INFORMATION TO USERS

Performing Our Pasts: Representing History, Representing Self

by

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Abstract

Performing Our Pasts: Representing History, Representing Self

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Anthropological research is based on oral testimony, but using it as research data in history remains contentious, because, apart from problems of memory, it is assumed that self-interest colors accuracy. Yet some anthropologists and historians emphasize the importance of the presuppositions and motives that underly the personal description of events.

This dissertation searches for the sources of distortion and validity in personal history by analysing the tapes and transcripts of interviews with senior professors in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington, that were recorded on video, for a documentary on the history of the department. Historical narrative has been shown to be the rewriting of the past in terms of the values of the present. When the narrative is to be created out of the self-presentation of participants, it imposes on them a sense of writing a final document, not only on the department, but on their place in it.

The content of the interviews includes descriptions of the establishment of the canon in the department, the power of the chair to influence personnel, and narratives about past faculty. Visual and audio analysis of the tapes shows evidence of the constraints on conversation inherent in the production process. Analysis of the transcripts shows constraints on topics inherent in the power dynamic of the interview situation, and the awareness of the performance aspects of the project. The material indicates the process by which narrative can be affected, not only by memory and personal interest of the tellers, but also by the demands of performance, and by the framing of the ethnographer/historian who is responsible for shaping the interviews into a history. It also suggests that eccentricity may pave the way to immortality.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In memory of Carol Eastman

INTRODUCTION

This project has undergone many transformations since its inception in summer 1992. At the time I had just started in the graduate program at the University of Washington. My program advisor, Carol Eastman, then Chair of the Anthropology Department, suggested that I spend the summer recording the memories of some of the emeritus professors in the department. She had heard stories of conflicts and confrontations that had taken place in the department over the years, especially in the 50's. This was before I became actively involved in the theory of visual anthropology and the method I devised to record these stories was based on my experience in making educational and broadcast documentary, that is, the absent camera person and the seamless representation of reality, with jump cuts in the dialogue hidden through the insertion of video of related events (known as cutaways) or of the interviewer assenting or smiling (known as noddies) over the sound track.

Eastman was to be the interviewer, Nicky Stein, a fellow graduate student acted as production assistant and I acted as producer and camera person. Our first interview was with James Watson, who had been appointed chair of the department in 1953 and had made major changes in the shape of the discipline taught at the UW. From there we moved onto Simon Ottenberg and Mick Read. I attempted to persuade Vern Ray, who had been one of the original Boasian scholars in the department but he was too ill to respond in person and his wife, who had been a graduate student there, still bore too much animosity to take part.

About this time Eastman suggested that I might want to change tactics slightly and incorporate the material collected so far into a video history that might be of use in introducing the department to prospective graduate students. We decided to first collect the narratives of people who had chaired the

department over the years and then pick some of the faculty, staff and students to relate their points of view. We interviewed Edgar Winans and Robert Dunnell and I started collecting names of people who had had some connection with anthropology at the UW. I'd approach professors at AAA meetings and ask for their cooperation, once I struck up a conversation with a woman on a bus and it turned out she had once been a graduate student who had left the program in disgust.

The list grew to an unmanageable length. It was impossible to select a sample that could adequately represent all the factors and factions in the department over a 40 year period. By now I had begun to study the theories of visual anthropology and had decided to use the interviews as the basis of my dissertation. But what would be the theoretical framework of the project. At the time I thought I would produce the video history and then analyze the finished product, an ethnography of a production so to speak.

Early in 1994 Carol Eastman took up a post as Senior Vice President and Executive Vice Chancellor at the University of Hawaii - Manoa and Stevan Harrell became the new chair of anthropology at UW. I decided that as any selection of persons to be interviewed would be biased I may as well stay with what I had first started with, a series of interviews with those who had been chair of the department. I completed the taping with an interview with Charles Keyes before Eastman left, and then taped interviews with her in Hawaii and Harrell back in Seattle, in both of which I acted as interviewer as well as cameraperson. I now had all the persons, still living, with the exception of Vern Ray, who had ever been chair or acting chair of the department.

I started transcribing the tapes. The stories that were told were fascinating but the theoretical spin I wished to put on them appeared more and

more muddled. In most cases one does one's research with a particular theory in mind, that one wishes either to support or show lacking in some way. Here I was with research data, looking for something to hang it on. My early idea became less attractive as my involvement in studying ethnographic film grew, and I no longer wanted to present the material in the mold of the television documentary that would have been so much easier to analyze criticically. With the views that I had collected, those of departmental chairs but no other faculty, nor students, nor staff, it couldn't be a complete history. I thought of looking at the power of the chair to change the shape of the department but I didn't have enough information to sustain that and it would mean leaving out much of the material. I have always been interested in self-presentation and life history narrative but I hadn't asked about life history, just departmental history. I could analyze the narrative structures but towards what end? There were possibilities in non-verbal communication, but once again, I hadn't filmed with that in mind and most of the shots were framed tightly on "talking heads." There was certainly enough information to support a thesis of framing history to bolster the concerns of the present, rather than presenting the "facts" of the past, but though this would certainly be part of it, it was not enough to carry a dissertation. It was all very frustrating. There was so much stuff here but what was it saying?

In my preoccupation with editing together the parts of a video history, I'd ignored my source material as narrative events in themselves. I was looking at them as artificial and unique situations solicited by myself instead of performance events in which the narrator is speaking for the public record, in effect shaping the event in accord with the way he or she wishes it to be fixed for posterity. This became my focus.

In the end I have attempted to incorporate all of these aspects - history,

narrative, non-verbal communication, and the effects of power within the department. The idea behind this follows Dell Hymes' call for an ethnography of communication and Norman Fairclough's synthesis of various strands of language analysis with discourse analysis. Taking the video interview as a communicative event, Chapter One is an overview of the relevant theoretical foundations of personal history research and their intersections, Chapter Two looks at the text produced from a conversational analysis viewpoint, attempting to separate what makes this particular type of text production different from the conversation that it pretends to emulate. Chapter Three looks at the text as history and the role of narrative, Chapter Four looks at my role in the creation of history, and Chapter Five looks at performance, discourse and power. The conclusion suggests what information can be derived from this type of video history and also makes a guess as to what type of social performance is remembered as history.

CHAPTER ONE

The Value of Personal History on Video -- A Methodological Critique

Within anthropology over the past 20 years, there has developed a practice of questioning the ethnographic tradition of presenting observation as disembodied "facts" while putting value on the presence of the narrator to attest to those facts. Anthropological discourse is derived largely from oral performances, involving dialogic interaction between anthropologist and native. But, as has been pointed out by Geertz (1973, 1976), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Marcus and Fischer (1986), Rabinow (1986), and Rosaldo (1986), among others, when the discourse is converted to ethnography, something strange happens. The prevailing fashion was to remove the anthropologist from the scene and place the native Other as objectified and typical. Even though the authority of the anthropologist continues to rest on his or her having Been There, as Geertz (1988) puts it, traditional anthropological discourse allowed the anthropologist, at best, to discuss his or her presence in an opening chapter and then pull away from the scene, leaving the Others to speak for themselves. Of course, the Others are not really speaking for themselves, it is the anthropologist's voice that speaks through them but without acknowledging its presence.

Most of the critics of this separation of the two aspects of fieldwork agree that the term participant/observation is a contradiction and it is Evans-Pritchard's famous ethnography, *The Nuer*, that is most often cited as its worst example. As Clifford (1986) writes, the Nuer are reduced to a an ethnographic pastoral, evanescent, passing, even while being recorded by Evans-Pritchard's prose. Clifford recommends that the ethnographer bring a dialogic, polyphonic

discourse, as discussed by Bakhtin (1981), into the work, grounded in the interviewer's background as well as that of the native.

Most anthropologists today are adamant about the need to find a dialogic way of expressing experience and observation in fieldwork. My question is whether a method involving video interviewing offers a greater chance of being dialogic than a written one. An interview on video should present the words of the informant without the interpretive interference of the anthropologist. This dissertation is in part an attempt to assess the problems and peculiarities inherent in the video interview method and then to look at the content of the texts produced by the interviews in the light of these problems.

Most of the interviews produced for the departmental history were relatively undirected in that the respondents were allowed to speak at length on whatever interested them, as long as conversation continued. Simply put, they were asked to respond to the directive "Tell us about the department when you first came and when you were chair." During the course of the interview, such direction as existed tended to be a prompt to speak on subjects of which the interviewer had prior knowledge.

The interview team consisted initially of the late Professor Carol Eastman, as chair of the department, Roberta (Nicky) Stein, an older-than-average graduate student as production assistant and myself, another graduate student, and Eastman's contemporary, as camera and sound person. Both Nicky and I, especially Nicky, were close personal friends of Eastman, aside from her role as chair of our committees. I was in a particularly anomalous position, having held a faculty position in Anthropology at a foreign university many years previously, and possessed of experience in video production that allowed me the authority to direct behavior *within the interview situation* but only

in a way that was careful to acknowledge the higher status, *within the department*, of the person being interviewed.

In addition, Professor Eastman had different personal relationships with the people interviewed. Some were close friends who were contemporaries, others had become friends in the 25 years she had been in the department but had initially been senior colleagues. Still others were merely colleagues, but not necessarily perceived by her or themselves as of equal status within the department, whatever their formal equivalence. These power dynamics constrained the spaces that emerged as loci for material discussed in these interviews and were substantially different from one interview to another.

Some of the interview sessions were very convivial, Professor Read bringing out a bottle of wine, for example. Professors Read, Ottenberg and Winans, all of whom considered Eastman a personal friend, extended that acceptance to Nicky and me and were not particularly cautious about what they said about other members of the department as long as it was not perceived to be on the record. The distinction between "on" and "off" the record was arbitrary and appeared to be based on whether they considered the camera to be pointed at them or away from them. The fact that the camera was recording and the microphone was still in place was not a factor[1]. This is discussed in Chapter Two.

Other interviews from this period, in which Eastman was perceived as a colleague but not a personal friend, were more formal, and respondents did not make the distinction between on and off the record. They were constantly aware that what they were saying was being recorded and were cautious at all times. Whether they would have discussed various things in front of a colleague but

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[1] Needless to say the material recorded during those "off the record" minutes that could be considered sensitive is not included, neither in this work nor in the videotape on which it is based.

not in the presence of Nicky and me, I cannot know, although I do speculate

below. As discussed in Chapter Two, the interview with Professor Dunnell was

downright uncomfortable and the status differential between professor and

graduate students marked. Nevertheless, as a personal friend of Eastman, he

accepted our presence as harmless and did not restrict his "off the record"

speech.

During the course of the interviews, Professor Eastman accepted a post

as Dean of the Graduate School and maintained only an adjunct position on the

faculty of the Anthropology department. Within a year she had accepted another

more senior administrative post, this time at the University of Hawaii - Manoa.

The interview with Professor Keyes was conducted after she had accepted the

post but before she had actually taken it up. This interview I would classify as a

formal one, as described above, though again Eastman's perception of Keyes

as slightly senior to herself affected what was brought up. At one point it

became clear that Eastman was not comfortable asking Keyes about the

controversy surrounding the alleged cooperation between the CIA and

anthropologists working in Southeast Asia and I ended up soliciting that

information myself, which was permissible within my role as professional video

producer.

Three interviews were recorded after Eastman's departure for Hawaii

with myself doing the interviewing. The initial one was with the new chair,

Professor Stevan Harrell. This was close to the formal model discussed above,

and I suspect that had Eastman been the interviewer, it would not have been

the same as she was a senior colleague and not a personal friend. As such, it is

likely he felt more comfortable controlling the interview with only two graduate

students present, especially during the reenactments of his performances.

The other two were a follow-up interview with Professor Winans, at his daughter's home in Virginia, by which time I had a closer relationship with him as the new chair of my committee, and with Professor Eastman herself at her new home in Hawaii. Both of these show differences between material perceived as on or off the record.

When Professor Eastman was present, her relationship to the respondent defined the relationships of power within the interview situation. When the respondents were personal friends, her presence acted as mediator of the relationships between Nicky and me and the respondent. When they were not personal friends, it added another constraint. We can analyse the constraints on utterances along three axes depending on Eastman's relationships:

a) Eastman = Respondent. Utterances constrained by:

i) what respondent doesn't want public to overhear - presented as "off" the record.

b) Eastman < Respondent. Utterances constrained by:

i) what respondent doesn't want public to overhear

ii) what respondent doesn't want students to overhear

iii) what Eastman uncomfortable enquiring about

c) Eastman > Respondent. Utterances constrained by:

i) what respondent doesn't want public to overhear

ii) what respondent doesn't want students to overhear

iii) what respondent doesn't want Eastman to overhear

Secondly the performance of the respondent is constrained by the same power dynamics. All speakers are constrained by their own view of self and how it should best be presented. This will be discussed in much greater detail later but it should be kept in mind that respondents in all the interviews were

approached as authorities on the subject of which they spoke. As a result, self-presentation was similar to that of a lecturer in that the perceived audience was of people wishing to gain information, in other words, students. Eastman's presence could then be construed as similar to that of a peer reviewer sitting in on a lecture. If she was perceived as a friend, it had less effect than if she were not. When Eastman was not present, respondents were freer to perform as they would in front of a class of students.

The point is that video is no more immune to power dynamics and interpretation than any other medium of data collection. Film, John Collier has written, is as close to primary experience as one can get. But up to the recent past, film has been used in a way that would make Evans-Pritchard seem progressive. Ethnographic film has tended to distance the viewer from the subject of the film. Primarily this is because it relied on the same types of discourse as the traditional written ethnography. The explication in anthropological film came largely from an unconnected narration that put the Other firmly in its place, using the same Western hegemonic framework as that found in classical ethnography. Societies were pictured as timeless and traditional; ethnographic pastoral, and nostalgia for simpler lives, were both frequently found themes. The position of the filmmaker was even more covert than in most ethnographies. The camera became a disembodied presence, a fly on the wall, whose operator had no obvious opinion or point of view.

Much of the criticism of the absence of native point of view in early ethnographic film could be laid at the feet of the absence of synchronous sound. Until very recently it required very large and expensive equipment to record sound and picture simultaneously. If one cannot do that, it is obviously impossible to be actively dialogic in recording. But even when this became

available, some of the fault lay in the traditional divide between anthropologist and filmmaker. As Rollwagen (1988) writes in *Anthropological Filmmaking*, anthropologists had mostly used film as a means of data recording, and filmmakers, who were not trained anthropologists, had avoided any theory in film, rather concentrating on artistry in the production. Reading through the articles in *Anthropological Filmmaking*, one is struck by the fact that some people involved in visual anthropology seemed to be discussing problems that traditional print anthropologists hashed out some time back, such as the presence of the filmmaker and the accuracy of visual images. Visual anthropologists, such as Collier, wrote as if all anthropological films were doubted, whereas print reigned supreme. On the other hand, the people who questioned the position of the anthropologist in print, such as Johannes Fabian (1983), or Said (1983), looked at visual anthropology as something that might provide the solution to the problems of written ethnography.

Giddens (1984) has claimed that sociologists use one of two basic descriptions of human behavior, that are inextricable from each other although most sociologists don't realize it. Some, like Goffman, interpret behavior as face-to-face interaction with the emphasis on individuals sustaining and creating relationships. The second group describes a social system which is thought of as a pattern of relationships with the emphasis on interaction between different elements of social system, typically through the enactment of certain roles. Giddens argues that any analysis must show some connection between face-to-face behavior and the organized pattern of role relationships that constitute a social system. He sees both parts as structured in that they are produced and reproduced through the allocation of rules and resources. The rules, he describes, are those formal and informal skills, mentioned by Goffman

(1974), that are needed to carry on a lifestyle or career. Resources refers to the ability to control either people or things. The fact that both face-to-face behavior, and the pattern of role relationships, are structured, enables and constrains social action, and is therefore always a display of power. One of the things video does best is capture, in the dynamics of recording, those face-to-face interactions of which Giddens speaks, and in the subsequent analysis of the transcript that results from the interview, there is an indication of the positioning within the social system of which it is part.

There is another issue, though, and that is the value of personal experience in telling history. In this country particularly, the public trust frequently depends on the perception of the individual built up through television interviews and televised debates. Our basic principle of justice demands that the accused has the right to face his accusers. Our cultural bias teaches us that we are able to judge a people's honesty by looking at their faces while they tell their version of a story. Our video interview then should tell us more about the people being interviewed than could a purely textual one. But what anthropologists study tends to be the text not the videotape. And in spite of the cultural prejudices mentioned above, once the person's words are converted into print, we become ambivalent as to the validity of the version.

The orality of its origins is another aspect of a text that is all too often forgotten by proponents of both written and visual ethnography. Portelli (1981: 97) has complained that "our awe of writing has distorted our perception of language and communication to the point where we no longer understand either orality or the nature of writing itself." The actual document is tape, not paper, although the transcript is what is worked on. This inevitably implies reduction and manipulation. "We disregard the orality of oral sources. We

ignore tonal range, volume range, rhythm of popular speech" all of which carry many connotations (ibid.). The same statement can have quite contradictory meanings according to the intonation. Our punctuation marks confine speech within grammatical rules rather than the pauses and rhythms of the subject. As such we lose some of the essential narrative functions including emotion. Transcription with intonation and pause marks do help this but it makes for very difficult reading and is hugely time consuming to produce. As such most transcribers only add these to particular passages in order to illustrate specific effects most often associated with conversational analysis. For example, I have used these in Chapter Two in order to illustrate uncomfortable moments, and differences in "on" and "off" the record speech patterns.

As Ricoeur has said, when discourse becomes text its meaning is fixed. Cruikshank (1990:19) asks, "Does a written version suddenly come to have an authority that makes it the socially "correct" version to the exclusion of others?" Secondly, it is dissociated from the mental intentions of the author and can be interpreted independently of those intentions. (The postmodern position is that this is as it should be.) And it is independent of the dialogue that originated it. Lastly, it has a universal range of address. The discourse was addressed to the specific ethnographer, the written text is addressed to an unknown audience.

Crapanzano (1984) speaks of the distortion involved in the transformation from oral to written text. He discusses specifically Shostak's *Nisa*, mentioning Nisa's penchant for ending an episode in her life with the phrase "The wind has taken that away," as if talking about an event becomes a cathartic experience for her.

This dissertation is not concerned with "life" history, as much as it is with a personal, subjective view of the history of an organization, but many of the

criticisms of life history method apply here as well. The issue of subjectivity, although currently fashionable in anthropology, is not a new one for discussion. Anthropologists have, for decades, been drawn to include the life histories of others in their work, although this has always been contested by some academics. Mintz (1979) believes we have always somehow assumed that the experience of a single individual embodies in some fundamental way the culture of the group. Anthropologists, even those immersed in life history research, tend to be defensive about it. As Frisch (Grele, 1985: 127) has said, "those interested in history, culture and politics have responded so intuitively to recent work in oral history that they have not generally stopped to think about what it is, on levels beyond the obvious, that makes it so worth pursuing." As Crapanzano (1984: 954) puts it, "Life history has been somewhat of a conceptual -- and an emotional -- embarrassment to academic anthropology and has remained on the periphery of the discipline. . . .It mediates, not too successfully, the tension between the intimate field experience and the essentially impersonal process of anthropological analysis and ethnographic presentation." Watson (1976: 95) has described it as "an unwanted stepchild" of anthropology.

Watson and Watson-Franke (1985:2) have defined life history as a personal document which "has been elicited or prompted by another person," compared to an autobiography, which is a "self-initiated retrospective account." To them, the life history is just one of many personal documents that include diaries, dream reports, letters, and forms of artistic expression such as paintings and fiction.

Langness and Frank note that the bulk of anthropological data are biographical and collaborative, not only life history. Not everything occurs while

the anthropologist is in the field. For the rest he or she relies on informants who have experienced similar events. They write (1981: 34), "It is our sense of our own lives that makes us believe we can easily understand the lives of others."

Life histories have in the past been criticized for being presented as descriptive accounts intended to speak for themselves. Mintz (1979) has argued that they would be much more useful if the recorder would introduce his or her own subjectivity including why it was recorded in the first place, instead of making it "seem to be pushed out in front of the reader at the end of a long stick, while the character of the collector and the relationship between him or her and the collected remain largely obscure" (1979:23). In other words we are facing the same problem here as discussed earlier, the conversion of an intimate experience into an interpreted representation.

The investigator's questions reflect his or her own world view and as such it is crucial to understand one's own needs and motives and how they influence what one is attempting. They suggest that interviews should be non-directed at first, especially in order to learn what the subject himself sees as important. Many people do not see their lives in chronological order.

"The anthropologist's transformation of the informant's life story into a life historical text is determined in good part by the literary conventions at his or her disposal" (Crapanzano, 1984: 957). The Western model comes from autobiography, often, as Cruikshank (1990: ix) says, "presented as a passage from darkness to light." Although only started in 18th century, the conventions in which it has become entrenched have become so familiar to us that it has come to seem natural. According to these interviews, university professors attempt to place things chronologically into "who taught what, when," but one could also view accounts of the change from Boasian theory as a progression from

darkness to light.

All autobiography is shaped by narrative convention says Cruikshank. Women's life stories tend to differ from men's which sets the critical model for "good autobiography" frequently based on ideas of a heroic, literary tradition. Women's tend to be less coherent. Minority women are doubly marginalized, she says, both because they don't use the male-centered conventions and by their position as members of a minority culture. For example, the Native American men, she studied, tended to concentrate on historical events and crises, in the life of the man or of his tribe. For Native women, she found, the theme is one of connection to people and land.

Mintz (1979: 19) refers to "the illusiveness, the many-sidedness of truth." Watson and Watson-Franke (1985: 3) note that during the recording because of the attention that is shifted to the person's memories, "a person may experience some change of outlook or character that makes him start reassessing his life in a way that was impossible when he started." This is especially affected by changes in relationship with the recorder. "Indeed, because of the very intervention of the "other" in the elicitation of life histories, we must consider the issue of the constructive nature of the life history text itself within the encounter situation, involving the informant and his interlocutor." There is an example of just such a construction in Professor Watson's narrative discussed in Chapter Two.

As Watson (1976: 98) says, when putting a life history in context, one must acknowledge that it is at best an arbitrary act. "Too often the integrity of an autobiographical account is violated in the very act of interpretation." Nevertheless, Mintz believes, by acknowledging the interaction and collaboration, the ethnographer can overcome having to choose "between a

disembodied individual who floats outside and above the culture and society, on the one hand, and a culture and society which imprison and make irrelevant the individuality of the informant, on the other" (Mintz, 1979: 24).

Foucault's writing on the writing of history is apposite here. "Historians take unusual pains to erase the elements in their work which reveal their grounding in a particular time and place, their preferences in a controversy - the unavoidable obstacles of their passion" (Foucault, 1984: 90). Instead, he suggests that, like Nietzsche, historians should link historical sense to the their own history and make their prejudices obvious. Crapanzano (1984: 958) refers to life histories that "read as though the narrator is addressing the cosmos," a similar concept to Ricoeur's complaint about non-ostensive text.

Crapanzano (1984) insists that the writing of an ethnography be understood as being equally an act of self-constitution for the ethnographer and as a description of the world. "In summary, a life historian consciously attempts to accurately portray the subject of the biography. At the same time, because a document that expresses the ethnographer's experience in the field is involved, he or she will be shaping a self-portrait composed of attitudes taken with regard to that work" (Langness and Frank, 1981: 100).

Critics of life history frequently question the reliability of informants' intentions and memories. How representative are the people selected, how reliable are they as witnesses and how accurate are memories? Do people provide a "golden past?" Langness and Frank (1981: 955) argue that the "long and intimate association an anthropologist has with the people he or she studies increases the "reliability" and the "validity" of the information collected." They suggest that one interview several informants and get different versions of the same story to uncover inconsistencies or use repeated interviews,

constantly checking and rechecking. Crapanzano believes, to the contrary, that prolonged association might have the opposite effect on truth, instead decreasing reliability and validity. Also does "confirmation" of an event by other members of the informant's culture in fact confirm the event, or is it just a verbal pattern? My own conclusion on the basis of these interviews is that one cannot assume that deliberate falsehood is involved. It seems more likely that one's individual psychology is involved in memory in that one remembers those things that provoked emotional reactions. We remember narratives because narratives are associated with emotions. As we will see in the next chapter one can distinguish true stored narrative memory from those narratives that are being constructed in the telling.

Shaw (1980) believes that distortions are safe-guarded against by cross-referencing with other kinds of sources and by looking for internal consistencies. He (1980: 228) cites Vansina's (1985) three categories of distortion, those in defense of private interests, those made under the influence of cultural values, and those made due to personal idiosyncrasies. I believe that we are asking the wrong questions in looking at personal historical narrative in terms of truth. Rather than questioning the accuracy of the story we should be asking what that story illustrates about the person telling it and the values of the society in which he or she is interacting.

Besides, many life histories contain material that to the interviewer may not appear based on "reality." Langness and Frank (1981: 4) discuss the inclusion of mythical material in Crapanzano's *Tuhami* (1980). Tuhami, a Moroccan tilemaker, constantly changes the story he tells Crapanzano, who becomes increasingly aware as he probes deeper that "the reality of personal history" and "the truth of autobiography are not necessarily the same. . . It is not

always clear to the anthropologist whether the people in this pious Muslim's account are mortals, demons, or saints. All are quite real to Tuhami." Crapanzano "stresses the art of perceiving truth in experiences branded as lies or delusions in one's own culture."

The recordings made by Shaw (1980: 229) of Grant Ngabidi also included mythology. "The digressions he made into mythology were part of his perspective, for in oral literature myth is essentially explanatory because of its application virtually to all aspects of traditional life, from the creation of land forms to eating practices. From Grant's point of view, whenever he gave a myth he was clarifying his narratives." Cruikshank found the same situation with the Tlingit women she interviewed. Of course, university professors do not explain their life situations with regard to dybbuks and demons, but mythology, in the sense of rumor and handed-down narrative, nevertheless shapes motivation and desire.

Faraday & Plummer (1979: 774) catalog the arguments sociologists have against life histories which they place at the very margin of sociological acceptability. But then there has always been a difference between sociological and ethnographic method. Anthropologists have always been more individual and more subjective. Personal history just takes subjectivity to the extreme.

They mention the criticism that the sociologist using life history becomes "little more than a journalist or novelist. . . little more than a few 'good stories'" (Faraday & Plummer, 1979:775). Social science, they contend, should aim at generalizations, in which case, using an individual case history as evidence is a flawed argument. They conclude that life history is an extremely wasteful, time-consuming and inefficient method. But, in my view, "a few good stories" can illustrate personal as well as cultural values, and tell a great deal about the

culture in which the stories are produced and validated. As early as 1959, C

Wright Mills wrote that only by combining biography and history did one find

sociology, and that to make sense of our lives we must translate "private

troubles" into "public issues."

And as Shaw (1980: 228) says, the same argument was applied to

history based on oral versus written sources. He feels that the usefulness of any

approach depends upon our awareness that distortions are likely to occur. "Any

account, whether written or oral, is filtered through the perceptions and

interpretations of its author."

Portelli insists that the belief that factual credibility is a monopoly of

written sources is only a dominant prejudice. Many of our written sources, such

as journalistic and official reports, come from oral testimony. So do

parliamentary records, minutes of meetings and conventions, and all of these

form sources of much traditional history.

It has always been assumed that oral sources are subject to faulty

memory. But there also has to be some time lapse between the writing and the

actual event. What is written is first experienced or seen, thus subject to

distortion even before it is set down on paper. Life histories tell us "not just what

people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing,

what they now think they did" (Portelli, 1981: 100). I would emphasize the final

clause. The experiments cited by Bernard et al (1984) indicate that memory is a

problem in any interview situation. In recall of specific facts about child behavior

and scholastic achievements, various illnesses, and regularity of

communication with certain individuals, health care surveys showed that

participants reached up to 75% inaccuracy and were rarely more than 50%

accurate. Memory decreased with time. When participants could not remember

accurately they tended to substitute the cultural norm for the actual recollection. But this would be even more prejudicial in a quantitative approach. A life history is not just a collection of facts.

Loftus (1991) has demonstrated that witnesses are extremely unreliable as to details of what they saw and are likely to claim memory of something that has been suggested by the question. I have my own experiential evidence to support this. Many years ago, when I first immigrated to this country, I wrote an article for a South African newspaper on my experiences in New York with my then toddler son. About a year ago, over dinner one night, some 18 years after this article appeared, my sister-in-law reminded the company about her experience with my son and passengers on a New York city bus, during her visit to us new immigrants. She remembered the details of the incident the same way that I did. The major difference was that it had occurred to me, not to her. What she was remembering was my written account that she had read in South Africa and had added it to her own memories of her visit during the same period.

Faraday & Plummer (1979: 787) talk about a continuum of "contamination." At one end you get the subject's original "pure account." But as we have discussed, the interview situation itself affects the account, so how "pure" can it be? Further along the continuum is the point where the sociologist puts his own schema on the material, for example by selecting quotes from various subjects that support his or her theory. Furthest on the continuum is where the subject no longer speaks for him/herself and the history is cast in systematic thematic analysis. "Researchers who use life histories can legitimately move through any stage on this continuum as long as they publicly acknowledge how far they are "contaminating " the data."

Bertaux (1981) suggests dropping the burden of proof from sociology. Our task should not be to explain but to understand and describe in depth. "There are no social laws, like physical laws; that is; eternal, totally accurate, acting upon everything in the universe. ... but if social *science* is not possible, it does not mean that social knowledge is an illusion" (Bertaux, 1981: 41).

To Cruikshank (1990), the real debate is to what extent oral tradition can contribute to understanding of the past. Are oral histories valid descriptions of the past or "attempts to rationalize the present social order," or are they, as Levi-Strauss suggested, statements about the human mind. Alonso (1988) would support Cruikshank's latter position. Cruikshank believes that it is more important to look at how oral tradition is used rather than to focus narrowly on its factual contribution. "Looking at how individuals take these shared cultural traditions -- their statements of identity -- and how they use them to interpret events from their own experience and then pass them on to succeeding generations may add a different perspective to debates about cultural persistence and cultural change" (1990: 12). The credibility of a source is bound up with memory, cognition and time. One cannot, as Tonkin (1992) says pluck facts from an oral account "like currants from a cake."

Crapanzano (1985: 954) feels that the discussion "reflects a conceptual disquiet that is rooted in part in the problems of representation and generalization." He discusses the theories that the processual nature of the life history is especially suited to testing theories of social change. Crapanzano states that one cannot argue, after the fact, how the individual's options, within the constraints imposed by society, result in creative strategies. Did an individual actually select the option at the time or is this a narrative that justifies the selections that were made?

Another line of theory concerns the effects of television on the use of video for the presentation of research data. Frisch (1990:17) has warned that in most public history, as, for example, the acclaimed documentary on VietNam, shown a few years ago, "the past is severed from the present almost entirely, sealed in a kind of protective wrapping, either of forgetfulness or artificial distance." Selective memory and artificial distance produce a present that seems to float in time, not bothered or constrained by any active sense of how it came to be, stripping away political implications and offering a processed experience that is acceptable for mass remembering.

Frisch sees two problems. On the one hand, oral narrative is used in the form of "humanist" academics to place the raw material in focus thereby still distilling it through the academic hegemony and denying the ordinary people agency. On the other hand, the anti-historicists take experience to be everything, conferring unquestioned authority on direct experience as the meaning of the past. Scott (1992) questions the way experience generally has been considered a substitution for analysis in current critical discussion. Felt experience, like ideology, is created by historical and discursive practices and we need to investigate what those are.

Subjectivity is as much the business of history as the more visible 'facts,' insists Portelli (1981). As he says, the credibility of oral sources is a *different* one. Their importance may be in their divergence from the facts, indicating where desire, imagination, and symbolism have their effect.

This brings us to yet another issue, that of performance and self-representation and the effects of genre. My contention is that pure audio recording is different to video recording, which has both sound and picture, because the genres on which the performance is based are different. Whereas

oral personal testimony is based on the genre of autobiography (Tonkin, 1992), video testimony may be based on perceptions of television news reporting. Interviewing someone in front of a camera may provoke recall of the genre of news and shape the interviewee's response. He or she may adopt the personality of the news source, as described by Margaret Morse (1986), handing down "truth." One must ask to what extent Goffman's (1974) view of front-stage/back-stage corresponds to the perception of "on" and "off" the record in front of a camera.

The genres in which each respondent frames his or her performance may be different. One that comes up frequently, though not unexpectedly with respondents whose profession is teaching, is that of teller of wisdom. As will be described in Chapter Two, the way in which the video is recorded privileges any genre that allows for monologic utterances, such as television news reporting -- or lecturing to students. In traditional folk oral history, many literatures include heroic boasts, praising sessions or celebration of warfare. As a result, at first glance, oral tradition appears to be sharply distinct from contemporary oral reminiscence in Europe or America. As Tonkin (1992) writes, this focus on heroes in bard style seems at first glance irrelevant to students of industrial and post-industrial society. But, she asserts, we do have a cult of individuality in contemporary Western society and this privileges recollection as personal and unique. We are our own heroes and fit our constructed self-images into a pre-existing genre taken from fiction, documentary film, or television, or our own experience, which gives us a model of how to represent ourselves.

Neumann (1996:23) quotes Janet Gunn as suggesting that the seminal question in autobiography is "Where do I belong? ... the question of the self's identity becomes a question of the self's location in a world." Many writers

(Taylor 1989; White 1981) have argued that our sense of history is a narrative sense. Our lives are by necessity chronological, and our grasp of ourselves is no less narrative. Specifically the psychological orientation that characterizes living at the end of the millennium demands that we analyze ourselves in terms of historical motivation, placing ourselves on a continuum of cause and effect that is our own personal time line. And for the viewer/reader our reaction to the quality of the performance and the genre in which it is performed will affect the weight that we give to the history that is enacted.

CHAPTER TWO

Language Use Within The Video Interview

Whereas 35 years ago, following de Saussure and then Chomsky, language competence was conceptualized as a formal system, concentrating on linguistic performance, knowing which words to put together to make logical sentences, and something that could be analyzed separately from the rest of society's culture. More recent research on language use has changed this. It is now thought of as a dynamic, interactive system, and, following Hymes, the focus is on communicative competence, the ability to not only know the language but when and how to use it, that is the psychological, cultural and social rules disciplining use of speech in social settings. Schegloff (1988:135) has described language use as "the primordial locus for sociality and social life."

The current view of verbal communication (Basso 1972) is that it is fundamentally a decision-making process. A speaker, deciding to speak, selects from among a repertoire of available codes that which is most appropriately suited to the situation at hand. Once he or she has selected a code, the speaker chooses a suitable channel of transmission and then, finally, from a set of appropriate expressions within the code. Whether the expression that he or she chooses is understood or not, is subject to the grammatical constraints that were once considered the whole of linguistics. But the acceptability of the utterance is not. Which expression, code or channel is selected depends on features of the social environment and follow rules governing the conduct of face-to-face interaction. For a stranger to successfully communicate, he or she must know not only what kinds of codes, channels and expressions to use, but in what kinds of situations and to what kinds of people.

This chapter will look at the situation that constitutes language use within

the video interview and suggest certain constraints that the camera imposes on the choice of codes, channels and expressions. A second goal is to view the text that results and suggest what information can be derived from it in spite of those limitations. In doing this I want to draw primarily on the work of conversational analysts such as Sacks and Schegloff but also on the situational analysts following Goffman.

A video interview is an instance of what Levinson (1978) called a "speech activity." By this he meant a set of social relationships enacted about a set of schemata in relation to some communicative goal, be it "discussing politics", "lecturing about anthropology" or in the case under discussion here, talking about one's memory of the past on camera. Each speech activity, as Gumperz (1982) has written, has certain expectations about thematic progression, turn taking rules, and form and outcome of the interaction as well as constraints on content. For example if it were a political discussion, one would expect, he says, to find that subsequent utterances relate to one another and there is restraint on change of topic. Lecturing implies a clear role separation between speaker and audience and strong limitations on who can talk, when they can talk, and what questions can be asked.

At this point we need to look at the structure of a video interview and see what constraints it imposes on the flow of conversation. Fairclough (1992) has suggested a list of features which must be identified in order to adequately contextualize the analysis of the interview.

The features of the situation include the number of participants, roles of participants, seating of participants, particularly the angle between the interviewer and interviewee, location of the interview, description of framing and what is beyond the frame, distractions that may be present during the interview,

and constraints on the speech behavior of the participants.

The features pertaining to analysis of the content include participant movement and direction of gaze, gesture, and also the paralanguage of the speech, such as pausing, rhythm of speech and accentuation.

When discussing the context of the interviews in this study it is relevant to include information on the participants, among which the author is obviously included. Some of this was given in Chapter One. Since Clifford and Marcus' groundbreaking *Writing Culture*, (Clifford and Marcus, 1986), the importance of the author's position in the structure and interpretation of any text has been accepted and description of that position is now often included in both filmed and written texts. Within the written text, it is relatively simple to include the presence of the author. However in film or video, reference to the author/filmmaker often places that person as the subject of the film, and can result in what appears to be self-aggrandizment. My own preference is for a situation, similar to what Clifford (1983) decries in The Nuer, introducing the author as person in the beginning of the text, but then letting the participants in the interview speak for themselves, as long as the questions that solicited the monologue are apparent from whatever source. However, the video which is described in this text was taped before I had much anthropological understanding of ethnographic film technique and as such followed traditional TV production methods.

The first interviews were conducted with the purpose of making a video history of the department, to use for introducing the department to prospective graduate students and faculty, without any idea of analyzing the material further and without consideration of the issues that beset ethnographic filmmaking, such as self-reflexivity, representation, or even anthropological validity. This

was not an attempt to record natural behavior. The plan called for a completely transparent camera, with an unacknowledged cameraperson, and montage editing (described below). My knowledge of documentary technique came from experience with broadcast television production.

Broadcast TV interview shows, like Larry King, or Barbara Walters, are shot in a studio, commonly using at least three cameras, each focused on a different angle of the action. One view usually includes all the participants, others will be focused on closeups of individuals. The closeups of individuals often do not change, but the camera focusing on the whole scene may be changed to include the audience at times. The cameras are wired to a control room where the show's director monitors the three feeds and directs the camerapeople how to proceed as well as the person managing the switcher, which controls which picture gets to be shown on air, whether immediately or at a later date, at any given time. When an interview is taped outside of a studio the technique changes because only a single camera is used, and montage editing is used to produce the same final effect.

Montage editing, in interviews, involves selecting shots that provide continuity and coherence in audio, then inserting video on top of some of the audio, firstly to hide jump cuts, that is those cuts whose lack of visual continuity emphasize the constructed nature of the piece, and secondly to add visual interest to what would otherwise be a series of "talking heads." In this case, it involved using a single camera, photographing an establishing shot of both interviewer and interviewee, then closing in on the interviewee for the duration of the interview. At the end, "noddies," (shots of the interviewer nodding her head), laughs, and questions were recorded with the camera focused on the interviewer, and some extra shots of the locations, collected artifacts and books,

participants walking, and participants taken from behind or over the shoulder to use as "cutaways," the video inserted to hide audio edits.

All of the participants, both interviewers and respondents were university professors or graduate students, used to talking in front of audiences and having their words noted down. All but one had readily agreed to take part in the production. Seating was organized to aid the camera view and this introduces the first restraint on conversation, introduced through video production, that on gaze and countergaze.

Gaze and mutual gaze has been extensively studied for more than 30 years, starting with Simmel (1969). More recent work by Goodwin (1981) and Kendon (1992) indicates that gaze has a direct role in turn-taking systems and repair. Goodwin has shown that repair, such as hesitation, as in the example, "the fundamentalists when they got hold of Monty -- were --uh-- really fun to listen to," and restarts, such as sentences that are stopped in mid-stream and then begun again, as in the example, "When I went --- the second year I was here," are actually requests for listeners' gaze. Kendon notes that although few speakers keep their eyes fixed on their listeners the intermittent aiming of eyes to the listener is one of principal ways in which the speaker indicates to whom his or her actions are addressed, and reciprocally how the listener acknowledges his or her status as recipient. Kendon (1967) has also shown that hearers look at speakers more than speakers look at hearers. Argyle (1976) has shown that gaze, and particularly mutual gaze, has social implications and indicates the degree of intimacy between the participants.

The positions conversationalists adopt towards each other has a relationship to gazing. Sommer (1959) showed that people entering a cafeteria in pairs chose to sit at 90 degrees to one another, rather than face to face. This

is supported by the research of Scheflen (1964), Ekman and Friesen (1974) that indicated that people preferred to converse at an angle which also supports Argyle's conclusion that a face-to-face gaze is a marked act. In a video interview, conversation is rarely at an angle of 90 degrees because that angle does not allow the faces of both interviewer and respondent to show in the picture. To achieve that they need to sit at a 165 degree angle and, depending on the surroundings in the room, they also need to sit much closer to one another than would be comfortable in a more informal setting.

The next constraint was on listening behavior. In order to understand how speaking and listening behavior is affected during a video interview I need to discuss at some length the various theoretical positions on behavior during everyday conversation. I would like to review certain features of conversational exchange, including both verbal and non-verbal behaviors and most importantly, emphasize the dialogic nature of conversation, focusing not only on the speaker but equally on the listener.

Much of conversational analysis developed from Garfinkel, who proposed in 1967 that conversation was not random but both the production of one's own talk and how one understands and deals with that of others, and is accomplished by following common sets of procedures. All talk proceeds in sequences, what Sacks et al (1974) called "paired parts" and all is directed to turn taking and acknowledging prior utterances. A response allows the first speaker to see whether the first utterance is understood and accepted correctly. And if it is not, the first speaker has the opportunity to repair understanding by his next turn.

Goffman (1959, 1974) was the first to point to the routinization of everyday behavior. He saw conversation as an example of a "focused

interaction," taking place within a frame or schema which is identifiable and familiar. Each social encounter has boundaries in that some of what is happening is regarded as salient and to which attention is paid and some of which is not. Some attributes of the individuals are salient to the encounter and others are not. The frame is the boundary itself, standing between the encounter and the world outside. The frame is movable in that certain attributes can be placed inside or outside it. In our video example the participants may be parents, spouses, purchasers of certain items, as well as being members of an anthropology department, but only the latter role is salient to this encounter.

Part of conversation is establishing which frame participants are using i.e. the role in which they are engaging during talk. One cannot participate without having a broad agreement on what accounts for its coherence. Any utterance can be understood in numerous ways, and people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction. As Basso (1972) pointed out, extra-linguistic factors influence not only use of speech but its actual occurrence. One's decision to speak is contingent on character of surroundings.This ability to infer what conversation is all about and what one's participation in it is expected to be is what Gumperz calls conversational involvement and for him this is the basis of all linguistic understanding. "Once involved in a conversation, both speaker and hearer must actively respond to what transpires by signaling involvement, either directly through words or indirectly through gestures or similar nonverbal signals." (1982:1)

Goffman (1981) suggests that when people engage in "talk," it involves a process of ritualization. This involves incorporating many things into our speech, such as murmurs and movements, all of which indicate certain

sentiments and emotions. As Gumperz (1982:207) has written, "We must draw a basic distinction between meaning, i.e. context free semantic information obtained through analysis in which linguistic data are treated as texts, which can be coded in words and listed in dictionaries, on the one hand, and interpretation, i.e. the situated assessment of intent, on the other. Interpretation depends on information conveyed through many levels of channels of signaling, and involves inferences based on linguistic features that from the perspective of text based analysis count as marginal, or semantically insignificant."

Ekman and Friesen (1969) proposed several classes of non-verbal behavior based on origin, coding, and usage, all of which affect interpretation. These include facial expressions of emotion, "adaptors," a situation in which one part of the body manipulates another part, but outside of awareness - e.g., running one's fingers through one's hair. A third one they call "illustrators," movements which illustrate simultaneous speech, such as showing the size of the fish that got away. A fourth is "emblems," which are non-verbal acts which need no concomitant speech in that they have a specific meaning. Churchill's "V for Victory" sign and its impolite reversed position are examples of these.

Any speech activity, such as a conversation or an interview, starts with participants making some hypotheses about activities or activity types being proposed or enacted. There is an introductory phase (Hall 1974) where interpersonal relationships are negotiated and common experiences or shared perspectives are probed. At this stage participants set up expectations about what topics can be brought up, what can be expressed in words, as Brown & Levinson (1978) said, be put on record. This is also the stage where the style of speaking is suggested, and may be the stage at which the way the stream of

talk is to be segmented into information units, etc. is suggested. If the first phase is successful, then participants move into the cooperative phase, which is indicated by a well-coordinated series of moves, including a common rhythm of speech.

Hall (1976) has written about asynchrony in conversation, when gaze direction, proxemic distance and other non-verbal signals as well as the paralinguistic signals of voice, pitch and rhythm are not in phase between participants resulting in distortion of the semantic content of messages. To the participants, asynchrony reaches awareness as an uncomfortable moment. Uncomfortable moments affect conversational involvement. One can predict uncomfortable moments, according to Erickson and Shultz (1982) because they are preceded by proxemic or postural shifts between the parties to the encounter.

Listening is not a passive activity (Hall 1974). It is part of language, implicit and silent rather than explicit and spoken. Listening behavior is different for different cultures. As Hall says, the process of being an interlocutor in a conversation is highly stereotyped, culturally patterned, and regulated by rules that are seldom, if ever, spelled out. It is experienced as so natural that few people know it is like a language and also like a language can be both understood and misunderstood. The listener has a profound effect on the speaker, either positively or negatively reinforcing him or her at all times. Listening behavior can guide a conversation through positive or negative cues or even noncommittal ones. Status, relationships, feelings, attitudes toward the topic being discussed, the speaker, or the activity engaged in, as well as an image of the self are all communicated in the listener context. Interview hosts on television talk shows are particularly adept at encouraging listening behavior

that elicits confessions from their guests. One can compare the encouraging behavior of a host like Barbara Walters with the antagonistic behavior of a host like Sally Jesse Raphael, who is attempting to provoke the guest into anger and outburst.

Tannen (1989) points out that the view that both listening and speaking include elements and traces of the other echoes the work of Kristeva (1974) who sees conversation as a joint production involving an active role of listener in interpreting and shaping a speaker's discourse as well as that of Voloshinov and Bakhtin who argue that all utterances echo how others understand and have used them. Listening an active enterprise and speaking includes an active attention to how it is received by the listener.

There are several ways that listeners show their involvement in the interaction. The most common are by signaling their position by some verbal cue, such as "Right. Yes. Oh, you did? Uh-huh. Oh, no." or some such interjection into the flow of the speaker, alternatively by some gestural cue, such as nodding, or by fixing one's gaze on the speaker. Goffman calls those non-offensive utterances, that fill gaps and sustain the speaker, "safe supplies," and Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1989) argues that the non-verbal component of conversation holds more emotional content than the speech itself as speech can be more detached.

The problem in allowing the participants in a video interview to behave as described above for normal conversation, is that it is very distracting when watching a video production, especially when viewing a closeup, to hear the support utterances, Goffman's "safe supplies," come from the interviewer, sounds that one normally uses to maintain the conversation flow. The absence of the sight of the source of the utterance is jolting to a viewer. We do not notice

the absence of these prompt utterances in live theatre, feature films and television drama, possibly because the individuals interacting on screen do not appear to be affected by it, but should they suddenly be heard we would notice them negatively. This is particularly true in video or anything viewed on a television screen. Closeups are the predominant image of the TV screen. Voices and noises off-screen, without a specific purpose in the narrative, act disturbingly on the image. But these utterances are essential to conversation, especially conversation without visual communication clues. Try avoiding support utterances during a telephone conversation and time how many seconds pass before the person to whom you are speaking asks whether you are still on the line. In a video interview situation the listener is constrained to making visual support cues only. All response signals need to be back channel i.e. non verbal. The ability of the listener to affect the utterances of the speaker is therefore also constrained.

Overlap is another feature of speech that has to be avoided during an interview planned for montage, because one cannot edit audio segments successfully unless there are short bursts of silence before and after each segment. The interviewer is trained to pause before responding to the interviewee and this affects turn-taking behavior. Turn-taking, if not accomplished successfully is another area that can lead to uncomfortable moments and is also something that, in natural conversation, is learned until it becomes subconscious ritualized behavior. Many investigators (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974; Goffman 1964, among others) have noticed, and any empirical observer can confirm, that talk proceeds through a sequence of turns. This can be more or less orderly in that some talk can overlap, in other instances there are periods of silence, but there appear to be ordered rules as

to who can take the floor, when and how they do it. Rules of turntaking, pauses and overlaps have occupied a considerable amount of attention of conversational analysts but for the purposes here we want to look primarily at the overlaps that frequently constitute the point of departure for a new turn to begin and at the structure that Sacks et al. suggest for incorporating narrative into conversation.

For an example of turntaking see the conversation below, excerpted later in this chapter, and taken from a break in the interview so people were conversing naturally. The excerpt includes periods of silence, overlap and ordered conversation in that a question is asked and answered in succession. (For transcription conventions, see Appendix.)

CH: May we turn off the radio?

(3:00)

D: <Right on the money> (Just pull the plug out. (3:00)

(The <> signs denote that D turns his gaze to CH in answer to the question i.e. an example of ordered conversation without overlap. Numbers in parentheses indicate silence.)

CH: (hh)

D: Too many buttons to worry about.

(6:00)

CH: You can keep on talking. The tape's running.

D. I don't have anything to (say

CE.   (Well No. No. Who was the chair prior to you?

(Parentheses over one another indicate overlap.)

Sacks et al. point to two possible ways for allocating the next turn to be taken, the speaker can select next or the next speaker can self-select. Either

way the current speaker must indicate that he or she is finished with the current turn and if not finished, will continue to speak. When telling a story, the rule that others can begin when a transition-relevant place is reached, must be suspended. Sacks et al describe it as the speaker first producing a single turn, or preface, that offers to produce a multisentence turn. The hearer must accept the offer and then the first speaker constructs the multisentence turn, having indicated in the preface at which point the story may be considered to be complete.

Turn-taking must be regarded as central to conversational activity. Other speech activities, such as lecturing, debates, courtroom talk, and video interviewing can be distinguished from ordinary conversation by their explicit differences in the turn-taking mechanisms (Goodwin 1981; Atkinson 1984; Schegloff and Sacks 1983.)

Most video is cut according to sound, and cuts can only be made at the end of an audio segment, not in mid-sentence. But in natural conversation, the next turn would start immediately or even before the final word is finished. Overlap doesn't allow for clean cuts, so the interviewer is constrained to let the interviewee completely finish what he or she is saying before interrupting or asking questions. The necessities of montage also affect how much of the dialogue appears as response and how much appears to be independent speech. All respondents were asked to try to include the questions to which they were responding in their answers so that the interviewer was not always necessary to the understanding. Some interviewees found this easier than others but most of the discourse came in stand-alone chunks of speech.

These constraints on listening behavior, which result in a skewed turn-taking system, are what turn the actual video interview situation into something

more like a classroom or public speaking act, even though the completed video purports to show a casual fireside chat. (See Atkinson (1984) for discussion on turn-taking during public speaking.)

Not all video interview involves skewing dialogic conversation towards monologic discourse. One finds normal dialogue in live late-night chat shows, and most studio interview programs where a three-camera set-up is used, whether the program is live or taped for later broadcast. The constraints we are discussing here are specific to taped interviews that will be incorporated later into a montage documentary using cutaways and other devices and therefore do not run in real time. What we are dealing with here is a dialogue that depends on the interviewee's ability to conduct a monologue.

How quickly does the interviewee adapt to the situation. As mentioned earlier, the respondents in the investigation were seasoned performers, used to audiences, but not necessarily used to cameras. What is more, they are used to performing monologues. In all cases, they were awkward when asked to move in specific ways for the camera or make small talk to cover the transition from one scene to the next. In most cases, however, they were completely comfortable when talking of events about which they were knowledgeable. The only exception was Professor Dunnell, who as an archeologist, may be more comfortable with direct empirical discourse than with more speculative conversation. Initially he spoke only in short sentences, see text 1. Later, as he became used to the situation his speech pattern also changed.

The majority of the interviews, after preliminary pleasantries, consisted of initial questions establishing the boundaries of the ensuing discussion and answered either by short sentences, specific to the question, or by narratives from the period under discussion. The extent to which respondents used

narratives varied in several ways. Firstly, it depended on how comfortable they were with the situation. Some used narratives immediately, using the first question to launch into a monologue describing the situation, others took longer. Professor Dunnell took the longest, reflecting his discomfort with the interview process.

The first set of transcripts serve to illustrate some of the features and constraints mentioned above. The interview team consisted of myself, as camera and sound person, Carol Eastman, chair of the department, who acted as interviewer, and Roberta Stein, who acted as production assistant. Stein and I were beginning graduate students, though both of us, particularly me, were older than the average student.The transcripts come from the fifth interview we had completed and took place with Robert Dunnell, a professor of archeology. The interview was conducted in the living room of Dunnell's home. The room had several windows so to avoid excess backlight Eastman and Dunnell were seated alongside one another which meant that Dunnell had to turn his head fully to speak directly to her. The camera position was perpendicular to Dunnell allowing the camera to pan from a closeup on Eastman to a closeup on Dunnell, and lowered to be on the same horizontal plane as Dunnell's head. Stein was to the right rear of the camera and Hermer was behind the camera. The audio setup consisted of an omnidirectional stationary microphone taped to a coffee table in front of Dunnell and Eastman and out of the frame of the camera. The signal fed directly into the camcorder which was a Sony Hi-8, high-end consumer model. Two auxiliary spotlights were used, one directly on Dunnell and one bounced off the ceiling to provide fill light.

Professor Dunnell was extremely reluctant to be interviewed and only agreed after some pressure from Eastman, who was a personal friend. It took

several weeks to agree on a convenient time as, if possible, we wanted to do the interviews in a home setting and not at the office. Dunnell made a point of not mixing business and home. He rarely invited colleagues to his house, did not give out his address or phone number to anyone and generally resented having his privacy invaded.

The interview started off extremely badly. The interview team of Eastman, Stein and myself arrived a little ahead of schedule in order to get ready. Unfortunately the camera chose just that morning to act up and as I was setting up with a new tape, the transport mechanism stuck and the tape would not move or even eject. I immediately jumped into my car leaving Eastman and Stein to await Dunnell's arrival, and rushed off to the service center of the store from which I had bought the camera but it turned out to be a problem that they could not fix, they would not lend me a substitute for the morning, and I was left to drive to the manufacturer's service department a good 20 minutes away and in the opposite direction to the Dunnell house.

My call to the anthropology department took all my capacities for pleading, explanation and almost tears to winkle out the Dunnell home phone number from an understandably reluctant secretary. And then when I called it there was no answer. I kept trying at three minute intervals and by the fifth attempt when Eastman answered the phone I was close to panic. It turned out that Dunnell also refused to answer his phone, relying on the machine to field calls until the evening when he listened to all his messages. To cut a long story short by the time I returned to North Seattle with a working camera, I was considerably flustered, Eastman and Stein were considerably anxious and Dunnell was considerably angry. This was not a good way to begin an interview and accounts for some of the nervous laughter that occurs in the following text.

TEXT 1: OPENING INTERVIEW WITH DUNNELL

KEY: [CAPS] Video portion

[lower case] Speech while glance to camera

<lower case> Speech while glance to interviewer

For text transcription symbols see Appendix.

CE: You've got to begin with your telling us sort of your history here in this

department and what it was like when you came and how evolution

made you the chair and what happened during -- the period that you

were chair.

[PAN TO DUNNELL (D)]

D. I came in fall (2:00)1967. (2:00) <What happened after that --- 71-2> I

became the <chair> (something like <that>) over <a lot of dead bo>dies

(hh). <I don't know how it worked. I was> perfectly naive about how it

worked. (4:00)

CH: May we turn off the radio?

(3:00)

D: <Right on the money> (Just pull the plug out. (3:00)

CH: (hh)

D: Too many buttons to worry about.

(6:00)

CH: You can keep on talking. The tape's running.

D. I don't have anything to (say

CE.   (Well No. No. Who was the chair prior to you?

(0:5) And you don't=

D.   =<Prior to me, Winans.>

    (3:00)

CE OK And (hh) the dead bodies were they of natural causes? I mean ...

    (1:00)

D. Well I was -- I was appointed the chair -- by the then dean Beckman,

<not because the depart>ment wanted me -- <but because the dean>

wanted me. (1:00)

And he wanted some changes made.

CH: I'm going to interrupt one more time. I know this is a pain but every

time you scratch your toe against that it's it's being recorded

D: Fine. (hh)

I don't mind. I don't care.

CH: (hh)

N: We have Read putting out cigarettes=

CE: =Yes Read putting out

cigarettes Ottenberg tapping the table=

CH: =(Ottenberg was tapping his foot

D: (Well the reason we're doing this

is because you wanted to not do it in my office because -- you

    (wanted

CH: (hh) We wanted a natural setting=

D: =right. Now you complain about

the natural.

CH: (hh)

D: (Sc...rr) (3:00)

CE: S::o (0.5) Sort of in the context of the discipline what did you think your mission was as chair when you took over from Winans.

D. Well --< to get people to -- do something.> (1:00) <And to introduce> (1:00) not particularly from Winans but -- Professor Read -- some <fiscal responsibility.> Those were the two things -- I was told to -- do.

CE And how do you think -- you succeeded.

D. Yeh.(hh) (2:00) Well the place is more productive than it was. (1:00) <Much less hostile than it was believe> it or not. (4:00) But things change. The principal feature when I was chair was we went through 10 years of -- budget <reductions> -- and I -- well kept us from coming apart but made us bigger. (2:00) I was an advocate for anthropology.

CE So what about hiring? Then what --- did (you

D.   (Hiring? That was left to the people <who um> knew something about it. I mean I was just the chair in that respect. Archeologists had the say in archeology, hiring social cultural types, hiring sociocultural people that was left to the social cultural people. I just tried to effect their will.

One can see from the discussion in this excerpt that most of it has been produced "off the record." Other than the beginning and ending utterances, this describes problems in setting up and continuing the interview. As such, it provides an example of natural conversation within the interview situation.

In analyzing this excerpt and those that follow, four features, other than content, have been chosen for discussion. As previously mentioned, these tapes were not made with the purpose of analyzing natural human behavior. They focus on the interviewee in close-up and ignore the other presences in the

room. Goodwin (1981) has summarized the benefits and deficits of including

whole bodies at the expense of details. See also Heider (1976). One cannot

analyze synchrony, gaze and body movement and their implications in turn-

taking, without both parties to the interaction in view. Nevertheless there is

information that can gleaned from close-ups. Four features, that one can discern

from closeups, and that I have chosen to discuss, are the direction of the gaze,

the rhythm of speech, the presence or absence of overlap during turn-taking,

and the amount and type of gesture and head movement. There are other

important features that could provide useful material for analysis, including

facial expression, in the type of analysis developed by Paul Ekman. I have

chosen not to include this, mainly because the focus of this study is narrative

and its place in the telling of history, and to include a comprehensive analysis of

the facial expressions that accompany this telling would be a book in itself, and

beyond the scope of this one.

In the preceding excerpt the following aspects of the four features can be

discerned:

1. The direction of the gaze. The portions of the transcript where the respondent

turns fully to speak to the interviewer are in parentheses marked by <> and

where the respondent looks at the camera is marked by []. The interviewee

neither speaks to the camera nor the interviewer most of the time. The setup in

the Dunnell interview had the participants sitting next to one another, a situation

that facilitated a two-shot but inhibited direct face to face interaction. Dunnell is

also obviously uncomfortable with the situation and moves his head

continuously. As a result Dunnell initially glances repeatedly at Eastman but

then finds a middle distance, neither the camera nor the interviewer, to which he

directs his glance and most frequently glances down into his lap. The only time

he looks at the camera is in direct response to my own interjections. This is consistent with Ekman's (1964) finding that people in conversation rarely look directly at one another but tend to stare into a middle distance unless the speaker is checking to see if the listener agrees, or to see the emotion that one's words are engendering be it boredom, anger, interest or whatever. He or she also looks to give the other person the floor and if the speaker does not intend to give the listener the floor, he or she must be careful not to look. Other than gaze the listener could use nods, or verbal responses to signify attention.

In this situation, as was noted, it is not permitted to use verbal responses so gaze or visual cues are necessary. As a result one would expect to find the speaker checking for visual cues more frequently. But this doesn't seem to be the case.

Goodwin (1981) relates gaze to rhythm of speech and suggests that a restarted sentence, composed of a fragment plus the coherent sentence, is the result of the speaker's quest to obtain the gaze of his recipient during the course of a turn at talk and that pausing might have a similar function. In analyzing restarts in terms of the listener's gaze, it seems that there is a conjunction between the time when the gaze focuses on the speaker and the beginning of the coherent sentence. The sentence begun before the listener shifts gaze to the speaker is abandoned and a new coherent sentence is produced. Pauses and phrasal breaks have previously been thought a result of processes internal to the speaker such as anxiety, or cognitive difficulty, etc. As Sacks (1967, from an unpublished manuscript quoted by Goodwin) has noted, a speaker not only wants to speak, but to have others listen. Delays such as in breaths, ums and uhs, may be other techniques for doing the same thing. However, analysis of monologues shows many false starts, hesitations and pauses, indicating that

processes of interaction between speaker and hearer are certainly not involved in the occurrence of all speech disturbances. But a restart does appear to coincide with the speaker's gaze encountering a non-attentive listener. And conversely when the speaker's gaze encounters an attentive listener there is no stop in the flow of speech. This suggests that the listener needs to attend to the speaker when receiving the speaker's gaze but as the speaker's gaze is infrequent, the use of a pause is to warn the hearer that the speaker is about to gaze, in effect requesting that gaze to be returned before its absence results in impaired speech.

2. Rhythm of speech. It is hard to measure whether Goodwin's analysis of gaze applies to this excerpt. We have no evidence of listener's gaze from which to draw any information, though both the interviewer and the cameraperson (myself) were conscious of the necessity of providing continual reinforcement through visual cues. Nevertheless, the preceding excerpt from the interview has numerous pauses, some very long ones, (up to six seconds in length) and many more pauses than repaired sentences. The pauses appear more frequent in the utterances that are "on the record." In this instance, then, we must conclude that we are dealing with uncomfortable moments rather than a speaker's bid for attention. In this excerpt there are no full narrative passages. Most of the utterances are in response to direct questions or comments, except for the "off the record" parts which show no repair and little pausing. The response utterances, on the other hand, start off by being very short and are full of pauses and then get slightly longer, though still not fluent, when he is making a point. However, at this stage, he does not initiate a topic and lapses into silence at the end of each answer. In normal conversation in a middle-class American setting, one would expect prompting to occur from the other participants, in an effort to

prevent these silences from occurring but the necessities of the video situation in which the participants have been coached to allow space to develop on either side of the utterance in order to facilitate audio editing prevents it. This leads to the next feature, which is ...

3. Presence or absence of overlap. This excerpt shows clearly the presence of overlap in normal speech, during the "off the record" sections. As soon as the interview situation is not the focus of attention, participants interrupt each other, talk at the same time, finish each other's sentences. At one point all four participants speak at once. Most respondents react positively to overlap in speech, and support utterances, especially when they have the floor. Much conversation requires prompts to continue the flow. In this situation with this particular interviewee, lack of these encouraging background uh-huhs has inhibited conversation and caused the speech flow to dry up. Because overlap is actively discouraged in an interview situation that is to be subsequently edited, it is harder to elicit information from a respondent who is uncomfortable with the situation. Even when visual cues of agreement have been substituted for the verbal ones, the placement of interviewer and interviewee alongside one another in this case has made it hard for the interviewee to receive these cues and with the cameraperson fixed behind the eyepiece, the interviewee is in effect talking in a vacuum.

4. Evidence of augmentation of meaning of talk through gesture or movement. In this excerpt the constant movement of the respondent indicates extreme discomfort.

To what extent is all this effected through the video as opposed to an audio medium. Certainly the placement of interviewer and interviewee is a large factor in that if the picture were not an issue it would have been easier for them

to be angled to one another and the absence of verbal response cues would have been minimized. In some situations where the interview room is large enough the setup can be changed so that the camera can record over the shoulder shots but this is not possible in all cases.

TEXT 2 LATER IN THE SAME INTERVIEW WITH DUNNELL

CE: Now it couldn't have been all gloom and doom for 13 years.

D. Pretty mu:ch (hh) Pretty mu:ch.

CE: Well there may be some amusing things that happened during this 13 year period you might think of

D: None that I couldn't be sued over. There's got to be some funny things. All the ones I remember (2:00) still pertain to people who are still around (which they wouldn't appreciate). [Um]

CH: Who was that (1:00) guy Read told us about?=

CE: =Monty West?

D: [Oh, Monty was] great [fun] (2:00) great fun. [SNIFFS] Last -- I knew he'd moved next door to <Professor Dumont> [over] in Wallingford and they were gonna --actually one house away and they were going to come to a todoo because -- strange as it seemed that Monty had bought a house -- it made more sense when we discovered [he wasn't living in the house but he was digging tunnels out from underneath] it and living in the tunnels and those tunnels <were going into JP's property> (hh) and <he> was getting real upset. (2:00) No Monty was a crazy guy.(2:00) Professor Read was really the funny person in all that in the battles to protect him -- him and the department from the fundamentalists when they got hold of Monty -- were --uh-- really fun to listen to. Professor Read pointed out for

example that the <girl scouts made tea out of leaves> in the Arboretum

not some sort of devil doing in the hands of Monty West. (2:00) [But there

haven't been people like that] in recent years -- thank goodness -- <When

I went>-the second year I was here and had to move I had to find [a

house] and the minute you say you're in <anthropology> [bang the door

closes.] (1:00) I kept telling [people I was an archeologist I mean they'd

consider renting you an apartment but if you] said anthropologist [there

was this Monty West crap] -- in the [newspaper which just made it

impossible for you to get a house or an apartment] to live in. And it just

uh..

(2:00)

CE Now the was it because they thought you would be holding rituals

seances or   (feeding girl scouts ...

D.   (I can't I don't know what the hell they were thinking but it sure

didn't have anything to do with us and it couldn't have been very good for

our standing in the [college or the] <legislature> especially given one of

Monty's little stunts was --.... He surprised a small family group over in the

Olympic National Park [around the campfire] (hh) jumping out in the nude

[SURPRISE GESTURE. D RAISES HANDS TO FACE LEVEL, PALMS

OUT] -- dancing around and said "Hello, I'm Professor West, I'm from the

University of Washington." And this was a state legislator and his wife --

and children. These were the kinds of things that really <hurt us

financially> I think for a while. (1:00) I don't know how much of that kind of

stuff is true but if you know Monty you know it is perfectly reasonable.

This passage is mostly "on the record." The interviewee has found a safe

narrative that he can tell that will not offend the present membership of the department.

1. Direction of the gaze. The interviewee is still constantly moving his head, and with it his glance. He acknowledges the interviewer but looks mostly ahead towards or at the camera. There is only one instant of a restart in close association with a shift of gaze towards the interviewer. It is easier for him to speak directly to the cameraperson than to shift around to face the interviewer.

2. Rhythm of speech. This excerpt starting at minute 25 in the interview indicates a much more relaxed Dunnell. The number and length of pauses has dropped, the length of his speech utterances without prompting has increased considerably. Much of this comfort level has probably little to do with a change in situation but rather with a change in content. He is now not talking about himself and does not have to justify his own actions but is recounting a narrative about a previous member of the department. It appears that this is a well-known and previously told narrative in that he uses direct speech, onomatopoeia, and hand gestures to describe actions at which he was not always personally present.

3. Presence or absence of overlap. There is little overlap recorded in this excerpt. As will be shown in the next two text excerpts, familiar texts, in this case narrative, act as a stimulus to interview situations, allowing the speaker to hold the floor without needing verbal response. The visual reaction of the listeners supplies all the feedback necessary to continue the flow of the talk, making overlap unnecessary and pausing infrequent because of the familiarity of the material being discussed.

4. Gesture and movement. There is still a great deal of head movement but as stated he keeps fixed on one position for longer periods of time. There is one

specific iconic gesture emphasizing the concept of "surprise."

The next three texts come from the first interview conducted. The storyboard called for the interviewer Eastman to arrive at Watson's house, walk down the path, be greeted by Watson at the door, enter, be escorted to a chair and then ask him for his reminiscences about the period in which he was head of the department. The first text shows an ad lib attempt to produce natural speech during the greeting phase. Eastman is pretending to arrive at Watson's house, ostensibly in order to conduct the interview. The video was taken outside Watson's waterfront house on Mercer Island. Most of the equipment is already inside but a battery-powered hand-held camcorder with built-in audio is used for this scene. Hermer is using the camera and directing the action, Stein is watching from the parking garage above. Watson has carefully dressed for the occasion.

TEXT 3 - WATSON INTRODUCTION

[SCENE IS WATSON GARDEN WITH FLOWERS. CAROL EASTMAN (CE)
ENTERS, WALKS DOWN PATH, EXITS TO RIGHT. CUT.
CE REPEATS WALK. CUT.]

[TAKE 1 OF SECOND SCENE OF EASTMAN/WATSON GREETING. CE
ENTERS FROM RIGHT AND KNOCKS ON DOOR
WATSON (W) OPENS THE DOOR]

    W. Hi:ii. Come in.

       I emerge=

    CE: =Ri:ght.

    [CE LOOKS BACK AT CAMERA]

W: Have any trouble fi:nding the [CUT]

[TAKE 2. CE ENTERS FROM RIGHT AND KNOCKS ON DOOR. W OPENS IT]

W: Hi Carol=

CE: = Hi

W: = You fo:und us (hh)

CE: No problem.

W: Aww...Like I belie:ve th(hh)at. Come in.

CE: Ye--ep.

[THEY WALK IN. W TURNS ROUND AND WAVES TO THE CAMERA

THROUGH THE SCREEN. CUT.]

[TAKE 3. CE ENTERS FROM RIGHT AND KNOCKS ON DOOR. W OPENS IT]

W: He:y. Hi:i. Mo:rning. Come in=

CE: =Thank you

W: How's the tra:ffic?

CE: Not too bad=

W: = Aw, it ca:n be

CE: I know

[W FOLLOWS CE INSIDE AND CLOSES AND LOCKS THE DOOR

WITHOUT LOOKING BACK]

This text shows how confused non-professional actors can be in a

situation that calls for acting and the stresses that this places on them. Neither

Watson nor Eastman were given a script but directed to act "naturally," as if this

were possible. Again, the traditional video setup requires that the camera be

transparent, the participants must behave as if it were not there. In the first take, Eastman turns round to acknowledge the camera as she enters the house. In the second all goes well although the conversation is comprised of non sequiturs, until Watson waves at the camera through the closed screen door. The third take finally has the desired actions although again Watson is clearly discomfited by the need to perform and responds with non sequiturs. Looking at the four features described earlier we find the following:

1. Direction of the gaze. Although both participants felt the need to acknowledge the camera when they believed their "role" was complete, for the most part they directed the conversation to one another.

2. Rhythm of speech. Eastman's speech patterns were not affected by the situation but Watson used a mode of speech that he appears to reserve for this type of staged performance. He elongates his vowels and raises the tone at the end of the vowel almost as if the middle of each word were a question. As will be discussed later, Watson is very comfortable in front of the camera when he is in control of his own utterances, what I refer to as a performance of self. In this situation he is not in control of the performance and his discomfort shows in the elongated vowel use as well as the non sequiturs mentioned above.

3. Presence and absence of overlap. There is no overlap indicating that this is not a natural conversation. This is not surprising as the content shows that Watson is not actually listening to what Eastman is saying.

4. Gesture and movement. Because of Watson's indications of discomfort as previously mentioned I would have expected him to brush his hair back, a gesture he uses in other uncomfortable situations but he does not, nor make any gestures related to what he is saying. This could be because he is either not really conscious, or too conscious, of what he is saying.

The next excerpt is the beginning of the interview with Watson in his home. The interview was conducted in the living room of Watson's home. The furniture was rearranged to place the chairs with their backs to the fireplace and bookcase so as to make an attractive backdrop to a closeup of Watson, but one that avoided the mirror above the fireplace. There is a wall of windows outside camera view to the right which helped with the lighting, although additional key and fill lighting was used. The same equipment was used for this setup as for the Dunnell interview. Eastman and Watson were seated at a 135 degree angle to one another which meant that Watson had to move his head right round to address comments to her. Stein was sitting behind the camera to the left, monitoring sound from a supplementary lavalier microphone attached to a separate tape recorder. The commotion in the middle of this excerpt results from this recorder malfunctioning and the subsequent switching to a desktop microphone attached to the camcorder. Again, this provides a good demonstration of the difference in speech patterns between "on the record" and "off the record" accounts. Hermer is behind the camera.

TEXT 4 WATSON AT HOME

W: [OFF CAMERA] Well, come over here. I don't know if these are the best chairs we have but they'll probably hold up for the occasion.

CE: [OFF CAMERA] I'll take the rocker.

W: [OFF CAMERA] Al right.

[CE AND W WALK INTO FRAME, SIT DOWN. ZOOM INTO CE]

CE: Well -- as you know I'm over here today just to talk about the history of the department as you see it. [CAMERA PANS TO W]

W: It'll have to be the history from -- 1955 on basically -- and the

department-goes-back -- I expect -- to the twenties. (1:00) It was founded
by um -- <Boas people> -- with <a kind of> Boas -- <Boasian> idea of a
mission -- and the chairman -- the chairperson-when I came -- I don't-
think-she-was-the-<original-one> but she was very close to it <in time --
she had been> the chairman for a long time -- <Erna Gunther>-you could
hardly talk about the [Department] of <Anthropology at the> University of
Washington without mentioning Erna Gunther's name -- in fact(hh)-I-
guess that would be for some people a problem. How do you [HAND
GESTURE SAME AS "bound up with"] tell them apart? (1:00) But she
was also director of the museum and that -- uh-- that was part of the
problem...

Do you want to <insert questions> as we go along or (just let me run
along (until) it

CE: (If I have any ...

W: starts going off the deep end or something.

[CAMERA WOBBLES SHIFTING TO NEW ANGLE ON W]

W: I was thinking about this the other day when I knew you might be
coming --- and it seems to me that it is relevant-at least in my role in the
affair -- that uh I was recruited from the field in New Guinea-I had gone --
we had gone out to New Guinea with a brand-new (baby

N: (went out again Went (out again

CH: (What the sound went out?

N: Yes, first it stopped recording -- then the sound (went out.

CH: (well obviously these
batteries -- well we are picking up -- I -- what I will do -- Nicky just give me
that mike. Um ---

W: Shall I run into town and get batte(ries?

CH: (No. No. No not-I meant the cord

from it -- not the mike -- um -- just -- (free this cord

CE: (You remember right where you

were?

W: Yeah -- ri:ght.

N: Oh you can plug this into your camera?

CH: (Yuh.

W: (Oh good. I was going to say. I

guess I mentioned it before that -- I hadn't thought of it. (Really

anthropology's a small enough field. It would have been easy enough to)

pick up scuttlebutt -- who was where -- what was going on. But I didn't

have any of that (.....) more or less (....) in our immediate field site in that

particular village -- lo and behold -- the University of Washington (...)

inside of a week -- Are you hearing anything (now?

CH: (Yup

W: Okay. Is this run on batteries too or is that off (power?

CH: (No it's right off available

power -- now let's get this -- um --(slightly ------closer and the=

W: (out of the way?   =um --

    (you do want this?   Oh

N: (You could put your feet (up.

W: (Oh -- right -- I was going to say

CH: (Okay Nicky -- That's what -- let's put it down

    (there ...

W: (...............)

N: (or I could sit behind the chair and just hold the mike

CH: Well, you'd want to hold it over his head if you were going to do it but

that's (hh --hh) -- That's fine now.

W: This okay for voice? =

CH: =Yup

W: Al right? (4:00) Pick up where we were?=

CH: =Yup

W: Okay ---well -- I -- I --- as --- [W BRUSHES HAIR BACK] I'd already

gone to the field -- that is Virginia and I both and our brand-new baby --

Ann -- had gone out in late '53-I'd been teaching that summer at Stanford

-- and left from Stanford. I was -- my base was uh Washington University,

St. Louis -- and uh had been there just long enough to find a village

where we'd be working and uh -- start to put down roots when I got [this] -

- <summons> from the University of Washington to come and interview

for a position. And I don't remember the details too well -- but when I got

here at least -- if I didn't know it before it was -- uh a department chairman

position and a professorship too -- which was nice -- at that point I was

still an associate professor at Washington -- the other Washington. And I

was here for just those few days. [I had some shopping to do for the

missionary ladies in Kanye too], but other than that it was just

interviewing, being interviewed by the committee and meeting Dean

Woodburn and the then President of the University, Schmitz, and other

people who had an interest or a concern in the future of the department

Again, this passage shows the difference in speech patterns between "on

the record" and "off the record" passages.

1. Direction of the gaze.. As Watson begins to speak he glances at both the interviewer and camera and back again presumably in a request for attention and then shifts his gaze to the middle distance on which he finally fixes until the interruption with the sound recorder. At the resumption of the interview he once again looks both ways, but for a very short while, until he finds his comfort with the middle distance again.

2. Rhythm of speech. This parallels the direction of Watson's gaze. He starts off very staccato, with many pauses between words or phrases, but he soon settles down to a comfortable regular rhythm. Watson appears to be searching for a narrative opening while in the staccato sections and, were one to follow the schema of Labov and Waletsky (1967), as soon as he starts the orientation to his narrative, he relaxes into a familiar routine. We see this happening twice, once from "I was recruited from the field in New Guinea...." and then again after the interruption, from the initial staccato in line , "Well -- I -- I -- was -- ...." to the smooth rhythm just three lines later. It is interesting that he repeats certain phrases, such as "our brand-new baby, Ann" again reinforcing that this is rehearsed territory that he is going over here.

3. Presence or absence of overlap. In the first part of this excerpt Watson is waiting for responses, but once he ascertains that he is on his own to present his story as he sees fit he stops looking for it and assumes the familiar role of the professor speaking to his audience in a well-prepared and rehearsed presentation. That overlap is the natural order of conversation is clear from the multiple voices talking over each other during the problem with the microphone. Unlike the interruption in the Dunnell excerpt, this was a problem that had to be solved, not an embarrassment, and there is less nervous laughter and more joking and the interview is continued with very little fuss. Overlap stops as soon

as Watson recommences his narrative and he adjusts to the lack within a minute.

4. Gesture and movement. Once Watson finds comfort with the position of his gaze, he does very little head movement. He does use some interesting gestures that appear to be associated with his narrative and again are probably part of the repertoire of this particular story. I have described the iconic gesture I call "bound up with" as TWO HANDS PALMS FLAT DOUBLE MOVE TOWARDS EACH OTHER BUT NOT TOUCHING.

He also uses another one that accompanies the phrase "run like bedfellows" which he uses twice, just after the excerpt here, and again a little while later which can be described as ONE HAND AS IF MAKING A GUN, FORE AND MIDDLE FINGERS TOGETHER MAKING A DOUBLE SHAKE. These gestures appear to be associated with the face, hands moving around the head as it were to engage the listener's attention focused on the mouth and facial expression. The third gesture, non-iconic, that appears in this excerpt is the HAND BRUSHING HAIR, associated with the initial discomfort of finding his place again in the narrative he started earlier.

The last excerpt in this series is from a section about eight minutes later into the interview. As in the previous texts, passages where W looks at CE are marked by angled brackets <>, when he looks at the camera it is marked by square brackets [] and some of the time he keeps his eyes closed, marked by {}.

TEXT 5 WATSON AT HOME (2)

    W: Well I came (2:00) uh ended up being chosen by the dean and his

    committee -- and I think the department had --uh -- had then as they

    would now have -- any department seeking recruiting a chairman

[CAMERA PANS TO WATSON] probably had two department members on it and I assume they voted on this too and (1:00) So I was busy meeting everybody and uh being entertained by the people <... department people> but really I'd barely gotten back from -- New Guinea --uh -- when I had to pick up my things in St Louis and move out here. And I think that was perhaps a [handicap --uh --] in that -- the sense that I didn't [HAND FLIP] even have one national meeting that I could go to and [talk [HAND FLIP] to friends of mine] and [HAND FLIP] friends of people here and fi:nd out a little more about the department so I had to do all my finding out you might say -- on the job on the job training (1:00). And uh my {mission --- [HAND FLIP REPEATED TWICE] detaching the} -- museum from -- {the -- department from the museum --- separateness} -- this was apparently very close to the dean's feeling -- of one essential move that needed making -- and that uh uh really -- kind of set-the-tone [SMILES] for the relationship from then on. It wasn't that I wasn't uh [NOSE SCRATCH] sympathetic to uh North American Indian studies. Of course I couldn't hold a candle to the knowledge, the depth, the devotion of the people here as far as the Indians of this immediate region but uh the uh one other thing I came to believe was expected of the -- department was to -- modernize its orientation to some extent.

BREAK

W: They -- stiff (hh) upper lip I guess describes [it as] much as anything..

CE: Well I uh yah uh will have to ask the question to get you on (this

W: (Okay.

CE: Where did we stop?

Watson: Well we were talking about my having arrived on the scene (with

little

CE: (That's

right.

W: or no orienta(tion other than what the [HAND FLIP] committee and

[HAND FLIP] the

CE: (Right.

W: dean [HAND FLIP] and so forth (gave me and they already had their

objective --

CE: (Right

W: their view of what the objective [was] -- and that seemed to be a fixed

and set agenda. That was going to be it.-So it wasn't as if I was going to

come and uh size things up and report back to them and say I don't think

that's the way we should go -- or I think we should [HAND FLIP] revise

the [HAND FLIP] direction one way or another. That was -- pretty well --

determined.

This excerpt describes the most contentious period in the history of the

department, where Watson, as the new chair, arrives to, in effect, dismantle the

existing setup and replace it with a new one that follows a completely different

direction both in theory and area studies. The features that we are following

suggest that Watson is in the process of creating a narrative, one that blends

memory with current sentiment, rather than telling a remembered one.

1. The direction of the gaze. Watson actually closes his eyes at a point while he

appears to be carefully searching for the right words to describe how he sees

his position at the time. He also gazes at the camera several times. We have

described earlier the speaker's search for response in direct gaze. Watson, in

this case, appears to be attempting to justify his past actions and is looking for reassurance. The use of the passive in the content of the speech, the frequent hand gestures and the pausing, all of which will be discussed later, all reinforce this view.

2. Rhythm of speech. This particular excerpt begins smoothly with a narrative, then loses its fluency with some long pauses as the speaker carefully chooses words to describe his role in the departmental conflict. The pauses do not appear to coincide with a search for listener's attention. At the end of the passage the rhythm smooths out again as the narrative justification of "I was recruited from the field. I didn't know enough about the department. It was all the dean's idea." that was searched for earlier now becomes the remembered text and can be delivered with more authority.

3. Presence and absence of overlap. The only overlap that occurs in this segment occurs after the break, when Watson searches for his place in the narrative that he has created and requires reinforcement from Eastman as to when to proceed. Once he gets started on the narrative he continues without needing response.

4. Gesture and movement. For most of this excerpt and indeed most of the interview, Watson's head remains practically motionless. He does use more hand gestures than previously in this section. As Schegloff () suggests the first gesture, labeled HAND FLIP, is clearly a movement of emphasis and is organized along with the beat of the talk. The second NOSE SCRATCH, is more likely an example of displacement behavior, a delaying action, like closing the eyes, to allow for more time to decide on the exact wording of the narrative that he is creating.

Conclusion

The constraints on overlapping speech and verbal listening responses, and the resulting distortion of conversational turn-taking rules, during a video interview session appear to skew the speech of the interviewee from a interactional dialogic conversation to a monologic utterance, like a lecture or public speech. The hesitations and restarts found in the text appear to be a result of internal processes of the speaker rather than a result of interactional processes between speaker and listener.

Conversational analysis of the texts from these interviews is limited by the absence of listener visual information. One is unable to assess nonverbal symmetry, or proxemic interaction of participants. Nevertheless there is sufficient data to be able to draw conclusions as to the comfort level of the speaker, the extent of the use of previously rehearsed narrative as opposed to narrative being currently constructed, and the nature of the repair and hesitation mentioned above. It also appears that, by comparing the text produced "on the record" with that produced "off the record," it is not the presence of the camera or the situation per se that causes uncomfortable moments for the interviewee, but rather the knowledge of the permanence of the record.

CHAPTER THREE

Narrativity and Personal History

In the previous chapter we examined evidence that suggested a
narrative in the process of being created in order to shape a particular telling of
history. This chapter looks at both created narrative, and narrative embedded in
memory, and examines how these shape the history we construct. It also
investigates the intersection of the memory of personal experience and the facts
that become the canon of written history.

In analysing the transcripts it is striking how few full' narratives are
present. The part of the narrative in which this study is particularly interested is
the evaluation section. This section of the narrative reveals the attitude of the
narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of certain
sections compared to others. This is where moral judgment appears (White,
1981). By suspending the sequence of the action with an evaluative statement,
the narrator is able to stress his or her opinion.

The first factor that restricts narrative is, of course, memory. The other
factor that affects the choice of topics by respondents is the power dynamic, as
discussed in Chapter One, first within the interview situation and secondly
within the department as a whole. There were considerations of both status and
power. Which are the stories that faculty members feel free to tell when asked to

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' One can describe "full" narrative by the useful schema produced by Labov and Waletsky (1867)
in their analysis of oral versions of personal experience. They include as narrative any set of
clauses that are related temporally in a specified sequence that is the same sequence as the
event to which it refers, so that changing the order of the sequence changes its meaning. More
relevant to the purpose here, they then separate the structure of the narrative into stages. The
first is the **orientation**, characterized by the description of the circumstances surrounding the
story such as personnel, place and time. Next follows the **complication**, a series of events that
develops the action. This is followed by the **evaluation**, which according to Labov and Waletsky
is typical of narrative of personal experience. The **resolution** follows the evaluation and the
coda fulfils the purpose of returning the perspective of the speech to the present moment. In
using this scheme one must be aware that demanding a resolution to a narrative may be a Western
cultural prejudice (See Sutton-Smith, 1984).

"tell history" in this situation?

Obviously, there are many narratives that the respondents remember but do not feel able to share. All respondents were careful not to say anything on the record that was detrimental to other current members of the department. They were also careful not to criticize too openly past members of the department who were still active in the field or who maintained ties to the department. The only person who did not follow this was Professor Dunnell, who, at one point, referred to Professor Read as an alcoholic. Past members, who were deceased or no longer in the field, were no longer perceived as protected from discussion as one can see from the Monty West stories.

Most of the time is spent on narrated as opposed to narrative discourse, discussing the changes in the personnel and canon of the department, who taught what and when. Some respondents use narrative structure more than others but in all cases what is narrativized is limited to a few specific themes. Bearing in mind that eight persons were interviewed, the breakdown of narrativized themes is as follows:

Story of their own hiring	9 stories from 8 persons
The early department	5 stories from 4 persons
Change from Boasian canon	4 stories from 4 persons
Monty West and counterculture	4 stories from 4 persons
Melville Jacobs and communism	3 stories from 3 persons
Carol Eastman stories	4 stories from 3 persons
Aborted hiring of Marvin Harris	2 stories from 2 persons
Assorted personal experiences	5 stories from 4 persons

The interviews contain four topics that repeatedly lend themselves to narrative.   Every respondent uses narrative to recall his or her own

introduction to the department. Because of the status of Professor Eastman as interviewer, there was also a tendency to speak about stories that involved her personally, such as her hiring and her marriage. The analysis of the type of material that is narrativized and allowed to be shared, then should be narrowed to exclude stories about Eastman. Looking at the rest of the narratives we find three other topics mentioned repeatedly. These I have labelled **In the Beginning**, the stories surrounding the department as it was immediately before the arrival of James Watson to reorganize it, **Confrontation**, the stories about the change from the Boasian canon that were made by Watson, **Poor Monty**, the stories about the department's most unconventional member, and **Who is Melville Jacobs?**, the stories about the department's most controversial member. The question that I wish to explore is how these particular events were narrativized in memory.

PART ONE In the Beginning

The stories surrounding the department under the grips of the Boasian canon are the closest it has to an origin myth. The first chair of Anthropology at the University of Washington was Erna Gunther Spier. At that time, in 1929, the Washington State Museum had just moved into its new premises in the Washington State Building, left over from the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, which had served as the University library. The University was looking for a new museum director to go with its new building and thought to combine the post with a position in the anthropology department. Actually Gunther was originally offered the position only as assistant professor, together with a position as acting director of the Washington State Museum. The actual recipient of the top job in the newly formed Anthropology Department was supposed to be her husband, Leslie Spier, who had taught Anthropology at the UW from 1921 to

1927, when he left for a post at the University of Oklahoma. Some post for Mrs. Spier was also mentioned. Dr. Spier was committed to fieldwork in the South Seas so he suggested that his wife might be a temporary substitute. As it turned out the Spiers were divorced a year later and Erna Gunther, once again using her maiden name, was given permanent status as director of the museum and executive officer of the Anthropology department. She remained in this position until the mid-fifties when James Watson was recruited to bring a new direction to the department and sever the links with the museum that had been so carefully cultivated in the 25 years of Gunther's tenure.

The sections that could be considered evaluative - those that state the point of telling the story, and those that from Labov's perspective work as evaluation devices - direct speech, asides, etc., I have put in italics.

WATSON'S STORY (A section of this was commented on in Chapter 2.)

CE: Well, as you know I'm here to talk about the history of the department and how you see it.

W: That'll have to be the history from 1955 on basically and the history of the department goes way back, I expect, to the twenties. It was founded by Boas people. with a Boasian idea for a mission, and the chairman, the chairperson, when I came, *I don't think she was the original one* but she was very close to it at the time, she had been the chairman for a very long time. Erna Gunther.You could hardly talk about the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington at the time without mentioning Erna Gunther's name. *In fact I guess that would be for some people a problem. How do you tell them apart?* But she was also director of the museum and er that was part of the problem. ......

Alright! I'd already gone to the field, Virginia and I and our baby Ann had gone out in late '53. I'd been teaching that summer at Stanford...my base was Washington University, St. Louis...er...and I'd been there just long enough to find a village where we'd be working ...er...and start to put down roots when I got this summons from the University of Washington to come and interview for this position. I *don't remember too well the details* but it was when I got here, if I didn't know it before, that it was the department chairman position and a professorship too which was nice at that point I was still an associate professor at Washington - the other Washington. And I was here for just those few days. I had some shopping to do for the missionary ladies in Kainantie, but other than that it was just interviewing, being interviewed by the committee and meeting Dean Woodburn and the then President of the University, Schmitz, and other people who had an interest or a concern in the future of the department. And the picture I got, *as far as I can recall*, was that the.. the principal ...the history of the department had been entirely bound up with the history of the museum, *what we call today, the Burke museum, Washington State Museum was I think its older title* but in any case the two of them had been run like bedfellows, same budget ...really it wasn't the same budget but it had been operated as if they were...same secretary if for example they could only afford half a person, each unit paid for one half and the work was pooled and perhaps more than anything else was ... their...er...premises, their physical presence on campus which was an old Greek revival, Greek classical left over building, wood really, but simulated marble columns etcetera, leftover from the Alaska Pacific Yukon which was 1909 .. something like that... and it was built out of

cedar and it smelled gorgeous inside and it was homey and warm and you could sort of see them just sitting in the lap of domesticity, all the department people and all the museum people and in the midst of this wonderful collection of all this Northwest coast stuff and *I may be doing someone an injustice but it seems to me that we were not, that is the public at large, were not yet quite where they are now in their appreciation their recognition valuing of Indian culture of Northwest culture in particular. And I think that was a big part of what defined the jointness of the enterprise for Erna Gunther and those who shared her sentiments.* The department was the spokesmen for minority cultures but especially for the American Indians of this region.and the majority of the people, linguistically, folklorelistically ...Mel Jacobs, you can ... archeologically even physical anthropology and the younger people too, for the most part, were dedicated to the peoples of this region, the Northwest coast people. There were some exceptions - Davidson who was gone by the time I got back, but who started the graduate student's journal, Davidson's journal, *of which I think you've heard,* was named, he was an Australianist, but he was a rare exception, but new people like Kitty McClellan and Bill Elmendorf, who had done their training elsewhere, but nevertheless were involved in this segment of North America, the Puget Sound, perhaps the Columbia valley, let's say the Columbia up north to Alaska, not so much the Eskimos, though that would be conceivable but Athabaskans at least and and then the interior people - that was Kitty. But so that it was a department that was defined areally and rather unanimously and it had that issue of understanding others - we didn't have the word and didn't use it that way of Others and

Otherness but nevertheless it was their stock and trade. It was the Boasian message - the world of other cultures and the humanity of other cultures. *Their sense of mission and it was heroic at times ... I think they felt embattled as far as campus was concerned. They had a position to defend and they may have thought of themselves perhaps with justice, as being the lone defenders of that position. This ... gibe with what you have heard or is this a private totally new view of things.*

OTTENBERG'S STORY:

I was hired by Erna Gunther. My salary at Washington State was $4000 a year. I er was offered er $4400 by Erna Gunther and *I said I think that's alright* because I did want to get out of Pullman. The department was a combined Anthro-Sociology deparment and very nice but *quiet for a New York City boy like me. So er I said OK and she said, before she hung up, maybe that's not enough. I'm going to go see the dean. And she called back the next day and said, I've got $4600 for you, Simon. I said yes* and so I came. *I was the last person, I think, that she hired in the department.*

Jim Watson was here when I got here *and those I call the old-timers. I think there were 9 plus Jim at the time.* They actually weren't all Boasian. *People talk about them as Boasian.* I suppose they were in a way but three of them trained at Berkeley, Bill Elmendorf, Kitty McClellan and Bill Massey trained at Berkeley. Vern Ray trained at Yale. It was Erna Gunther, Mel Jacobs and Viola Garfield who trained directly with Boas. I was seen by the oldtimers as a Boasian. I studied with Herskovitz, who had studied with Boas. I was a grandson of Boas.

The department was er very descriptivist, Erna Gunther had been head for about 25 years, *a long time to be chair of a department* ... she'd also been head of the museum. She was the ex-wife of Leslie Spier who'd moved on to the southwest um. It was not very interested very much in social change, the acculturation studies were then coming in. *I'll give you a story.* My wife at the time, Phoebe, was an anthropologist and I went out to La Push on a holiday. There was a little coastguard station, a sports fishing place there and an Indian reservation. I was fascinated by it. It looked very poor, it looked very run down, it looked very Indian. I came back, very excited about the prospect of doing a study of that reservation as it was and I talked to Vern Ray about it. *Vern said, "Simon there is nothing to study there. Mary died last year."* This was the tradition of the single informant, the old informant, wasn't the study of communities in community, *it was memory culture and survival culture and this was changing in the rest of the US. There was no theory in the study at the time, except in a kind of history, cultural element distribution.*

When I came there was one course on Africa, taught by John Sherman in Geography, who had never been to Africa but he just liked to teach a course on Africa. It was very nice. I saw his outline. Kitty MacClellan taught a ... oh when I came Kitty MacClellan was teaching a one-quarter course on people of the Pacific and Africa. *She said thank god you're here. I'll just have to teach the Pacific.(The evaluation here is understood, not verbalised. Ottenberg moves his head and grimaces to indicate how ridiculous it is to think one could teach both Africa and the Pacific in one quarter.)* It was probably true in all the departments. It was a time just after

the war when the United States was getting interested in the rest of the world and the government was beginning to put money into it and the Fulbright was coming up a little later on and the SSRC was starting to put (...) as well and there was just a general interst in it. In fact that period the 50's and 60's was a period in which many of the brighter people were going into overseas work. Those who couldn't get grants were working with American Indians and there was a kind of demeaning attitude, *oh you're working with American Indians, can't be very bright kind of attitude which was unfair.* there were some very bright people coming in.

When I came here, Erna Gunther put me in charge of ordering books for the library, *I gather no one else wanted to do it.* The budget was $500 a year and I discovered that the department had never spent that budget, and it was very good on American Indian studies *but practically nothing else.* There was some on the Pacific and a little on Asia but the Asian stuff was partly because the Far Eastern Institute, which the Jackson school was called then,

My first year I was in the museum, I was next to Erna - it was Vern Ray's old office. . It was a wonderful squeaky, old, antiquy sort of museum, the squirrels used to run in and out of it. There was a mummy, an old Egyptian mummy in it and that was what the schoolkids wanted to see. There were beautiful bird exhibits. There was a a zoology professor. Richardson, birds and bird eggs and there was a major collection of birds. And when Erna wasn't around, people used to come to me because my office was next to hers and they would bring something in

and say "*What is it, Professor?" and I usually didn't have a clue* as to

what it was. It would be some bone or some rock or something.

The museum was then located where the Allen library the new wing of

the Allen library is now, there was a great old building with huge pillars

round outside it which I thought was solid but one day a delivery truck

backed in to one and *you saw it was hollow* inside

They had a salmon barbecue every spring. Erna Gunther had a salmon

barbecue at some park. It was great. She built a fire and cooked the

salmon in the Indian way on a cedar splits and so on and *there was a lot*

of solidarity among the students with an interest in the Northwest coast

and I really regret that it went so far that the interest has just died .

READ'S STORY

R: Well I didn't know any of the other people. I'd never heard of them.

First thing I heard about any of the others was when I was coming up in

the train from San Francisco to come here and speaking to someone

who asked me where I was going and *I said I was going to the*

Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington and they

said "Oh, Erna Gunther's there isn't she?" And I hadn't heard of her

before. But I think everyone had heard of Erna Gunther. *She'd been*

there so long she was an institution.

WINANS' STORY

WI: Boas, at the time that this department was formed, was in the

process of expanding information of the northwest coast. Boas' own work

was in what is now SE Alaska and he wanted comparable information from the area further to the south, particularly the coast of Washington, Oregon and Northern California. And he pursued that end by first arranging the appointment of Alfred Kroeber to the California Academy of Sciences. Kroeber stayed there two years and then went to UC-Berkeley. Kroeber in turn recruited Robert Lowie but Lowie of course was interested in the plains and didn't really work on the coast but in the meantime Boas continued his attempt to fill in Northwest coast ethnography by having contacts with the University of Washington which led to the University of Washington hiring the combination husband and wife team of Leslie Spier / Erna Gunther. They were divorced about two years after they arrived here and Leslie Spier left the University of Washington. Erna stayed on and became the chair of the department here, a position that she held for around 20 years and it was Erna in turn that hired Mel Jacobs and Viola Garfield and Vern Ray developing in Viola and Vern a connection to Yale University that continued for many years so that *there was a long-term kind of patron-client relationship* first between Columbia and the University of Washington because of Boas placing people here and later between Yale and the University of Washington because er not only Vern Ray and Viola Garfield but also a number of younger people on the faculty received their Ph.Ds at Yale, and in fact when I first came er all of the very senior faculty who had been here for years and most of the junior faculty either had Ph.Ds either from Columbia or Yale *but no where else*.

The consensus is that Erna Gunther was a difficult woman, who had

been head of the department for too long, had not kept abreast with the changes in anthropology that were currently in vogue and as such needed to be replaced. The interesting part is the change in attitude to the study of Northwest Coast American Indian culture. This is a subject of study that was regarded as intellectually bankrupt in the early 50's but is once again in the forefront of academic interest. Whereas Watson no doubt had no compunction at pushing New Guinea interests at the expense of Northwest Coast studies in the mid-fifties, it would be a very difficult position to justify today. Watson is credited with bringing about the dissolution of the NW Coast tradition. As such he is much less critical towards the teaching ideals of the department at the time. Ottenberg, on the other hand, was originally one of the "Boasians" on the faculty. He does not have to accept any blame for the changes that took place. As such it is much easier for him to be critical of the intellectual quality of the department at that time, as well as allowing him to separate himself from that tradition. We get an affectionate portrait of the old museum building with its phony columns, vast collections and scents of cedar. We get an idea of the importance with which Northwest studies is regarded today. We can also tell that the concept of a tightly-knit department with everyone sharing interests (and alder-smoked salmon) and thus enriching each other's work is an intellectual ideal spoken of with nostalgia.

PART TWO Change and confrontation

Department folklore cast Watson in the role of "hatchet man," responsible for tearing the department apart and getting rid of many of the original faculty. Whereas Watson's narratives of his arrival show the smoothness of retrieved memory, his justification of the dismantling of the department, an excerpt of

which appears in Chapter Two, shows the repaired speech of immediately created narrative in the cause of self-justification. When he repeats the story, however, it is now fluent, suggesting that this is now the narrative that will stay in his memory. Erna Gunther was a very influential and well-known personality in the Northwest. The newspapers of the 30's refer to her repeatedly in terms that label her as a colorful local character. She came to the University of Washington as a young and attractive woman, assuming two very demanding positions and was celebrated by the community. She was particularly short, once being mistaken for a young boy. She drove a yellow roadster. She was named "outstanding personality" by the Seattle Times in 1935. She was particularly outspoken against the conflation of race and culture that was being taught in some academic departments at that time. One can only imagine the enormity of being ousted from such a powerful position after so many years.

WATSON'S STORY

W: Well we were talking about my having arrived on the scene ...

CE: That's right

W: ... with little or no orientation other than what the committee and the dean gave me and *they already had their objective, their view of what their objective was..and that seemed to be a fixed and set agenda.* That was going to be it. So it wasn't as if I was going to come and size things up and report back to them, and say I don't think that's the way we should go and we should revise the direction one way or another. That was pretty well determined. I don't know. I mentioned them as having felt embattled. I'll give you an example. I think I could probably remember the man's name but anyway there was a living breathing adversary or so regarded by the people of the department .. a man from biology, who

was very big on campus, well regarded, big enrollments, etc. who was regarded by the people of anthropology as being a biological determinist, that's a nice word for racist, I suppose. and probably was the word they would use - the anthro people, and er they had installed apparently a very good and very popular course deliberately to respond to that need, to meet that need and to answer that position on campus, to represent the opposite position. So I, when I, *um, say my impression, my remembrance of them that they may have felt embattled I think there might have been some reason for them to feel that way. The outside, the barbarians were in fact at the gates*, the portals as it were of that neo-classical museum building left over from AYP exposition.

CE: So was there then a perception that you were brought in to...oppose

W: *Perhaps anxiety, uncertainty...how much undoing would there be?* It seems to me that my role, my activities, my direction, *whether it was of my devising or those of the people who recruited me* might put them seriously at risk as far as carrying on in the direction that they had for so long carried on and which they still felt was needed and valuable and for which perhaps they were its lone spokesman on campus holding, keeping the flame. *I'm not trying to be dramatic and not at all trying to heap ridicule on them because that's not the way I see them at all, I think they calculated their worth in just those terms and I can well imagine them being upset if it seemed that this new outsider with the backing of the powerful people on campus all the more, not just of his own devising* but with them thoroughly behind him er might, might, perhaps, would inevitably result in undoing of some of the work they had so carefully built for so long.

This ... altercation would be the wrong word, probably wrong to have even introduced it, sorry I said it, let's say confrontation between the new and the established ...uh..position in the department .. was, well...was heard of quite at great length, I gather, by people beyond our own campus er it wasn't how close a fraternity anthropology is, sorority, fraternity. er anthropology is and things spread that things were not all quiet at the University of Washington and I remember that when I learned that our department had never hosted a national meeting of the AAA, the American Anthropological Association, I thought well, let's make a bid, let's see if they wouldn't like to come to Seattle and I talked to the Chamber of Commerce people and all the convention type people who could hold your hand while you're finding out what needs to be done and they supplied me with a box of apples, Washington apples that I could take, bribe the convention site committee with, whoever they were and so on, and that went over like a lead balloon. *I don't think it was the apples* but other things ..er..*just to indicate how the thing, I think, got blown out of proportion,* the secretary of the AAA at that point in giving me the negative decision, *said "Well, you know, things are still pretty messy." It mightn't have been exactly how he put it, but that idea anyway "in Seattle and we'd just as soon not come while they are and perhaps after the dust settles, if it ever does, we'll come" and so on* and he delivered this message, *I thought, in rather a snide way to say "There, see what a, ..see what you have done."*

I had very few new positions to, were, already *I suppose that's one effect*

of its being such a large department, how many vacancies could you justify and without vacancies how could you make a move in the direction *so the hatchet man, er - the hatchet man message, and that's , it's not just what you , it's what other people, I remember some very acerbic comments from seniors in the field, particularly outspoken acerbic ones like Pete Murdock,* that they too felt that I had just wielded rather a heavy hand in tenure decisions, *ostensibly...I suppose. .to open up new spaces for appointing new people,* two appointments I perhaps fit that description, one was Doug Osborne, archeology and one was Bill Elmendorf who worked with one of the Puget Sound groups and eventually moved from here to the University of Wisconsin. Those were definitely hand-picked children of the older generation in the department and so, and represented the kind of anthropology, young though they were, that represented the kind of anthropology they wanted represented and emphasized ..*I suppose those were er .. those were tenure decisions.* That was college council eventually, *the college council still can act that way, they don't have to support the majority automaticallty - they have their own opinion.*

CH. I'm not quite clear about that. When you say they were tenure decisions, they were given tenure?

W. They were denied tenure.

CH. Could you please mention that. I don't think ... it's not clear.

W. Yes, those two , and perhsps, yes, one other, Bill, yes Bill Massey was another.. So those were the untenured, most of the rest of the people were already tenured so these people stood out. Kitty McClellan left on her own - didn't wait to see if she would get tenure - went to Wisconsin.

Ss.tr.. two of these people went to Wisconsin it's true.

CE: So most of the untenured people who were here when you came

here were not approved for tenure and moved elsewhere

W: Yeah. I think that's right.

Oh one part of the blow up..one part of the blow up that did come to pass,

the legislature didn't ...and the harsh words from the AAA and senior

colleagues heard there and in other departments, Murdoch was at Yale at

the time in criticism of my *ostensibly unjustified course of action. hm. what

was I trying to say.* oh yest, blowup. One departure, because it was a

voluntary departure because it was a tenured man, was a physical anth.

who left for Arizona, Hulse, Fred Hulse, who was quite angry about what

had been happening but who was not forced out of the department for

lack of tenure and so on, left word with the provost, University of

Washington alumnus himself, Fred Thieme, and an anthropologist who

had been at Michigan and came with Odegaard from Michigan a year or

two after Woodburn, the dean of Arts and Sciences had, they had known

each other at Michigan, and whatever it was that Hulse told Thieme, *my

best guess is that something is rotten in the department and needs

looking into* at least that, part of the message must have been that, so I

was hauled up, hauled into ..you couldn't call it a kangaroo court because

the provost is duly authorized to conduct such inquiries if he wants to and

in any case in the presence of all my colleagues, both my supporters and

my non-supporters, questioned closely about my course of action and my

comportment on particular decisions and so forth...*I think I think that

followed another ...I'm not absolutely sure...I seem to remember a letter*

from Mick Read warning me that the storm flags were flying and said to be that when I got back there might be a storm that would have brewed, brewn.

CH: What was the offshoot (upshot) of the Provost meeting?

W: *I don't know ... just to I would say at a miminim to say our eyes are upon you..you are watched..we are aware..and be careful what you do further...and you are accountable and this is some of your accountability, right here and now today in rather a humiliating context uh..ah..my impression of Thieme is no doubt colored by that particular incident,* I knew him otherwise, I knew him in other contexts but *I got the impression he didn't mind a bit being confrontational ..it suited him quite well..*and so forth.. the outcome...what was the purpose of the exercise...*you might well ask what the purpose of the exercise was because it did not say..it did not mean..we're going to do..we're going to get another chairman and if you have tenure that's fine, you're tenured if you want to stay* but it didn't get to that point, *I'm not sure it was meant to I just don't know,* either my answers were convincing enough or the charges seemed hollow enough that no action like that was warranted. *But as far as I was concerned I thought well, I don't need this and I've got lots to do and haven't been doing very much of it I'd been so busy doing everything else so to speak* so I decided that five years was time enough for me in the chairman department.

Almost all of this excerpt is evaluative, understandably indicating Watson's eagerness to justify his version of events.

OTTENBERG'S STORY

Well, let's see. Jim succeeded in getting Massey out without tenure, Doug Osborne out without tenure, Doug went to work with the Park Service somewhere in the SW. *I must say, he was a bit of a dumb one, he really was, he wasn't much of a scholar, he didn't belong in a university*, Bill Massey probably did but his personal life was screwed up, he was split betwen three departments, *he was impossible*. Kitty MacClellan and Bill Elmendorf saw the writing on the wall and got jobs at Wisconsin and left and *the consequence was that Jim's attempt to change the department has led to very little NW work being done here particularly in the coastal area here, there's no one in the department working on, students do, but there's no faculty member working say in British Columbia area, Northeast Alaska, or Salish, that area.*

He brought in some great people. Mel Spiro was here for a while and then left for Chicago. He'd known Mel Spiro at Washington University, they'd both taught there together. Manning Nash was here for a while, Fred Gearing, who was a Native American specialist. He'd worked with Cherokee, near Chicago, student, was here. Ray Fogelson was here for a while. I think he was hired by Watson. The year after I came he brought in Mick Read. Mick Read had studied at er er school of --

CE: London School of Economics

O: London School of Economics with Nadel, althrough Nadel had left for Australia. He finished up with Firth whom he couldn't stand, he'll probably tell you about that if you ask him and was trained in British Social Anthropology and came in with that kind of record *although he turned out*

to be a rather unusual British social anthropologist. His earlier work was in the social anthropology tradition, he wrote on kinship and that, *but then he broke away and write "The High Valley."* Ray Fogelson who'd been a Hallowell student in Pennsylvania came and er stayed for a few years, got married and divorced and left, he and I taught a year's course on the history of anthropology, which all graduate students were required to take, called "From Moses to Malinowski." That was its informal title, anyway.

CE Do you know if there was any sort of overall hiring philosophy that Watson had. Was there some kind of idea that the department had a direction?

SO Yes, I think he was moving it towards social anthropology, but not completely er. Fred Gearing, no Fred Gearing was from Chicago, he was a Sol Tax student. Yes *I think he was moving it towards social anthropology er of an American style but also towards a broader kind of intellectual interest.* There was a feeling at the time that the theoretical advances that were being made, and I think Jim felt, were not being made with American Indian studies, they were being made in New Guinea and he pushed very hard to develop a New Guinea program and Mick Read was part of that er and in Africa and in other areas of the world, er, than the US and *I think he was hoping also for some diversity but he was hostile to the Boasian tradition really.*

CE And so was the climate uncomfortable?

SO Oh yes it very uncomfortable. Outside of Jacobs the oldtimers tended to stick together in defense and Fred Hulse was the main spokesman, Fred Hulse was very active in campus politics, he was on the senate, the

university senate and he was I think an ACLU member, he was very involved in faculty rights and student rights. He was very er er er very quickly became antagonistic towards Jim Watson, feeling that he was trying to get around the rules, feeling that he and Woodburn, Woodburn and Watson were making the decisions on tenure promotion, salaries increases and that Watson was trying to drive some of the people out and *I think Watson was trying to drive some of the people out.*

It was very disturbing to the students. Those students who worked among the NW coast stuff, they saw that threatened, they saw their faculty threatened, er he brought Bob Greengo in the year after I came. Bob came from Harvard, he finished with a very good degree, he'd finished his degree, his thesis was published by the American Archeology Association a few years later. It was on a Mississippi research project. And the archeology students gave him hell. He took ... after Osborne left he took over the digs on the Columbia river, they were dam building at the time. And he was doing all of the salvage archeology, pre (.....), he took over that. *And the students hated him, they gave him hell,* they put false things in the ground for him to discover, they messed around all the time. There was a Washington state archeology society, a group of amateurs, they wrote letters to the governor complaining about him, protesting about him and these came back to the president of the University who was Schmitz at that time and that came back to the dept. and *he had a very tough time. And I think that it affected him.*

WINAN'S STORY

Watson was hired here from Washington University in St Louis by the then dean of the college who was in turn hired by the new president of the university to reinvigorate a lot of departments, including Anthropology. And er er there was relatively little Watson could do because there were a lot of very senior people in the department, Erna Gunther, Viola Garfield, Vern Ray, Mel Jacobs, who had been here for many many years who were originally placed here by Franz Boas. So under the Dean's marching orders what Watson did in fact was put a lot of pressure on all the non-tenured people in the department, many of whom in fact, ended up not being promoted. Consequently, there were a lot of openings and bitter disputes in the department about how they would be filled and as a consequence they hired all of us young people finishing our dissertations in temporary jobs while they argued out how the program would in fact be completed.

CE: Were people aware of why Watson ...

WI: Oh yes, it was very open. The department was in a *roiling bitter argument.* We were all included in all faculty meetings so we were all privy to all the discussion. Of course, we had not heard for the first part of it. We got there in the middle of it but *its not hard to reconstruct what had gone on because in fact the department was sharply divided into two factions. All the senior people* who had been here for many years were on one side and *all of the senior people* who had just arrived were on the other side. The new senior faculty included James Watson, and Kenneth Read and Melford Spiro and then a couple of youngsters who they had just hired and who were pretty much in the same position as temporary people were in that was Bob Greengo, who had just completed his

dissertation in archeology at Harvard University and also Si Ottenberg who had just finished at NW who taught a year at Washington State and then who came over from Washington State in a later position so *there were some young people here* on permanent appointments and then *there were some young people here* who had not yet finished their degrees yet on temporary appointments. And *it was a fairly complicated and very bitter division in the department with the two groups voting mostly as blocs* but Mel Jacobs was a kind of swing person who because of long standing quarrels with Erna Gunther sometimes voted with Watson, Spiro et al and sometimes voted with Gunther, Garfield et al so that the faculty meetings were from the point of view from somebody who didn't think they had any future in the department and who had never been in on any faculty meetings before, were *sort of exciting and they happened once a week so we had a kind of constant boil* but it was cut short for all of us, Bruce, Marty and myself because we all left when we finished our Ph.D.s and were offered permanent jobs elsewhere er and we didn't hear the end of all of this. *It was still going on and it was still an issue where it wasn't clear what would happen next* when we left.

Hayden White in "The Value of Narrativity" (White, 1981) asserts that history is impossible without narrative. Not only must the historical account deal in real, rather than imaginary, events, and the order of discourse represent events according to the chronological sequence in which they occurred, but those events must also be narrated, that is revealed as possessing a structure, an order of meaning, which they do not possess as mere sequence. I will discuss his point of view in depth because even though White does not include

personal history in his analysis, the events and people described in these interviews seem to match the type of facts on which he bases his theory. White states that narrative comes between our experience of the world and our telling of it, in that it substitutes meaning for the actual event. He (1981:3) does make a distinction between "a historical discourse that narrates, on the one side, and a discourse that narrativizes, on the other; between a discourse that openly adopts a perspective that looks out on the world and reports it and a discourse that feigns to make the world speak itself and speak itself *as a story*."

This distinction arises out of the structuralism associated with literary criticism. White quotes Genette, himself quoting Benveniste, as associating narrated discourse with personal pronouns, relative time and place like "today" or "here", whereas narrative only uses the third person and specific time and place so that "there is no longer a narrator .... The events seem to tell themselves (White, 1981:3)." One could expect personal history to fall into the first category. I would argue, however, that, although the point of view of the protagonist is made explicit, the "facts" are no less narrativized than in the latter category. As Tonkin (1992) has written, the "I" of any text is as much a construction as is "he" or "she." It is open to any teller to construct his or her own self. Autobiography inhabits a social as well as a personal space and any autobiographer justifies him- or herself. Even when the event is supposedly more important than the personality of the narrator, who just wants to set the record straight, it is only certain events, those deemed important by the narrator, that will be discussed at any length. In both of White's categories "knowing is translated into telling" but in the first category the persona of the teller becomes a character in history in exactly the same way as the persona of the observed in the latter.

There is another distinction that White makes that is also relevant to the analysis of personal history. He divides historical representation into three types - the annals, the chronicle and the history proper. An annals is not a narrative. It is a list, ordered by chronology. A chronicle is usually marked by the failure to achieve narrative closure. It merely terminates rather than drawing a conclusion. On the other hand, the true narrative not only sequences but draws out a moral meaning derived in part from the particular order of the sequencing.

White quotes Hegel as positing a connection between the subject matter of narrativized history and power. To see historical significance we need a conflict between desire on the one side and law on the other, and White suggests that when one assesses what is written as history there does seem to be an association between law, historicality and narrativity. One frequently finds the topic of authority as central to the narrative. He concludes that every historical narrative has, as its latent or manifest purpose, the desire to moralize the events of which it speaks and that we attach value to narrativity in the representation of real events because of "a desire to have real events display the coherence, integrity, fullness and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary (1981:20)."

White has been criticized by Marilyn Waldman (1981) for minimizing the historical value of annals and chronicles, which he describes as not having the fullness or completeness of narrative. In the production of a video history, the material that could be analogous to annals and chronicles are narrativized in the editing process, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Labov and Waletsky (1967) distinguished between narratives of personal experience according to the function of the narrative for the teller. The first was the referential function, which was the function to recapitulate events and

experiences in an ordered manner. The other is the evaluative function. As mentioned earlier, this section of the narrative reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of certain sections compared to others. This is where White's moral judgment appears. By suspending the sequence of the action, it stresses the opinion of the narrator and, according to Labov and Waletsky, all forms of evaluation serve the function of self-aggrandisement of the narrator. In the stories excerpted above, most evaluation is in support of the canon, by disparaging the Boasians, rather than in promotion of the individual speaker.

Whereas the stories in "In the Beginning" all evaluate the Boasian canon negatively yet display nostalgia for the cameraderie of the old department, not all the narratives in "Change and Confrontation" have an evaluative function. Winans' stories could be viewed primarily as referential, except for his comments as to how the events affected him emotionally. He was essentially an observer in the department during the period he describes but because of his experience as a lecturer tends to narrativize most events of which he speaks by placing them in a historical and intellectual context and in so doing "aestheticizes" (Culler 1981) his experiences through use of what Labov calls internal evaluation devices such as repetition. (See below.)

Toolan (1988) criticizes Labov for his didactic separation of evaluation as words versus actual narrative as actions. He suggests that it is commonly accepted that narrators aestheticize their experiences. This is a similar point to that made by White. Toolan goes on to suggest that, whereas Labov accepted that we first have a sequence of events (the narrative) and then we work on them to enhance their tellibility (the evaluation), it could also be the case that, knowing that a narrative must be acceptably told, our evaluations shape the

narrative that we tell. Labov lists several sub-types of internal evaluation, such as intensifiers, including repetition, comparators, which evaluate by alluding to what might have been rather than what actually happened, correlatives, such as double attributes, and explicatives, which qualify the main events being reported. All of these contribute to the tellability of a story by making the motivation for a particular action clearer. In a situation of video interviewing, where one is consciously framing events for posterity it is not surprising that numerous aestheticizing devices appear.

Polanyi (1981) has suggested that the kinds of stories and their contents that we consider "tellable" reflect our cultural preunderstandings and values. Tannen (1979) goes even further by illustrating that our past experience shapes our "structures of expectation" and this influences how we construct our stories. One could conclude from this that one could expect to find two different story telling traditions in two different cultures and the evidence from Cruikshank (1991) supports this. She suggests that different cultures may have completely different ideas of the function of storytelling. In the narratives we are investigating here, however, all the tellers have a similar cultural background and similar ideas of what constitutes a "good" story. It is therefore possible to isolate the evaluative sections in order to assess the cultural values that are being illustrated.

From a factual standpoint, the description of events by all respondents support each other. The main differences are in the positioning of the teller in regard to the events described. If, as White suggests, history is about morality rather than what happened, if a story has some moral basis, that allows respondents to express their own reaction and moral code, it is remembered and frequently expressed as narrative. One must also take note that these

positions are allowed to be placed on the record within the framework of the power dynamics discussed above.

It was noted that Winans' positioning in this section is that of observer. He is less judgmental on the issues than amused by them. Read shares this position. Watson is more involved in justifying his behavior in the process rather than the process itself. Only Ottenberg appears to have any regrets about the actual outcome of the events being described and is mildly critical of Watson.

PART THREE   Poor Monty

The third series of excerpts describe a controversial member of the faculty. The evaluations in these excerpts point to attitudes and values of the respondents but not of their own behavior.

DUNNELL'S STORY

D: Oh, *Monty was great fun, great fun.* Last I knew he'd moved next door to Professor Dumont, one house away actually, in Wallingford, and they were going to come to a, *strange as it may seem* when we discovered that Monty bought a house but it made more sense he wasn't actually living in it, he was digging tunnels out from under it and living in the tunnels and these tunnels were going into JP's property and he was getting real upset. No *Monty was crazy. Professor Read was really the funny one* in all that with all the battles to protect him in the department from the fundamentalists when they got hold of Monty for really fun to listen to. Professor Read pointed out for example that the girl scouts made tea from leaves in the Arboretum, not some sort of devil action in the hands of Monty West. There haven't been people like this recently - *thank goodness.* When I got here second year I was here and had to

move and I had to rent a house and you told people you were an anthropologist and bang, the door closed. So I told people I was an archeologist and they'd consider renting you an apartment, but if you said anthropologist there was *all this Monty West crap in the newspaper* made it impossible to get an apartment or a house to live in.

CE: Was it because they thought you would be holding rituals or having seances or what.

D: I don't know what they thought but *it couldn't have been very good for our (...) or our standing in the college or the legislature* especially as one of Monty's little stunts was to surprise a small family group around a campfire in one of the parks by jumping out in the nude and dancing around and saying "Hello, I'm Professor West, I'm from the University of Washington." And these were a state legislator and his wife and children. *These were the kinds of things that I think really hurt us financially for a while. I don't know how much of that kind of stuff is true and if you know Monty you know it is perfectly reasonable.*

WINANS' STORY

WI: I think probably the resurgence of fundamentalism in the US had already targeted anth. but not really zeroed in on it as it did a few years later. *But a department like anthropology that insists on the evolution of the human species within evolutionary primates was a natural adversary for a fundamentalist Christian outlook* and that was true all over the US. There wasn't an anthropology anywhere that was not confronted though not stridently so by by oh a kind of fundamentalist Christianity that has been present in the US all along. Departments teaching introductory

physical anth and Intergenerational anthropology, trying to place the human species within the whole taxonomic system were objected to by fundamentalists throughout. The objections didn't rise to a crescendo for a long time, there was just a kind of natural opposition from time to time. Anthropology departments were the subject of letter writing by fundamentalist Christians who objected to deans and chairs but it all began to come to a head as the beat generation filtered into academia so that *the long-held objections to anthropology based on anthropologists' espousal of human evolution* were added to by the arrival not only in anthropology but in many departments of young beginning assistant professors taking a counterculture point of view. *And I think there would have been opposition to the anth. on tradiitonal grounds of its evolutionary position but it was focused by the arrival in the anthropology department of Lamont West.* Monty was already rather deeply into the counterculture when he arrived. Ironically, Monty came to be the linguist in the department, in other words he came as Mel Jacobs' heir. Monty had interests in the languages of the Australian aborigines. James Watson was of course a Pacific specialist. West came to Watson's attention. West had er er the proper sort of academic credentials to seem an ideal candidate for Watson and certainly his scholarly work as a graduate student was okay, nothing wrong with that. So when he arrived and was rather a colorful counterculture figure er er *everybody said well, well, anthropologists have always been counterculture figures, look at Frank Cushing and other early anthropologists* but what Monty West did was become the most visible counterculture figure on campus. And with anthropology already being a department that fundamentalists felt was

objectionable because of its espousal of human evolution, to combine

that with counterculture attitudes and behavior, er was just adding insult

to injury so *West became more and more visible as a figure who*

exemplified everything that was bad about modern American society from

a fundamentalist point of view. And finally, and it was certainly not any

one thing that Monty West did, he did a whole series of things, *more and*

more outrageous if you were of a conservative, or even if you were not of

a conservative bent, that finally led to a direct confrontation between the

fundamentalists of the city of Seattle and the University of Washington.

Leading figures in in I think, the Lutheran church but also in the

evangelistic churches in general finally, and I do not know whether they

actually met to come togehter and express their displeasure with Monty

West or not, or whether it was more spontaneous than that but they finally

organized a march on the campus of the university. There had been quite

a lot of letters written both to the dean of the college and to the president

of the university before that and by then James Watson was no longer

chair but Kenneth Read was and *Read was an incredibly skilled writer* so

that every letter written by fundamentalist pastors was countered by *a*

vastly more articulate and literate letter from Read pointing out that what

West was doing had long historical precedence and could be understood

and placed within the long stream of Western culture and you would have

thought that Monty West was the most cultivated classicist that you could

ever have imagined by the time Mick Read got through writing these

letters explaining West's behavior. *So I'm sure their frustration grew as*

the university remained completely unresponsive, the president and the

dean being far more persuaded by Mick Read's literary responses than

they were by the *semi-literate attacks by one or other fundamentalist pastor.* So that frustration led to a march and a confrontation in which Read and the dean met er *a column of 2000 people* who marched on the campus, came up 45th Street turned into the campus, marched along in front of the museum and were met by the dean and Read out there in the middle of the street, all of them demanding that Monty West be summarily dismissed and that the anthropology department mend its ways. And it was a confrontation that began there in the street and moved down onto the steps if I remember correctly onto the steps of Suzzallo library. And they had their say, and Read and the dean had theirs. There was no violence of any kind. The crowd dispersed without gaining any satisfaction from the university whatsoever. But that was the highpoint of their active protestations about counterculture actions by Monty West and his, in their point of view, serious undermining of the moral values of their children and other people's children as well. Uh, and West was still a regular member of the department, still defended by the department though *by that point the things that he was doing had gone beyond simple counterculture behavior on his own time and had begun to very seriously disturb the faculty* because it was felt he was no longer teaching his classes adequately, that he was no longer teaching anthropology or maintaining any semblance of order in his classrooms and so forth. And, er in the end it led to a decision not to renew his contract, not because of the confrontations, *I think the department would have been glad to renew his contract in the face of demonstrations of fundamentalist indignation at the teaching of evolutionary theory.* I think that Monty himself driven by his own inner needs to express his opposition to any kind of organization,

went so far that *it was no longer possible to seriously defend his activities as scholarly at all* and he was not renewed for deriliction of duty basically not for his theoretical views or for his counterculture lifestyle which by then had become fairly outrageous. But more because he simply quit teaching his classes. So it was a dramatic moment and a kind of statement about anthropology departments in which the department came off looking both good and bad simultaneously. On the one hand Monty West was defended intellectually and very skillfully by Mick Read. On the other hand the height of that intellectual opposition in the counter culture era when a lot of people from Timothy Leary on down to Monty West began to proclaim you should turn on and tune out it was *that crucial moment I think that the counterculture movement began to lose its support among academics in the US anyway because they felt they were abandoning the fundamental duties of teaching in a way that was inimicable to the interests of scholarship. It was all very well to argue that the old paradigms of the West were outworn and authoritarian and stultifying but too much probably under those circumstances to say that we will abandon all intellectual discipline, all appeals to logic, and all efforts to provide students with any kind of views that represent any sort of spectrum in life.*

READ'S STORY

Well as far as the faculty was concerned in the 60's, *the funniest one, the one who caused the most commotion was Lamont West, Monty West.* Which, who we only brought in, we brought him in as a sociocultural anthropologist, I think we brought him in only temporarily as an acting

assistant professor, something like that. We didn't know much about him

except he must have been recommended or I think, too, probably it was a

last minute stopgap kind of appointment because there was an urgent

need for someone almost immediately but I can't remember where we got

his name from or that sort of thing but anyway we brought him in and that

was at the height of all the flower child activity that was going on and *he*

soon proved to be a real flower child himself. He used to come in, into his

big introductory class and he'd sit crosslegged on his desk and not say a

thing. And the whole class would just sit there for ten or 15 minutes and

some would start to get up and go out and *some would sit there and say*

what's all this about and wait and half an hour would go by and nothing

would be said. And people would be getting up and going and some of

the stalwarts would sit there and look at him and he'd look back and you

were all supposed to learn something from this...you were supposed to

absorb something that was emanating out of him, in some way or other.

Anyway he had a great following after a while and they used to go, he

had a great following of flower children, theyd go walking across the

campus and find mushrooms which they all thought were psychedelic,

I'm sure they weren't and we also had two fundamental, fundamentalist

ministers who had a radio program, they emanated from Juanita or

somewhere like that, *at that end of the lake* and they started to get onto

Monty West and say over their programs that he was having religious

services in his house and his students had to go to those religious

services and he was feeding them psychedelic mushrooms and all things

like this and so er this is getting rather, they'd come to campus too and

make all these allegations and so the president of the university called

me over one day in to his office with all the deans there and *said what are*

you going to do about this, and I said "Oh, It's all stupid" and he thumped

the table and said "It's not stupid. You'd better do something about it

Read." So I said alright I'll go and do something about it and left and had

to go and interview Monty West at his house, then, so I went to Monty

West's house and *he said, "What will you have to drink. Will you have*

some tea or coffee or sassafras tea.?" So I said I'll have some coffee and

he said "No you won't. It's bad for you. You should never drink coffee.

You should never drink coffee , it's a stimulant, you should never drink it,

it's a vile thing." So I said I'll have some sassafras tea then and I looked

around his house and I went to some of his meetings and *we all painted*

our fingernails, we painted each other's fingernails, we sat on the floor

and painted each other's fingernails and he had a box thing there, he

was calling it an altar, he had a box thing there with a buddha on it and or

something like that, draped or something or other but it all looked very

innocent to me and *I said, "You know Monty, some people are saying you*

have an altar in your house and we're standing in his kitchen which had

big windows and he said, "but the whole world's an altar" so I could see

where he was coming from and his fingerpainting sessions were quite

innocent and all the rest of it and *then I said but you're accused of having*

giving hallucinogenics to your students too and taking them for walks

through the Arboretum. and giving them hallucinogens when they come

back there. *He said, "Well yes, we go through the Arboretum. That thing*

they are talking about we went through the Arboretum and we picked

some holly leaves and we brought them home and brewed them and had

marvellous experiences with the holly leaves."

Well I had to write a report on this for the university so I when I heard this I went and looked up all my pharmacopeias and found, yes, indeed, holly leaves have a high concentration of caffeine in them, which is something that Monty West would never drink, and wouldn't let me drink, you see, coffee's got caffeine.. and that..holly leaves are recommended to girl scouts when they're lost in the woods, to brew holly leaves to keep them awake, so all they were doing was getting an excess of caffeine and on a caffeine jag, hallucinating everywhere on caffeine. So it was all nonsense to me. So I went back and wrote a big report which is probably still in the archives and you ought to get it and read it because it really is funny and I gave it to the president and told him *they were all drinking holly tea made out of holly leaves and that holly tea was recommended to the boy scouts, girl scouts* , things like that. So that was all... *the two ministers killed each other, that was the end of it, the two fundamentalists killed each other, one killed the one and the other killed the other.* I don't know it's all mixed up. Anyway they both died and it all quietened down.

CE: During that same period when I first came because I had to share an office with Monty West and I remember them coming and wanting to know where he was but the thing I remember most was Monty West having gone on a vision quest by himself, somewhere in the Olympic Peninsula.

R: Oh, yes, he was always doing that. He lived in a cave in the ground, hhhh somewhere too, ... well, *obviously he was no good at teaching* because he never said anything, he just sat there, people had to absorb things like that *you know and you can't have that in a well run university like that, I suppose*, yes a strange person, but *very gentle and very sort of*

quiet otherwise but his mind was on higher matters, something of that kind , than teaching anthropology in a traditional university.. so he left, he wasn't renewed, he was only an acting appointment and it wasn't renewed.

EASTMAN'S STORY

E: My first office mate was Monty West and he was there as acting professor and we were given a room on the fourth floor of Savery and I just had to share his desk and everything and the first day I got there he wasn't there so I just sat down at his desk and he appeared out of the closet. Apparently, he had been spending the night in the closet because he had a number of students staying in his house on Crescent Drive and he felt that there wasn't any room for him and he would sleep in the closet standing up and he had kind of a stick that he would use as a toothbrush and he would leave it overnight in a jar of molasses. I don't know. *There must have been some kind of thing I don't know about molasses and teeth. Anyway, he was very nice.*

KEYES' STORY

K: *The 60's were a period of experimentation in education* and I think you mentioned that Mick Read talked about Monty West. *Monty was certainly one of the most colorful people we had here.* My memory of Monty was in performing a wedding in ANTH 100, a *real* wedding, I don't know whether Mick talked about this or not. He performed a wedding of one of the TA's, who was one of my students at the time, Tory Foedish, and the wedding was put together out of *a mishmash of traditions.* It had Hindu,

fundamentalist Christian, it had Australian aboriginal elements and didgereedoo, I think Monty played that. It took place in one of those large lecture halls, I think this was one of those large introductory classes and Vern Ray, Vern Carroll who was here at the time and I went to the wedding and *Vern was sitting next to me and he said "What's that strange sweet smell I smell in the room?" and I said "Vern, that's pot."* And the whole back part of the classroom was smoking and *there was real concern that people were just going to get clobbered for contributing to the delinquency of all these minors in the introductory courses.* That's one of the memories. And of course all the hippy characteristics that entered into the meaning of all the people in the alternative fields of anthropology alternative lifestyles were drawn to anthropology.

The evaluative sections in these narratives which are brought out as a response to requests for "amusing" anecdotes about the department gives a strong indication of the political inclinations and general values that Eastman, Read, Winans and Keyes believed to be important in a social science department. They are all tolerant to the ideas of counterculture, and liberal in outlook, and against narrow-mindedness and fundamentalist religion. These are exactly the ideas one would expect to find in a social science department. Dunnell, on the other hand, is clearly more conservative, again not inconsistent with his background and approach to archeology, which is far more dependent on hard science than social science. Harking back to the earlier discussion on power dynamics, this section also points to the parameters within which people within an institution such as an academic department feel a permitted space exists for criticizing or commenting on other members of that department on the

record. Whereas people who were Eastman's personal friends, such as Winans, Ottenberg and Dunnell, were prepared to comment off the record about current or recent members, Keyes and Harrell were not, neither on nor off the record. Only Read, a "character" himself in the eyes of other department members, felt the interview situation provided a space sufficiently non-threatening in which to say what he liked most of the time. Comment on Monty West, however, was allowable for all, as he was no longer perceived to be an actor within the anthropological domain, which allowed a space for the creation or development of departmental folklore, complete with narrative performance and evaluation, identifying the social and hierarchical position of the teller.

PART FOUR Who was Melville Jacobs?

The stories about Melville Jacobs are interesting because they paint different and sometimes contradictory pictures of the man. Jacobs was one of the major academics of national reputation within the department but he was not popular personally. He probably inspired some fear amongst the newer members of the department as he was known to have an acerbic tongue and not shy about displaying it to discomfort those of whom he did not approve for one reason or another. He had been a Communist in his youth in New York, had been asked to testify before the Canwell Commission, investigating allegations of communism amongst academics in Washington State, and the contradictory picture emerges over what he was believed to have said at these hearings.

DUNNELL'S STORY

D: These animosities were not anything reasonable. They wouldn't even

talk to each other, wouldn't even acknowledge the presence of somebody else if they were in the same room. Since he's dead, Melville Jacobs gave his courses on the rest of the department, that kind of thing. Not a very pleasant place to be. And that didn't arise from Boasians or not. There was a lot more to it than that.

CE: So you think that efforts to explain the growth of the department in terms of intellectual arguments are actually give way more to political infighting.

D: You think ...

CE: You're the one who's supposed to be thinking here.

D: Someone down at Baton Rouge called and tried to find out about this and I put her onto the assistant of the records and she went and looked at them and she called me back and told me that one of the things that was of interest was that kind of the lore here was that Melville Jacobs had been been a baddy in this because he had been a card-carrying Communist at the time. Fact of the matter is the records showed that he had steadfastly refused to turn anyone in.

NS: Well, that's a ...

D: Well but that wasn't the poop that you got as a member of this department 15 years later, when I arrived he was a heavy in it. Turns out he freely admitted, that, "Yep, I am" and didn't say a word about anybody else but that wasn't true of everybody apparently.

CH: And he was the one who people remembered having turned people in.

D: Well he was the one who was still here. And he was the one who was very bitter and structured his life around that bitterness. I mean,

Jacobs was a linguist of major importance but he just withered up into a very bitter sort of person, could no longer reasonably cope with the world around him. Sad but people, he was very concerned about whose side you were on, which is why I was glad my family life, whatever that was, met with his approval but he was uh. very formidable. You would just go by his classroom in the hall and hear him ragging this person and that person, on and on. He taught the history of anthropology.

NS: And he mentioned people who were teaching at the time?

D: It was about the people in the next classroom.

The following story was solicited by me much later, after I had forgotten Dunnell's actual words. Professor Winans had commented on McCarthyism during my colloquium presentation, which was done after all the interviews had been completed, and I asked him for an interview concentrating specifically on what he had heard about Mel Jacobs' role in the anti-communist hearings. The extract that follows comes from this interview.

WINANS' STORY

WI: Because of the fact that the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington was really created out of the intentions of Franz Boas, and er the most of the early faculty was recruited from Columbia University and slightly later from Yale University as well, it was all sort of New York students, New York intellectuals and they had all had their training at a period when Columbia University like the other universities in the New York area were deeply involved with the rise of radical politics in America. Um, so that the faculty were people who had either been involved in the communist movement in New York City because all the

universities in the New York area were drawn into that activity or they were sharply opposed to it but most of them had strong sympathies with the radical politics of the 19, late 1920's and early 1930's so when the McCarthy era began there were a lot of skeletons in the closet in the view of the McCarthyites among the anthropologists. And the search for communists in the faculties of American universities was not only conducted by McCarthy in Washington but by local legislators in many states in the US including the state of Washington. The effort to discover communists in the faculty was pursued quite energetically in Washington State. A lot of the faculty were of course from Eastern universities and the whole of the anthropology faculty was, mostly from Columbia. There was a substantial focus on faculty in anthropology and amongst that group Mel Jacobs became a central figure, because Mel who had been involved fairly strongly in radical politics in New York city in his student days, had in the meantime become ardently opposed to radical politics and he testified against other members of the faculty not so much in anthrhopology as in other departments. This created a bitter split within the department as it did within the university because Mel became what a lot of the people on the faculty felt was an informer and er he testified about activities of other members of the faculty and created substantial difficulties for some of them.

CH: What sort of activities.

WI: Well no, the major effort of all those un-American activities commttees were to show that people had actually been card-carrying members of the communist party in the US because McCarthy had made being a card-carrying member of the communist party within the US into

a traitorous act and all you had to do was to get someone to testify that someone else had in fact been a regular member and had been seen attending meetings of the party and in many states that became grounds for dismissing them from the faculty of the university and in Washington State that act was followed and it resulted in a highly unfair dismissal of Melvin Rader from the Philosoply department. He was later reinstated by legal action because the whole witchhunt was highly illegal in terms of the safeguards of people's civil rights. So Mel, Mel Jacobs was regarded as an unmitigated villain by a lot of people, the anthropology department found itself not only split between people who supported Mel Jacobs and people who were horrified at his actions but the whole department also became tarred if you will with his action and he was seen by everyone in the department whether they supported him or were opposed to him as having brought dishonor on the department and um this festered from then until all of the people who had been members of the department at the time had left or died.

CH: Who were the members of the department at the time?

WI: Well, the principal members who had been much involved in this at the time were Mel Jacobs himself, and Erna Gunther and Viola Garfield and then younger faculty who had been added later like William Massey and Catherine McClellan and oh dear, Bill Elmendorf. All of this later group were were too young to have been involved in the radical politics in the late 20's and early 30's and some of them had not gone to Columbia University either but still they were suffering from the consequences of Mel Jacobs testifying against old classmates from Columbia University and for some of them it meant that they almost

ceased speaking to Mel Jacobs. Mel was a highly admired and very successful linguist and one of the principal students of American Indian languages but he lost all honor as far as his colleagues in the department were concerned by his actions. I don't think Erna Gunther said more words to him than were absolutely required by department busness from then until the end of his life and Viola Garfield absolutely despised him from then on and felt that he had behaved in a highly dishonorable manner.

CH: How did that affect what happened when Jim took over the department

WI: Well of course what it did was to badly split the department that that the kind of of theoretical doldrums the depatrtment was in because of its strongly Boasian cast was made even worse by the bitter enmity between members. There was no cooperation between people who were not only stuck in a theoretical paradigm that was now passé but were also stuck in enmity with each other. Vern Ray wouldn't speak to Mel Jacobs, Mel wouldn't speak to Viola Garfield, Erna wouldn't speak to Mel, you know it was just impossible so that it increased the inaction in the department so that you have a kind of stasis that was generated by the resistance to British structuralist-functionalism and the ahistoricism of British anthropology and then you add to that a near total lack of respect for each other's moral values and the consequence was from the point of view of the dean, a department that was paralyzed, paralysed by personal enmity as well as a theoretical position that was now regarded as hopelessly old-fashioned. Um, it was an impossible situation.

EASTMAN'S STORY

CE: When I got there I met Melville Jacobs and he immediately took a liking to me and I soon learned that having him like me was a dubious achievement because there weren't many people that liked him. We began meeting every week and I would go and meet him in his office and he would tell me who the megalomaniacs were and who the people who needed psychiatric help were and he would tell me what it was like to be kind of a left-winger and later I heard that he was probably a card-carrying Communist but he recounted all the injustices done to him in the department right away so that hit me immediately

CH: Did you hear anything about the Communism thing.

CE: By the time I got there it was a kind of folk hero thing. Anyone who had got involved in people thinking they were Communists by that time had become heroes. So it was a positive thing about Mel Jacobs by the time I showed up. He denied it all the time. He never would say that he really was.

OTTENBERG'S STORY

O: Mel Jacobs was the only one who felt that the department was not doing well. Mel was an eccentric, um actually was not very much loved by the other members of the department. He had psychological interests, he had been a radical, in fact he was one of those investigated by the Canwell committee and refused to give any information and had survived. He was lucky to have survived though he had been held back in promotion.

The record on Jacobs' actions at the Canwell commission hearings of 1948 is detailed by Countryman (1951). He writes (1951:117) that "Professor Melville Jacobs of the University Anthropology Department testified that he joined the Communist Party in 1935 or 1936 and left it late in 1945 or 1946, but he - like Ethel and Eby - refused to name anyone else who was in the party with him. Specifically he refused to answer questions about Phillips and Gundlach. He was directed to step aside." But Jacobs had originally denied to University of Washington President, Allen, that he had ever been a member of the Party. Although the University Committee investigating the charges unanimously rejected the idea of Jacobs' dismissal, Allen took a more serious view, quoting the Canwell Committee "A" as stating that, "Lying and subterfuge with reference to political affiliations are in themselves evidence of unfitness for the academic profession." Allen also wrote (Countryman 1951:270) that "It is incredible to me that a scholar, of whom the University has every right to expect rational rather than emotional conduct, could and would accept, without investigation, obligations such as those inherent in Communist Party membership. It is all the more incredible that he should do so knowing, as the secrecy with which he held his membership testifies, that such action would bring discredit and disrepute upon the University."

The excerpts about Jacobs, like those describing Monty West, reveal how a departmental myth is developed and sustained over time. Unlike the West stories, however, the Jacobs stories do not all tell a similar tale. In fact, they offer contradictory anecdotes of his actions. This analysis is not as concerned about the accurate version of a story as it is about building up a picture of a department through the narratives and performance of its members. From this point of view two issues are particularly interesting. One must question why

Winans, who appears to be the one whose facts are incorrect, is so confident of his version. One must also question why, when Dunnell learns that the department myth about Jacobs is incorrect, he does not take pains to inform his colleagues.

As regards Winans' version, I noted earlier that leftist sympathies were usual, even unmarked, within social science departments in the sixties, the time that is mentioned by Dunnell as "15 years later." Eastman's view that "anyone who had got involved in people thinking they were Communists by that time had become heroes. So it was a positive thing about Mel Jacobs by the time I showed up" corroborates this position. If Jacobs did not betray his colleagues, one must consider an alternative rationale for the animosity between him and Gunther and the rest of the department. It is possible that it stemmed from his lying about his affiliations, not the affiliations in themselves. There is no evidence that Gunther had displayed strong right-wing sympathies herself and would have been antagonistic to Jacobs because of his opposing ones. And we also know from Watson's discussion on the early mission of the department that they saw themselves as embattled, having a position to defend against the biological determinists of the university. Gunther may have felt that Jacobs' actions in lying made their position even more difficult. In a recent personal communication, Winans mentioned that he does not remember where he first heard his story, only that he believes it to have been common knowledge at the time. This is corroborated by Dunnell's referring to "the poop that you got as a member of this department 15 years later, when I arrived, he was a heavy in it." It is possible that all Winans actually heard, and all that was ever said by members of the department, was that the animosity in the department stemmed from Jacobs' testimony at the Canwell hearings. To Winans, as someone with a

strong leftist philosophy, it would be inconceivable that Gunther could be antagonistic to Jacobs just because he had been a Communist. He may not have heard that Jacobs lied to Allen. That Jacobs had betrayed others is the only scenario that would make the depth of animosity understandable to him. Over time, what begins as interpretation becomes reality, and as a consequence, over more time it is stored as a narrative memory.

Tonkin (1992) suggests that because history is essentially social there is no innate representational difference between plausibility and fact. History-as-lived includes people acting on history-as-reported which may be false. What is remembered is the meaning and this is usually remembered accurately. She notes that this was proven during testimony on Watergate. In discussing certain occasions, which were later shown to have been recorded, informants remembered meaning correctly even though they could not be exact about events. Again things may be remembered that could not have been seen. What happens is that memories are transmitted to fit around a structure, a genre, and this maintains a version of the past that people can use for their own ends. In the case of the stories about Jacobs, what is remembered is that Jacobs was a "baddie." But the constitution of "baddie" is different for different people, and the stories end up accordingly.

Portelli (1981) cites several reasons why recall becomes "wrong." The first is the need to present oneself in the best light. The second is the integration of the past within the consciousness of the present, as occurs in Watson's description of his takeover of the department. Thirdly, he says, between the collecting of an oral testimony and the event it describes many "presents" have occurred. Society's interpretation of the event may have changed during the interval. How does one remember which "present" is closest to the original.

One could question why Ottenberg and Eastman did not have the same memory as Winans. Ottenberg was a close friend of Jacobs and possibly heard the accurate version initially and as he was the one who introduced Eastman to the department, this was what was passed on to her.

The other question was why once Dunnell learns the accurate version he does not bother to correct the impression of Jacobs held by other departmental members. It is possible that the fact that Jacobs had named others during the hearings may have not seemed such a heinous act to him, therefore when he heard this was not true, it may not have seemed so important to correct the impressions others had. The other, and more likely, possibility is that he saw himself as an outsider to the social collective of the department at the time, with the exception of Eastman. In fact, the department may not be a strong social entity. This, again, fits in with Tonkin's theories on history and national identities (Tonkin 1992).

Tonkin writes that because our identities are both personal and social, individuals may be supported or threatened by public representations of pastness that seem either to guarantee their identity or to deny its significance. She believes that defining and bolstering the collective social identity requires innovative and active work by many people which then often has to be repeated over and over. It is not an automatic consequence of living or working together. Schwartzman (1984) shows that this is true for organizations as well. She writes that stories are the way that individuals in organizations construct and organize their workplace. They provide individuals and the organization with a way to create and then discover the meaning of what it is they are doing and saying. But to do this one must envisage the workplace as a social institution. For graduate students, involved as they are in the rite of passage of becoming

professors, something which can easily be denied, the department is very much a social institution, but for faculty in large departments it is not necessarily so. This is particularly true in anthropology departments which are broken up into four fields to begin with and then by disparate areal interests. A university department in a long-established discipline rarely needs to justify its existence or create meaning in what it does, even in these days of budget distress, which has a greater effect on junior faculty than tenured senior professors.

It was noted how few full narratives were forthcoming from the interviews. The sort of stories that would establish the individual's place vis-a-vis others still in the department are those that cannot be introduced on the record because they could be seen as detrimental to others. If history is only important in legitimizing social positions, and if legitimacy is not an issue, then one loses a sense of history. Perhaps the absence of historical consciousness in the department is a sign that it does not see itself as an active social group but places much more emphasis on the individual. Keyes says as much during his interview when he states, "Well I think one of the things to remember was when we started here it was a much smaller department and it was much more possible to get people together in a way that I don't think is now.... The demands on people's time, socially the demands, I shouldn't say demands, but socially, is not limited to the department anymore. It's important to stress, it's my own view and this view has strongly increased while I was chair was that we are a department but we're not a discipline. That anthropology is a number of different disciplines, and it's not only the four fields, there are a number of different disciplines that crosscut anthropology so people's disciplinary interests lead them to connections with other departments in the university and not necessarily focused in our department so I am not at all surprised that the

department is not a social unit."

The Western sense of history is not universal (Tonkin 1992, Waldman 1981). Not every society has an idea of consecutive encounters with "others" that shapes how it views itself. Tonkin relates that Strathern has suggested that Melanesia, a people whose identity and organisation is not dependent on a bounded concept of a finite, organic 'society' in the Durkheimian sense, does not need history though they do use genealogies to establish family land-holding rights.

In Erna Gunther's day the sense of social collective in the department was more apparent, which accounts for the nostalgia evoked in what I call In the Beginning - the origin myths. Yet that is exactly the period that also evokes the most historical narrative because it is the only period where legitimacy of the discipline taught was actually called into question.

Conclusion

Analysis of the content of the interviews reveals few events or sequences of events that act as loci for narrative. Perhaps the most consistent is the closest the department has to an origin myth, that is, the changing of the canon from a Boasian focus on Northwest Coast Indians to structural-functional theory that encompassed the wider world. The other narratives are focused on people, either justifying the intellectual interests of the teller, or stories about past members of the department. One is tempted to conclude that if, as Tonkin suggests, history is essentially social, the members of the department do not see themselves as a social group. If, as she also suggests, history is constitutive as well as reflective of the social group, will the department once again view itself as a social group once the video history is disseminated.

CHAPTER FOUR

Changing a chronicle into "history proper" through editing

There is another distinction that White (1981) makes that is also relevant to the analysis of personal history. He divides historical representation into three types - the annals, the chronicle and the history proper, marked by its construction as a full narrative, as discussed earlier. An annals is not narrative. It is a list, ordered by chronology. An example, taken from anthropology, would be lists of ancestors of African chiefs. Within the tapes of departmental history, there are parts of the material that could be regarded as similar to annals, such as the lists of appointees in the department. For example, in the following excerpt from Eastman, during the interview with Ottenberg:

> CE: Prior to that I have some ideas too. There was
>
> Keyes and Kunstedter and Vern Carroll and Ed Harper
>
> and they must have come in somehow.

As was noted, the sense of history amongst the current members of the department depends to some extent on these lists of names, which are used as stimuli to memory, similar to mnemonics.

A chronicle is narrated material, in that it is also chronological and ordered that way, but it is usually marked by the failure to achieve narrative closure. It merely terminates rather than drawing an evaluative conclusion. On the other hand, the true narrative not only sequences the material, but draws out a moral meaning that labels the story as either just or unjust in the assessment of the teller, and that meaning is derived in part from the order of the sequencing. Most of the material on the tapes could be regarded as chronicle in structure in that it is narrated rather than narrativized. As an example of narrated history we can look at the following account:

KEYES: There was definitely an interest in structuralism. We felt we had to have a structuralist. I don't think there was a real commitment to structuralism but we thought we had to have one of those. This is also an issue that has gone through the department often since I've been there. At some times people feel we should be eclectic, have one of everything, at other times people feel we should have a focus, some center, that defines us as a distinctive department. At most times we've leaned to the eclectic type but with not total lack of focus. I'd put it that way. The structuralists yes, I think we were together in Mexico City searching for people and ended up interviewing Jean Paul Dumont, who we subsequently brought here as structuralist in residence and who promptly then ceased to be a structuralist.

This passage, particularly the last sentence, does exhibit chronology. Why then, do I classify it as narrated, rather than narrative? What is missing here is the specific details of actions or events or the direct speech that act as evaluators. With the exception of the discussion on the change from the Boasian teaching, the material on what was taught in the department and who taught it is in this form. It evokes little emotion so it remains in the periphery of the speaker's memory not the center and as such the details are forgotten.

In the previous chapter I dealt with the subjectivity of the respondents in the interviews. In this one I want to deal with my own. The process of film or video editing changes what is narrated into a narrative. What it does in this case is create a conversation between people that didn't actually take place. Segments are chosen to be included at points as if they were answers or explications of the previous statement. They are also built up over time to reinforce a point made and create a final evaluation to the narrative. In taking

the reader through how these sections are built up, I want to examine my own motivation in doing this a certain way. Weber (1947) saw sociology as centrally concerned with understanding human subjectivity and recently there has been a strong movement in the social sciences to include subjectivity and reflexivity in response to decades of positivist research. In Chapter One I referred to Gunn's (Neumann 1997) quote that the seminal question in autobiography is not "Who am I?" but "Where do I belong? ... the question of the self's identity becomes a question of the self's location in a world." And in an anthropology that is increasingly semiotic and interpretive there is increasing room for personal experience and subjectivity.

One of the responses to the increased interest in subjectivity has been the growth of autoethnography. Neumann (1997:193) defines autoethnography as "a discursive activity that finds its bearings, practice, and value as a response to the ambiguities of a particular cultural and historical context." According to Richardson (1994), there appears to be a move to include the self in academic communities whose work includes interpretation, and it is certainly necessary in a text, where I speculate on others' motivations and sense of belonging, that I make clear my own positioning.

Creating an edited version from narrative texts

As we can see from Chapter Three most of the pieces in the following edited "In the Beginning," and "Change and Confrontation" sections come from transcripts that are in themselves narrative. In editing I have taken excerpts from these, moved them into different sequences and in effect created a new narrative. I did not do this in order to change the facts of the situation but to condense and order the material into what seemed to me to be a logical order

representing an overall picture of what respondents said had taken place. At this point I want to analyze that created narrative and ask whether there is a fundamental change in evaluation as a result. In the second section, narrative is created from non-narrative transcripts.

The term self-reflexivity is not used by Heider (1976:68), but he suggested that "we do have the right to insist that, if they (films) are to be taken seriously as ethnography, their distortions must be explained and justified in separate written documents." Ruby (1980) has defined self-reflexivity, as opposed to mere self-awareness, as the establishment of the process that leads to the creation of the author's position in a film, or in any text for that matter. In keeping with this definition I would like to attempt to detail the process of selection of material for this video. Practice of 1990's ethnographic film requires the filmmaker's presence to be apparent within the film or video itself, but this project was begun before I was aware of this current insistence.

Conquergood (1991) has observed that ethnographic fieldwork practice privileges the body as a site of knowing yet ethnographers often fail to acknowledge the bodily nature of fieldwork. In this project, particularly, I was very conscious of how I felt about things. I was dealing with people who held some considerable power over me. It was important to humor them both in the actual interview process and in the resultant video. I have detailed the power relationships in Chapter One. I now continue to show how these played out in the structure of the editing process. In the interests of including the processual material as it becomes apposite to the transcript I have laid out this section in columns of differing widths. The transcript appears in the wider column and my commentary is indented on both sides. This will allow the reader to skip the indented midsection in order to read the transcript as an entity first, in order to

appreciate it as a narrative, and then go back and read it again with commentary. The full transcripts appear in Chapter Three.

In the Beginning - Edited version created from narrative text

CE: Well, as you know I'm here to talk about the history of the department and   how you see it.

> [Eastman was selected to begin the section as the video is
> framed as looking back at the time of her departure from
> the department. After this she does not reappear in the
> "conversation" except seen from behind while Ottenberg
> speaks.]

W: That'll have to be the history from 1955 on basically and the history of the   department goes way back, I expect, to the twenties. It was founded by Boas people with a Boasian idea for a mission, and the chairman, the chairperson, when I came, I don't think she was the original one but she was very close to it at the time, she had been the chairman for a very long time. Erna Gunther.You could hardly talk about the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington at the time without mentioning Erna Gunther's name. *In fact I guess that would be for some people a problem. How do you tell them apart?*

> [This last evaluative section, in italics, is included to
> foreshadow the problems that will be discussed later. It
> is not in itself necessary to develop the narrative of this
> section.]

WI: Boas, at the time that this department was formed, was in the process of expanding information of the north west coast. Boas' own work

was in what is now Southeast Alaska and he wanted comparable information from the area further to the south, particularly the coast of Washington, Oregon and Northern California. And he pursued that end by first arranging the appointment of Alfred Kroeber to the California Academy of Sciences. Kroeber stayed there two years and then went to UC-Berkeley.

DISSOLVE

[Winans goes on to talk about Kroeber and Lowie, which is not directly relevant to the department in Washington. Leaving it in removes the viewer somewhat from the idea of conversation so I selected to omit a portion. To indicate something had been omitted, I used a dissolve. If self-reflexivity were not an issue this would be the time to use what is called a "noddy," which would be an insert of Eastman nodding and smiling, to hide the break in continuity. As mentioned, this project was originally planned this way.]

WI: But in the meantime Boas continued his attempt to fill in NW coast ethnography by having contacts with the University of Washington which led to the University of Washington hiring the combination husband and wife team of Leslie Spier / Erna Gunther. They were divorced about two years after they arrived here and Leslie Spier left the University of Washington. Erna stayed on and became the chair of the department here, a position that she held for around 20 years and it was Erna in turn that hired Mel Jacobs and Viola Garfield and Vern Ray.

[Winans goes on to talk about the connections between

Columbia, Boas' base, and the University of

Washington. Again this is not directly relevant to the

story as framed by this video and so is omitted.]

O: They actually weren't all Boasian. People talk about them as

Boasian. I suppose they were in a way but three of them trained at

Berkeley, Bill Elmendorf, Kitty McClellan and Bill Massey trained at

Berkeley. Vern Ray trained at Yale. It was Erna Gunther, Mel Jacobs and

Viola Garfield who trained directly with Boas. I was seen by the oldtimers

as a Boasian. I studied with Herskovitz, who had studied with Boas. I was

a grandson of Boas.

> [This is a particularly interesting transition because the
>
> implication is that Ottenberg was talking about the same
>
> people as was Winans, when in fact as becomes clear
>
> he was not. The people Winans mentions were "all
>
> Boasians." it was the others, not mentioned by Winans
>
> who came from Berkeley. Nevertheless it flows in
>
> conversational terms and the distortion is very minor.]

R: Well I didn't know any of the other people. I'd never heard of

them. First thing I heard about any of the others was when I was coming

up in the train from San Francisco to come here and speaking to

someone who asked me where I was going and I said I was going to the

Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington and they

said "Oh, Erna Gunther's there isn't she?" And I hadn't heard of her

before. But I think everyone had heard of Erna Gunther. She'd been there

so long she was an institution.

> [This is included at this point to bring the conversation

back to Erna Gunther and the length of time of her stay

and also to note that what was considered important in

Washington State was unknown to the wider

anthropological world as represented by Read.]

O: I was hired by Erna Gunther. My salary at Washington State was

$4000 a year. I er was offered er $4400 by Erna Gunther and I said I think

that's alright because I did want to get out of Pullman. The department

was a combined Anthro-Sociology deparment and very nice but quiet for

a New York City boy like me. So er I said OK and she said, before she

hung up, maybe that's not enough. I'm going to go see the dean. And she

called back the next day and said, I've got $4600 for you, Simon. I said

yes and so I came. I was the last person, I think, that she hired in the

department..

       [Again, this is a narrative about Erna Gunther that

       describes some personal characteristics. It also has a

       final sentence that reinforces the foreshadowing of the

       first segment and so adds to the overall narrative

       evaluation that change was inevitable.]

W: The history of the department had been entirely bound up with the

history of the museum, what we call today, the Burke museum,

Washington State Museum was I think its older title but in any case the

two of them had been run like bedfellows, same budget ...really it wasn't

the same budget but it had been operated as if they were...same

secretary if for example they could only afford half a person, each unit

paid for one half and the work was pooled and perhaps more than

anything else was ... their...er...premises, their physical presence on

campus which was an old Greek revival, Greek classical left over
building, wood really, but simulated marble columns etcetera, left over
from the Alaska Pacific Yukon which was 1909 .. something like that...
and it was built out of cedar and it smelled gorgeous inside and it was
homey and warm and you could sort of see them just sitting in the lap of
domesticity, all the department people and all the museum people and in
the midst of this wonderful collection of Northwest coast stuff.

      [This is a wonderful description. It has been

      removed from its original context which was Watson's

      first visit to the department while he was being recruited

      but its meaning has not really changed.]

O: The department was er very descriptivist.

DISSOLVE

      [What has been removed here is a repetition of

      Erna Gunther having been chair for a very long time. It

      could have been left in but it changes the subject from

      department generally to Gunther personally. It seemed

      to flow better without it.]

O: It was not very interested in social change, the acculturation
studies were then coming in. I'll give you a story. My wife at the time,
Phoebe, was an anthropologist, and I went out to La Push on a holiday.
There was a little coastguard station, a sports fishing place there and an
indian reservation. I was fascinated by it. It looked very poor, it looked
very run down, it looked very Indian. I came back, very excited about the
prospect of doing a study of that reservation as it was and I talked to Vern
Ray about it. Vern said, "Simon there is nothing to study there. Mary died

last year." This was the tradition of the single informant, the old informant.

It wasn't the study of communities in community, it was memory culture

and survival culture and this was changing in the rest of the US.

> [This narrative has an evaluation that meshes exactly
>
> with the evaluation of the edited section as a whole. It
>
> reinforces the narrative's message of inevitable change.]

W: It was a department that was defined areally and rather

unanimously and it had that issue of understanding others - we didn't

have the word and didn't use it that way of Others and Otherness but

nevertheless it was their stock and trade. It was the Boasian message -

the world of other cultures and the humanity of other cultures.

O: They had a salmon barbecue every spring. Erna Gunther had a

salmon barbecue at some park. It was great. She built a fire and cooked

the salmon in the Indian way on cedar splits and so on and there was a

lot of solidarity among the students with an interest in the NW coast .

> [These two previous statements and the next one taken
>
> together build up the picture of Northwest Coast studies
>
> that was the focus of the department. The cutting of
>
> Ottenberg's speech at this point introduces a
>
> misconception for the viewer. He continues on to voice
>
> his regret that the department has since practically
>
> abandoned Northwest culture as an area of study. This
>
> idea is included later but at this point I felt it interfered
>
> with the main flow which was to show the need for
>
> expansion in the department's focus, not to talk against
>
> it.]

W: The department was the spokesmen for minority cultures but especially for the American Indians of this region.and the majority of the people, linguistically, folklorelistically ...Mel Jacobs, you know ... archeologically even physical anthropology and the younger people too, for the most part, were dedicated to the peoples of this region, the Northwest coast Indians.

O: When I came Kitty MacClellan was teaching a one-quarter course on people of the Pacific and Africa. She said thank god you're here., Simon. Now I'll just have to teach the Pacific.

[Again, this indicates the limited teaching that was available in the department and ends the section on a joke.]

Change and confrontation - edited version also created from narrative texts

WI: One of Woodburn, that is the Dean of Sciences who hired Watson, concerns was to clearly separate the museum from the department, and to to bring an end to the Boasian program of material culture and social organization being analysed simultaneously in the earliest form of the Boasian approach.

[This statement by Winans is taken from a section of the transcript that does not appear in Chapter Three. It reinforces the main idea of the In the Beginning section, that change was necessary, and takes it further to introduce what will be part of the evaluation of this section, which is that Watson was not acting on his own

but was under the dean's orders.]

W: And that seemed to be a fixed and set agenda. That was going to be it. So it wasn't as if I was going to come and size things up and report back to them, and say I don't think that's the way we should go and we should revise the direction one way or another. That was pretty well determined.

[Watson's first line is serendipitous. It is referring to

exactly the same situation as is Winans so can be edited

as if it were part of an ongoing conversation without any

distortion of its meaning.]

WI: There was relatively little Watson could do because there were a lot of very senior people in the department, Erna Gunther, Viola Garfield, Vern Ray, Mel Jacobs, who had been here for many many years who were originally placed here by Franz Boas. So under the Dean's marching orders what Watson did in fact was put a lot of pressure on all the non-tenured people in the department, many of whom in fact, ended up not being promoted.

[This information has been confirmed by several people.

Winans' version was selected as being both concise and

logical in that he introduces the section.]

O: Jim succeeded in getting Massey out without tenure, Doug Osborne out without tenure, Doug went to work with the Park Service somewhere in the Southwest. And I must say, he was a bit of a dumb one, he really was, he wasn't much of a scholar, he didn't belong in a university, Bill Massey probably did but his personal life was screwed up, he was split betwen three departments, he was impossible. Kitty

MacClellan and Bill Elmendorf saw the writing on the wall and got jobs at Wisconsin.

WI: Consequently, there were a lot of openings and bitter disputes in the department about how they would be filled and as a consequence they hired all of us young people finishing our dissertations in temporary jobs while they argued out how the program would in fact be completed.

> [Here there is again distortion for the viewer. In the transcript, Ottenberg goes on to say "consequently" but he uses it in a very different context, talking about the lack of Northwest studies currently in the department. Winans' statement follows the narrative line of the section which is confrontation as a result of change.]

O: He brought in some great people. Mel Spiro was here for a while and then left for Chicago. He'd known Mel Spiro at Washington University, they'd both taught there together. Manning Nash was here for a while, Fred Gearing, who was a Native American specialist. He'd worked with Cherokee, near Chicago, student, was here. Ray Fogelson was here for a while. I think he was hired by Watson. The year after I came he brought in Mick Read.

WI: The department was sharply divided into two factions. All the senior people who had been here for many years were on one side and all of the senior people who had just arrived were on the other side.

DISSOLVE

> [This dissolve is used to omit who the people on each side were as this information has already been given by other voices.]

WI: ...and it was a fairly complicated and very bitter division in the department with the two groups voting mostly as blocs but Mel Jacobs was a kind of swing person who because of long standing quarrels with Erna Gunther sometimes voted with Watson, Spiro et al and sometimes voted with Gunther, Garfield et al so that the faculty meetings were from the point of view from somebody who didn't think they had any future in the department and who had never been in on any faculty meetings before, were sort of exciting and they happened once a week.

[This segment was chosen to end the section as it is told in a very animated way so it gives a vivid impression of the tensions in the department at that time.]

The next thing to look at is to what extent this editing changes the meaning from the original transcripts and what were the constraints and desires affecting me that resulted in my shaping the material this way. It is obvious that I was/am in no position to antagonize the members of the department. As such I did not include any material that I thought would be detrimental to the images I believe they were presenting for this video history. There are also certain respondents to whom I am closer than others. How these constraints have shaped the narrative is harder to say. I do believe that this is an accurate representation of the point of view of people who were in the department at the time of change and who became chairs of the department. Saying this, of course, points out the limited nature of the sample. I did try to get the opinion of Vern Ray but he was no longer able to take part in this and his wife, who had also been there at the time, was very bitter towards the department and would certainly have given me a different version of events, felt strongly that raking up past emotions would be painful and she politely refused to take part.

I have probably not adequately represented the desire of the current members of the department to have Northwest Indian studies active at the University of Washington. The most clearly committed to this program is Ottenberg and some of his statements have been distorted to fit the narrative line. Also there are several other statements, particularly from Watson, that represent regret or hindsight over losing this field. But I do believe that this was not the dominant feeling *at the time under discussion*, and as such feel justified in representing it this way. Statements from both Watson and Ottenberg confirm this belief.

The commitment to the concept of Four Fields - created from non-narrative text

In this section I attempt to analyse the processes involved in selecting material to be included in an edited version. I have not actually recorded the edited version of this section as yet. This is an experimental exercise that is to be purely textual to show the build up of narrative from narrated, but non-narrative, segments. It may or may not be transferable to video, depending on the tone of voice at each of the points that I have designated as cut points. I first excerpted all the sections in the interviews dealing with the development and maintenance of the four fields of anthropology within the department. These transcripts appear below. I then went through these sections and selected the segments that I felt would be useful to build a narrative of that development. The next stage was to juxtapose them in various orders to assess the narrative flow. The final version follows the transcripts.

EASTMAN'S VIEW

(FROM INTERVIEW WITH WATSON)

CE: Well I like to say to students who wonder why they should come here that we are one of the best and few remaining departments in the country that teach anthropology in the full sense of the word, so no, I think it is a strength. but it is very clear that no one will say that this department is a department of x approach or y image or what..

(FROM HER OWN INTERVIEW)

CE: I happened to run head into Vern Carroll who was in the department at the time and who later went to Michigan. And Vern was pretty upfront saying he opposed my being brought there and he thought that everyone brought there while Simon was acting chair was a big mistake and that the department was on its way to rack and ruin. The year I was brought there Michael Owen was hired to be the linguist and do the things that Melville Jacobs did and I was hired to be Swahili and um they also hired Dunnell, an archeologist. And Vern Carroll felt that those three hires meant the department had absolutely no direction and he wrote many memos to that effect and when Mick came back there was kind of a memo war going on and Vern was very frank, telling me how much he thought I shouldn't be there so that was pretty clear at the very beginning.

CE: Well what happened. There was never any idea that this department would be a four-fields department. The reason I was there was to do Swahili because we were trying to build up African studies and I think Simon was trying to do that and that was why Vern Carroll didn't particularly approve of it. Everyone was content that Mel Jacobs was there doing folklore and stuff and they had hired Michael Owen to teach

kind of the necessary linguistics because all the archeologists believed

that archeologists should take structural linguistics which was kind of the

dominant mode - the kind of Dunnell linguistics that the kind of way they

do archeology is based on a stuctural linguistic model. So Owen was a

colleague of Dunnell's at Yale and he taught that kind of linguistics. Well

as things happened Mel Jacobs got sick and eventually died and

Michael Owen decided that he would rather make money than be in

academia and he quit so there was a vacancy for somebody to actually

do linguistics so I was able to move from being Swahili teacher in kind of

an ambiguous position in both linguistics and anthropology to being full-

time into the Anthro dept. By being full-time in the Anthro dept the timing

couldn't have been better because the Linguistics department was in no

mood to give me tenure because the Chomsky revolution had happened

and the Linguistics department believed that you could only be a linguist

if the language you worked on was the language you were a native

speaker of so clearly I was not a native speaker of Swahili. They were

ready to throw me out and luckily the anthropology department decided

that as long as I was not going to be just a Swahili teacher they needed

me too.

CE: Well I think then, because I had that philosophy.. you know we

always had this idea that whoever was chair was building this person's

own empire because, and I think everybody's always thought that, but

what I discovered was that you don't have to do anything, people assume

that you're going to do that so all of a sudden linguistics became

interesting to people in the department and I thought great and it didn't

have anything to do with what I did. I think when Biff was chair things just began clicking with SE Asia, when Dunnell was chair all of a sudden archeology is moving right along and I believe it is an accident even though I was one of those who believed that the chairs were trying to feather their own nest. So just as when I was chair people were saying Maybe Anthropology ought to look at regenerating the four fields, the triple A newsletter was writing about it, the journal was paying attention to it so I discovered there was a much greater interest on the part of students, most of which had nothing to do with the department. People had gotten interested in postmodernism, deconstruction, semiotics and linguistics was getting a lot of credit for being the basis for these approaches and once again it was just timing. It wasn't anything that I did. And I think it's great and I think it's wonderful that they've gone out and overtly hired somebody to be a linguistic anthropologist because everybody else who's there who did that stuff was there by accident including me.

KEYES' VIEW

K: Well I think one of the things to remember was when we started here it was a much smaller department and it was much more possible to get people together in a way that I don't think is now. The other thing, as I said just now, the department has become much more involved with other departments and I think that the the demands on people's time, socially the demands, I shouldn't say demands, but socially, is not limited to the department anymore. It's important to stress, it's my own view and this view has strongly increased while I was chair was that we are a

department but we're not a discipline. That anthropology is a number of different disciplines, and it's not only the four fields, there are a number of different disciplines that crosscut anthropology so people's disciplinary interests lead them to connections with other departments in the university and not necessarily focused in our department so I am not at all surprised that the dept. is not a social unit though I do feel that it is a very congenial unit, compared to many other departments as you may recall I was strongly wooed by the University of Wisconsin while I was chair and given what has happened at the University of Wisconsin, well I already sensed some problems before I even got involved in that but I think we couldnt be worse than the U. of Wisconsin but in on the contrary we are almost an inversion of the U. of Wisconsin.

K: Well some of the things in writing the history of anthropology, some of the things I've noticed is that the theoretical issues that have drawn people's attention over the years have been highly diverse. We've gone from a period in the early 60's, before I came, a shift from the primitive to peoples in history, modernization theory, structuralism, post-structuralism, the strong emphasis on language and discourse that has come back in, it was gone for a while and now has come back into the field um and of course post-modernism, people are now looking at post-modernism which I see call manifest as new empiricism but what I do think makes the department rich and I do think that what makes the interaction so rich in the department is the depth of experience people have to draw on from having worked some place else and then make that understandable not only in the classroom but in interaction so that when

we think about the curriculum, when we think about core course when we think about training of graduate students we are drawing from diverse experiences yet we have something that we hold in common and that is a commitment to that diversity.

CE: From the department perspective what do you see as the future of the disciplines. We have biological rather than physical anthropology Do you think we will continue to have four fields.

K: I think, well, this is a, I think this is a question both an intellectual and administrative question. I think we have made decisions that it is better administratively to be a department than to be divided into separate departments because larger departments are more effective, but we are not as I said, a discipline and I think that that diversity of disciplines in the department is not along subdisciplinary lines so that there are people in biocultural anthropology who have very strong similarities of interest as those in sociocultural anthropology but they in turn may not have the same interests as other people and I think what we have seen is an archeology unit that was for many years very focused very cohesive that is itself becoming more diverse and I think that is a good thing and I think it is good to have the cross linkings in the subfields along subdisciplinary lines. I for instrance have a lot in common with Karl Hutterer as an archeologist. We have a lot of intellectual interests in common, oncology issues for instance. And I also can see what interests I could have with David Tracer for example but I don't see what interests I could share with some of the people in sociocultural, I mean that's, that's not I mean that I don't find their work intersting it's just that my interests aren't quite as close to them. And I think that that interplay, we have to

allow for fluidity in the department. I think that any attempt, which has been made at regular intervals, to focus the department as a discipline would not work and I hope that we would not do that. The field of anthropology is enormously vigorous now and one can see that in the structure of the AAA and I see that as continuing to happen.

HARRELL'S VIEW

CH: And what was the academic focus of the department at that time.

H: I don't think they really had a focus and that bothered Dunnell. The year before he had told the sociocultural people that they were divided into three groups, social, cultural and formal anthropology. And they were very unhappy about it as they didn't want to be divided and they didn't know what that meant. So that year Keyes was made coordinator for sociocultural and I think he was the first coordinator since Dunnell became chair because the chair for many years had always been a cultural anthropologist. And we were redesignng a sociocultural curriculum, the core course. So the first year, I wasn't offically in the department but I had already signed up to join it we had faculty meetings every week up in the old Burke room, the Burke museum before it was done, of the sociocultural faculty. And there was a visiting professor here whose name I won't mention, who disrupted all those meetings and threatened to sue and made it very difficult. But within the space of a year we put together the core course.

H: Well... it's hard to remember except for the recent years. It's hard to remember in the early years how things changed. There wasn't really

a focus in social cultural in the late 70's. I think this was intentional, to keep things relatively broad and eclectic to have a variety of approaches rather than brand ourselves as Columbia had as a materialism department or as Chicago had branded itself as a Schneiderian-cultural department. We wanted to avoid being tagged as having a particular theoretical label or a particular theoretical thrust. I think when the department really started to change was in the mid 80's with the springing on the scene of critical discourse in anthropology, which turned the whole field around, not just this department.

But I think there are several things I am interested in doing. One of them, the main one, is to explore the way in which the various subdisciplines, as we call them, can learn from each other. I'm the first to admit that for some anthropologists, for some cultural anthropologists, they're closer to literary criticism, or political science or geography than they are to archeology, or for some archeologists they're closer to geology or to material science or something like that than they are to cultural anthropology but I don't think that negates the fact that there are some bounds in the discipline as a whole and we have been in some sense artificailly divided. Now in order to try and remedy that is to get biocultural and sociocultural talking to each other so I want to emphasize the areas where I consider physical and cultural anthropology overlap in areas like public health and demography, fertility and evolutionary theory and then I also, I think right now we have a large number of people interested in issues that I think we can consider identity, group formation, group relations, group conflict, ethnicity, gender but not just ethnicity, gender, class all those kind of issues that shape people's identity in a fluid

modern world and we have people who are doing this all over the world doing things on this issue in this department and although I want to encourage eclectic approaches to this problem I think concentration on this problem is intellectually justifiable right now. It is also a potential way of making anthropology more visible to the general public right now because we are addressing issues that are also in the newspapers. So this is another thing that I'd like to see people do. I'd also like to see the kind of social barriers that have grown up between the subdisciplines break down.

READ'S VIEW

R: I was brought here because of my background in Social Anthropology, British social Anthropology, - and British Social Anthropology then was I suppose, then one of the more dominant kind of trends in social anthropology because partly I think it expressed some kind of unifying perspective on what anthropology was supposed to do or trying to do and to give a kind of unifying feeling to the field itself, not including physical or archeology of course, but um.. a sense of purpose and direction you might say with a unity to it too. So that .. it was called sociocultural anthropology here to bring in the British anthropological kind of perspective to .. and so from then onwards there was a sense of unity and a sense of direction in the department. It wasn't as if everyone was doing their own little piece of this and that and that sort of thing at all...

CE: I think probably the first question before we go into the raucous sixties, what was the intellectual direction you saw the department going

in between 60 and 70

R: Well I suppose it was primarily in the diredtion of what was called social anthropology. Culture and personality was there for a while, while Mel Spiro was here and , but you see, anthropology was a much more unified discipline then than it is now. We were thinking of kind of areal interests and what areal interests, geographic areas that one wants to have represented on the faculty. You can't have them all so which ones are you going to sort of have strength in and with Watson and myself in the Pacific, we had more people coming in who had interests in the Pacific, we had Africa with Ottenberg and later Winans, I'm not sure when Winans came in but those two primarily and of course, Erna Gunther, Viola Garfield and Vern Ray represented the Native American side of things. We hadn't [AIRPLANE NOISE] So we had American Indian Studies, African, Oceanic, we didn't have anything very much . Those were the main areas we emphasized then and those of us in the main areas with the exception of Native American were social anthropolog...y oriented people. We didn't have any linguistics then as far as I know then, as far as I remember, as a specialty then. We had to have physical anthropology and archeology. That had been a ...when I first came I was asked to teach an introductory course, we all were and there was physical anthropology in the course. And I said I don't know a thing about physical anthropology, I've never heard of it and I know Manning Nash said, " Oh you don't have to know anything about it, just teach a social anthropology course" so that's what I did. I didn't even mention physical anthropology. But I didn't know anything about archeology but they all said, It doesn't matter, it's there but you don't have to teach it, so I

thought, alright I won't teach it. Oh there's my phone. Sorry.

CE: So how then were the other sub-disciplines beefed up as they are if the majority of people said, don't worry we don't really have to teach it.

R: Well, er, there were faculty meetings frequently to say do we have to have these and everyone said yes we do, even people like Manning Nash said yes it's traditional to have physical anthropology and archeology as well as cultural anthropology so it was decided though of course they would only be minor compared with cultural anthropology. Then when Thieme came, he was a physical anthropologist you will remember and er I was chairman then when he came. Yes I was chairman then and he was forever ever everlastingly on the phone saying what are you going to do with physical anthropology And we were sort of looking at physical anthropology. We didn't have any. We had no one. We had some of our own students. There was Laura Newell and Kirby Chandler and they taught the introductory course in physical anthropology. We didn't have anyone else. And then of course, physical anthropology it was necessary for enrolment purposes in a way because er students could get Natural Science credit for it so it was always a big class, the introductory class in physical anthropology And I remember I was looking, we were looking for a physical anthropologist for a long while and couldn't find anyone. We had a man come out from England for one year, he only lasted a year er.. to see whether he'd like to stay, something like that. Everytime we were looking for a professor, a full professor, then Thieme would suggest someone and no one else wanted him so it was rather touchy then as to who we'd have and then we'd suggest someone and he wouldn't like him and eventually we had Bud

Newman.

CE: Well, when physical anthropology was increased to three in the department, what was happening to archeology.

R: Archeology, we only had two then as far as I can remember. We only had one - no there were two - there was a man called Osborne, who I don't even remember meeting, who Watson got rid of I suppose, and there was Greengo and then there was Greengo all by himself for almost ever, forever you might say. And then I brought Dunnell here, which was many years later, because there were more students interested in archeology than any one person could handle and so we had to have another person so Dunnell was brought here then and after that I don't know how it increased fourfold after that. [CHAIR SCRAPING]

CE: That was very well said. I don't know how it increased four fold. 13 years of being chair could have helped.

R: Well I don't know. It is fragmented but then the whole discipline. I think that is one of the distinctions you can make, that up to the sixties and in the seventies, anthropology as a discipline was more unified. Now its just fragmented everywhere, there are so many really specialities that didn't exist before and there is no unified direction in anthropology as far as I can see. That's one of the things that was exciting about the earlier period and that everyone was talking to everyone else about it too.

CE: As long as they weren't Boasian .. or physical... or archeological.

R: Yes, but otherwise they were all anthropologists. Nowadays I don't know what they are half of them. And I think that certainly what they call the postmodern period has gone to hell in a handbasket, sort of

thing, fragmented everywhere, and what is more, the thing that annoys

me most about these postmodernists that they have taken on things that

have been discarded in disciplines in literary criticism and they have

taken on these things ten years after these other people have discraded

them. People like, what's his name, Derrida and so on, well they were

talking about Derrida 20 years ago, not quite 20 and they discussed him

and went on to something else. And now the postmodern anthropologists

have discovered him and all of a sudden everything is Derrida this and

Derrida that. Well I don't know what they are talking about half the time.

OTTENBERG'S VIEW

CE: I think it was 13 for Dunnell and I think it was that people were
sensing.

SO: Yes he was chair for 13 years and that was too long. The

sociocultural anthropologists became antagonistic. He built up

archeology very nicely and there was a feeling that the sociocultural side

was suffering as a consequence for that. But you know Erna was there for

25 years, and Erna was also head of the museum for 25 years.

DUNNELL'S VIEW

CH: How do you see the archeology side.

D: I don't know. Julian Stewart said it best as the tail on
anthropology's kite.

CE: Excuse me for interrupting but I would have thought you would
have said the opposite.

D: Oh. No, I think that's the way it is. that's the way it is. There are a

few places where that isn't true but most places that's typical sociocultural dominates and physical and archeological are fairly minor in terms of resources and personnel. There's a lot of history of that.

N: When people think anthropology they immediately think archeology

D: Because they don't have a clue as to what sociocultural anthropology might be. It's not that archeology has any particular image out there besides Indiana Jones, it's that social anthropology doesn't have any image out there at all. So people are groping for something to connect to.

CE: So are there departments in the country here now that are primarily archeology.

D: Oh yep, there are occasional departments now of archeology like in the rest of the world but I'm not interested in that. Intellectually I think that's the way things are going to end up but pragmatically I've spent too much time on that kind of nonsense and I'm too old to fiddle with that.

WINANS' VIEW

CE: Did the department since you came have any sense of other disciplines, like bio

W: Well throughout, archeology remained quite, quite important partially because of the person around whom a lot of the controversy raged during the earlier period of upset had been an archeologist and er Robert Greengo was brought here to represent the new archeology having been trained at Harvard in what was considered then the sort of new approach. He was thought to hold out promise of rejuvenation of

archeology at best. So archeology remained both important to the department and a point of bitter contention because there was a big amateur archeology organization in the state and they were bitterly opposed to everything that was happening in the department and the department was repeatedly attacked by them and so yes, archeology remained important and there was repeated effort to expand physical anthropology. We went through half a dozen physical anthropologists in quick succession. People came, they were here a year or two, and then they left. Because they didn't find sufficient opportunity here. As long as Mel Jacobs was alive the thought had been that linguistics was more or less covered because there had been a development in the university to create a department of linguistics and Sol Saporta was hired and brought here to start such a department and we thought that linguistics training could be done within that context to a large extent. Er and when you were in fact hired we didn't hire you primarily for your linguistics but for your knowledge of Swahili and your commitment to Africa er. Once we had hired you and we had begun to realize that we had successfully hired a modern linguist, er, that er, became something we all went around patting ourselves on the back about. Well, er, we have now er diversified our linguistic interests here, er, but to tell you the truth, it hadn't been quite what was on our minds when we hired you.

CE: And I think about that time that Mike Owen was hired, Ottenberg was acting chair and they brought in Dunnell and Owen.

W: That's right. And certainly ... The reason for hiring Dunnell was quite different from the reason for hiring Mike Owen. We had then become convinced that we needed more linguistics in the department.

Mel Jacobs was about to retire, you were the lone linguist and we felt we needed more linguistics than that and we also felt that we needed somehow er replace the loss of Kitty McLellan and William Massey who had both worked in Latin America so we wanted someone with Latin American interests as well as another linguist. And Dunnell was hired because we felt we needed another archeologist and one who's views were modern and one who was not plagued by the opposition of the amateur pothunters in the state. Er, the consequence was that that we continued the tradition of a four-field department. There were some people, especially Mick and Ed Harper who argued that the department did not need the four fields and that we would be wiser to stress sociocultural anthropology and linguistics and to simply divest ourselves of all involvement with either archeology and physical. Obviously Mick and Ed lost that argument and we have continued to be a department that has maintained all four fields throughout.

W: We spent a great deal of time during my chairmanship discussing program and how it should be worked out to take account of new theoretical arguments that were then going on and whether in fact areal considerations should be as important as they had been in making appointments and we were again discussing whether we should try and find a physical anthropologist or abandon the idea of a four field department and simply give up on physical anthropology. That argument has been fought though over and over in this department and er has remained an extraordinary difficult because it is quite clear, or at least I think it is, I'm not sure, that physical anthropology requires much more of

an investment both of people and equipment and facilities that this and most other anthropology departments have been willing to make and so most departments have physical anthropology as a kind of a compromise and it really doesn't work. Anyway that was all argued while I was chair. Dunnell was arguing that we ought to move all our resources into archeology and when my chairmanship was ended and in fact Dunnell became chair he then began the process to do exactly that.

THE EDITED VERSION

[The first thing was to look for an opening statement that encapsulates the subject. I decided on a comment that Eastman made when interviewing Watson. This of course, as one can see from the section from which it was taken, was not referring to the four fields but because it follows a title that includes the words "Four Fields" the viewer will infer that the statement refers to this. This is, of course, a distortion of the original.]

1. CE: I like to say to students who wonder why they should come here that we are one of the best and few remaining departments in the country that teach anthropology in the full sense of the word.

[The next step was to place the topic in a historical context, so this was followed by Read's reminiscences and then Winans' expository remarks.]

2. R: When I first came I was asked to teach an introductory course, we all were, and there was physical anthropology in the course. And I said I

don't know a thing about physical anthropology, I've never heard of it.
And I know Manning Nash said, "Oh you don't have to know anything
about it, just teach a social anthropology course," so that's what I did. I
didn't even mention physical anthropology. But I didn't know anything
about archeology but they all said, It doesn't matter, it's there but you
don't have to teach it, so I thought, alright I won't teach it.

> [This is a narrative segment . The use of interspersing
> opinion with narrative is discussed below.]

3. WI: There were some people, especially Mick and Ed Harper who
argued that the department did not need the four fields and that we would
be wiser to stress sociocultural anthropology and linguistics and to simply
divest ourselves of all involvement with either archeology and physical.

4. R: There were faculty meetings frequently to say do we have to have
these and everyone said yes we do, even people like Manning Nash said
yes it's traditional to have physical anthropology and archeology as well
as cultural anthropology so it was decided though of course they would
only be minor compared with cultural anthropology.

DISSOLVE

5. R: We had American Indian Studies, African, Oceanic, we didn't have
anything very much. Those were the main areas we emphasized then
and those of us in the main areas with the exception of Native American
were social anthropolog...y oriented people. We didn't have any
linguistics then as far as I know then, as far as I remember, as a specialty
then. We had to have physical anthropology and archeology.

> [This statement really contradicts the earlier one by
> Winans, which included linguistics as integral to the

department. Possibly Read was making a distinction

between new faculty and "old-timers" amongst whom

was Jacobs, the departmental linguist. Jacobs was an

expert in folklore rather than structural linguistics.]

6. WI: Archeology remained both important to the department and a point

of bitter contention because there was a big amateur archeology

organization in the state and they were bitterly opposed to everything

that was happening in the department and the department was

repeatedly attacked by them and so yes, archeology remained important

and there was repeated effort to expand physical anthropology.

7. R: When Thieme came, he was a physical anthropologist you will

remember and er I was chairman then when he came. Yes I was

chairman then and he was forever everlastingly on the phone saying

what are you going to do with physical anthropology. And we were sort of

looking at physical anthropology We didn't have any. We had no one.

[The three previous statements are linked together by the

repetition of words rather than the meaning in each

statement. In the first one, by Read, the last word

mentioned is "archeology." This allows the introduction

of Winans' statement also about archeology, even

though the statements are not really related in content.

Similarly, Winans ends his statement with "physical

anthropology" which allows Read's discussion on

physical anthropology to be introduced. Missing from this

part is the huge build up of archeology under Dunnell's

chairmanship, which is a major omission, and one that

may be viewed by some members of the sociocultural

faculty, including my advisors, with displeasure. I have

done this because none of the statements made about

the buildup, that do not also have competing background

noise, such as Read's chair scraping against the patio, fit

in logically. I plan to incorporate this information in

another segment of the video, probably the one about

the power of the chair.]

8. WI: We went through half a dozen physical anthropologists in quick

succession. People came, they were here a year or two, and then they

left - because they didn't find sufficient opportunity here. As long as Mel

Jacobs was alive the thought had been that linguistics was more or less

covered because there had been a development in the university to

create a department of linguistics and Sol Saporta was hired and brought

here to start such a department and we thought that linguistics training

could be done within that context to a large extent.

9. CE: There was never any idea that this department would be a four-

fields department.

DISSOLVE

10. CE: The year I was brought there Michael Owen was hired to be the linguist

and do the things that Melville Jacobs did and I was hired to be Swahili

and um they also hired Dunnell, an archeologist. And Vern Carroll felt

that those three hires meant the department had absolutely no direction

and he wrote many memos to that effect.

[These three statements by Eastman have been placed

out of order. Statement 9 comes directly before 11 in the

transcript. In a traditional video the transition would be hidden by superimposing video from a different source over the edited audio. I made this switch because it seems to me to represent what she was trying to say but in an order that, for me, makes more narrative sense for the viewer. I suspect it is my cultural presunderstanding that wants a narrative to conform to Labov's schema. Statement 9 establishes the orientation of the following narrative. Without it we do not have a way of understanding what follows. Eastman is saying that the establishment of a department strong in linguistics had happened by accident. By inserting it here, it makes it appear that she is arguing against Winans' statement in 8 that there was some intention behind it. Another way to do this would be to put the first part of statement 11 first, from "the reason .....African studies" then continue with statement 10, omit 9 altogether and then finish with 11 again from "Everyone..." This would change the meaning from contradiction of Winans to agreement with him. I try this but on reading it, it seems more of a distortion than the first version.]

DISSOLVE

11. CE: The reason I was there was to do Swahili because we were trying to build up African studies and I think Simon was trying to do that and that was why Vern Carroll didn't particularly approve of it. Everyone was content that Mel Jacobs was there doing folklore and stuff and they

had hired Michael Owen to teach kind of the necessary linguistics because all the archeologists believed that archeologists should take structural linguistics which was kind of the dominant mode.

> [This is included to expand on Eastman's earlier remark about Vern Carroll's disapproving her hiring. It also allows a reinforcement of the main idea, that of the value of the four fields approach to departments. It does not add any new information.]

12. WI: We spent a great deal of time during my chairmanship discussing program and how it should be worked out to take account of new theoretical arguments that were then going on and whether in fact areal considerations should be as important as they had been in making appointments and we were again discussing whether we should try and find a physical anthropologist or abandon the idea of a four field department. That argument has been fought though over and over in this department and er has remained an extraordinary difficult because it is quite clear or at least I think it is, I'm not sure, that physical anthropology requires much more of an investment both of people and equipment and facilities than this and most other anthropology departments have been willing to make and so most departments have physical anthropology as a kind of a compromise and it really doesn't work.

13. K: It's my own view and this view has strongly increased while I was chair was that we are a department but we're not a discipline. That anthropology is a number of different disciplines, and it's not only the four fields, there are a number of different disciplines that crosscut anthropology so people's disciplinary interests lead them to connections

with other departments in the university and not necessarily focused in
our department.

> [This could be viewed as Keyes agreeing with Winans
>
> which would be a distortion as he is responding to the
>
> question about the four fields generally and not whether
>
> physical anthropology should be maintained. Its purpose
>
> is to move the narrative into another direction by hooking
>
> onto the previous statement and then changing the
>
> subject slightly.]

14. H: I'm the first to admit that for some anthropologists, for some cultural
anthropologists, they're closer to literary criticism, or political science or
geography than they are to archeology, or for some archeologists they're
closer to geology or to material science or something like that than they
are to cultural anthropology but I don't think that negates the fact that
there are some bounds in the discipline as a whole and we have been in
some sense artificially divided.

> [This statement starts off agreeing with the previous one
>
> and then contradicts it. The effect here and continuing
>
> with the next two excerpts is that of an argument at first,
>
> then finding common ground on which to agree.]

15. K: I think we have made decisions that it is better administratively to
be a department than to be divided into separate departments because
larger departments are more effective, but we are not as I said, a
discipline and I think that that diversity of disciplines in the department is
not along subdisciplinary lines so that there are people in biocultural
anthropology who have very strong similarities of interest as those in

sociocultural anthropology but they in turn may not have the same

interests as other people and I think what we have seen is an archeology

unit that was for many years very focused very cohesive that is itself

becoming more diverse and I think that is a good thing and I think it is

good to have the cross linkings in the subfields along subdisciplinary

lines.

16. H: I want to emphasize the areas where I consider physical and

cultural anthropology overlap in areas like public health and

demography, fertility and evolutionary theory. And then I also, I think right

now we have a large number of people interested in issues that I think

we can consider identity, group formation, group relations, group conflict,

ethnicity, gender but not just ethnicity, gender, class all those kind of

issues that shape people's identity in a fluid modern world and we have

people who are doing this all over the world doing things on this issue in

this department.

Most of the statements used in this section are opinions on the same

general topic and most are non narrative in themselves, but put together by

juxtaposing similar words or phrases that create a connecting link, and

interspersing them with short narratives, as voiced by Read and Eastman, they

create a narrative. If one analyzes its structure, it follows Labov and Waletsky's

(1967) schema. Statement 1- 2 is the orientation, 3 - 11 are the complicating

action, 12 -13 the evaluation,14 - 15 are resolution, and 16 acts as coda in that

it returns us to the present time. The evaluation, which is in effect that it is better

to have a four field department, is true to the opinions expressed by the

respondents, but it has been framed in terms of a planned development of that

policy rather than a simple statement of fact. It also introduces an element of argument into the composite that adds to the flow of the narrative but was not there in the original.

Conclusion

Juxtaposition of elements in different orders in an edited video changes the narrative. There are innumerable ways to juxtapose these elements and this can build up meanings separate from the intentions of the respondents in these interviews. In effect it is my need to construct an overarching meaning, one of the development and maintenance of a four-field department, that imposes a narrative flow onto events that probably resulted from much less overall order and much more immediate concerns. In many instances, our (and I refer here to documentary producers) need for narrative flow supercedes our original quest for "truth," resulting in a story that holds viewers but may contain distortions.

CHAPTER FIVE

Narrative, Power and Performance

As Vansina (1981) has written, a historian working with written documents approaches the text as given, having no personal relationship to it. In working with oral material, the document is in effect created by the historian. As such one needs to ask different questions. Vansina's order for examining an oral text is first to examine the performance, then its relation to tradition, then the process of recording and lastly the text itself. Tradition is not a factor in the material being discussed here, but I have subverted Vansina's order and left the discussion on performance to last. In this chapter I want to look at how the performance in the video constitutes the anthropology department at the University of Washington. By "constitute," I mean to imply that by the action of engaging respondents in performing their place in the department's history, they are forced to confront their identity as senior members of the department and come up with a version of that identity that satisfies them as adequate to go down on the permanent record (Rosen 1988). As they define that identity through their performance on tape, they also negotiate their position in the departmental power continuum with reference to me, each other, and, when she was present, Eastman. I earlier discussed the power relationships that existed in the interview situation.

A great deal has been written on performance and anthropology in the last several decades, on narrative as performance (Bauman 1986, Bruner 1984), on theater as anthropology (Turner 1981, 1986, Schechner 1985), on behavior as theater (Goffman 1959) and performance as constitutive of power (Fabian 1990, Turner 1981). It has been suggested (Schechner 1986) that the seeming need for ritual performance in all societies is somehow hard wired into

the brain, based on recognition of the universal human emotions as described by Ekman (1983). Benjamin (1968) has suggested that the act of performance calls special attention to, and heightened awareness of, both the act of expression and the performer, and these enhance the actual experience of the event being recounted.

There seems to be agreement at present, that Leach's (1986) view that performance is based on a permanent text as a model, and though individual "imperfect" performances can interpret that text differently, the text as model remains untouched, is too static. The current, more dynamic, view of performance, sees it as constitutive of a text which can never be repeated exactly (Bauman 1986, Fabian 1990, Bruner 1986, Turner 1981, among others). Turner (1981) cites Dilthey's definition of meaning, as arising in memory from past structures of experience, in cognition of the past, and the negotiation involved in producing a fit between past and present. Meaning can only exist in the present. Turner maintains that it is everyone's experience of social drama, with its stages of breach, crisis and either reintegrative or divisive outcome, that provides the genre in which cultural performance, be it ritual, judicial procedures or oral narrative, takes place. As Bauman suggests, people tell stories to each other as a means of giving cognitive and emotional coherence to experience, constructing and negotiating social identity. As such, narrative is constitutive of social life in the act of storytelling. Myerhoff (1986) explains it in terms of people, who not only construct their worlds but watch themselves doing the construction, and then enter the constructed world and believe in it.

In this project we have been discussing the telling of personal history in a mode that is recognizable as performed because it is done in front of a video camera in a highly structured way as described in Chapter One. Even though

only two to four people were actual witnesses to each occasion, it can be defined as a public performance, as from the beginning it was assumed that the interview would form part of a video history that would be shown in public. This follows Goffman's (1974) definition of context as being bound up in the participants' sense of what is going on, rather than the actual situational setting.

I want now to turn to the performative aspects of the transcripts, specifically to look at the roles the respondents and interviewers describe for themselves and to see the shape of the anthropology department that they construct. I mentioned earlier that most of the respondents start their interviews with their own hiring, understandable in the context of finding a place to begin their story. The first question asked by Eastman, was always a variation of "What was the department like when you first arrived." At this point I want to examine how some people answered this question because it is the first point at which they establish the frame in which they view themselves within the department. Compare the following stories.

WATSON (The beginning of this excerpt is also cited in Chapter 2)

> W: Alright! I'd already gone to the field, Virginia and I and our baby
> Ann had gone out in late '53. I'd been teaching that summer at
> Stanford...my base was Washington University, St. Louis...er...and I'd
> been there just long enough to find a village where we'd be working
> ...er...and start to put down roots when I got this summons from the
> University of Washington to come and interview for this position. I don't
> remember too well the details but it was when I got here, if I didn't know it
> before, that it was the department chairman position and a professorship
> too which was nice ... at that point I was still an associate professor at
> Washington - the other Washington. And I was here for just those few

days. I had some shopping to do for the missionary ladies in Kainantie, but other than that it was just interviewing, being interviewed by the committee and meeting Dean Woodburn and the then President of the University, Schmitz, and other people who had an interest or a concern in the future of the department. And the picture I got, as far as I can recall, was that the.. the principal ... the history of the department had been entirely bound up with the history of the museum, what we call today, the Burke museum, Washington State Museum was I think its older title but in any case the two of them had been run like bedfellows, same budget ...really it wasn't the same budget but it had been operated as if they were...same secretary. If for example they could only afford half a person, each unit paid for one half and the work was pooled and perhaps more than anything else was ... their...er... premises, their physical presence on campus which was an old Greek revival, Greek classical leftover building, wood really, but simulated marble columns etcetera, leftover from the Alaska Pacific Yukon which was 1909 .. something like that... and it was built out of cedar and it smelled gorgeous inside and it was homey and warm and you could sort of see them just sitting in the lap of domesticity, all the department people and all the museum people and in the midst of this wonderful collection of all this Northwest coast stuff and I may be doing someone an injustice but it seems to me that we were not, that is the public at large, were not yet quite where they are now in their appreciation their recognition valuing of Indian culture, of Northwest culture in particular. And I think that was a big part of what defined the jointness of the enterprise for Erna Gunther and those who shared her sentiments. The department was the spokesmen for minority cultures but

especially for the American Indians of this region.and the majority of the people, linguistically, folklorelistically ...Mel Jacobs, you know ... archaeologically even physical anthropology and the younger people too, for the most part, were dedicated to the peoples of this region, the Northwest coast people.

WINANS (first came to the department in the 50's.)

CE: You might begin by telling me what the department was like and the circumstances under which you came.

WI: I suppose the circumstances would be familiar to many of the advanced graduate students now but not so much to people in between. When I was finishing my dissertation, and jobs were very hard to get, there were only 4 jobs advertised the year I did my dissertation in the whole US. So everyone took temporary jobs and I came here originally to fill in as a replacement. Watson had met me earlier on when I was getting ready to go to the field to do my dissertation research and they had an opening in the department here that they wanted to fill temporarily and they wrote to me in the field and asked me to consider coming and naturally under the circumstances I was glad to come. So I spent two years in the department from 1957 through 1959 I guess, teaching in a replacement job first for one person and then for another person while I was trying to finish my dissertation. I was joined in that by another, Marty Orans, who was trying to finish his dissertation at the University of Chicago at the same time that I was trying to finish mine at UCLA and then there was Bruce McLaughlin who was also from the University of Chicago so the three of us taught here on temporary slots. And therein

lies a lot about the department at the time. Watson had come here ....

BREAK

Watson was hired here from Washington University in St Louis by the then dean of the college who was in turn hired by the new president of the university to reinvigorate a lot of departments, including Anthropology. ...

Winans, after establishing his own entrance into the story moves directly to the departmental history which he performs as a narrative. (See Chapter Three.)

KEYES (joined the department in the 60's.)

CE: Well we're here to talk about the department and you and what you found when you came.

K: Well it's almost 30 years. It'll be 30 years in September and I think I'm now the third most senior member in the department, the third most senior in age at least. Still here, I'm not retired. I came in 1965 and did my Ph.D. at Cornell and was interviewing for positions. In those days you didn't get taken places to be interviewed if they were at a distance like the University of Washington.

BREAK

Well I took my Ph.D. in Cornell and I was ready to defend and I interviewed at the American Anthropological meetings and because they did not have money to interview, to bring the people to interview, they spent all the money bringing people to meetings which I believe was in Philadelphia, I can't remember exactly. Anyway I was interviewed by Mick

Read, Jim Watson, Si Ottenberg, and I can't remember who else at this point but it was at least five or six people. the person I remember most was Jim Watson, who was not chair, Mick was chair, but Jim was, I think chair of the search committee. I was being interviewed for a position to replace Mel Spiro. Mel had left to go to Chicago at that point and there was a position for a Southeast Asian anthropologist and I was almost immediately offered a job. They went back to Seattle and sent me a telegram ... that's what they did in those days, there were no faxes and no such other things, sent me a telegram offering me a job. Meantime there were four other places I was short-listed for, the University of Hawaii, which is interesting in present circumstances, Princeton and Washington University in St. Louis. I had interviewed at Princeton and decided not to go to Princeton because I would be the only anthropologist in the department and in fact in the departments I was interviewing in, the one I was most interested in was the University of Washington because it was the most established department. Hawaii I could see was going to be a real problem because of financing among other things. So I came here in 1965. What I knew about the department at that time was not a lot other than it was one of the oldest departments in the country. I knew also that it had a close connection with what was then known as the Russian, Far-Eastern institute. My professor at Cornell was Julian Skinner who was a China specialist was very much aware of the institute here but was a little bit wary of my coming because it had a reputation of being very right-wing. Frank and Whitvogel were here at the time and Whitvogel's wife, Esther Goldfrank actually had an affiliation with the department and when I came here I actually had a joint appointment with the department and

the Far-Eastern/Russian Institute and continued to have a connection with its successor subsequently. The department at that point, I was visiting professor the first year I was here, and I was very aware of the fact that the department was in the process of transition and I got very much drawn into, literally drawn into people's offices to listen to "my vision of the future of the department" compared to someone else's vision. The distinction was really between the old Northwest coast people, there were still four people here, Erna Gunther, Viola Garfield, Vern Ray and Mel Jacobs were here when I came, and the newer department, which saw itself as being a broad-based department with world wide interests not just Northwest coast. The writing was on the wall as regards to the Northwest coast people and they did not get along very well with each other so the department did not go their way so to speak. Within the first three years I was here, Erna retired, Vern retired and Mel died and Viola left shortly thereafter so that was the end of that whole cohort.

HARRELL (arrived in the early 70's)

H: Okay, okay. How is this working. Are you asking questions on mic.

CH: I'm not quite sure yet what questions I'm asking on tape. What we're doing now is different to what we did before because the whole idea is the changeover from Carol to you. So at this point I'm more present in the interview. Up to this point it's been Carol interviewing the past chairs

H: But I'm supposed to start 20 years ago? Okay. Before I came here I knew almost nothing about this department and I wasn't hired in this department. I was hired by the Institute of Comparative and Foreign Area

Studies which later became the Jackson School. The only thing I'd heard

about the anthropology. department was steer clear of it, that it was a nest

of hornets and it had a bunch of really nasty people that were out to get

each other and would get me and I ought to stay away from it at all costs.

CH: Judging by what we've heard before that's not surprising.

H: I reacted to that by immediately I got here asking if I could get a

joint appointment working here and surprisingly enough after six weeks

the department voted me a joint appointment beginning the following

year so that actually my second year here I had a joint appointment, half

in anthropology and half in the institute.

CH: But tell me the institute later became incorporated into

anthropology.

H: No the institute later became the Jackson School after Jackson

died. The institute had originally been the Far Eastern Institute started by

George Taylor in the late 30's. And George Taylor, who I just had lunch

with the other day, he's 96, and starting on new projects. It became the

Far Eastern and Russian institute after World War II and then became the

institute of Comparative and Foreign Area studies and then the School of

International Studies and then the Jackson School of International

Studies. Until recently I was still, I still am a faculty member in that

institute although I have a zero percent appointment.

CH: Are you going to keep that now. That sort of stays there ...

H: I have no choice. I would actually like to get out of it but they won't

let me. I have no rights, no responsibilities, no duties, no salary but I have

to retain the appointment at 0%.

CH: So tell me a bit about where you studied

H: I was a China studies student to start with. In my junior year I changed my major from German to Chinese. Then I was an anthropology graduate student at Stanford in Chinese studies after I'd done part of my masters. I did fieldwork in Taiwan in 1970, 1972 and again in 1973 and my dissertation was on folk religion, it was on individual differences in belief in Taiwanese folk religion. And I was actually hired here in a position that could have been either sociology or anthropology in the institute but they wanted one of those people who did either of those disciplines in Chinese studies. But from the beginning even with all the bad things I'd heard about the anthropology department I couldn't stand not to be in an anthropology department so this is why I negotiated for the joint appointment.

NS: Was it as bad as you had heard.

H: No it wasn't bad at all. I think there had been some bloodletting in the years right before I came and there were some problems when I was here but there was no high strain, it wasn't the sort of leaderless tense place at all. It wasn't anything like that at all.

CH: Who was here when you came..

H: Dunnell was chair. I think Dunnell had been chair for one year when I came and the other archeologists were Krieger and Greengo and Wenke and Grayson both came the year after I did. Then in physical anthropology it was Marshall Newman and Laura Newell and Rick Ward who worked among the Yanomamo and Jerry Eck came the same year I did and Peter Nute the year after. Donna Leonetti was still a graduate student. In cultural let me see, check this against what others tell you, but the senior faculty was Watson, Read, Ottenberg and Winans. Those were

the full professors. Then there was Keyes, Spain, Spain was an assistant professor when I came, he was promoted to associate the year I came, Nason was promoted the year after, got tenure, Paul taught Indian Studies, Southeast Asia, he left to go to teach at Ford Theological Seminary and was replaced by Val Daniel. Then Carol Eastman was here, had just been promoted to associate professor a year or two before that. John Atkins and Pam Amoss who came a year or two before I did, Gene Hunn who also came then.

One can read in these transcripts a distinction between the people who were in the department at the time it was defining itself as an antidote to Boasian theory and those who arrived later, even slightly later. If, as White suggests, history is formed from narrative, and, as Tonkin suggests, one needs a social unit to engender historical thinking, then the clear social unit that was defined in opposition to the Boasians became diffuse as the department broadened. The sense of the anthropology department as a cohesive unit, internal conflicts and all, dissipated with time from the period of the founding myth. Neither Watson, nor Winans, and one could include Read and Ottenberg here too, all of whom arrived during the 50's, spend much time in discussing their own situation. They move directly to a descriptive narrative of the department at the time of their arrival. Keyes, who arrived in the 60's, describes a transition period and by the time Harrell arrives, in the 70's, the transition is complete. The earlier chairs relate themselves to the department as a whole, the later chairs define themselves in relation to other individual members of the department. Over the 20 year period the department broadened its focus considerably, grew both in number of faculty and the extent to which they had

joint appointments with other departments. As a result it ceased to function as a cohesive social unit. The following quotation from Keyes supports this theory.

KEYES

Well I think one of the things to remember was when we started here it was a much smaller department and it was much more possible to get people together in a way that I don't think is now. The other thing, as I said just now, the department has become much more involved with other departments and I think that the demands on people's time socially, the demands, I shouldn't say demands, but socially, is not limited to the department anymore. It's important to stress, it's my own view and this view has strongly increased while I was chair was that we are a department but we're not a discipline. That anthropology is a number of different disciplines, and it's not only the four fields, there are a number of different disciplines that crosscut anthropology so people's disciplinary interests lead them to connections with other departments in the university and not necessarily focused in our department so I am not at all surprised that the department is not a social unit though I do feel that it is a very congenial unit, compared to many other departments as you may recall I was strongly wooed by the University of Wisconsin while I was chair and given what has happened at the University of Wisconsin, well I already sensed some problems before I even got involved in that but I think we couldn't be worse than the University of Wisconsin but in on the contrary we are almost an inversion of the University of Wisconsin.

This lack of social cohesion is a possible reason why there are so few narratives describing events after the initial founding period. But a more likely reason lies in the power dynamics within university departments. The power

relations inherent in the interview team were also discussed in the first chapter. It is important here to note Bakhtin's (1981) discussion of hierarchy in language and of authoritative voices. He uses the term "authoritative" to refer not to some particularly authentic version of a story but to the authoritative positions of tellers within a situation. Authoritative to him means "already uttered", "prior discourse" backed by legal, political and moral authority. Authoritative stories are those told in public places and they are privileged. Alternative versions must come through other channels, such as questions or back-channel commentary. The authoritative voice represents the established position. As discussed in Chapter Four, it is possible for me as editor to cut a respondent's dialogue or to place it contiguous to another's so as to slightly alter meaning, but the interview set up was structured to allow the respondent, rather than the interviewer, the right of continuous speech, instead of allowing normal dialogic speech. This privileges the respondent as the authoritative voice.

My own position in the power continuum can be read as completely accepting of professorial hegemony while attempting to negotiate control over what took place within the video situation. As such the respondents deferred to me with regard to camera position, background noise etc., while remaining in control over interview topics. It is clear to me looking at the material collected that my lack of power within the department, more specifically my supplicant position as graduate student, affected the topics, about which I was comfortable asking. I was reluctant to press people on issues, reluctant to contradict or question anything, and very conscious of flattering or being unassertive in order to encourage their participation. This, of course, affects what it produced in that it facilitated the lack of introduction of controversial material.

Understandably, the respondents in this study were not going to tell

critical stories about their colleagues for the public record, nor were they going to do it about their students, nor about anthropologists at other universities. That left very few topics available for discussion other than the actual pedagogical changes and even these can be controversial. There are certain topics that were alluded to but not elaborated on. One of these is the search for the departmental "superstar." There was discussion about bringing in Marvin Harris but lack of agreement led to the department losing the position. The snippets of information about this lead one to believe that this was an acrimonious situation, that could illuminate some of the political dealings within the department, but it is off the table for discussion. Another contentious issue, that is alluded to, but not discussed, is the stagnation of the sociocultural program during Dunnell's chairmanship. The "safe" narratives, after the displacement of the Boasians, center on faculty who have either died, like Mel Jacobs, or who have completely left the field of anthropology, like Monty West. It is possible that, were the same set of interviews conducted today, the Dunnell era would feature more prominently as he has since retired and is about to move away from Seattle.

An anthropology department is in the business of publication and teaching. Its reputation is built on the reputation of its faculty, which is itself enhanced by being part of a reputable department. Who is, or becomes, a permanent member of that department then has implications on all the other members. As such, decisions on hiring, firing, and tenure, are the most important decisions that take place and the ones that rouse the most emotions. And they are also the ones that cannot be discussed for the public record unless they took place so long ago that there is a consensus about their outcome.

Fabian (1990) and Fernandez (1984, 1986) have written of performance as a means of constituting power. In many aspects of society much information cannot, or may not, be pulled out from memory and expressed in discursive statements. This sort of knowledge can only be represented through action or performance. In interview situations, like these, where discussions of power are off the table, one can analyze the transcripts for performances that indicate the establishment of authority within the interview situation and also the establishment of status within the department. For example, one can look, above, at the detail of Harrell's description of who was in the department when he arrived, in order to discover how he viewed the relative status of the members. Also, the use of secrecy, as in the following excerpt, implies the establishment of relative status:

HARRELL:

The first year, I wasn't officially in the department but I had already signed up to join it we had faculty meetings every week up in the old Burke room, the Burke museum before it was done in the sociocultural faculty. And there was a visiting professor here whose name I won't mention, who disrupted all those meetings and threatened to sue and made it very difficult.

The following excerpt from Keyes establishes his seniority in the department compared to Eastman, who is interviewing him:

KEYES:

During the first year I was here, the first two years, we did a lot of recruiting, I was one of them and the department decided that it should concentrate on certain areas besides the Northwest coast, Asia and Africa being the ones that were growth areas at the time and Mick and

Jim having also a New Guinea perspective. So we recruited in the first

two years we recruited you, Dunnell in archeology, David Spain, we

recruited I've forgotten his name

CE: Michael Owen

K: Michael Owen was one but I'm thinking of someone who was only

here a year, he worked in Madagascar. He was an Englishman, I'm not

even sure you were here.

A university department is a place where power relationships are very

important. As Foucault (1980) has said, power is knowledge, knowledge is

power. The business of the department could be viewed as being strictly about

power, from the granting of a grade to an undergraduate paper, to the initiation

rights inherent in the progression of graduate students from core course to final

acceptance into the academic community, and for faculty in the granting of

tenure and promotions, and the establishment of a canon that is closest to the

knowledge and interests of those in power. As such, seniority matters. Bourdieu

(1984) describes, for the French university, what he calls "academic capital"

which is obtained and maintained, not by any particular excellence of work

done, but by holding a position enabling domination of other positions and their

holders. This position is obtained through access to money, projects and work

funded by the government or other grant-supporting agencies. The irony of the

situation is the importance of hierarchy in a discipline traditionally committed to

championing the rights of the powerless.

Helen Schwartzman (1984) discusses how stories about meetings

constitute the image of a health-related, non-profit organization. She specifies

that metaphors of the superordinary are used in describing both the place and

people with power. Metaphor is also brought up by Bruner (1986) and Bauman

(1986) and its way of constitution. It is interesting that in all the transcripts here there is almost no use of metaphor. Watson calls the relationship between the museum and the department in the early days, "like bedfellows," Harrell uses "hornet's nest" to describe what he had heard about the anthropology department before his arrival, but these are the only instances. I suspect that a very different type of story would be heard from students and staff in the department. Because students are at the lowest end of the departmental power continuum, and are completely dependent for future success on the faculty, they have much more invested in the personal interactions that take place there. For graduate students particularly the years getting their degree involve a great deal of personal trauma. Schwarzman's informants were largely workers in the organization, not its directors. The workers described the directors in larger-than-life, almost mystical terms. Listening to a group of graduate students discuss the department is likely to yield similar larger-than-life metaphors. Perhaps metaphor is the trope of the subaltern.

No discussion of power in an academic department is complete without a look at the ways in which the chairs of the department view their own and others' power, while in the role of chair. Most of the respondents intimated that the chair of the department had more power than regular faculty, even though the job is verbalized as having a purely administrative function, as Dunnell says below:

DUNNELL

D: Well the place is more productive than it was. Much less hostile
than it was believe it or not. But things change. The principal feature
when I was chair we went through 10 years of budget reductions and I
kept us from coming apart but made us bigger. I was an advocate for

anthropology.

CE: What about hiring?

D: Hiring? That was left to the people who knew something about it. I was just the chair in that respect. Archeologists had the say in archeology, hiring social cultural types, that was left to the social cultural people. I just tried to effect their will.

The following excerpts from Watson and Read, in contrast, clearly state their belief that the position of chair gave them added power.

WATSON

CE: The interesting thing is that clearly, the Northwest coast people, the Boasians, had to have a hand in bringing these people like Read, British social anthropology, and Radcliffe Brown, I mean obviously they voted.

W: Yes, they voted. The dean could override. The dean could take their recommendation. I think, this was, this dean, this particular dean, he just died the other day, you may have noticed, was very proud of the administrative mechanisms that he had brought in with him from the University of Michigan where he came, from whence he came, so he felt that the tenuring, the appointing, the machinery was just as it should be and didn't call for any interventionism, any outrageous ad-hoc interventionism that the department's voice was advisory if the majority happened to go against the chairman's recommendation and was his privilege to accept the chairman's recommendation and whatever additional votes that might accompany it and I think probably, that is, that is why, maybe why .. I don't mean to say that every single appointment was head-on collision and with a majority against, but certainly there was

opposition and good hard questioning and I think probably some of the critical decisions, like Mel Spiro's who came next, w-w-were not only subjected to very heavy scrutiny but I know people who did not think they were going to like it, to like what it meant, or like what it represented, the dean could break those deadlocks in whatever way he chose, by taking the department chair's recommendation or the majority's recommendation if the two didn't happen to be the same.

CE: Well, now I'm beginning to understand. When I came in '67 I had heard that Professor Watson had been a hatchet person and now I get it.

W: Mm...mm....

READ

CE: Who did you hire?

R: Well, who did I hire. I didn't hire anyone of course, you have to say that but you can always work around things and put in a word here and there and get what you want in the long run. You can do it judiciously and I don't know who I hired now. I didn't hire you, did I. No, you were hired while I was away, but almost everyone else, I would say, yes almost everyone else, except for those who have come in since I left.

Many of the other respondents also assumed power was invested in the chairman position, and that the incumbent chair, including Dunnell, used it. For example:

OTTENBERG

Outside of Jacobs the old timers tended to stick together in defense and Fred Hulse was the main spokesman, Fred Hulse was very active in campus politics, he was on the senate, the university senate, he was I

think an ACLU member, he was very involved in faculty rights and student rights. He was very er er er very quickly became antagonistic towards Jim Watson, feeling that he was trying to get around the rules, feeling that he and Woodburn, Woodburn and Watson were making the decisions on tenure promotion, salaries increases and that Watson was trying to drive some of the people out and I think Watson was trying to drive some of the people out.

WINANS

Anyway that was all argued while I was chair. Dunnell was arguing that we ought to move all our resources into archeology and when my chairmanship was ended and in fact Dunnell became chair he then began the process to do exactly that.

OTTENBERG

For the first five years there was tremendous tension in the department. It was a very unhappy place and gradually that began to change and there has never been a period of tension like that except perhaps towards the end of Dunnell's regime, a lot of griping on the part of the sociocultural anthropologists. I was I think head of the sociocultural section. I got on well with Dunnell. I didn't think he was that unfair to the sociocultural people but other people feel that he was.

CE: How long was he chair.

SO: How long was he chair? Everyone seems to have been chair for 8 years in my mind and that's not right.

CE: I think it was 13 for Dunnell and I think it was that that people was

sensing.

SO: Yes he was chair for 13 years and that was too long. The sociocultural anthropologists became antagonistic. He built up archeology very nicely and there was a feeling that the sociocultural side was suffering as a consequence for that.

READ

CE: Well, when physical anthropology was increased to three in the department, what was happening to archeology.

R: Archeology we only had two then as far as I can remember. We only had one - no there were two - there was a man called Osborne who I don't even remember meeting who Watson got rid of I suppose, and there was Greengo and then there was Greengo all by himself for almost ever, forever you might say. And then I brought Dunnell here, which was many years later, because there were more students interested in archeology than any one person could handle and so we had to have another person so Dunnell was brought here then and after that I don't know how it increased fourfold after that.

CE: That was very well said. "I don't know how it increased four fold." 13 years of being chair could have helped.

The final aspect of performance I wish to discuss is the roles chosen by respondents to frame their interviews. Goffman (1974) was one of the first to point at the use of context in structuring our perception of the social world. He saw social life framed in ways which specified the meaning of social situations. In every situation we specify a frame that tells us how to interpret what is going

on. (The overall frame for the situation of this video production was the *serious* discussion of a subject, analogous to a public television documentary, a genre of which all participants had prior knowledge.) We are made aware of the frame by what he termed "anchors," one of which is the role that an individual plays within it. Looking at respondents' performance in these interviews from Goffman's point of view, we can see that the role of teacher/provider of knowledge is the most frequent one displayed. As mentioned, all respondents are aware of the public nature of the interview and most present themselves in a authoritative light. The following transcript, from Winans, shows that awareness in that he uses full, proper names, although he lapses into nicknames later, and also carefully constructs the material so as to present it in the manner of a lecture. I discussed earlier in Chapter Two how the format of the interview biases the responses towards monologic utterances. For someone used to presenting lectures at a college level, this is a comfortable and familiar way to proceed.

WINANS

The department was sharply divided into two factions. All the senior people who had been here for many years were on one side and all of the senior people who had just arrived were on the other side. The new senior faculty included James Watson, and Kenneth Read and Melford Spiro and then a couple of youngsters who they had just hired and who were pretty much in the same position as temporary people were in that was Bob Greengo, who had just completed his dissertation in archeology at Harvard University and also Si Ottenberg who had just finished at Northwestern who taught a year at Washington State and then who came

over from Washington State in a later position so there were some young people here on permanent appointments and then there were some young people here who had not yet finished their degrees yet on temporary appointments.

Keyes, Ottenberg and Watson show a similar organized, carefully constructed, authoritative style. For example, from Keyes:

KEYES:

I think there was very definitely that the 60's were definitely a period of transition with the focus on small communities, precontact communities with the focus on ethno-historical work in North America and Africa and other places but definitely the focus on small scale communities to seeing peoples on a larger processes of change and the recruitment of people here was to bring people in who were working on peasant communities, were working on community in Africa which had large scale connections rather than small. I think what was going on was that the primitive was no longer the dominating idea of anthropology. And I think that was resisted very strongly by some of the old guard who saw anthropology as the discipline of the primitive.

To use Garfinkel's (1967) terminology, there is clearly a way to "do" professoring well, and monologic framing of discourse into logical sequences with an introduction, middle and conclusion is part of that. Anyone who has ever taught at university level knows that performance of the material is part of the job. Again it is Keyes who speaks to this specifically:

KEYES

I had to teach Introductory Anthropology, a course on Religion, a course on Southeast Asia and a course on Peasant Society and Culture I remember. In fact the anthropology class 100 had a bigger enrollment than we have now. I had a class of 200 students. And I found that incredibly intimidating. I had never been in a class that way because I had always gone to smaller universities and had never been in a class that large and *I had never learned to be an actor as distinct from being a teacher.* And I remember the first years I had this recurrent nightmare that I would go to my class and I would have finished my lecture notes for the quarter in one day and I would have nothing more to say. It never happened but I was always nervous that it would.

There is another genre that requires a similar performance to the professor and that is the role of news anchor. This is similarly monologic, authoritative, and using discourse that is framed as narrative and dependent on personal credibility. Both news anchors and anthropology professors base their authority, partly on having "been there," and partly on the texts produced by others who have "been there." Margaret Morse (1986) traces the development of the anchor persona from the news reader who read a printed script in view of the audience. However, "today it seems as though the anchor speaks on his own authority as an overarching presence, as a subject of the news who vouches for its truth" (Morse, 1986: 58). The anchor, in effect, is modeled on the professor as the dispenser of truth and wisdom. As Morse puts it, "The network anchor is required to know all the facts, and to be able spontaneously to place information in a generally valid value system" (ibid.).

Who then is the prior source after whom the professor models behavior on camera, or is this a circle, with the anchor "doing" a professor, and the

professor "doing" an anchor? Another possible model is the expert, interviewed on both news and most documentary productions, to provide the context of the program, but the expert is rarely shown speaking at length even though he or she was probably recorded in the same way as these interviews were done.

Two respondents do not frame their performances in the authoritarian professor/anchor role. Goffman (1974) suggests that people sometimes clown a character other than their own. This allows them to counterbalance the nonserious character with the "real" person. He used the terms "ventriloquist" and "puppet" to describe this. Harrell, for example, switches between "professor" and "joker" depending on context. He makes a clear distinction between situations that demand a serious response, and introduces the joker as a performer, of whose performance he is aware.

HARRELL

I did feel that we should have some sort of ceremony at the end of the year that would be sort of satirical in nature and I've always enjoyed singing Gilbert and Sullivan, sitting around the piano and I've always been very good at writing bad poetry that is to say, silly jingle, you know rhythm and rhyme. It's only when I try and express deep ideas that I run into trouble, sounds very trashy but I'm good at bad poetry so I thought if I could put these things together I could do a satire about anthropology and I asked a couple of graduate students who had a background in theater to help me with it. That was Lowell Lewis who is now in Australia and Andy Palmer who is still around, shouldn't be but she'll finish one of these years, and they both backed out, although Andy did help me a little bit but they both felt they were too professional as performers to want to go and do something silly. And I didn't care. You know I'm silly looking

and silly acting and silly and I'd go ahead and do it. That first year I simply

had a series of songs about people.

CH: Can you remember any of them

H: Sure. The first one was called fieldwork, the fact that everybody

was doing fieldwork. The introductory song was:

Oh did you ever suffer from a malady tougher than not knowing what to

do..

Did you ever hang around on your own home ground and let inertia get

to you..

Did you ever find yourself sitting on the shelf, stewing in a slow, slow stew

Well try not to pout because I can help you out

Yes, I've got the thing for you...

You got to go and do Fieldwork

Yes that's the name of the game

When you've gone and done fieldwork

You'll never feel quite the same

It'll give you a whole new outlook

Or professor ain't my name

You've got to go and do fieldwork

That's the name of the game.

With your notebook held ready and your camera steady

You'll participant-observe

If your cortex isn't dormant you will find a new informant round every rusty

curve

Yes, you'll find it very pleasant in the ethnographic present, it'll bring back

a youthful verve

No it doesn't matter where, from the arctic to Sahara, any field will serve

But you've got to go and do Fieldwork

Yes that's the name of the game

When you've gone and done fieldwork

You'll never feel quite the same

It'll give you a whole new outlook

Or professor ain't my name

You've got to go and do fieldwork

That's the name of the game.

But if it isn't convenient, if your schedule isn't lenient, if you can't get away

this spring.

If you haven't got a grant or a rich eccentric aunt, to fund your

ethnographic fling

If you're stuck at UDub don't you cry and don't you blubber because I've

got the next best thing

Come to the follies, sit back and get your jollies and listen while I sing

Cause you've got go come see "Fieldwork"

Yes that's the name of the show

When you've come seen fieldwork

You'll never feel quite the same

It'll give you a whole new outlook

On the topic of anthropo

You've got to come and see "Fieldwork"

That's the name of the show

One must question whether Harrell would have performed in the same way had he been interviewed by Eastman. I believe he would have. An e-mail message, sent March 10, 1998, addressed to the whole anthropology department about a lecture he planned to give, defines himself in the same way. It reads as follows:

Well, we saved the (choose one: best, worst, silliest, boringest, funniest, baldest) for last, and the furniture will speak tomorrow, on the topic of "working with (and against?) host country ethnologists and bureaucrats," with slides from Panzhihua, China. I gave it before, but that was when there was one person in the class. Unfortunately, Ren Hai is busy and can't do it together with me, but you'll see plenty of pictures of him as a callow youth. Denny 217, 3:30.   Steve

As Goffman (1974) suggested, one changes frames to suit different parts of one's life. Whereas many people hide non-serious frames in a situation that could be labeled "serious," such as an anthropology department, Harrell allows this side to be public under certain conditions and switches from serious professor to the joker character when he is sure that the context will be interpreted as performance. Fernandez (1984) has noted that irony in performance is used to point out incongruities and recurrent mistakenness in the human situation and in ourselves. Rather than taking one's image of oneself and society seriously, and trying to promote that image, we take up the opposite, and because it is ironic, and observers recognize it that way, it acts to promote the serious self we wish to be.

This analysis may not apply to Harrell's "character" which is clearly marked off from his serious self, but it does seem to apply to Read, whose "character" is his major frame. It is self-deprecating, frequently positioning

himself as a victim in a joke, or someone who "got away" with something, or who won't take seriously the things others do. For example, in the excerpt in Chapter Four he professes no knowledge or interest in archeology or physical anthropology. He frequently uses direct speech to emphasize his position as victim, for example in the Monty West story, excerpted in Chapter Three. As mentioned earlier, he gave his interview at ten in the morning with a glass of wine in hand. Other respondents also commented on his apparent lack of seriousness, as someone who took administrative tasks lightly. In this excerpt, he tells of his trials with a woman who was stalking him, in a very amusing and ironic way, belying what was probably a frightening situation.

READ

Well there was a period when we didn't have enough secretarial help so I phoned up the secretarial pool and they sent this woman across. Just temporarily and she used to work with Greengo primarily. He had to get some report done, something like that. And so no one knew anything about her work and we still hadn't hired a secretary and we were still looking for one so I asked Greengo if her work was all right and he said yes fine so we hired her. She was an ex-Marine, I think something like that. She was about 6 feet and rather stout and sometimes you could see in the way she looked, sort of cogs, wheels, turning in her head, but it didn't seem anything to worry about. When just out of the blue I was sitting in my office when my usual secretary Sherry Hamilton who's my secretary wasn't there and my door was open so I called out "Carol, would you come in here. I want you." and that started it all. From then on it was impossible to get away from her. I used to go out to lunch and I'd find little bunches of flowers on the car wherever I'd parked it and little

poems left there too and then she started to go around and talk to students and she said that when I called out that time "Carol, come in here, I want you" that she'd gone in there and I'd exposed myself to her which was absolutely of course, not true whatsoever. Then she started to write, not just these bunches of flowers, she started to prowl around my house. I'd come down and find her looking through the glass doors to the house and things like this. Then she started to talk to the dean and write notes to him about all this was going on and the president too, and so I remember saying to the president, I had to go and see him about something else and he said, I believe you are having some kind of trouble with someone on your secretarial staff and I said yes, and he said, don't worry about it I have someone who lurks outside in the bushes in front of the president's house all the time too. Then I started to get little packages in the mail and it would be a police card with the emergency number of the coroner's office stuck on the police card. And I started to get a little worried then. She was three or four times my size to begin with and so I called the... oh she was under psychiatric treatment too, I knew about that. Somehow or other I got hold of his name and of course psychiatrists don't tell you anything at all about their patients. All he said was yes, she'd been under psychiatric treatment with me for 14 years and I felt like saying, "well you haven't done much for her have you" and he said, "well she's not dangerous" and I don't know how dangerous can be when you get coroner's cards and things like that, do you, so I called the campus police and eventually they ordered her off campus. She'd been dismissed by then too. I dismissed her and some of this kept on going after that too and they said well they told her she couldn't come on

campus but she did and then students who knew all this and they knew she was bats and they'd see her coming on campus and they'd follow her to see where she was going and she wasn't coming up to do anything. And I had screeds of students, graduate students too following her and seeing where she was going. And she was also married and I called her husband and told him because I thought he ought to know what she was doing and he wouldn't do a single thing either. He just said, Oh --oo-- and shrugged his shoulders, metaphorically speaking over the telephone. And I went to teach one summer at the University of Hawaii and lo and behold somehow she found out I was there and I suddenly started getting letters at the University of Hawaii and one of them where she had just gone to Frederick and Nelson to get her wedding gown so she could marry me. Everywhere I went, where I parked my car there'd be these bunches of flowers and little poems and things like that. She came down here, Stephen Piker who was one of our graduate students, he went down to Reed afterwards, but he was living with his then wife, in the carriage house across the road and she'd come down and go to them and she'd come here and look through these doors and I'd look out and there'd be this moon face and I'd look back and she'd then go across to him. I don't know how it all ended up, anyway, it just went on and on and on. It was months. It went over years. I think eventually she had an apoplectic fit and died.

Conclusion

Bruner and Gorfain (1984) discuss how a story can become so prominent in the consciousness of a society it serves to constitute, even reshape that

society. Their example is the story of Masada and they suggest that most such stories are used to create national identity and that once they become national stories they cannot remain monologic but are open to interpretation and thus can become sites for conflicting readings and challenge. I would suggest that a similar process goes on at the organizational level as well. The story of the defeat of the Boasians could become such a prominent story, except it is now only in the minds of the older faculty and not disseminated to new faculty or students. Although it defined the department in its early days, the exponential growth of faculty during the 60's and 70's diluted its power as a binding force.

Stories do not only constitute nations and organizations, they constitute individuals as well, especially when the individuals choose to perform "joker" characters. As we saw with the Monty West stories, it is the eccentricities, as well as the conflicts, that evoke the emotions that remain in memory and form the stories of the future.

CONCLUSION

Video Interviewing as a Tool for Documenting History

I started by asking if video had a greater chance of being dialogic than a purely written account, because one could capture the actual words and expressions of the persons being interviewed. I also asked, in the light of the questions that surround personal testimony, what one could learn from, and about, the people being interviewed. And lastly, I asked how performance affected the story being told. The first question is explored at length, but to summarize very concisely, I concluded that, although any visual material is closer to a primary account than written material, as soon as it is subjected to interpretation, it is open to the same possibilities of construction and distortion. The demands of narrative, whether spoken by the respondents or edited in by the videomaker, carry within them their own distortion, and the demands of a formal recorded interview do the same.

The second and third questions are really two sides of the same thing. People, aware of the function of the camera, perform the persona they wish to be remembered. In so doing, they present the stories they wish to be heard. That does not mean that the stories are not true. It just means that truth or falsehood are secondary to the moral meaning that is being constructed.

The material presented in these chapters shows that video interviewing can tell you many things, but not necessarily exactly what happened. For events that happened many years previously we are bedeviled by memory. For recent events we are bedeviled by personal interest. The recent documentary made by Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon, "The Gates of Heavenly Peace," is a case in point. Hinton and Gordon attempt, in a three-and-a-half-hour production, to probe the events that led to the massacre in Tianamen Square, and the

massacre itself. The result is a fascinating commentary, not only on human rights in China, but on contradiction within oral testimony, when participants want to promote different images of the events. To the viewer, each of the eyewitnesses appears completely believable, so which story do you choose to believe? Probably you choose the one that fits your own political preference.

But there are other things that a video document can tell you. In our particular case, the production of a history of the department, in which the performer is an important part of that history, the professors are doing more than telling what happened. Embedded in their stories are statements about what is important to them, their relationships to other individuals in the department, both students and faculty, relationships to the university, and relationships to anthropology in general.

I have been aware of using two contradictory themes to account for the absence of narrative after the early days. I suggested that it could be explained by the possibility that the faculty do not see themselves as a social group, following Tonkin's (1992) suggestion that history is essentially social and can only exist when the particulars of a social group need to be explained or defended. But this explanation is contradicted by the obvious limits imposed on what is allowable for discussion. Far from the lack of narrative being indicative of the lack of social importance of the department it is indicative of its crucial importance as a social group in that one cannot say anything that would affect one's situation in the group. But it is not just the department that is the social group, it is the wider anthropological world. My narrative of the anthropology department depicts a place of initial solidarity, bolstered by the anti-Boasian struggle as founding myth, but now grown to the point where contestations over power are inevitable, and pieces of canon are promoted and nurtured like

ancestral plots. In this environment there are few safe stories, at least not at present.

I am far from the first to question the "truth" of documentary filmmaking, but perhaps the first to attempt to represent how my own authority is constructed, and that of the respondents in the interviews. In the end, what is said about the history of the anthropology department is built out of the bricks of narrative and chronicle that the persons interviewed construct about their own roles in events, and cemented by my cognition, taking into account my knowledge of the field, the theory that I wish to illustrate, my innate sense of logic, and, in Gramscian terms, the socially produced feeling for what to me makes common sense as narrative sequence.

This has implications for all of history, in that so much of the information on which we base decisions and opinions is derived from just such a process as this one. I suggested earlier that if history is constitutive, as well as reflective of the social group, the dissemination of this video history might act as a focus for the way the department views itself. There is power inherent in the position of interpreter, even in a situation like this one, where I started as subordinate. How much more there must be in the average anthropological project, not to mention every news broadcast and documentary.

In ending, I would like to speculate on what would happen were this project repeated in 50 years. What will be spoken of, remembered as history, recorded on laser, CD, whatever the current medium is, by the current professors emeritus? Turner's social dramas will be recounted, or at least those that occurred before the end of the century, the ones that are now off the record. But winning conflicts of power is not the only source of immortality. There is also humor and eccentricity, anything that provides an emotion to sustain an

evaluation. Who will be the people who provide the narratives, rather than the annals, from the late millennium? I suspect it will be those who performed "joker" roles that provoked or amused their colleagues. Individuals may be admired for their erudition and intellectual skills but these don't make a good story.

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APPENDIX

Table of Transcript Symbols

The transcription conventions follow Gail Jefferson (1984).

|	
(word)	parentheses surrounding a word indicates uncertainty about transcription
(0.8)	parentheses around a number on a line or between lines indicates silence, in tenths of a second
[[	open brackets indicate the onset of simultaneous talk between the linked utterances
]]	close brackets indicate the ending of simultaneous talk between linked utterances
= =	equal signs come in pairs, at the end of one line or utterance, and at the start of a subsequent one; the talk linked by equal signs (whether by different speakers or same speaker) is continuous, and is not interrupted by any silence or other break.
<u>out</u>	underlining indicates emphasis; the more of a word is underlined, the greater the emphasis.
(h)	aspiration in the middle of word or sentence
(hh)	laughter in the middle of word or sentence
::	colons mark the prolongation of the preceding sound; the more colons, the greater the prolongation
ru-n	the hyphen indicates the self-interruption of the preceding sound

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IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA–3)

1.0
1.1
1.25   1.4   1.6

2.8   2.5
3.2
3.6   2.2
4.0   2.0

1.8

150mm

6"
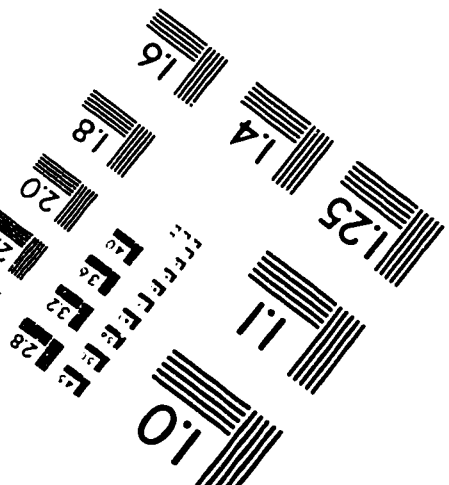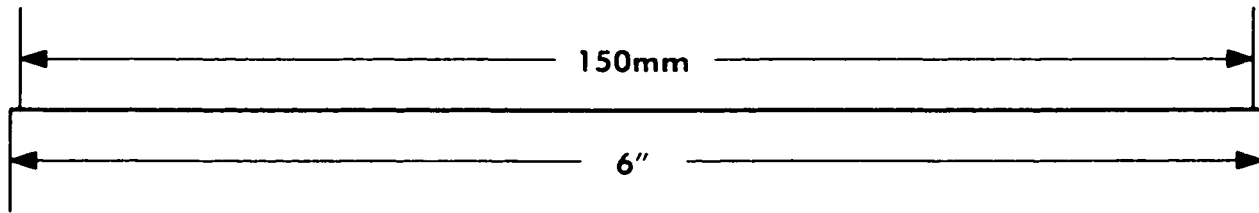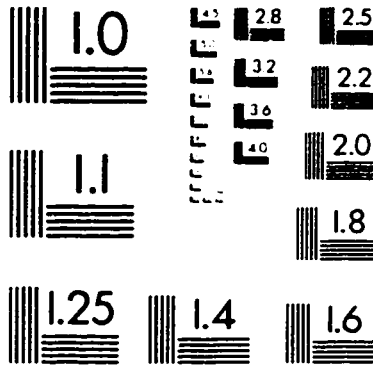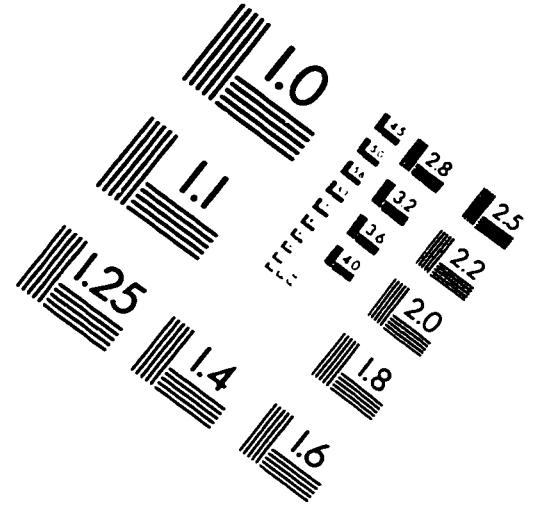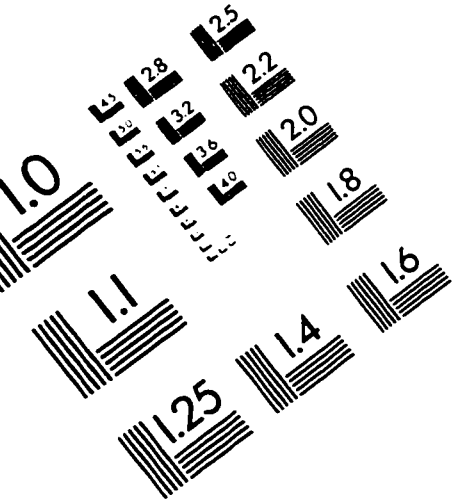
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