villages about fifteen direct miles (an hour by bus) from the nearest urban center of Irapuato, in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico. This region is the geographic center of Mexico, distanced more or less equally from the northern border with the U.S., the southern border with Guatemala and Belize, the western border with the Pacific Ocean, and the eastern border with the Gulf of Mexico. The landscape is comprised of rolling hills and usually dry riverbeds and streams. Green in the summer and brown the rest of the year, these ranchos receive little rainfall outside the months of May through October. There are plenty of villages near Irapuato, but, for the most part, I lived and studied in five: Comederito, El Encino, El Garbanzo, La Estancia, and Santa Rosa. Santa Rosa, the largest of these villages, has a population of around five hundred. Garbanzo is the smallest, with just under 120 people.

Religion in the ranchos is purely Catholic, with the exception of one Jehovah's Witness family. Each village has a small church in which to worship, with a resident patron saint who receives an enormous fiesta each year. Not everyone is religious, even though all refer to themselves as believers in the Catholic faith. Most church attendance and daily rosary recitations are undertaken by the women.

The ranchos have little commerce between and within them, and business is small. The only businesses in the ranchos are small stores run within homes, where a person usually has to stand outside, tap on the window until someone attends to them, and order goods through that window.

There is no indoor plumbing, aside from three or four gravity-fed showers. The toilet, for most people, is the ground. Water must be retrieved from the river, brought by truck from the city, or, for an hour once or twice a week, received through pipes from a community pump. It is stored in barrels for use in drinking, washing, bathing, and laundry.

Electricity is supplied through power lines that run from Irapuato but is not trustworthy in wind or rain. Most food comes from the fields or traveling produce trucks, consisting of corn tortillas and beans, some lard, plentiful amounts of jalapeños, and the occasional piece of meat. Early in the morning, women set to work grinding soaked and seasoned corn at the local mill and taking it home to make scores of tortillas by hand on a wood-fed open flame.

Penned donkeys, pigs, goats, chickens, horses, and cattle are plentiful in the ranchos, even right next to homes. Dogs and cats guard homes from rodents and intruders, and the dogs double as goatherds. Economy is fueled by goat milk, migrant remittanc-

es, the occasional sale of a goat or cow, and government aid—especially in farm subsidies. Homes are small, with few rooms, and children and parents or extended families often share common sleeping space. Most are made of either homemade bricks and homemade cement, commercial bricks and cement, or a mixture of the two, with tin or tile roofs. Most families have a television with a few channels, many have a DVD player, and most have stereos. Each house also has a refrigerator. A few households in each village own a working vehicle—always a truck of some kind, and there are a few tractors in each village.

All of the ranchos were once a part of the hacienda system—an arrangement very similar to that of the feudal system in medieval Europe—where many Indians and mestizos are indebted to and working for the heads of the haciendas from birth to death. This system crashed due to the Mexican Revolution by the lower classes from 1910 to 1920, which stripped haciendas of their land and peons. The hacienda in this area, known as El Copal, originally created the villages as communities for their peons. The villages are still connected by the dirt roads created for the hacienda. After the hacienda's downfall, these ranchos received *ejidos*, or land lent to communities by the government. The peasants who were left with these tracts of land had always farmed the area and taken care of livestock for the hacienda, but were now free to keep or sell all they could of their produce. It was at this same time that the *bracero*, or "unskilled laborer," program began, allowing working men the first large-scale taste of Mexico–U.S. migration.

Living on the land and with the animals was all they knew how to do, and being previously enslaved by the hacienda to perform these strenuous duties made them good candidates as workers in the labor-deprived American fields and railroads during World War II (Romo, 1994). Work connected with the land and the animals has been and continues to be the dominant form of livelihood in the ranchos. Yet with the advent of telecommunication and education in these villages, many people are encouraged to seek a new financial life filled with more commodities and conveniences.

Every rancho has an elementary school, and two have middle schools. For high school, students have to travel by toll bus about an hour each way. Most drop out of school well before graduation—many before entering high school. There are numerous reasons for this, and some are different for boys and girls (Wilkerson, 2005). For girls, a traditional view of the family and gender roles has held some students at home rather than traveling to school—especially college, which would require a great deal of time out of the house or residence in the city. For many boys, the culture of migration pushes toward making a living as a migrant, preventing the need for schooling. For both boys and girls, distance from schools and cost of education (including opportunity cost for the family farm and livestock) affect their ability to continue studying. However, some have graduated from high school, a few have gone to college, and the numbers seeking higher education are currently rising.

Formally educated or not, in this modern era of communication and opportunity, heads of households wish something better for their families and try their best to

find ways to achieve that comfortable life. There are only a few common options to obtain these goods, however, as lack of capital, water, and arable land prevents the use of large-scale agricultural techniques or irrigation. In fact, for most of the year, the farms do not produce anything, and in the summer, the people are at the mercy of the rains and their own physical strength in creating an independent livelihood with almost no surplus cash. The options for economic stability include internal migration (within Mexico), commuting to the city for work (usually by bicycle), or international migration to the U.S.

The last option, international migration, usually takes the form of cyclical migration: maintaining a permanent residence and family in the rancho while leaving the village for periods of time to work for wages in the United States. This enterprise is undertaken by a majority of male heads-of-household. Though economically profitable, there are dangers at the border of and within family relationships. Husbands and wives are apart and children are separated from fathers for long periods. Husbands entrust their wives with aspects of their households and affairs that are outside the traditional feminine realm, but women are not generally brought up to take care of the money, the animals, or the fields; with their husbands gone, however, they have little choice. This can take a taxing toll on their emotions and view of themselves, redefining what it means to be a rural Mexican woman.

Thus, the ranchos are a place economically and culturally ripe for the production of international migrants. However, with migration and its attendant economic stability comes emotional and role-centered risk for wives of migrants.

Migration and Gender Roles

Migration to the U.S. is a wondrous boon for the Mexican economy, generating about $23 billion in remittances in 2006 (Bradley, Greene, & Surette, 2007). The state of Guanajuato, has one of the highest sending rates in the country. Sending communities produce about 70 percent of their men as migrants to the U.S. at some point (Parrado, 2001); in the communities I studied, about 75 percent of men have gone to the U.S. at least once. This migrant culture has ugly effects on education, with most boys dropping out before entering high school (Mckenzie & Rapoport, 2005). In addition to educational sufferings, there is a clear economic separation in the villages between regular migrants and men who either never go or who have migrated only for a short time. Those men who migrate frequently have markedly more material wealth, such as an automobile or tractor, a house made of purchased cement rather than river mud, electronics, etc.

Migration presents an opportunity for economic advancement that boys might only otherwise obtain through more time-consuming ways. Not only would it take years of dedication to establish a career that would bring wages competitive with those brought in by migrants, but it would also demand avoidance of a very accepted manly way of doing things in the ranchos. Migration can serve as a rite of passage that is dramatic and fast-paced, as opposed to the plodding pace of study that might lead to the same financial gains (see Kandel & Massey, 2002).

Young women, on the other hand, generally shun migration, and my census showed only two women migrants throughout the five ranchos. Women learn from a young age, even before adolescence, that the household is their domain (Tuñón Pablos, 1999). They learn to cook and serve food, to wash dishes, to clean and organize the home, and to do laundry.

By the start of the twenty-first century, women in Mexico were generally expected to be submissive to their husbands, have fewer legal rights than men, be feminine in their ideologies, focus life and efforts on the home and family, and be fundamentally religious (Pagán & Sánchez, 2000; Lamas, 2001; Hamilton, 2002; Brown, Pagán, & Rodriguez-Oreggia, 1999; Harris, Firestone, & Vega, 2005; Basáñez, 2006). A nontraditional or progressive woman in Mexico is basically the antithesis of the traditional woman. She is less submissive to her husband, more masculine or feminist in her ideologies, focused on work and progress both outside and inside the home, well educated, and not tied to fundamentalist religion (see Tuñón Pablos, 1999; Howell, 1999; Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Craske, 2005; Datta & McIlwaine, 2000).

However, attitudes toward female political leaders, women's preferred household size, women's contraceptive use, women's education, women in the workplace, and women as partial breadwinners, have all been more accepted in the last twenty years (Tarrés, 2006). Yet these changes have been slower in areas of rural Mexico like the ranchos, where a traditional lifestyle of small-scale holdings and household agriculture prevails (m, 2006; Eakin, 2006).

Given the strict gender roles of the ranchos, what happens to a woman when she begins acting outside of her sex's prescription? Is there any connection between a shift in her gender's role and her well-being? Wives who stay home must begin acting outside their traditional gender role if their households are to function. According to most scholarly writing on this and related subjects, action outside the gendered norm can have an effect on well-being.

Women's attitudes and behaviors toward gender roles and gender itself can change (Wentworth & Chell, 2005). The fact that gender perceptions *do* change, both between and within generations, leads most theorists to contend that gender roles arise not through biology but mainly by way of environmental and sociocultural influences (see Hawksworth, 1997; Cunningham, 2001). These influences may be multiple and varied, but the general sense is that as women participate in education, religion, the workplace, and other activities that are within the masculine tradition, their own traditional gender role conceptions begin to change. That is, as their roles change, their attitudes toward gender roles in general begin to change. The dissonance theory holds that, just as attitudes can change future behavior, future attitudes also follow present behavior, even if the behavior is not elected but forced upon a person (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). I propose that traditional-minded women acting in a gender-egalitarian, masculine, or androgynous manner due to their husbands' absence are likely to undergo a shift away from their traditional attitudes toward gender. This is particularly important for an analysis of rancho women married to migrants, because the migrant situation commonly forces wives' gender role activi-

ties, which are already keys to the family economy, outside tradition and into a realm of uncertain overload. This expansion of activity into the traditionally male dominion leads, I believe, to expansion of ideology as well.

In review, the traditional gender roles of the ranchos are strongly delineated and yet are being disrupted by husband migration. Wives find themselves acting outside their traditional gender roles with their husbands gone, and these actions lead to wives changing ideologies to fit their actions. That is, wives acting in a traditionally masculine manner adopt views of their role that are traditionally reserved for men. These views may include many of the traditional masculine attributes, including independence, aggressiveness, etc. (see Salgado de Snyder & Maldonado, 1992).

Migration and Well-Being

In this section, I propose that wives' psychological well-being may be affected both by the absence of husbands during migration as well as by a change in gender role ideologies. Marital separation is a precursor to well-being problems (Wade & Pevalin, 2004), a finding that makes it possible to postulate well-being troubles due to the marital fission of migratory necessity. Migration creates situations that may lead to psychological distress, not only in those who migrate, but also in those who remain at home (see Aguilera-Guzmán, Salgado de Snyder, Romero, & Medina-Mora, 2004).

I propose that some portion of well-being problems among wives of migrants is due to the necessity for them to act outside their traditional gender roles, a move that creates dissonance with tradition while at the same time fostering dissonance-generating, nontraditional gender-role permissiveness in their ideology (see Figure 1). This proposal will not be entirely acceptable to the scholarly community. In one of the few studies of a similar population, women supposedly did not change in their gender roles or ideologies while their husbands were gone. Submission to husbands was the norm the authors found through a few ethnographic interviews: Absent husbands simply controlled rural women through weekly phone calls, forcing them to stay within their traditional roles. Apparently, these husbands did not allow the women to work outside the home or even in the fields belonging to the household (Rowell & Jones, 2004). However, this finding is suspect due to the tiny number of interviews cited: four. The finding, resting on a super-controlling view of machismo among husbands, was not what I found in my study.

Theoretical Framework of Gender Role Change and Well-Being

Researchers studying the connection between gender role ideology and well-being have formulated three empirically-supported predictor models of well-being according to a person's gender role ideology. (For my purposes, the term "gender role ideology" refers to the ideal a person holds about how genders ought to be manifest or divided through action; gender role traditionality is the degree to which a person's ideology is in line with the traditional gender roles of his or her society.) These models are the traditional congruence model, the androgyny model, and the masculinity model.

Advocates for the *traditional congruence model* postulate that a person's well-being will be best only when his or her gender role ideology is congruent with his or her gender (*e.g.*, a female would be most mentally healthy if she idealizes and acts according to traditional roles). Advocates for the *androgyny model* postulate that well-being would be maximized when a person's gender role ideology has aspects of both masculinity and femininity, regardless of the person's gender (Bem, 1975). Finally, advocates for the *masculinity model* postulate that well-being would be best when a person's gender role ideology is masculine, regardless of his or her gender (Castlebury & Durham, 1997). American researchers have shown broad support for the masculinity model as the best indicator that well-being is a function of gender role ideology (Bourne, 2006; Caslebury & Durham, 1997; Jack, 1991). Generally, this means that a person who is uninhibited, independent, individualist, aggressive, decisive, and outspokenly in charge should be mentally healthy. Specifically, the masculinity model best predicts adjustment, higher self-esteem, and psychological well-being (Woo & Oei, 2006).

In Western societies, studies have shown that feminist ideology, masculinity, and androgyny have all been correlated with higher degrees of well-being among women than those associated with traditional ideology (Saunders, 2002). Many U.S. and Western theorists have asserted that women are better off psychologically for owning androgynous or masculine-like ideologies than adhering to traditional ones—regardless of how or why the shift comes about (Woodhill & Samuels, 2003). In fact, some feminist researchers state that traditionalism in society and in individual women has caused a breakdown of female well-being and that women ought to shed their traditionalism or suffer the consequences of masculine, social, and cultural forces working against them (see Israeli & Santor, 2000; Marecek & Kravitz, 1977). Furthermore, some researchers see depression and other problems with well-being as a natural response to the oppressiveness of a patriarchal society because men's roles are so clearly favored (Stock, Graubert, & Birns, 1982; Sturdivant, 1980). Such studies are extremely beneficial to ameliorate women's well-being problems by educating willing women to change traditional gender roles to more androgynous or masculine gender roles. However, to date, the majority of studies have been conducted in Westernized societies, and there is no cross-national study that quantitatively investigates the relationship between gender role ideology and well-being, especially in a context where gender role shifts are forced on women by departing husbands.

Before my study, only two investigations took place in central Mexican sending communities that mirrored, partially, my approach and results. These studies of the effects of husband migration on rural Mexican women (*i.e.*, Maldonado, 1993; Salgado de Snyder & Maldonado, 1992), were both conducted about fifteen years ago without the aid of quantitative scaling. The earlier of these (Salgado de Snyder & Maldonado, 1992) brings gender roles into account as part of the explanation for well-being problems in women. Interestingly enough, these studies, and mine, do not support the masculinity model, but rather the traditional congruence model. This

suggests that perhaps the masculinity model, while a good predictor in Westernized and developed areas, does not work well in rural central Mexico.

Salgado de Snyder and Maldonado (1992) performed a study that observed coping strategies among wives of migrants in rural Mexican sending communities. They found that women in this situation could use either traditional or nontraditional coping strategies to deal with their husband's absence. Traditional feminine coping strategies included abnegation and passivity, denial, interconnecting with family members or friends, avoidance, and internalization of emotions. Nontraditional strategies, advocated by feminist literature, such as externalizing emotion and increasing independence, led to *decreased* well-being. That is, women coped with the absence of their husbands best by acting like traditional women. In their conceptualization of the issue, these authors argue the following: husband migration leads to additional problems and responsibilities for women; those problems and responsibilities demand coping strategies and the best way for most women to cope, at least in rural central Mexico, is through *traditional* means.

Both these findings and mine suggest that among wives of migrants in rural Mexico traditional gender roles—that is, the traditional congruence model—relates to *higher* well-being. But I take my explanation further, looking at the variables of husband migratory status, gender role traditionality, and mental health from a statistical viewpoint.

U.S. literature would not predict the results of my study or that of Salgado de Snyder and Maldonado. The feminist paradigm of the healthy woman, characterized by independence, externalized emotion, and extensive control and choice in life, is what prevails in the United States. As I stated above, a good deal of U.S. literature suggests that women's *traditional* role leads to problems with depression, self-esteem, and other well-being issues. In the U.S., this may be the case, but in the ranchos of central Mexico, an opposite portrait is emerging.

In conclusion, I propose an expansion of the theoretical model emerging from Salgado de Snyder and Maldonado's work on migration, gender roles, and mental health: it is progressiveness (especially *compelled* progressiveness) and *not* traditional congruence that is related to, and even mediates, lower well-being among the women I studied.

Methods

I began studying the ranchos in August 2005. Since then I have spent a total of six months there, split between three separate trips. Observations and conversations from all of those six months inform this study. However, my latest trip to the ranchos, from April to June 2007, focused purposefully on this project. I chose fifty-six women to participate in a time census and qualitative interview. Of these, half were in what I deemed the sending group, and half were part of the non-sending group. The sending group consisted of Catholic women fifty years old or younger, whose husbands had migrated for at least one year of the past five or who were currently migrating and had been for at least six months. Those in the non-sending group were women of the

same age and religion, whose husbands did not fit one of the criteria for the sending group. Interviews consisted of asking women what activities they participated in during a normal day from the time they awoke in the morning to the time they went to bed at night, as well as their thoughts and feelings on migration and its effects on wives and the family. I further asked women in the sending group to compare their daily doings when their husbands were absent with their activities when their husbands were present. With this data collected, I used textual analysis to locate trends in the interviewees' answers.

To obtain quantitative data, I used a two-group posttest-only design without random assignment, but with random selection, to collect responses from forty-seven women of each group (N=94). That is, participants were tested *after* the husbands in the migrant group had established a pattern of migration. I used two scales to gather quantitative data: the General Health Questionnaire 12 (Makikangas, Feldt, Kinnunen, Tolvanen, Kinnunen, & Pulkkinen, 2006; Wagner, Gallo, & Delva, 1999) and the Gender Ideology Scale (Cota & Xinaris, 1993). Research had previously verified these scales cross-culturally. Statistical methods were used to analyze quantitative data.

Participants and Procedure

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and all participants were treated in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the American Psychological Association. Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained, and all participants in this study were compensated with children's literature.

We performed this study in a cluster of five rural villages in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico. Public information on individual households was initially unavailable, and therefore a complete census of the communities was carried out. Through the census, I sought data that could be used to create the most representative samples of married women possible rather than simple door-knocking or volunteer-seeking. Data collected included age and sex, household size, marital status of household members, socioeconomic level, ethnicity, religious affiliation, education level of all members of the household, and current and past migration status of members of the household. I used census data to create a spreadsheet with all the households of the villages represented. All married women between the ages of eighteen and fifty were eligible to be selected as participants.

Once I determined potential participants for the study, I divided them into two groups according to the level of sending they had participated in (*i.e.*, the amount of time their husband had been absent for migration)—one of the questions that I had included in the census. Women were placed in group one (the sending group) if they were married to men who were either currently absent and had been absent for a period of at least six months or had been absent for at least one year of the past five. Women were placed in group two (the non-sending group) if they were married to men who did not fit either of the sending criteria. The rationale for dividing participants into groups according to sending status was to create one group (sending) exposed

to migration to a higher degree than the other group (non-sending) in order to isolate the effects of husband migration on wives.

A total of ninety-four (n=47 for each group) agreed to participate in this study. They all had a similar demographic background: all were of mestizo ethnicity; all were of roughly the same socioeconomic background (subsistence farming, temporary remunerated occupations, and small livestock holdings); education level of all participants was low ($M = 4.48$ years, $SD = 2.54$); religious affiliation was homogeneous (Roman Catholic); and all were between the ages of eighteen and fifty ($M = 35.8$, $SD = 7.81$).

After selection, I contacted each woman at her home and presented her with the option to participate in the study. If willing, she received an informed consent document that she could read or have read to her, depending on her level of literacy. The informed consent document included identification of the researchers, purpose of the study, procedures for participation, and a guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity. Informed consent was obtained by signature for each participant, so I gave each participant the contact information of the lead investigator and project overseer from the IRB. Next, I gave instructions on how to both rate and read the questionnaire. I then read the questionnaire to her to generalize administration of the study across all levels of literacy. The participant answered items on the questionnaire by indicating the scaled number corresponding to her agreement with the item read: for example, saying "four" if she felt completely in agreement with an item on the GHQ-12, or "seven" if she felt completely in agreement with an item on the Sex-Role Ideology Scale; I recorded responses by marking the indicated number on a questionnaire recording sheet. After the questionnaire was completed, some participants—those who indicated willingness—were asked qualitative questions about their husbands' migration and its effects on them. These data will be presented in a separate paper. Once all questions were complete, I gave a children's novel in Spanish to the participant and her family as compensation for their time and participation.

Ethnographic Detail: Gender Role Change

Traditionally, a man and a woman have specific roles relating to the economy of the household. In order to understand what these are and where the general division between male and female lifestyles lies, observe what a woman in the non-migrant group said about her role: "I do not take care of animals. I have *never* been to help with the crops, because my husband and the boys do it."[1] Another woman in the non-sending group simply told me, "We have farmland. My husband takes care of it."[2]

On the whole, men are responsible for those things that directly affect the economic well-being of the household, like the valuable animals and crops and the provision of basic needs; he plants, he plows, he harvests, he herds, he slaughters, he sells, and he constructs a home. The role of the woman, equal in importance but often less visible, is to be the children's main caregiver, the director of practical daily household activities, and the most direct support of the man. She provides him with cooked food for energy so he can work, childcare for peace of mind, laundry for comfortable labor, water for

bathing and for mixing with dry cement to build walls, and a clean, comfortable bed so he can rest and work again.

In return, the man provides the woman with raw food to cook, money to buy necessities and the occasional frivolity, and secondary and disciplinary childcare. According to villagers, man and woman fit together very well in the ranchos, like two equally hardworking sides of a single machine to get daily duties done, and both are economically necessary and viable (see Crittenden, 2002). Without one, the other has a lot of makeup work to do.

This is true even of migrant men while in the United States. If they are faithful to their wives back home and live either by themselves or with other men, then they will likely have to cook and take care of their own laundry and household chores. They are not accustomed to this, and in conversations with men who have gone through the ordeal, it was a difficult transition affecting their cleanliness and eating habits. At first, they simply did not know how to cook or do laundry; they had never cooked food beyond a pig at a special occasion, and necessity forced them to step outside their gender role and stop wasting their money at McDonald's. I once observed a man cooking in the ranchos and asked him about it because it was blatantly out of male character. He replied with a laugh that he learned how to cook while he was in the U.S. and just goes back to that habit occasionally.

For wives, however, the changes are somewhat more drastic, and something that a quick trip to McDonald's cannot alleviate. Concerning their own gender role change, several women in the migrant group express what happens to their duties when their husband is not home:

> When he is here, he takes care of the animals, and he takes care of all things having to do with money. I do not have to worry about things when he is here, especially how much money we have and where it is and who we have to pay.

> A lot of things change. I have to do what he used to. I do what a woman does and what a man does because he's not here. I have to do everything with the house that we're building down here with my brother Pedro. I have to carry rocks, place them, and everything. I have to do the jobs at the school whenever they ask us to build a fence or whatever. I have to go because he's not here.

> There was a big improvement, economically, but sometimes our daughter gets sick and there are only a few people here to help us out. He is not here to help. I miss him in everything.

> When [my husband] is gone, I have to be a woman-man.

> When he is here he takes charge of the land and the farming and the care of the animals, but when he is gone, I have to do all of that. I even plant and stuff.

> It is different because he gets the water, he does the Molino [corn mill], and he even helps me bathe the kids. Life is easier. Also, the kids do not fight as much when he is here because they respect him more than they respect me. We have goats and donkeys, but his brother Tomás takes care of them now that he is gone.[3]

Not every woman in the migrant group takes all the responsibilities of her absent husband, but of the women I interviewed, most felt that their activities—daily or otherwise—changed out of necessity. Each situation is different, but the increase in workload or the increase in responsibility, or both, affects most women in the migrant group. Whether it is increased responsibility with family finances, increased workload with the animals and farmland, or a combination of many things, most women in the migrant group are forced to expand their traditional gender roles.

Roles change for women when husbands are not at home. There are so many duties, especially administrative duties, that fathers normally take care of. Yet women are forced to step into these roles to some extent when their husbands are in the United States. I believe that this stepping out of tradition, this expansion of role, is the main reason why women with migrant husbands express nontraditional gender role attitudes in comparison to women with non-migrant husbands. In turn, this change in gender role and attitude is a contributor to decreased well-being in women with migrant husbands.

Threatened Well-Being

Well-being of the women in the migrant group clearly suffers. I have proposed that this occurs by two means: first, as a direct result of husbands' absence and its surrounding hardship; second, as a byproduct of a change in gender role and attitudes (see Figure 1). The first I will address through quotes from women, and the second almost exclusively through quantitative data analysis.

From what I saw and experienced in the ranchos, women love their husbands, want their husbands to be with them, and bemoan the absence and risk their husbands find themselves in. It also seems that traditional gender role attitudes are so strong in society that adopting a new attitude may cause frustration. Yet before getting to the issue of attitudes affecting well-being, I offer quotes from a few of the migrant women interviewed concerning the connection they expressed between their husbands' absence and their emotional well-being:

> He keeps sending money and he talks to me on the phone pretty often. But if he didn't, I would give myself up for abandoned—thinking that he had left me for another woman. He is finally coming home in December. When he first left, I felt really bad, like when someone dies—even more so because it took him fifteen days to get across the border. They caught him and threw him out. I do not feel so bad any more. When he got across the border I felt a lot better. It is more secure once he is in. The *coyote* left them, the group they were in, in the hills all alone. It made me worry so much.

> How do I feel? I feel sad. I feel sad the whole time he is gone. Even though he sends us money, not everything is forgotten with the arrival of money. It makes me happy that he is there because he can provide a better life for the kids. He works—getting firewood—while he is here, only about two days per week

because there is no other work. It makes me happy to have him here because he takes care of us, he is with us, and he supports us.

Everybody in the family was really sad when he left. They all got sick with the flu. They were sad because they did not have both of us here.

I feel alone. I feel bad. We miss him and the household misses him. He goes in order to help the family. But, for example, he fell a little while ago while he was on a ladder and he knocked his chin and he told me about it and I worry about him when I only hear about what is going on and he is not here.

How does it feel? It feels good on the one hand because there is better alimentation for the children; they do not lack anything of necessity in the school. But on the other hand they do lack the most important thing, which is him.

When he leaves I feel sad, and alone. If he works in the US, we have money for food, shoes for the kids, etc. It is better for him to be in the US. But, on the other hand, we miss him when he is not here. So, we lose either way. Either we do not have him here, or we do not have money. When he is not here, he cannot give counsel to the kids either, and this all affects them.

I felt alone, and I felt just that way for the whole fourteen months. How did it affect the family? The biggest impact was on our youngest, who was born two months after he left. She got sick more and more because of the absence of her dad. When he returned, she got better. She was sick for the whole year that he was gone . . . He returned and she got better. Her cure was seeing her dad.

I felt bad. I felt sad, but that feeling didn't stay with me all three years. The feeling goes away, but not much.

I have felt really bad. Everything changes, but the feeling starts to go away with the hope that he is coming back. I have to go and watch the animals now. He used to do that. Everything is different. I have to preoccupy myself with the kids, what they are going to eat, and things like that. I make cheese now to sell. He says that he will be coming home soon.[4]

Bad feelings, what I interpret as a decrease in mental well-being (depression, anxiety, etc), are the commonality in all of these quotes. Some women make the connection between their well-being and their actions outside their traditional gender roles—a relationship I will explore further in the quantitative section. In addition, each quote offers an insight into the duration of the feelings, why they occur, or both. For those who mentioned how long the feelings last, the frame of reference seemed to focus on the husband's return, with some of the women expressing poor well-being all the way until the moment the couple was back together. However, quantitative analysis shows that the well-being of wives is affected long term—that is, long beyond the moment of husband's return.

Quantitative Data

At this point, it might appear that the cause of the decrease in mental well-being is simply the absence of husbands. I believe this is true to a great extent. However, the quantitative data tell a more complicated story of mediation between migration and well-being, a path that flows both directly to well-being during a husband's absence and to well-being through gender role and role attitudes (see Figure 1). In short, the data show that the change in gender role attitude likely contributes to the effects in well-being. Specifically, women with migrant husbands displayed a higher degree of gender role masculinity and problems with well-being than those with non-migrant husbands, and the women expressing a higher degree of masculinity within the group of women with migrant husbands were more susceptible to well-being problems. This is not simply a correlation, for analysis shows a strong argument for causation. The data analysis, performed by Niwako Yamawaki of the Department of Psychology at Brigham Young University and myself, displays the following (see Wilkerson, Yamawaki, & Downs, *forthcoming*). I offer an explanation of the analysis in both statistical and layman's terms.

Statistical Terms

To test the effect of husbands' migration on their wife's attitude toward gender role traditionality and psychological well-being, a multivariate analysis (MANOVA) using husband's migrant status (migrant vs. non-migrant) as an independent variable was performed on gender role traditionality and psychological well-being. There was a main effect of a husband's migrant status (Wilk's $\Lambda = .62$, F [2, 91] = 27.69, $p < .0001$, $r = .38$) on the dependent variables. The follow-up univariate tests (between the independent variable and individual dependent variables) showed that participants whose husbands migrated tended to endorse greater egalitarian gender-role attitudes (F [1, 92] = 52.67, $p < .0001$, $r = .36$) and worse psychological well-being (F [1, 92] = 7.70, $p < .01$, $r = .80$) than did participants whose husbands had no established record of migration.

Our mediational hypothesis was that the difference in husbands' immigrant status in regard to wives' psychological well-being would be accounted for by group differences in gender role traditionality (GRT). To test this hypothesis, we followed the suggestion by Baron and Kenny's (1986) approach to mediation analysis. There are four steps to prove mediation, and the process involves three regression equations. First, the criterion variable (psychological well-being) should be regressed on the predictor variable (husbands' migrant status). This requirement was met as husbands' migrant status was significantly associated with the wives' psychological well-being. Second, the mediator variable (GRT) should be regressed on the predictor variable (husbands' migrant status). This requirement also was met as the mediator (GRT) was significantly regressed on the predictor variable. Third, the criterion variable (wives' psychological well-being) should be regressed onto the predictor variable. Furthermore, when the mediator variable (GRT) is controlled, the relationship between the predictor variable and the criterion variable reduces significantly. This requirement was also satisfied as

wives' psychological well-being was significantly regressed onto husband's migrant status, and when GRT was controlled, the relationship dwindled. Finally, the last requirement for mediation was examined by employing Sobel's (1982) approximate significance test for the indirect effect of the predictor variable on the criterion, via the mediator. This analysis demonstrates that there were indeed significant mediated effects of husbands' migrant status on wives' psychological well-being via the effects of GRT ($p <$ .01, one-tailed). The results of the regression analyses are summarized in Figure 1.

Layman's Terms

A mediation path analysis is intended to discover the mechanism of how one variable affects another. In this study, I wanted to look at how husband migration affected mental health and GRT. When statistical correlations were set up between all three variables, we found some interesting things. First, husband migration (that is, the state of being a woman with a migrant husband) had a negative effect on well-being. Second, husband migration had a negative effect on GRT. Finally, negative GRT had a negative effect on well-being. This simply means that while husband migration has an effect on GRT *and* on well-being, it affects well-being at least partly *through* declining GRT, but well-being has no effect on GRT or husband migration. In other words, there is direction and therefore a suggestion of causation. Following the arrows in Figure 1 is helpful in understanding these concepts.

The quantitative data support what women have said earlier in this paper: the absence of husbands has an effect on wives. In addition to the fact that gender roles change and that well-being is affected by the absence of husbands, the quantitative data suggest that attitudes toward gender roles change among women in the sending group as well. That is, not only do their activities change, but also their thinking about what a man and a wife *should* do in their respective roles. In addition, and most importantly, the quantitative data suggest that this change in attitudes plays a part in the aggravation of well-being. Therefore, it appears that the cause of well-being degradation in wives comes not solely from a longing and anxiety for the husband or worry about safety and education within the family, but also from a change in attitude toward their own gender roles and toward the traditional authority of the husband. Of course, this all precipitates from the absence of husbands from traditional families.

In summary of the qualitative and quantitative data together, a certainly simplistic picture follows: A husband migrating begins a process that leads to decreased well-being in his wife. The fact that he is gone is one of the factors leading to this decrease. His absence also leads to gender role expansion for the woman, who in turn adopts a new nontraditional ideology. The new gender role ideology contributes (perhaps due to a clash between the woman's new ideology and the ideals of the larger society), along with the husband's absence, to a decrease in well-being.

Permanence of Effects

I have mentioned that gender roles largely return to the way they were before migration but that well-being does not. The quantitative data make it clear that

attitudes toward gender roles do not change quickly after a husband's return either. These two things, gender attitudes and mental unrest, stay with women for long periods. In fact, more than half the husbands of women in the sending group were home at the time of interview, and most had been home for months with no thought of immediate return to the United States. In fact, some of the husbands of women in the migrant group had been home for two, three, or even four years. However, despite a husbands' presence and the allowance of women to return to their own gender role, effects of his migration did not disappear—regardless of where a husband was or how long he had been home, if a woman had participated in husband migration for at least one year of the past five or was currently participating in it for six months or more, the results were the same.

Another interesting point is that gender attitudes are nontraditional for wives with husbands gone only for the past six months or one of the past five years. That is, changes in gender role attitudes can change rather quickly—perhaps because women recognize that they must have a nontraditional attitude to accompany their nontraditional actions. In the long run, even these rapidly acquired changes have permanence. While migration affects gender roles, well-being, and gender role attitudes in the short term, its effects are long lasting only for well-being and gender role attitudes.

Discussion

My results are in contrast to the masculinity model and the androgyny model—the two models that are most widely accepted in American and feminist literature. Instead, they support the traditional congruence model. The women's gender role ideology moved away from their previous gender role ideology, which mediated a decrease in mental health, just as the traditional congruence model predicts.

I do not suggest that the masculinity model or the androgyny model are completely wrong or should be thrown out. Instead, I believe that more research needs to be done in order to more clearly understand the applicability of these models outside of Westernized and developed nations and areas.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study was that the distinction between the groups one (sending) and two (non-sending) was somewhat arbitrary because I was breaking new ground in this area. I do believe that the distinction between one year in the last five and at least six current months was adequate to display the affect of husband migration on wives. This division, however adequate for my purposes, is not an exploration of all the possible different groups and subgroups affected by husband migration. Some women in the sending group had husbands who were away in the U.S. at the time of the interview, while others had husbands who were home in Mexico. The groups were not divided further by length of time away from home or the number of migrations. By studying these subgroups, future researchers may broaden the understanding of the interaction between migration, mental health, and gender role. In the current study, I did not divide the participants into subgroups; because of the small number

of participants overall, each subgroup would not have had an adequate participant size for significant results. Also, looking far into the future (that is, comparing women whose husbands were once migrants but have not migrated in the last five or ten years, to those whose husbands never migrated) might be interesting.

Finally, the area of Mexico in which the study was conducted is especially underdeveloped. These rural areas are not as advanced as the rest of Mexico. It is therefore difficult to generalize the findings beyond what might be called "rural central Mexico."

Figure 1
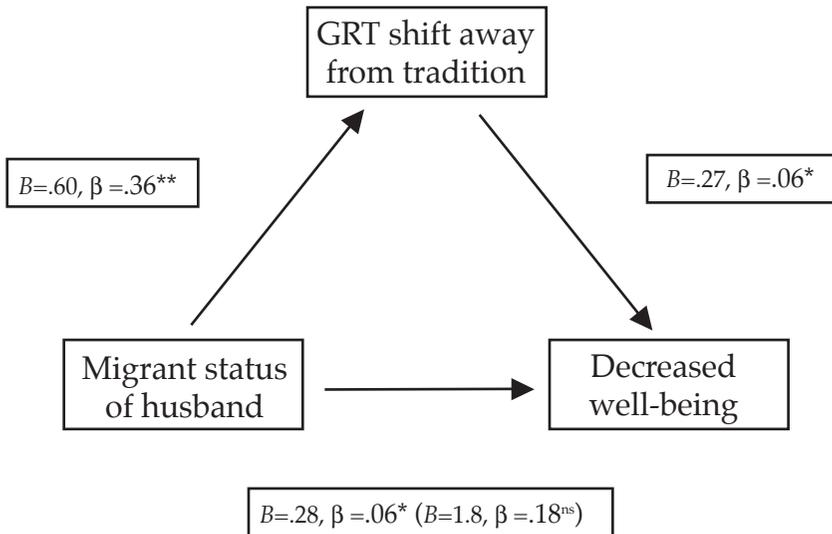
Figure 1: Path model of the relationships among husbands' migrant status, wives' psychological well-being, and gender role traditionality (GRT). The process begins with the husband departing for the United States (migrant status); this is followed by a shift in gender role traditionality (GRT); the husband's absence and the changed gender role ideology lead to decreased psychological well-being in both the short and long term.

Note: Psychological well-being (higher score indicates less psychological well-being) and GRT (higher score indicates greater egalitarian gender roles). Husbands' migrant status is coded as sending group = 1 and non-sending group = 2. Unstandardized regression coefficient = B; standardized regression coefficient = β, and the number inside the parentheses indicates the standard regression coefficient between husbands' migrant status and wives' psychological well-being before GRT was entered into the regression equation. *Regression coefficient is significant at $p < .001$. **Regression coefficient is significant at $p < .0001$.

NOTES

"*Yo nunca cuido los animales.* Nunca *he ido al campo, porque mi esposo y los muchachos lo hacen.*"

"*Tenemos terreno. Mi esposo lo cuida.*"

"*Cuando él está aquí, él cuida los animales, y hace todo que tiene que ver con dinero. Yo no tengo que preocuparme con cosas cuando él está, especialmente cuánto dinero tenemos y dónde está y a quién tenemos que pagar.*"

"*Mucho se cambia. Yo tengo que hacer lo que él hacía. Yo hago lo que hace una mujer y un hombre porque no está él. Yo tengo que hacer todo lo de la casa que estamos edificando aquí abajo con mi hermano Pedro. Yo tengo que cargar piedras, arrimarlas y todo. Yo tengo que hacer los trabajos de la escuela cuando piden que hagamos una barda o algo. Yo tengo que ir porque no está él.*"

"*Hubo un gran cambio, económicamente. Pero a veces nuestra hija se enferma y hay muy pocas personas que nos ayuden. El no está aquí para ayudar; yo le extraño en todo. No tenemos animales que tenemos que cuidar en el campo todos los días. Sólo tenemos una burra y los puercos. No tenemos tierra que cuidemos tampoco, todo pertenece al papá de Pablo. Pues, cuando él se fue, mis responsabilidades no se cambiaron.*"

"*Cuando él no está, yo estoy obligada a ser una mujer-hombre.*"

"*Cuando él está aquí, él se encarga de la tierra y el cultivo y los animales, pero cuando no está, yo tengo que hacer todo eso. Aún hasta la siembra y todo.*"

"*Es diferente porque él va a traer agua, él va al molino, y aún me ayuda bañar a los niños. La vida es más suave. También, los niños no pelean tanto cuando él está aquí porque le respetan más que a mí. Tenemos chivas y burros, pero su hermano Tomás los cuida cuando no está él.*"

"*El me sigue mandando dinero y hablo con él a menudo. Pero si no me hablara, me daría por abandonada, pensando que me había dejado. Cuando salió me sentí muy mal, como cuando alguien fallece, y aún más porque le duró 15 días cruzar la frontera. Le agarraron y le echaron fuera. Ya no me siento tan mal. Cuando cruzó la frontera me sentí mucho mejor. Es mas seguro cuando ya está adentro. El coyote los dejó, el grupo entero, en el cerro solitos. Yo estaba muy apurada.*"

"*¿Cómo me siento? Me siento mal. Me siento mal el tiempo entero que no está aquí. Aunque nos mande dinero, no todo se olvide con dinero. Me complace que esté allá porque puede dar una vida mejor para los muchachos. Cuando está aquí, el trabaja recogiendo leña dos días de la semana porque no hay otro trabajo. Me complace tenerlo aquí porque nos cuida, está con nosotros, y nos apoya.*"

"*Todos de la familia se enfermaron cuando él salió. Se enfermaron con la gripa; estaban tristes porque no nos tenían a los dos aquí.*"

"*Me siento sola, me siento mal. Le extrañamos y el hogar le extraña. Él va para ayudar a la familia. Pero, por ejemplo, él se cayó hace rato de una escalera y se dio aquí en la cara y me lo dijo y me preocupo mucho por él cuando solo oigo de las cosas que pasan y él no está aquí.*"

"*¿Cómo se siente? Se siente bien de un lado porque hay mejor alimentación para los niños, y no les falta nada para la escuela. Pero del otro lado les falta lo más importante, que es él.*"

"*Cuando él sale me siento triste, y sola. Si trabaja en los estados unidos, tenemos dinero para la comida, zapatos para los muchachos, y cosas así. Es mejor que esté en los estados unidos. Pero, del otro lado, le extrañamos cuando no está aquí. Pues, perdimos como quiera. O no lo tenemos aquí, o no tenemos dinero. Cuando él no está aquí, no puede dar un buen consejo a los muchachos, y todo esto les afecta.*"

"*Me sentí sola, y sentí asimismo por todos los 14 meses. ¿Cómo afectó a la familia? Lo máximo fue en la más chiquita, que nació dos meses después que salió. Ella se enfermó más y más porque su papá no estaba aquí. Cuando regresó, ella se mejoró. Ella estaba enfermo todo el año de que él no estaba aquí, y toda su vida hasta ahí. El volvió y ella se compuso. Su cura fue ver al papa.*"

"*Me sentí mal. Me sentí triste, pero este sentimiento no me ha seguido todos los tres años. Ese sentimiento se me olvida, pero no mucho.*"

"*Me he sentido muy mal. Todo se cambia, pero el sentimiento empieza a salir con la esperanza de que vuelva. Tengo que atender a los animales ahora. El hacía eso. Todo es diferente. Tengo que preocuparme con los niños, qué van a comer y cosas así. Ahora hago queso para vender. Él dice que va a regresar pronto.*"

"*Cuando tenga quince años me voy para el norte con mi tío y no tendré que ir a la escuela. Me dijo que cuando yo tuviera quince años me llevaría a trabajar.*"

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