2021

Nebraska Anthropologist, Volume 29: 2021

University of Nebraska-Lincoln's Anthrogroup

Nebraska Anthropologist

Volume 29 : 2021

Nebraska Anthropologist

Volume 29: 2021

Published by the University of Nebraska-Lincoln's Anthrogroup

Editors' Note:

This is the 29th volume of the *Nebraska Anthropologist.* The journal was started in 1971, but has had some years of inactivity. The hope is that by reinstating this journal it will continue to give students a place to share their work for years to come. Although the title is the *Nebraska Anthropologist*, this is not just a journal for anthropologists, but a journal for everyone in the School of Global Integrative Studies and beyond. The purpose of this student-run academic journal is to help students publish their intellectual work and interests and to be a part of a larger community.

This journal is one of a kind, and it would not be possible without the help from everyone in the school and Anthrogroup. 2020 was a year of firsts, and a challenge for everyone including students, faculty and staff. This journal consists of the hard work, mentoring and the continued support that was achieved in the 2020 academic year.

The *Nebraska Anthropologist* welcomes submissions from all students at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Front Cover:
Reller Prairie Biological Research Station,
Forensic Archaeology Clandestine Burial Field School Summer 2020
Photograph by Erik Schulz (2020)
Original cover design by Benjamin Grant Purzycki

School of Global Integrative Studies

The School of Global Integrative Studies (SGIS) was established on February 5th 2020. The school contains three different departments: Anthropology, Geography and Global Studies.

"The School of Global Integrative Studies was founded on the belief that real world issues and problems require research, teaching and learning that is immersive, interdisciplinary, and applicable."*

Although the creation of the school started before 2020, having it founded in 2020 was crucial. The school is about bringing students, faculty, staff and the community together to create a better place. With the Covid-19 pandemic, it is important that as a school we focus on these values and help the world become a better place and to create well rounded citizens. These three departments, although different, all unite under the same school in order to help students change the world for the better.

The journal will still be named the *Nebraska Anthropologist*, to keep with tradition, but we will be incorporating the school's beliefs and educational goals into the journal. This will be the first *Nebraska Anthropologist* to be published under the school, and we are excited for the future of the journal, the school and look forward to many more years of publications and partnerships with SGIS and the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Special Acknowledgements

*Quote from SGIS website: sgis.unl.edu/about

Table of Contents

Sex vs Gender in a Forensic Anthropological Analysis

Erik M. Schulz
School of Global Integrative Studies, UNL, Lincoln, NE, USA
eschulz3@huskers.unl.edu

Abstract: *This paper will be discussing the topic of gender identification in a forensic anthropology outcome. The purpose will be to see if a forensic anthropologist should determine the gender of an individual or just biological sex when talking about identifying a body. To support this argument, the following topics will be evaluated: looking at the current methods used for identifying sex of an individual, looking at reconstruction and modification practices, looking at documentation aspects in a forensic report, biological profile make up, and cultural significance. The conclusion will state that anthropologists should make a case for sex, but that gender must be kept from a report unless there is scientific evidence to report gender.*

Introduction

This paper will be discussing the topic of gender identification in a forensic anthropology outcome to see if forensic anthropologists should determine the gender of individuals or if they should focus solely on biological sex. The definitions of the terminology noted below will be used throughout this paper. These terms and definitions may be different in other areas of focus as they change due to social construct. This paper will also include the current methods used in identifying sex, a focus on the theoretical aspect and legal aspect of what to do when trying to identify a missing person's sex versus gender. With the current methods available, a forensic anthropologist should only ever state a sex assessment in a statistical percentage with appropriate error rates and should only try to assess sex when possible and not gender. If secondary information, such as driver's license, implants, gender-specific clothing, or other personal items are available, that information should be used by other outside agencies, but not by the forensic anthropologist. To clarify, the point will be made that it is not the job of the forensic anthropologist to assign a gender to a set of remains. They must solely focus on the physical evidence in front of them.

Terminology

To begin with, this paper will explain the definitions of sex and gender as these terms will be used throughout the paper. Sex is relating to the biological/genetic characteristics of an individual. The two main categories of sex are male and female, but there are special cases where an individual can be born with both male and female biological features (WHO 2018). For the purpose of this paper, the focus will be on the male and female aspects of sex. As a clarification, genitalia will not be considered as a part of the biological makeup, as this can be altered, which will be discussed further in the paper. Gender, unlike sex, is the social construct of sex characteristics, this can refer to how a person acts, is treated, how they interact with others, and

5

how they are viewed in society (WHO 2019). The biggest difference between gender and sex is that sex is a biological term and gender is a cultural term.

There are many gender identities; because of this, the following will list examples of some of the more common categories. Transgender is when an individual is born with one set of sexual characteristics but identifies as the opposite sex (Pine Brush Central School District). Transsexual is when an individual had realignment surgery in order to change their outside sexual characteristics to match how they identify themselves (The word transsexual is an outdated term and is typically not used by transgender individuals who have undergone sex-reassignment surgery. From this point on in this paper, the phrase "realignment surgery/reassignment surgery" will be used in its place). Non-binary is someone that doesn't identify as male or female but somewhere in between this spectrum. Genderfluid is when an individual fluctuates between genders, and agender is when an individual does not identify as having a gender (Human Rights Campaign 2019). The previous list does not include every gender identity, but it does include the identities that are more common and are relevant to this paper.

Sexual Dimorphism

The following information will explain different methods of identifying sex. However, before explaining those methods, it is important to understand sexual dimorphism and its importance in forensic anthropology. Sexual dimorphism is the difference between males and females of a certain species. The common differences are size, shape, and color. With humans, the differences are seen with size and shape but not color. The facial features can be an indicator of sexual dimorphism in humans. Though this may be more difficult to observe in younger children, by the time individuals reach their teenage years, they start to show more differentiation between males and females (Samal 2007).

The face though, is not the only area that can show sexual dimorphism in humans. It can also be seen in both the stature and size of an individual. To elaborate, this relates to both the overall size of the individual as well as the size of the long bones. Sexual dimorphism can be related to the division of labor in an evolutionary view (Ruff 1987). Evolutionary forces, in response to our changing needs as humans, can change the degree of sexual dimorphism seen within a population. Ancestry is important when looking at dimorphism for two main reasons. One is that if you can identify ancestry, it allows the researcher to have a better understanding of what method to use when they identify sex. The second reason is that if you cannot figure out the ancestry, the forensic anthropologist has a higher chance of misclassifying sex based on incorrect information about ancestry.

Considering the area that the remains are found is important. Equally important is looking at the context for why the remains are in that location. An example of why the location of the remains is important is as follows. The Southern border of the United States and Mexico is a highly trafficked area. There are individuals that cross the border to the United States and then pass away during their journey. When a body is discovered, the process of identification and context of death is important. This information can help the forensic anthropologist in knowing what methods of identification are correct, and therefore will assist in providing the correct

information about the remains. Hispanic people tend to be smaller in stature than those of European and African ancestry (Spradley 2008). In some cases, Hispanic males were being misidentified as females due to current metric analysis when looking at stature (Christensen and Crowder 2009), (Spradley et al. 2008), (Bazen 2017). The skeletal structure for other techniques did not present the same findings of the individuals being males (Spradley 2008). Dimorphism in the Hispanic population is less significant than in some other ancestral groups when looking at stature.

The purpose of understanding dimorphism and the difference in ancestry is to make sure that proper identification takes place occurs. There is a need for new methods when looking at sexual dimorphism and other changes among different ancestral groups. Most of the current methods are only reliable for white males, but this is changing with more modern methods. However, not all demographics are represented at this time.

Methods

Sex Identification Methods

When trying to assess sex from human skeletal remains, there are different methods that can be used as well as different bones or characteristics that are focused on. The Phenice (1969) method involves looking at the pubis area, specifically the ventral arc, subpubic concavity, and medial aspect of the ischio-pubic ramus (Phenice 1969). These three traits have varying morphological differences between males and females. The Phenice (1969) method is completely non-metric, which means that there are no measurements taken, and it is up to the observer to make the determination. The Phenice (1969) method has been shown to be accurate, but when using this method, the observer can have difficulty, as the pictures and descriptions in the article are not clear. A modification of the Phenice (1969) method was done by adding definitions and more levels of difference to help with observer error. The modification article Klales (2012) gives descriptions for each trait and how to scale them as male or female. This article is different from that of the Phenice (1969) article as it gives a more in-depth description of the traits. This is important when trying to identify sex because if there is a very broad description and there are only a few pictures to guide a researcher to an identification, then there is a larger rate of observer error. The Klales (2012) method is able to help lower the observer error by giving more specific examples of the possible variations.

The following is a breakdown of the Phenice (1969) method. When looking at the ventral arc in females, there is a noticeable vertical crest or arc on the bone, while in males, there is only a slight edge formation. When looking at the subpubic concavity, the focus is looking at the anterior side of the ischio-pubic ramus to see if it is concave or convex. Males have a broad and convex shape, while the females have a concave shape. Lastly, one would look at the ischio-pubic ramus from a medial view to see if the bone is pinched, which indicates female or if the bone has a broader/wider area, which indicates a male. These characteristics are helpful when trying to identify an individual's sex if the pubis is present. If it is not present, there are other methods available for sex identification.

7

If there is a skull present when attempting to make an identification, there are certain characteristics that can be used to identify whether the remains are those of a male or a female. The Walker (2008) method is also non-metric, but it has a few more traits than the three used in the Phenice (1969) method. Walker (2008) developed a method using the following skull traits: mental eminence, orbital margin, glabellar area, nuchal area, and mastoid process. These observations are reported on a scale of 1 being the lowest and 5 being the maximum amount. After adding the scores and inputting them to the formula developed by Walker (2008), the findings should give a result of whether the remains are male or female. The skull is likely a female when the score is less than three and likely a male when the score is three or greater. These results are only valid for English/American skeletal remains (Walker 2008). When the mental eminence, a point on the mandible, has a slight expression, it is more indicative of a female, while a maximum expression indicates a male. Orbital margin involves the analysis of the supra orbital ridge to determine if it has a small point or more of a broad protrusion, where the small point is lower on the scale. The glabella is the shape of the supra orbital ridge from a side view, and a larger indentation is a male feature. When looking at the mastoid process, a longer and larger process is associated with a male. The nuchal crest is located at the occipital bone, and a smooth area indicates a female, while a notch indicates a male.

When developing a biological profile, there are aspects that need to be considered in order to identify and understand the context of the remains. Creating a biological profile includes sex, but it also includes age, ancestry, stature, and other anomalies that may help with a positive identification of the remains (Ousley et al. 2009) (SWGANTH Sex Assessment). The problem when looking at these is that most of the research out there has been done on white individuals, and those individuals have primarily been male. There are more cases being conducted involving individuals of other ancestral groups and sexes. This is important when making a biological profile because if the researcher uses a method that is inappropriate for an individual of their ancestry or sex, the results may be flawed. Every human is different, which means that the method used for determining who someone is may have to be altered in order to fit the characteristics of the individual under study.

One example of this is in the Spradley (2008) article. In this article, Spradley is creating a method for identifying Hispanic individuals. Hispanic is defined in the article by the United States Census as people coming "from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, South and or Central America or other Hispanic/Latino Origins" (Spradley 2008). A problem brought up by the author is that the geographical regions associated with this cultural term of Hispanic does not mean that the individuals have similarities in their biological and structural make up. When creating a biological profile, different methods may be used, such as some mentioned in this article. An issue that the author has with this is that very few studies have been done on Hispanic remains. With Hispanics being a large population from varying demographic areas, it is difficult to create an accurate biological profile for a Hispanic individual, and they may be misclassified based on the current methods for individuals of other ancestries. If more research is not conducted on these individuals and a narrowing of the group is not created, there will continue to be problems with correctly identifying individuals from these areas (Spradley 2008).

Another problem with trying to identify sex is mentioned by Ubelaker (2012), who discussed the possibility of finding evidence of an individual having a child based on their

skeletal remains. In this article, Ubelaker (2012) is looking at previous research that claimed that when looking at a human pelvis, one can see if the individual had been pregnant and, if so, give a range to how many children they had. In Ubelaker's (2012) article, he refutes this theory and the actual research that claimed to prove this aspect. Ubelaker (2012) and De La Paz (2012), however, prove that the methods and techniques talked about in the paper are not supported by any scientific data.

Determining sex by looking at bone morphology can only be done after a certain age. When looking at soft tissue, sex can be seen at birth or before in most cases, however, when looking at the bone, it is many years after birth. During puberty, some bones in the skeletal system change, these changes include skull formation and pubic bone changes (Brooks and Suchey 1990). The widening of the pubis in females happens during this age to allow for childbirth. The differences allow a forensic anthropologist to identify sex. This creates a problem for trying to identify sex or gender in anyone of a young age or anyone who is early in their pubertal development.

Gender identification is in no way a new scientific practice, but the media has brought more attention to this social concept in recent history. Sex identification, if the material and resources are available, is a routine identification for a forensic anthropologist. While gender identification is a social construct and is not easily identified. Even within the LGBT communities, there are problems with understanding one's identity (Mills 2006). Since gender is both a personal identification and a cultural aspect, it cannot be estimated from skeletal remains.

Reconstruction

When looking at skeletal remains by themselves, it can be hard to imagine what the individual looked like prior to death and decomposition. A forensic anthropologist's job is to create a forensic or biological profile including sex, age, ancestry, and other useful attributes or anomalies. While a biological profile is important and the only way to identify a set of remains, if there is a possible identification and/or a way to get a photograph/image to the public, someone may be able to present information regarding the remains. This is where reconstruction of the cranium and facial features can be useful in an investigation. The problem with reconstructing the facial bones is that it may it may only indicate their sex and not their gender. This could be represented by hairstyles, makeup, facial piercings, facial hair, or any other modifications to the soft tissue that would not be present on skeletal remains.

A method that can be used by forensic anthropologists to try and determine what an individual looked like is creating a 3D reconstruction of the tissue and muscle of the skull. This process can be done with electronic databases that allow you to input data or it can be done using clay on the skull or a replica skull. The process of applying markers to the skull is done by trying to figure out the possible age, sex, and ancestry of the individual first, once this is complete, there is a chart that allows the researcher to create foam markers with the approximate depth of the tissue. Once this is finished, clay is added to match the depth tissue markers. Then a process of artistic and educated assessments goes into the reconstruction which leaves a 3D rendering of a possible identity (Tyrrell 1997). The problem with this is that many tissue deformations, additions, or modifications are not always represented on the bone.

9

Another process that can be done when trying to reconstruct a face to go with the skeletal remains is supra imposing an image on the skull to see if traits and markers line up (Austin-Smith, 1994). The process looks at multiple views of the skull including a lateral and profile view. This can be used to rule out possible individuals or give a possible identification. Using morphological traits can also be useful if someone has pronounced maxillary bones, it creates a defined check area that would be present on the bone. While some facial markers can be helpful, others, such as the shape of the nose, may not be as helpful since the structure of the nose is a genetic trait. The shape and tissue area on the nasal bone does not relate to skeletal markings.

A focus for a forensic anthropologist is to identify the individual(s). While this is their duty, law enforcement and other groups are important in this operation. While analyzing skeletal remains, forensic anthropologists create a possible profile for the unidentified person. Other agencies can use the biological profile to screen potential matches or reference the report against an item found on or near the individual in order to accurately identify them. Working together as a team allows for a complete profile. If a certain item is found with the remains, it may be useful to law enforcement agencies in identifying the person. In looking at the information that a forensic anthropologist can give law enforcement, some of this information may include unique personal markings or as much about the remains as possible in order to narrow down a possible match. This information is crucial. Unfortunately, it can only be as accurate as the information that was filed or recorded about the individual before they died or went missing. This also means that someone's self-identification can be different than what is on their forms of documentation.

Self-reporting

Measured or biological stature is the measurement of the remains in order to estimate the stature of the individual. Forensic stature is what is present on an identification card or other supporting documents (Ousley 1995). In terms of self-reporting, the scientific term used is forensic measurement, which means that the individual self-documents the information that they report on the identification card. Although this article is talking about stature, it relates to the question of how to differentiate between using medical information while still taking into account how the individual identifies themselves. Since stature is something that is self-reported on identification records, the issue of accuracy can be the same as that of government reported sex if the individual is not able to use their chosen identification. The article also mentions that even if health information is documented by a professional, it does not always mean the information is more accurate than the information given by the individual and vice versa. The information on an identification card can be crucial and incredibly beneficial to an investigation. The common categories found on an identification card are age, sex, height, and weight. These categories are important for a forensic anthropologist to find as they help to build the biological profile and are used in a report.

When filling out paperwork for an identification card in Nebraska, you are given a form to complete. This form asks for the information that is required for the identification card as well as other personal information. According to Professional Transgender Resource Group. (2019), an individual may change their sex on their driver's license only after going to a doctor and having the doctor fill out the required paperwork. For some, this process may be easy, but for

10

those without insurance or the appropriate physical means, they may not be able to get this paperwork completed. According to the Department of Motor Vehicles website, in New York, a person can only change their sex on their documents after receiving a 'sex-change' operation, and they must provide the proper documentation associated with the procedure. In California however, the approach by their Department of Motor Vehicles is quite different. According to their website, an individual can mark male, female, or non-binary down on their identification cards with no necessary documentation. This means that the person has the control to self-identify as they deem appropriate (California Department of Motor Vehicles 2019).

There are problems with the inconsistencies of how states allow people to identify themselves on their identification cards. There are two main problems with the inconsistency. The first is using the word gender versus using the word sex on a license. While in some cases, this difference would go unnoticed, for those that it does effect, the two would be different for others who do not identify as their biological sex (Herman 2013). This information would not change the forensic anthropologist's report, but it may be significant for other parties involved. For example, it would be important for law enforcement because when looking at a missing person's report, they need an accurate biological profile. If the gender or sex is different in a legal database than what is in the biological profile given by the forensic anthropologist, this could delay identification. With states having their own regulations for how someone can identify on an identification card, it is important for law enforcement to understand where the remains are found. This is where taphonomy would be important because knowing where the remains have been and what happened to them plays a crucial role in the investigation process. Driver's license and identification cards are not the only documents that could cause a problem for proper identification if looking at sex and gender. Any other local, government, or work-related identification cards that contain these criteria could cause problems for proper identification. Also, the choices on these documents may not relate to the individual if they do not identify within the given choices.

When an individual in the United States gets pulled over, the officer generally asks for their license, registration, and proof of insurance. This is a routine request, and for most people complying with this request is not a challenge. For an individual in the middle of a transition or for an individual that dresses and acts as a different gender then listed on their identification card this can create confusion or extensive explaining. Depending on the state, the ease, and cost of updating a state ID, it can be a challenging process. Since this process can be expensive and have difficult challenges, an individual may not have their ID corrected to their gender. If they are in a transition period or have not had the chance to update their identification records this would create a problem with connecting the individual and the ID.

Using medical records can be useful in matching remains to an individual. The problem with medical records is that they are only relevant for the last time the individual went to the doctor. A person who dresses or socially relates to a different gender would not need medical documentation to do so. This means that the medical records would not have mention of a possible change in gender. If an individual has received a realignment operation or is in the process of transitioning, this would be noted in a medical file. The process of having medical records containing information about transgender individuals is different than individuals who are not. An example of this is when a male transitions into a female. Even after the proper

surgical procedures have been completed, the individual is still left with a prostate (Deutsch 2013). This leaves a significant problem in medical records. If the records only relate to the individual as a female, future doctors may not think to look or ask about symptoms of prostate disease. Deutsch et al. are developing processes to track these changes in the current electronic health records (Deutsch 2013). The process of tracking all changes in health records is important for current medical professionals because as it allows them to properly understand the patient's history, but it also allows forensic anthropologists and/or law enforcement to make a more accurate identification.

Surgical procedures and Implants

Sometimes skeletal remains will have other items associated with them, whether that is personal items, medical implants, or other items. When looking at these items, it can give possible clues to the identity of the remains. If the remains are shown to be related to materials associated with the remains, this can greatly enhance the ability to accurately identify the remains. After figuring out the biological profile of the individual, then the forensic anthropologist can look at individuating factors that can be useful in trying to help with a positive identification. Some of these possible factors are medical implants, or other devices can be beneficial in a few different ways. One benefit of these medical implants is if the device has a serial number. The serial number can be tracked, and in some cases, can help correctly identify the individual or at the very least narrow down the possibilities. Sometimes screws and other smaller devices will not have markings on them, which makes it impossible to track. In some cases, it can also make it hard to figure out whether or not they belong to the remains (Wilson 2011).

An individual who has undergone a sex change may have implants surgically placed. With a sex reassignment procedure, there are a few different types of surgeries. An individual going from male to female may have breast implants, but they may not have implants. This would depend on hormone therapy and other considerations (Leonard 2019). If breast implants were found in association with a male skeleton, a possible explanation could be that this individual is someone that has had sex reassignment surgery. With a female transitioning into a male, depending on the type of procedure done, an implant can be used to form male genitalia (Toro 2013). Another type of prosthesis is used to create testes (Toro 2013). If either of these implants are found with a female sex skeleton, a possible conclusion would be that the person had sex reassignment surgery.

The material that permanent implants are made of is different depending on its purpose, but it is generally not biodegradable. With this being the case, these objects can be found with skeletonized remains once all of the tissue has decayed. A researcher cannot justify the absence or presence of an implant as a certainty that the individual was or was not a transgender individual or someone that has had a sex reassignment procedure. This is just another example of why forensic anthropologists should focus solely on identifying the sex of the remains. While any implants should be noted in the remains, as it could be useful in identifying the person, the identification of gender should be left to law enforcement officials. Any modification process that only involves the soft tissue would not show up on the skeletal remains. If a forensic anthropologist is looking at skeletal remains, they would only be able to identify what the

12

skeletal material can represent. This is important for a person who has undergone a sex reassignment operation because they could be listed as a female on all current forms of identification, but the report would suggest that the individual was a male.

In the article written by (Shiel 2018), it talks about sex and gender. The main focus was on devices or procedures that can be done to alter the appearance of an individual. Plastic surgery is simply the reconstruction or remodeling of a certain area or areas (Shiel 2018). Some of these procedures solely affect the tissue and skin, while others may reshape the person's bones. Procedures that reshape bones would leave marks on the bone. As mentioned previously, some states allow for a person to legally document their gender without the proper paperwork from a doctor or without having to have a physical surgery. In some cases, people will have surgeries, but as with many medical situations, it is something that usually is not done all at once. If an individual chooses to have a reassignment surgery, sexual characteristics are part of the change. A person may also choose to change their facial features in order to recreate some of the differences in facial morphology between males and females. If the facial changes are based solely in the tissue and do not affect the bone, then forensic anthropologists should not focus on this as this would not be seen in the skeletal remains and therefore would not be noted by forensic anthropologists. If the reconstruction has affected the bone, then this evidence should be taken into consideration by the forensic anthropologist.

Ancestry is important for several reasons, one is that once ancestry identification is done, a correct procedure can be determined for measuring remains as well as looking at the sexual dimorphism among that group. The second reason is that narrowing down the ancestral group allows for a narrowing of the missing persons list. Lastly, is that cultural aspects can be observed to figure out different practices and beliefs. Gender fluidity, or transgender beliefs, may be allowed in some cultures, but not allowed in others. Some cultures have terms such as two-spirited (Indian Health Services), which refers to a person that is biologically one sex but is accepted culturally as the other sex (Matthews-Hartwell 2017). In these cases, they take on the roles and responsibilities of their identifying gender. When looking at remains and trying to figure out who they are, the ancestry of the person is important. You can only figure out possible cultural aspects if you know where the person comes from.

Depending on where a person is located, cultural beliefs, and the means available to them, the ability for them to have realignment surgery may or may not be possible. The Canner 2018 article about transgender surgeries in the United States, talks about the cost of these surgeries for the individuals who undergo them. It also expounds on the age in which people undergo these procedures. In the cases studied, patients were in between their late 20s to early 40's when they underwent a sex change operation (Canner 2018). The article also mentions that many of these individuals had to pay for the procedure out of pocket because health insurance would not cover the procedure. With this being the case, it can be inferred that although individuals may associate with a certain gender, they may not be able to have the proper procedure to align their gender immediately. Because of this, transgender individuals would not identify with their biological sex, and therefore may not have the proper identification showing that they identify with another gender. This reiterates the fact that forensic anthropologists cannot focus on the gender of the individual but must focus on the physical evidence on the bones.

13

Analysis

A Forensic anthropologist's job is to create a biological profile in order to identify or exclude a possible individual. When creating a biological profile, a forensic anthropologist should only use physical evidence in their decision and not use bias or personal opinion. Sex is a trait that is discernible in most cases and has a general finding of either male or female. For this aspect, forensic anthropologists should only report on the sex of an individual. The importance of implants, other devices, or objects that may lead to a conclusion or partial conclusion of one's gender should be noted in the report as a helpful trait in identification. Law enforcement, or other agencies that use the forensic anthropologist's report, can look at the report and the evidence for the individual possibly identifying as a different gender to help them with a positive identification.

The research on transgender and non-binary individuals in the forensic anthropology and criminal justice system is small. This could be because this group of people is a minority and underprivileged group of individuals that it is too hard to study or for any other reason. Media plays a large role in public opinion, and this can be good or bad for different groups of people. When talking about transgender or non-binary individuals, there can be confusion in the public. When a public media source challenges the publics' opinion on this type of issue it can create a positive outlook for that group (Bearman 2016). There are reports that there are over 700,000 transgender individuals in the United States (Bearman 2016), and although this is a small number compared to the overall population in the United States, it is a significant number of individuals that have the potential for needing to be identified by a forensic anthropologist. Transgender individuals are sometimes targeted for violent crimes and hate crimes, because of this it is even more significant that forensic anthropologists know how to identify an individual that may be transgender (Forbes 2013). The use of media to shine a light on this underprivileged group challenges the biological profile by saying there are more than two sexes.

When trying to identify sex in an individual based on the Phenice (1969) method, the forensic anthropologist has to analyze the score that is resulted from the analysis of the bones. If the resulting score is a three, it is not always clear as to what sex the remains are. A score of three is seen as having both male and female characteristics but with neither sex's characteristics standing out. (Bearman 2016). This can be known as someone who is intersex, meaning that they do not fit into the biological binary system of male and female (Marquez 2019). This can create a problem when identifying a person, because intersex is not common, but does affect 1.7 percent of babies, and right now there is no good way to classify these individuals in the forensic anthropology setting or in a legal document setting such as birth certificates (Marquez 2019). If the forensic anthropologist cannot give an accurate description of whether the remains are male or female, the number of missing people to compare the remains to is significantly larger than if they are able to narrow down the possibilities. Female characteristics are the blueprint for the skeletal system (Bearman 2016.) This is referring to the fact that when the body begins developing, it starts off as a female and then either transitions into a male or stays as a female. The body can also revert back to female morphological traits. This can be seen by looking at a male jaw that has lost too many teeth, the jaw will shrink into a female's size jaw (Bearman 2016).

14

Conclusion

      The purpose of this paper was to state the relationship between sex and gender and the role that it plays in trying to identify individual remains. With sex being a physical trait seen in the morphology of the bones, and gender being a social construct, it would be good practice for forensic anthropologists to only report the physical evidence as it is given to them. It is important to have an open understanding of sex and gender as a forensic anthropologist and to be able to work with local officials in relating the facts of the case. If the discovery of gender is needed, this is the responsibility of law enforcement. While television, movies, and stories depict the identification process of remains as simplistic and easy, the articles and research used in this paper prove that to be incorrect. The process requires many different steps and the use of different methods in order to properly identify the individual.

      While a forensic anthropologist's job is to use an unbiased approach to the physical remains, law enforcement, and other agencies can use other evidence to come to a positive identification (Passalacqua and Pilloud 2018). A Forensic anthropologist should solely use physical evidence in the creation of a biological profile in order to aid in identification. With that being said, if there is evidence that the individual may have been non-binary, transgender or align with any of the above mentioned, it is important for a forensic anthropologist to include this evidence in their report as to best aid in the identification process.

References Cited

Austin-Smith, D. and W.R. Maples
   1994 The Reliability of Skull/Photograph Superimposition in Individual
     Identification. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, *39*(2). doi: 10.1520/jfs13615j

Bazen, Jamie C.,
  2017 Addressing the Challenges of Identifying Migrant Remains" (2017). *Chancellor's Honors*
    Program Projects. https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/2107

Bearman, M.
   2016 Between Male and Female. Retrieved 2019, from
     https://www.sapiens.org/body/transgender-intersex-forensic- anthropology/.

Brooks, S. and J. M. Suchey
   1990 Skeletal age determination based on the os pubis: a comparison of the Acsádi-
     Nemeskéri and Suchey-Brooks methods. *Human Evolution* 5:227-238.

California Department of Motor Vehicles
   2019 Gender Identity (Female, Male, or Nonbinary). Retrieved 2019, from
     https://www.dmv.ca.gov/portal/dmv/detail/dl/gender_id.

Canner, J. K., O. Harfouch, L.M. Kodadek, D. Pelaez, D. Coon, A.C. Offodile, and B.D. Lau
   2018 Temporal Trends in Gender-Affirming Surgery Among Transgender Patients in
     the United States. JAMA Network, 153(7). doi: 10.1001/jamasurg.2017.6231

Christensen, A. M. and C. M. Crowder
    2009 Evidentiary standards for forensic anthropology. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*
    54(6):1211-1216.

Deutsch, M. B., J. Green, J. Keatley, G. Mayer, J. Hastings, J., Hall, A. M., Allison, R., Blumer,
O., Brown, S., Kay Cody, M., Fennie, K., Moscoe, G., St Claire, R., River Stone, M., Wilson, A.,
Wolf-Gould, C.
    2013 Electronic medical records and the transgender patient: recommendations from the
    World Professional Association for Transgender Health EMR Working Group. *Journal of
    the American Medical Informatics Association* 20(4):700–703. doi: 10.1136/amiajnl-
    2012-001472

Forbes, A.
    2013 Define "Sex": Legal Outcomes for Transgender Individuals in the United
    States. *Handbook of LGBT Communities, Crime, and Justice*, pp. 378–403. doi:
    https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-9188-0_18

Herman, J.
    2013 The Potential Impact of a Strict Voter Identification Law on Transgender Voters in
    North Carolina. *EScholarship*. Retrieved 2019, from
    https://escholarship.org/uc/item/98d2n387

Human Rights Campaign
    2019 Glossary of Terms. Retrieved 2019, from
    https://www.hrc.org/resources/glossary-of-
    terms?utm_source=GS&utm_medium=AD&utm_ campaign=BPI-HRC-
    Grant&utm_content=276041569886&utm_term=what are all the
    genders&gclid=Cj0KCQjwuZDtBRDvARIsAPXFx3CDyNyHxGivJCL_Ro05 Gs2
    lguff YWe95fn74gQXs4lwSxmwMPUNWr4aAqpJEALw_wcB.

Indian Health Service
    n.d. Two Spirit: Health Resources. Retrieved 2019, from
    https://www.ihs.gov/lgbt/health/twospirit/.

Klales, A. R., S. D. Ousley, and J. M. Vollner
    2012 A revised method of sexing the human innominate using Phenice's nonmetric traits and
    statistical methods. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 149*, 104-114.

Leonard, J., & Sampson, S
    2019 Transgender penis: How does female-to-male surgery work? Retrieved 2019, from
    https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/326590.php.

Marquez, Mx. A. R.
    2019 Born Intersex: we are human! [Video]. TEDxJacksonville.
    https://www.ted.com/talks/mx_anunnaki_ray_marquez_born_intersex_we_are_human/upne
    xt

16

Matthews-Hartwell, T.

    2017 *LGBTQ2 Well-Being Education Series*. *LGBTQ2 Well-Being Education Series*. https://www.ihs.gov/sites/telebehavioral/themes/responsive2017/display_ objects/ documents/slides/lgbt/lgbtnativeout.pdf.

Mills, R.

    2006 Queer is Here? Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Histories and Public Culture. *History Workshop Journal*, *62*(1), 253–263. doi: 10.1093/hwj/dbl006

New York DMV

    n.d. Change of sex or gender on a DMV driver license, permit or non-driver ID card. Retrieved 2019, from http://nysdmv.custhelp.com/app/answers/detail/a_id/405/~/change-of-sex-or-gender-on-a-dmv-driver-license,-permit-or-non-driver-id-card.

Ousley, S.

    1995). Should we estimate biological or forensic stature? *Journal of Forensic Sciences 40*, 768-773.

Ousley, S., R. L. Jantz, and D. Freid

    2009 Understanding race and human variation: Why forensic anthropologists are good at identifying race. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology 139*, 68-76.

Passalacqua, N. V. and M. A. Pilloud

    2018 Defining the role of the forensic anthropologist In Ethics and Professionalism in Forensic Anthropology (pp.31-48). Cambridge, MA: Elsevier Inc.

Phenice, T. W.

    1969). A newly developed visual method of sexing the os pubis. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 30*, 297-301.

Pine Brush Central School District

    n.d. A list of genders & sexualities and their definitions. Retrieved 2019, from http://thepbhscloset.weebly.com/a-list-of-genders--sexualities-and-their-definitions.html.

Professional Transgender Resource Group

    2019 Legal Documents and Policies. Retrieved 2019, from http://www.ptrnnebraska.com/community/#:~:targetText=In the State of Nebraska, passport and social security card.

Ruff, C.

    1987 Sexual dimorphism in human lower limb bone structure: relationship to subsistence strategy and sexual division of labor. *Journal of Human Evolution*, *16*(5), 391–416. doi: 10.1016/0047-2484(87)90069-8

Samal, A., Subramani, V., & Marx, D

    2007 Analysis of sexual dimorphism in human face. *Journal of Visual Communication and Image Representation*, *18*(6), 453–463. doi: 10.1016/j.jvcir.2007.04.010

Shiel, W. C.

    2018 Definition of Plastic surgery. Retrieved 2019, from https://www.medicinenet.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=13666.

Spradley, M. K., and R. L. Jantz

    2011 Sex estimation in forensic anthropology: Skull versus postcranial elements. *Journal of Forensic Sciences, 56*, 289-296.

Spradley, M. K., R. L. Jantz, A. Robinson, and F. Peccerelli

    2008 Demographic change and forensic identification: problems in metric identification of Hispanic skeletons. *Journal of Forensic Sciences, 53*, 21-28.

SWG-ANTH

    2010 Sex Assessment Version 1.0 FBI/DOD Scientific Working Group Forensic Anthropology. https://www.nist.gov/system/files/documents/2018/03/13/swganth_sex_assessment.pdf Accessed September 9th 2019.

Toro, R.

    2013 How Gender Reassignment Surgery Works (Infographic). Retrieved 2019, from https://www.livescience.com/39170-how-gender-reassignment-surgery-works-infographic.html.

Tyrrell, A. J., Evison, M. P., Chamberlain, A. T., & Green, M. A.

    1997 Forensic Three-Dimensional Facial Reconstruction: Historical Review and Contemporary Developments. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, *42*(4). doi: 10.1520/jfs14176j

Ubelaker, D. H., and J. S. De La Paz

    2012 Skeletal indicators of pregnancy and parturition: A historical review. *Journal of Forensic Sciences, 57*, 866-872.

Walker, P. L.

    2008 Sexing skulls using discriminant function analysis of visually assessed traits. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 136*, 39-50.

Wilson, R. J., J. D. Bethard, and E. A. DiGangi

    2011 The use of orthopedic surgical devices for forensic identification. *Journal of Forensic Sciences, 56*, 460-469.

WHO

    2018 Defining sexual health. Retrieved 2019, from https://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/topics/sexual_health/sh_definitions/en/.

WHO
    2019 Gender. Retrieved 2020, from https://www.who.int/gender-equity-
        rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/.

China's Three Gorges Dam: Development, Displacement, and Degradation

Trent M. Carney
School of Global Integrative Studies, UNL, Lincoln, NE, USA
tcarney@huskers.unl.edu

Abstract: *China's state-led push towards modernization and enhanced economic growth has been marked by environmentally unsustainable practices, the results of which are still being combated today (Sapiro 2001). The construction of the Three Gorges Dam on the Yangtze River in Hubei province, China, represents the largest civil engineering project of the modern era. The dam is capable of generating one-sixth of China's total electrical capacity; however, China's attempts to go green come at a substantial cost. (Gleick 2009; Morgan & Waretini 2013; Paerl et al. 2011; Xu et al. 2013). Some of these consequences include increased geologic activity: the forced resettlement of impacted populations, threats to endangered species and fragile regional ecosystems due to altered river currents, sediment flow rates, and the development of dangerous algae blooms (Gleick 2009; Jackson and Sleigh 2000; Li et al. 2014; New and Xie 2008; Paerl et al. 2011; Park et al. 2003; Tan, 2008; Xu et al. 2013). The process of developing publicly accessible environmental impact statements should be more transparent and democratic with a stronger focus on sustainability. This would necessitate the thorough investigation of local demographics, environmental thresholds, biodiversity, and ecosystem interconnectivity.*

Introduction

The construction of China's Three Gorges Dam represents the accumulation of years of effort by Chinese officials to conquer the river that has been hailed as the cradle of Chinese civilization (Beattie 2002; Jackson & Sleigh 2000; Marks 2012a, 2012b; Murphey 1967; Normile 1997). Despite the symbolism and national prestige that comes as a result of such a massive edifice to human ingenuity, there are signs that this conquest has come at a heavy cost (Beattie 2002; Gleick 2009; Morgan & Waretini 2013; Xu et al. 2013). Moreover, this conquest over nature may not be nearly as complete as officials would have the locals, or the world, believe (Morgan & Waretini 2013; New and Xie 2008; Xu et al. 2013; Zhu et al. 2008). This writing serves to discuss the environmental and social impacts that have occurred throughout the development of the Three Gorges Project, the largest hydraulic project in the history of the world, and the issues that have been experienced in the region since its completion. After thorough elaboration of these issues, suggestions will be made as to how these detrimental impacts may be mitigated, if not at Three Gorges itself, then at future sites.

From its headwaters in the glaciers of the Tibetan Plateau, the Yangtze River flows 6,418 kilometers across the breadth of the Chinese mainland before discharging into the East China Sea (Morgan & Waretini 2013). A dam spanning the Yangtze has been the brainchild of Chinese statesmen, be they capitalist, or communist, for over 100 years (Beattie 2002; Gleick 2009).

However, the Chinese revolution in 1949 brought with it the introduction of communist thought and the Western concept of 'modes of production', of which nature represented the natural productive forces waiting to be tapped by social labor (Marx & Engles 1988). The Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party at the time was Mao Tse Tung. His interpretation of Marxist ideology was that nature could be harnessed and brought under the control of the people in order to further the industrialization and progress of the state (Shapiro 2001). Suddenly, the thousands of years of 'harmonic' cultivation, modification, and utilization of the environment had come to represent a glorious past in which the people of China had been harnessing the productive might of nature and turning it to their own purposes.

Many times, Mao's aggressive approach to land and resource management threw caution to the wind and ignored even the observable impacts his policies had on the environment; believing that man could control nature through science and technology (Shapiro 2001). The enactment and completion of massive public work projects, such as dams, was a way for the communist state to enact its control over both the environment and the populace. In the early years, the joint actions of the people rather than technological development, spearheaded China's struggle for modernization. By keeping both the peasantry and the military employed and mobilized, working on highly visible projects, the Chinese government exerted control and directive force over those individuals as well as the environment (Murphey 1967). These public work projects were portrayed as man's desperate battle against nature.

Development

This legacy of garnering governmental power and prestige though the construction of highly visible public works can be seen in the construction of the Three Gorges Dam. Construction on the project officially began on December 14, 1994 (Gleick 2009). It was lauded as a triumph of man over nature, which would protect over 50 million people from the frequently dangerous flooding that came with the seasonal monsoon rains (Beattie 2002; Xu et al. 2013). The Three Gorges Dam has been lauded for its its ability to produce an incredible amount of hydroelectric power. Most of China's electricity is powered by thermal power plants, which run on coal (Gleick 2009). In the years shortly after the dam became operational, between 2003 and 2010, the amount of hydroelectric power generated by the dam was comparative to 406.7 million tons of coal being fired (Xu et al. 2013). The amount of electrical power generated by the Three Gorges Dam is the equivalent of one-sixth of China's total electrical capacity (Morgan and Waretini 2013). While the monetary expenses for such an undertaking are staggering from a developmental standpoint, some estimates are as high as 60 billion dollars, it is the social, cultural, environmental, and ecological costs, rather than the economic ones that have many activists up in arms (Beattie 2002; Gleick 2009; Tan 2008; Xu et al. 2013).

Displacement

As of 2008, approximately 1.25 million people had been displaced as a result of the Three Gorges Project over a 16-year period; now that number is estimated to be over 1.3 million people (Xu et al. 2013). With the development of the Three Gorges reservoir, 1711 villages, 356 communes, 116 towns, and 20 cites were submerged under the rising waters of the reservoir (Jackson and Sleigh 2000; Tan 2008; Xu et al. 2013). Residents from three counties -Wanzhou,

21

Fengjie, and Yunyang- all within the Chongqing reservoir section were disproportionately affected (Xu et al. 2013). The process of resettlement of individuals from areas impacted by developments in the Three Gorges region has had implications on both the refugees and their host communities (Tan 2008). Economic uncertainty, separation, and social conflicts are some of the issues experienced by those who were resettled from the region around Three Gorges Dam (Jackson and Sleigh 2000).

The difficulties of incorporating such a large quantity of individuals, many of them destitute, into designated host localities is an ongoing issue that is only exacerbated by the ostracization of refugee populations by their host communities (Jackson and Sleigh 2000; Xu et al. 2013). This has been compounded by the development of disease, such as malaria and schistosomiasis, also known as snail fever, among many of the refugees as a result of their living conditions prior to relocation (Jackson and Sleigh 2000; Zhu 2008). Despite promises of compensation, land, and positions in their original trades for those who were resettled, it became clear that due to the environment's carrying capacity, they could not be resettled locally (Beattie 2002; Xu et al. 2013). The population of the Three Gorges area were resettled farther afield, with the farmland they were promised by the government being taken from the local population with whom they were expected to integrate (Gleick 2009). Caught in a flood of rising tensions, many resettled individuals felt as though they are left without any prospects in foreign locales. As a result, many of the refugees have attempted to return to the Yangtze region, but the 600-kilometer-long reservoir submerged roughly 34,000 hectares of agricultural land, leaving farmers without fields to work (Gleick 2009; Jackson and Sleigh 2000; Xu et al. 2013).

Degradation

With the completion of the Three Gorges Dam, the flow of sediment from the upper reaches of the Yangtze has been drastically diminished (Gleick 2009; Sun et al. 2012). The deposition of those sediments enriches farmland and local vegetation, which will have variable and adaptive responses to the reduction of these vital sediments over time (New and Xie 2008). The process of sedimentation also helps to maintain the fragile ecosystems in the lower Yangtze watershed and the East China Sea (Chen et al. 2010; Sun et al. 2012). The impact of these flow changes, of both sediment and water, can be seen in the relationship between the Yangtze River and Dongting Lake below the Three Gorges Dam (Sun et al. 2012). For the first time, sediments from the Yangtze are no longer being deposited in Dongting Lake. On the contrary, the sediments originally deposited in Lake Dongting are being siphoned downstream and back into the Yangtze due to changes in the Yangtze's flow (Chen et al. 2010; Gleick 2009; Sun et al. 2012). Recent and prolonged droughts in the area have been exacerbated by the changes in water flow and have therefore caused several major lakes in the region to be as low as 40% their traditional capacity (Sun et al. 2012).

These variations in water level have led to the development of stagnant, shallow pools that provide breeding grounds for the spread of various diseases due to the proliferation of parasites and their chosen hosts. In particular, the increased sedimentation and lowering water levels allows for the increased reproduction of snails such as the *oncomelania*, which can carry the parasitic flatworms that transmit schistosomiasis (Jackson and Sleigh 2000; Zhu 2008). Those same warm shallow water pockets also serve as prime breeding grounds for *plasmodium*

22

parasites, which when transmitted through a host, such as mosquitos, causes malaria (Miller et al. 1994). The risk of transmitting these parasites only increases so long as the negative impacts that the Three Gorges Dam has had on regional ecosystems continue to exist.

In opposition to the reduced sedimentation rate, the rate of erosion downstream from the dam has substantially increased (Chen et al. 2010).   Xu et al. (2013) provided information on the erosion rate of the Yangtze, which totaled 108.8 million cubic meters over an eight-year period from October of 2002 to the same month in 2010. These embankment collapses and landslides have caused damage to businesses, homes, farmland, personal property, and resulted in the loss of human life (Gleick 2009; Wang et al. 2004; Xu et al. 2013). One example of this was the Qianjiangping landslide, which occurred on July 14, 2003, the day before the reservoir reached 135 meters in depth (Gleick 2009; Wang et al. 2004). Wang et al. (2004), states that 14 people lost their lives and 10 were listed as missing when 24 million cubic meters of rock and earth blocked the flow of the Qunggan River, a tributary to the Yangtze. While the final collapse was a result of the water level change, it was determined that the bank had been alarmingly weak prior to the rising water levels (Wang et al. 2004). Situations like this point to the dam having further unforeseen impacts on an already-fragile region (Gleick 2009; Xu et al. 2013).

As discussed above, the changes in water flow rates and duration have had an impact on the sedimentation and erosion of the banks and channels of the Yangtze (Sun et al. 2012; Wang et al. 2004). These changes have impacted the topographic make-up of the region, but the sheer weight of the nearly forty million cubic meters of water being held back by the flood gates of the Three Gorges Dam has had another impact: an increase in seismic activity (Gleick 2009; Institution of Civil Engineers 1981; Li et al. 2005; Xu et al. 2013). Although there has been a significant increase in the number of seismic events in the region, the quakes in the immediate vicinity of the Dam have not exceeded a five on the Richter scale, which measures the strength of earthquakes (Gleick 2009; Xu et al. 2013) This falls in line with the anticipated outcomes laid out in the initial 1992 environmental impact statement produced for the project, and is still within a level that the structure of the dam can withstand (Li et al. 2005; Xu et al. 2013). However, as time goes on, the increased strain constantly placed on the Earth's crust in the areas now inundated by the reservoir, seismic events could exceed initial estimates, not only in frequency, but in magnitude.

Rapid acceleration in the deposition of nutrients and other materials from industrial waste, agricultural runoff, and seismic activity along the Yangtze, coupled with decreasing water flow rates has resulted in eutrophic conditions and algae blooms in the region (Gleick 2009; Li et al. 2014; Paerl et al. 2011; Xu et al. 2013). The pollution of the reservoir is not just limited to industrial and agricultural runoff; according to Gleick (2009), the city of Chongqing dumps an average of nearly one billion tons of untreated wastewater into the reservoir each year. Water quality and potability is a primary concern for those inhabitants who were not displaced by the formation of the reservoir (Paerl et al. 2011; Xu et al. 2013). Eutrophication has occurred in Xiangxi River, a major tributary to the Yangtze, and other major bodies of water in the region such as Lake Taihu near the Yangtze River Delta (Li et al. 2014; Paerl et al. 2011; Xu et al. 2013). These adverse conditions pose risks not only to the region's human inhabitants, but to local flora and fauna as well.

23

The Yangtze is home to 350 fish species, accounting for 36% of all freshwater fish species in China. As such, represents a crucial area for fish habitat and overall biodiversity (Gleick 2009; Park et al. 2003). The Three Gorges Dam is detrimental to the freshwater ecosystems of the upper and lower Yangtze because it prevents anadromous fish from reaching their spawning grounds and, in turn, prevents them from returning to the sea (Park et al. 2003). By altering the main channel of the Yangtze River, the Three Gorges Dam is the cause of habitat loss for endangered fresh water aquatic species like the Chinese Dolphin and Yangtze Sturgeon (Park et al. 2003; Sun et al. 2012). Not only endangered local fish, but also migratory bird populations rely heavily on the ecosystems of the lakes and wetlands of the Yangtze Basin to survive and reproduce (Gleick 2009; New and Xie 2008; Park et al. 2003; Sun et al.2012; Xu et al. 2013).

Conclusion

Although many of the potential long-term impacts of the Three Gorges Dam are unknown, they will likely unfold over the coming decades (Chen et al. 2010; Gleick 2009; Xu et al. 2013). Attention to the impacts that the dam has on the natural environment should be coupled with further scientific investigations throughout the coming years to ensure that any developing issues can be swiftly identified, and their impacts mitigated whenever possible. Particular attention should be paid to the impact the Three Gorges Dam has had on the quality of life for local inhabitants and dangers presented to wildlife in the region such as endangered aquatic and wetland species in the Yangtze River Watershed (Park et al. 2003; Sun et al. 2012; Xu et al. 2013). As the impacts of the Three Gorges project on fragile local and regional environments have not been fully realized, the identification of developing issues is of paramount importance. The increasing concern over human rights violations related to the relocation and the well-being of the inhabitants who were not relocated need to be addressed.

While the impacts of the Three Gorges Dam will continue to be felt for years to come, it offers information on how to adjust other projects, which are still in their planning stages or have not yet been put onto paper. By improving our understanding of the impacts that large development projects like Three Gorges have on their local and regional environments, we can adapt other projects to account for some of these issues (Xu et al. 2013). For example, the initial environmental impact statement for Three Gorges Dam did not account for individuals who lived on islands within the region the reservoir impounded and as a result their anticipated expenditure and resettlement calculations were inaccurate (Xu et al. 2013). More thorough investigation of the local demographics, settlement patterns, and overall biodiversity are crucial to the development of not only adequate, but accurate environmental impact assessments. As Beattie (2002) reminds us, if development project managers and government officials provide assurances of a peaceful and happy life, free of poverty, then they should have the foresight and scientific backing to support those claims before breaking ground on a project of such magnitude.

References Cited

Beattie, James
    2002 Dam Building, Dissent, and Development: The Emergence of the Three Gorges Project.
        New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies 4:138-158.

Chen, Zhongyuan, Zhanghua Wang, Brian Finlayson, Jing Chen, and Daowei Yin
    2010 Implications of Flow Control by the Three Gorges Dam on Sediment and Channel
    Dynamics of the Middle Yangtze (Changjiang) River, China. *Geology* 38:1043–1046.

Edmonds, Richard L.
    1991 The Sanxia (Three Gorges) Project: The Environmental Argument Surrounding China's
    Super Dam. *Global Ecology and Biogeography Letters* 1:105-125.

Gleick, Peter H.
    2009 Three Gorges Dam Project, Yangtze River, China. In *The World's Water 2008-2009:
    The Biennial Report on Freshwater Resources*, edited by Peter H. Gleick, pp.139-150.
    Island Press, Washington, District of Columbia.

Institution of Civil Engineers [ICE].
    1981 Dams and Earthquake. *Proceedings of a Conference at the Institution of Civil Engineers*,
    Thomas Telford Ltd, London.

Jackson, Sukhan, and Adrian Sleigh
    2000 Resettlement for China's Three Gorges Dam: Socio-economic Impact and Institutional
    Tensions. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 33:223–241.

Li Hong-Mei, Hong-Jie Tang, Xiao-Yong Shi, Chuan-Song Zhang, and Xiu-Lin Wang
    2014 Increased Nutrient Loads from the Changjiang (Yangtze) River Have Led to Increased
    Harmful Algal Blooms. *Harmful Algae* 39:92-101.

Li Qiusheng., Li Zhengnong., Li Guiqing., Meng J.F., and Jie Tang
    2005 Experimental and Numerical Seismic Investigations of the Three Gorges Dam.
    Engineering Structures 27:501–513.

Marks, Robert B.
    2012a *China: Its Environment and History*. The Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland.

Marks, Robert B.
    2012b Chinese Communists and The Environment. In *Radicalism, Revolution and Reform in
    Modern China*, edited by Lynch, C., Marks, R. B., and Pickowicz, P. G., pp.105-132. The
    Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engles
    1888 [1848] Manifesto of the Communist Party. In *Marx/Engels Selected Works, Vol. One.*
    Translated by Moore Samuel and Freidrich Engles, pp. 98-137. Progress Publishers,
    Moscow.

Miller Louis H., Michael F. Good, and Genevieve Milon
    1994 Malaria Pathogenesis, *Science* 264:1878-1883.

Morgan, Kepa, and Amaria F. Waretini
    2013 The Yangtze River: Hydro Development, Changing Geography, Cultural and
        Environmental Implications. In *Yangtze River*. Edited by Tracy B. Maloney, Boyce R.
        Hutchins. Nova Science, Hauppauge, New York.

Murphey, Rhoads
    1967 Man and Nature in China. *Modern Asian Studies,* 1:313-333.

New, Thomas and Zongqiang Xie
    2008 Impacts of Large Dams on Riparian Vegetation: Applying Global Experience to the Case
        of China's Three Gorges Dam. *Biodiversity and Conservation, 17,* 3149–3163.

Normile, Dennis
    1997 Yangtze Seen as Earliest Rice Site, *Science, New Series* 275:309.

Paerl, Hans W., Hai Xu, Mark J. McCarthy, Guangwei Zhu, Boqiang Qin, Yiping Li, and Wayne
S. Gardner
    2011 Controlling Harmful Cyanobacterial Blooms in a Hyper-eutrophic Lake (Lake Taihu,
        China): The Need for a Dual Nutrient Management Strategy. *Water Research* 45:1973 -
        1983.

Park, Young S., Jianbo Chang, Sovan Lek, Wenxuan Cao, and Sebastien Brosse
    2003 Conservation Strategies for Endemic Fish Species Threatened by the Three Gorges Dam.
        Conservation Biology 17:1748–1758.

Shapiro, Judith
    2001 *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*.
        Cambridge University Press, New York.

Sun, Zhandong, Qun Huang, Christian Opp, Thomas Hennig, and Ulf Marold
    2012 Impacts and Implications of Major Changes Caused by the Three Gorges Dam in the
        Middle Reaches of the Yangtze River, China. *Water Resources Management* 26:3367–
        3378.

Tan, Yan
    2008 *Resettlement in the Three Gorges Project*. Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong.

Wang, F. Zhang, Y., Huo, Z., Matsumoto, T., and Huang B.
    2004 The July 14, 2003 Qianjiangping Landslide, Three Gorges Reservoir, China. *Landslides*
        1:157–162.

Xu, Xibao, Yan Tan, and Guishan Yang,
    2013 Environmental Impact Assessments of the Three Gorges Project in China: Issues and
        Interventions, *Earth-Science Reviews* 124:115-125.

Zhu, Huai-Min, Shou Xiang, Kun Yang, Xiao-Hua Wu, and Xiao-Nong Zhou
   2008 Three Gorges Dam and Its Impact on the Potential Transmission of Schistosomiasis in
      Regions Along the Yangtze River. *EcoHe*

Who Counts as a Citizen? Toward an Interdisciplinary Understanding of Statelessness

Cole S. Kovarik
School of Global Integrative Studies, UNL, Lincoln, NE, USA
cole.kovarik@gmail.com

Abstract: *This paper highlights several limitations of the dominant legal framework for addressing statelessness and incorporates sociological understandings of citizenship and nationality into a revised approach to the issue. The analysis examines various national group dynamics surrounding the issue of statelessness for the Rohingya of Myanmar and concludes that legal citizenship status is neither the sole cause of nor the sole solution for the crisis that has emerged. It concludes with an assessment of the social dynamics that lead to statelessness and recommendations for future research.*

Introduction

International actors are becoming increasingly aware of a dilemma that long-standing institutions promoting the maintenance and expansion of human rights face: they are not all-inclusive. International human rights law and its instruments are not dependent upon the individual but rather on the state, which is, in turn, obligated to extend those protections to its citizens. Political theorists, then, have observed somewhat of a paradox in human rights mechanisms, in that empirically, they are not 'human-centered' as much as they are 'citizen-centered.' This observation, in a world where not every individual possesses legal citizenship status, led political theorist and Jewish survivor of Nazi Germany Hannah Arendt to famously define citizenship as "the right to have rights," underlining the lack of protections to which non-citizens are subject (Arendt 1966).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has detailed the problems non-citizens, or stateless persons. The High Commissioner reports they are often "excluded from cradle to grave—being denied a legal identity when they are born, access to education, health care, marriage and job opportunities during their lifetime and even the dignity of an official burial and a death certificate when they die" ("Ending Statelessness Within 10 Years" 2014:2). An estimated 4.2 million people are stateless today, and nearly 70,000 children are born into statelessness each year; in 2017, however, only 56,500 stateless people acquired citizenship, meaning that the size of the stateless population is continually growing (Institute of Statelessness and Inclusion 2018a, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2020a).

The United Nations defines a stateless person as "a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law" ("Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons" 1954:6). The condition of being stateless—statelessness—is an infringement of international human rights standards, violating the basic human right to a nationality laid out

in Article 15(1) of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights ("Universal Declaration of Human Rights" 1948:4). The international community formally recognized the issue of statelessness with the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons. More recently, the UNHCR launched a campaign to eradicate statelessness by 2024 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2014). The dominant understanding of statelessness, primarily influenced by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, relies on its legal conception in the 1954 Convention: the condition of not being a national of any country. The overwhelming approach to ending statelessness, therefore, has been focused on states acceding to UN statelessness conventions and revising discriminatory policies and nationality laws to create a world where every person is considered a legal national of some country (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; Belton 2011; de Groot and Vonk 2012; Howard 2016).

These approaches to understanding and explaining statelessness as a condition emphasize the possession—or lack thereof—of legal nationality as a determinant of one's access to international legal protections. This point of departure produces state-centered political and legal recommendations to mitigate the problem, mainly the more rigorous development of international standards for nationality laws (de Groot and Vonk 2012; Howard 2016) and improved refugee resettlement practices (Kingston 2016). While these contributions are essential to any multilateral attempt to mitigate the issue, the legalistic approach to statelessness from which they depart is inherently limited. It does not consider the social processes that influence ideas of nationhood and thus citizenship in its legal definition. Scholars such as Sköld have posited that sociological understandings of nationality and citizenship should supplement their legal counterparts to create more nuanced frameworks for addressing statelessness, arguing that even "the idea of being 'full citizen' is not synonymous with acquiring a formal legal status" in the field of citizenship studies (2019:221).

This paper seeks to contribute to a growing number of works that argue for more nuanced frameworks for understanding statelessness beyond its legal definition. First, this article will outline the dominant legal understanding of statelessness and highlight gaps in the field. Second, this paper will explain how literature in the field of sociology can serve to fill in gaps in the legal understanding of statelessness, ultimately using Theiss-Morse's Social Theory of National Identity to exemplify a sociological understanding of the issue (Theiss-Morse 2009). The article will conclude with a case study of stateless Rohingya of Myanmar, applying social theory of national identity to offer a more nuanced picture of statelessness. This work seeks to demonstrate that the dominant legal framework for statelessness must be supplemented by an interdisciplinary approach in order to address the complexities of the issue.

Problematizing the Dominant Legal Understanding of Statelessness

Overview of the Dominant Legal Approach to Statelessness

The dominant understanding of statelessness within the field emphasizes the possession—or lack thereof—of legal nationality as the determinant of one's access to international legal protections. This approach is conceptually informed by the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons definition of a stateless person as "a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law" ("Convention Relating to

the Status of Stateless Persons" 1954, 6). Dominant literature regarding statelessness differentiates a person who is *de facto* stateless from a person who is *de jure* stateless. The former refers to a person who is "outside the State of their nationality and lacking in that State's protection" (Massey 2010:26). In other words, *de facto* statelessness describes a condition where a person has a legal nationality, but their nationality is ineffective in that they are unprotected by their respective state. The latter distinction, on which most scholarship and advocacy related to statelessness focus, refers to the condition of statelessness as described in the 1954 Convention; therefore, a person who is *de jure* stateless is not considered as a national by any State. Consequently, the dominant literature on statelessness identifies the lack of state-sponsored identity as the root cause of the negative impacts of statelessness, thus maintaining the issue within the sphere of international law.

Scholars and organizations that study and work with the issue of statelessness incorporate its legal understanding into recommendations for the international community. Accordingly, four common recommendations informed by the legal approach can be observed in the literature. This overview of recommendations is not exhaustive but provides current context regarding the prominent ideas in the field. First, the United Nations, in particular, advocates for states to accede to the statelessness conventions, which require the nullification of discriminatory nationality laws and the introduction of processes to ensure individuals are not rendered stateless (United Nations 1954, United Nations 1961, United Nations 2014). Second, scholars and other international organizations that work within the field, such as the Institute for Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI), advocate setting international standards for procedures to determine whether an individual is stateless and introducing changes to domestic nationality laws per the UN conventions ("Addressing Statelessness in Europe's Refugee Response" 2018; Howard 2016:312).

Third, a number of actors also advocate building capacity for citizenship registries by improving data collection, monitoring, and reporting to be able to better identify and break the cycle of statelessness (Shaheen 2018:15; "Addressing Statelessness in Europe's Refugee Response" 2018:18). Lastly, scholars have observed that formerly stateless individuals still face barriers to fully enjoying their rights after acquiring citizenship. Such as a lack of educational opportunities and obstacles in gaining reliable employment, and, noting that these issues are also associated with refugee resettlement, recommend improved refugee resettlement policies (Kingston 2016:402). Thus, the overwhelming discourse on statelessness advocates for mechanisms to ensure every individual's possession of formal citizenship—or at least some sort of formal residency status—as the solution to statelessness.

Limitations of the Dominant Legal Approach to Statelessness

Legal scholarship has made significant progress in identifying and offering solutions to statelessness, but law alone cannot account for the complexities of the problem. The legal understanding of citizenship acquisition as a solution to the negative impacts of statelessness is only practical if citizenship also entails automatic access to inclusion and rights. However, the very concept of *de facto* statelessness—holding legal nationality without being protected by the respective nation—illustrates the limitations of formal citizenship; enjoying the full privileges and protections of a state is not tantamount to possessing formal legal status there.

30

Along this line of thought, Kingston introduces a concept of 'functioning citizenship' to approach statelessness, according to which full citizenship, or 'functioning citizenship', "requires an active and mutually-beneficial relationship between the state and the individual" (Kingston 2014:127). Kingston conceptualizes the rights and privileges associated with citizenship as existing along a spectrum and, in doing so, demonstrates that while the importance of formal citizenship status should not be diminished in conversations about statelessness, the functionality of that status is what ultimately determines human rights outcomes. This notion of statelessness, then, centers not only on ensuring every individual's possession of legal citizenship but also fundamentally on ensuring the functionality of that status.

Statelessness and the International State System

A key aspect of any legal framework for understanding statelessness is its dependence upon the modern international state system. Influenced by Hannah Arendt's reflections in "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," statelessness is typically approached as a paradox of the modern international state system, in which nation-states possess the sovereign right to define the boundaries of who is and who is not considered a national (Arendt 1966:267). Although Arendt recognizes this fallacy, she and most actors within the field propose that its solution lies within that same system through citizenship acquisition, as demonstrated above. Gabiam, on the other hand, views statelessness as caused by "a political order built on the false assumption that the entirety of the world population can be neatly divided into sovereign nation-states consisting of citizens" (Gabiam 2015:486).

Problematizing the contemporary political world order generates an altered set of implications for considering the problem of statelessness. Gabiam differentiates between a "stateless individual" and a "stateless people," referring to the former in its legal sense per the UNHCR definition, but distinguishing the latter as raising "issues about group identity, belonging, and legitimacy" in addition to its legal implications (Gabiam 2015:487). Gabiam exemplifies this distinction with an analysis of the Palestinian diaspora throughout Europe, noting that, while some members of the population may be stateless in the sense that they lack citizenship of any country, others may hold citizenship of some country that does not reflect their true national identity as Palestinian (487). Eliassi echoes this line of thought by exploring the experiences of Kurdish nationals residing in the states of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, where they are commonly treated as 'pseudo-citizens' due to state-sponsored constructions of unitary nationalist ideology and authoritative rule. In this light, although the Kurds within these states typically hold citizenship there, they are a 'stateless people,' in that they do not possess a state through which their Kurdish identity can be expressed and their rights effectively protected (Eliassi 2016:1404).

Similarly, Kingston notes that relying on the acquisition of legal nationality to mitigate statelessness forces groups that do not conform to the international state system to accept citizenship in exchange for the protection of their human rights (Kingston 2014:133). In this sense, minority groups such as the Kurds, many indigenous tribes throughout the world, and the Roma of Europe are coerced into accepting state-sponsored identities. The result of forcing such groups into cooperation with the international state system is a category of second-class 'partial

31

citizens' that are vulnerable to social marginalization and rights abuses because of their divergence from the idea of the typical citizen within their state (134).

The intention of this portion of the paper has been neither to detract from the importance of the common legal understandings of statelessness nor to understate the experiences of *de jure* stateless individuals, but rather to demonstrate that citizenship acquisition by itself is not likely to guarantee improved human rights outcomes for stateless individuals and stateless peoples. In order to fully understand the nuances of statelessness as a lived condition, the issue must be considered beyond the traditional legal framework and outside of the international state system. After all, the issue with stateless individuals is that they are without a state and, by extension, are without access to the protections of the law. Surely it would be insufficient to attempt to grasp an all-encompassing picture of exclusion from the international political order by only examining that exclusion from within it. The limitations of the dominant discourse surrounding statelessness necessitate a more nuanced understanding of the issue that allows for a critical consideration of international law and the system within which it exists. Sociology as a discipline lends itself very well to this aim.

The remainder of this paper seeks to address the aforementioned limitations of the legal approach to statelessness using contributions from the discipline of sociology. The next section will apply sociological ideas of nationality and citizenship to the topic of statelessness before exploring the implications of examining statelessness under Theiss-Morse's social theory of national identity. A case study of statelessness for the Rohingya of Myanmar will follow, applying both the legal and sociological concepts under scrutiny in this article.

Toward a Sociological Understanding of Statelessness

The Sociology of Citizenship and Nationality

One fundamental advantage of using a sociological lens to discuss statelessness is a more nuanced vocabulary for concepts related to the field, enabling a fuller picture to emerge. As demonstrated in the previous section, those who study statelessness within the dominant legal framework predominantly use the terms 'citizenship' and 'nationality' interchangeably, referring to the formal legal status of membership to a nation-state. In sociology, conversely, the literature differentiates between the two terms and explores the social aspects of each. Sociologists Schinkel and van Houdt define citizenship as "a state-regulated mechanism of inclusion and exclusion" and introduce concepts of "formal citizenship," or citizenship as formal legal status, and "moral citizenship," which refers to a societal concept of what a good citizen 'should be' (2010:697). Isin and Turner further deconstruct the concept of citizenship, contending that it is best explained as existing along three axes: "*extent* (rules and norms of inclusion and exclusion), *content* (rights and responsibilities) and *depth* (thickness and thinness [the extent to which citizenship reflects collective identity—a thick notion of citizenship—or a only formal legal status—a thin notion of citizenship])" are issues that orbit a sociological understanding of citizenship under their framework (2002:2). Considering citizenship from a sociological point of departure problematizes the notion that the lack of access to human rights protections associated with statelessness can be remedied by the universal granting of 'formal' or 'thin' citizenship

because many of the rights and privileges in question are not as much associated with legal citizenship status as they are with informal group inclusion.

The 'group' in this analysis refers to the concept of a nation-state, as the previous section laid out the nature by which the international human rights regime depends upon the international state structure for its implementation. In this context, it is fitting to discuss the concept of nation to better understand the processes through which membership status, or nationality, is determined. According to Miller, nations exist "when their members recognize one another as compatriots and believe that they share characteristics of the relevant kind" (1995:22). In this regard, Miller sees the existence of a nation as dependent upon a shared belief among its members that they constitute a national group. Similarly, Anderson defines the nation as an "imagined political community" that is imagined as both limited and sovereign (2006:5). It is imagined, Anderson explains, that no member of even the smallest nation will ever meet every co-national but will still acknowledge shared belonging to the community (6). The nation is limited, Anderson continues, because it has boundaries outside of which other nations exist, and it is sovereign because it governs itself (7). Thus, both Miller and Anderson understand the concepts of nation and, by extension, nationality largely as social phenomena that hinge on members' collective belief that they share a common 'national identity'. In this light, as Sköld contends, "it must be recognized that nation-states' criteria for citizenship are deeply reflective of their dominant understanding of nationhood and of who is included and excluded within this idea" (2019:219).

Sociological understandings of citizenship and nationality allow citizenship to be understood, then, as a mechanism through which dominant subgroups of a state can institutionalize their 'imagined' idea of who belongs within the national group. In other words, citizenship can be thought of as a tool for regulating a state's national identity. Approaching statelessness in this light, the stateless can be conceived as individuals who have been institutionally excluded from the international state system via exclusionary boundaries of national identity reflected in exclusionary national identity laws. Following this line of logic, statelessness is less an issue of a lack of citizenship and more an issue of exclusionary boundaries of national identity. The following subsection offers an in-depth exploration of this idea using Theiss-Morse's social theory of national identity.

A Social Theory of National Identity and Statelessness

In her book *Who Counts as an American? The Boundaries of National Identity*, Theiss-Morse, lays out a social theory for national identity to explain the processes that influence group members' attitudes and behaviors toward other group members. Theiss-Morse contends that the consequences of national identity can be understood by considering two group dynamics: the level of commitment to the group and the setting of group boundaries (2009:8). These dynamics, Theiss-Morse contends, supplemented by distinguished sets of group norms, explain much of national group behavior (8). This subsection will briefly summarize the two group dynamics that are central to Theiss-Morse's social theory of national identity in the context of statelessness.

33

Level of Commitment to the Group

National identity, Theiss-Morse explains, "like any social identity, is a continuum running from no sense of identity with the group to having the identity be fully and completely part of one's sense of self" (2009:10). Because membership to a national group is typically involuntary, meaning that the general path to citizenship is birth, individuals vary greatly in their attachment to the group. In contrast, groups that are entered on a voluntary basis most often demand higher commitment (10). Unlike other types of groups, however, the national group is constantly reinforced via symbols, language, culture and politics, making national identity especially potent for those that are highly committed (10). Strong identifying individuals are more likely to behave in a group-oriented manner and to hold and follow group norms (9). Likewise, they are motivated to feel good about their membership in the national group because of its centrality to their sense of self and will therefore be more likely to act to promote the group's well-being (9).

The factor of the level of commitment to the national group alone offers little to understand about statelessness. The fact that a person may be very attached or not at all attached to a national group does not explain why some groups of people are excluded from the international state system altogether. It is when this factor is combined with the setting of group boundaries that a picture of statelessness as a consequence of national identity begins to emerge.

The Setting of Group Boundaries

Drawing on Marilynn Brewer's optimal distinctiveness theory, Theiss-Morse states that individuals are drawn to fulfill two social needs: inclusion in a larger group and differentiation from others (2003; 2009:11). Membership in exclusive social groups satisfies both of these needs by allowing one to assimilate into a larger group that has defined terms of ingroup and outgroup members (Theiss-Morse 2009:11). From this perspective, the national group can satisfy these two needs with well-demarcated legal boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, which at times function well to distinguish the ingroup from the outgroup (11). Elaborating on this line of thought, Theiss-Morse explains:

> When an American tourist in Brazil runs into another American in
> a local bar, the shared citizenship can create a connection that sets
> the pair off from the surrounding Brazilians. But if Anderson
> (1991) is right that the national group is an imagined community,
> then legal citizenship may not be the deciding factor. We might
> agree that everyone with U.S. citizenship is an American, but some
> U.S. citizens might not be imagined in the national group [11].

In this regard, an individual may have full citizenship rights to a group, but may find themselves outside of the imagined national community.

The boundaries of the national community are dependent in part on the past, but can change over time, while the stereotypes that also define the group and its 'prototypical' members

34

are much more difficult to change (Theiss-Morse 2009:12). The difficulty in changing the defining stereotypes of a national group is owed to the fact that they are determined and maintained by the prototypical group members who most exemplify the group's defining stereotypes that distinguish it from other groups (12). Theiss-Morse explains that these stereotypes are so ingrained that prototypical group members often do not think about them, while marginalized members are constantly reminded that they belong to the group, but are not prototypical members of it (12). In this way, "marginalized group members are part of the group in the sense that they are group members, but they are not always treated as members of the group" (12). As such, the boundaries of national identity do not only differentiate the ingroup from the outgroup, but also define 'ideal' member characteristics and hierarchy within the group.

Those who are more strongly committed to the national group are most driven to set narrow boundaries for inclusion in it because of their motivation to promote group well-being (Theiss-Morse 2009:13). Because of this, Theiss-Morse argues, strong identifiers are not only more likely to hold a strict, ethnocultural understanding of the boundaries of a national community, distinguishing the ingroup from the outgroup along racial, ethnic, religious and linguistic lines, but are also more likely to set narrow boundaries of national identity in general (13).

Considering the relationship between the level of group commitment and the setting of group boundaries, along with the linkage between the latter and a group's prototypical members in the context of statelessness, raises interesting questions about the contexts surrounding stateless populations. However, to fully grasp Theiss-Morse's theory of national identity, it is appropriate to briefly explain norms in the group context.

Group Norms

Theiss-Morse describes group norms as "expectations that guide behaviors and attitudes of a social group" (2009:13). Those who strongly identify with the national group see group norms as important and follow them closely because those who do not follow group norms are considered deviants and are marginalized (14). All groups have norms, and many groups may share some similar norms, but the content of norms varies significantly from group to group (14).

Group Dynamics and Statelessness

By considering national identity in the context of social theory, the idea of what constitutes a given national group becomes a constantly evolving group 'consensus,' determined by the level of commitment, the setting of boundaries, and group norms at the individual and collective levels simultaneously. Under this framework, then, statelessness can be interpreted as an extreme consequence of national group dynamics. When a national group predominantly demonstrates a high commitment to national identity, its members will set more narrow boundaries for inclusion in that group. If, in the process of strengthening national identity, a subgroup is seen as deviating from the boundaries of the group or violating group norms, it can be 'unimagined' from the group, thus rendering it stateless. The following section illustrates this argument employing a case study of the stateless Rohingya of Myanmar.

35

Case study: Statelessness for the Rohingya of Myanmar

Background of the Rohingya Crisis

Myanmar (formerly Burma), made up of 135 constitutionally-recognized 'national races,' is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world (United Nations 2019). Formerly a British colony, the country had long been ruled by an oppressive military junta until 2010, when, under increasing domestic and international pressure, the regime began domestic political reforms and relinquished a portion of state power to a democratically-elected, military-backed civilian government (Akins 2018). The new regime, under military-backed President Thein Sein of the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), released political prisoners, began to permit peaceful demonstrations, and allowed the registration of new political parties as early steps of democratic experimentation (2018). In the country's first truly contested election of 2015, the opposing National League for Democracy (NLD), under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi—a Nobel Peace Prize laureate and the daughter of the 'father of Burmese independence'—, secured a parliamentary majority by a landslide (2015).

Despite these significant steps toward democracy, religious and ethnic minorities in Myanmar continue to be the targets of increasing communal and state-sponsored violence. Since the state's liberation from colonial rule in 1948, the government has pursued—to varying degrees—a Buddhist-nationalist rhetoric as a state-building strategy to achieve national stability (Akins 2018). The military regime currently sharing power with Aung San Suu of the NLD has historically persecuted the Muslim Rohingya ethnic minority that resides in the rural Western Rakhine State, having deprived them of citizenship status and rendering them stateless in 1982 in a claim that they were 'illegal Bengali immigrants' that entered the state during colonial rule (2018).

Following an attack on a border police post in October 2016, the Myanmar government dispatched troops to the Rohingya areas of Rakhine State to participate in a 'security lockdown' of the region. The 'security lockdown' resulted in the loss of civilian life, torture and other cruel punishment, forced labor, and sexual and gender-based violence, overwhelmingly targeting the Rohingya minority (United Nations 2019). By late 2017, more than 600,000 Rohingya had fled West across the Naf river into Bangladesh, where they now reside in Kutupalong, the world's largest refugee settlement (Refugees). The United Nations gathered evidence in a fact-finding mission and inferred "genocidal intent" in the actions of the Myanmar government, and Human Rights Watch has warned that the 600,000 Rohingya remaining in the region are at severe risk (United Nations 2019, United Nations 2020b). In 2018, the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion estimated that more than 1.5 million Rohingya remained stateless ("Statelessness in Numbers: 2018" 2018:1).

Commitment to Ethnic and National Identities in the Region

Before understanding the crisis as it is today, it is appropriate to briefly explore the historical cleavages that have existed between ethnic groups in Myanmar. Alam, through a historiographical methodology, develops a convincing argument that fissures between the majority Burman and the ethnic Rohingya minority originated in various practices and policies

implemented by the British during the period of colonization (2019:5). For example, the British used "the Village Act" to control the region, by which they divided Burma into the central areas where the ethnic Burman were concentrated, which were directly ruled by the British, and the rural, peripheral regions where the ethnic minorities resided, which were loosely and indirectly managed by village headmen as the lowest representatives of the Crown (6). This divide-and-rule strategy caused the erosion of centuries of myo-level social ties, which were the non-territorial ties between indigenous groups that served as traditional social controls, and resulted in mistrust between the rural minorities and the majority Burmans (6).

Moreover, in British census practices, Muslim minorities in the Arakan state—where most Rohingya historically resided—were recorded as either assimilated to the Burman majority group or as migrants belonging to the Indian race (6). In this way, the British fomented a classification system of nationals/indigenous and foreigners that "laid the foundations for the subsequent racialization of citizenship" (6). On top of that, the British historically preferred ethnic minorities to serve as soldiers in the British Burma Army, rarely allowing ethnic Burmese to enlist, even though they constituted 75 percent of the population (Akins 2018:233).

The ethnic minority soldiers were then used against the Burman majority to quell several rebellion movements, leading to further demonization of the ethnic minority populations by the Burmese (Akins 2018:233). Early nationalist movements, most of which were Burman, emerged largely in protest to British rule and the ethnic minorities that were perceived to disproportionately benefit from it (233). One Burmese nationalist group that formed in the 1930s was called "Our Burma Association," which opposed what members called "their Burma," employing the slogan, "Master race we are, we Burmans" (233). Thus, the social cleavages that define ethnic relations in Myanmar today are seen to have roots tracing back to the British conquest of the area from 1824 to 1885 and on to 1948. Considering this and applying social theory of national identity, the British administered differentiated policies for the various groups residing in the region, which in turn fueled Burmese nationalism, increasing commitment to the national group.

The Narrowing of Burman National Group Boundaries

Upon liberation from British rule in 1948, the dominant Burman majority continued with the nationalist trajectory that had been fomented during colonization. The country's first Prime Minister, U Nu, pursued Buddhist nationalism as a strategy to create national stability, declaring Buddhism to be the national religion but officially recognizing the status of the Rohingya and other ethnic minorities in the territory (Akins 2018:235). After 14 years of struggling to confront the rebellion of marginalized ethnic minorities and economic stagnation, however, the civilian government was overthrown by the Burmese Armed Forces in a coup d'etat led by General Ne Win (Alam 2019:6; Akins 2018:236). Ne Win continued with the Buddhist ethno-nationalist approach as a means to pursue national stability, renaming the country from Burma to Myanmar—a literary term for the Burmese ethnicity—and the Arakan State, which was the historic seat of the Arakan Empire with ties to ethnic Muslim groups in the territory, to Rakhine State after the Buddhist Rakhine ethnic minority that resided there (Alam 2019:9). This can be interpreted as a symbolic measure to create a nation that is religiously Buddhist and ethnically Burman, excluding those that fall outside of those boundaries.

37

Furthermore, under Ne Win's leadership, the military dictatorship formulated a constitution in 1974 that removed the Rohingya and several other Muslim minority groups from the list of nationally recognized ethnic minorities in a first step of setting more narrow boundaries for belonging in the country (Alam 2019:9). The new constitution was followed by Operation Naga Min, which was a military-led campaign to account for citizens and 'illegal immigrants' within the country (Akins 2018:238). When the operation reached Rohingya populated areas, "arbitrary arrests, desecration of mosques, destruction of villages, and confiscation of lands" resulted in the flight of nearly a quarter of a million Rohingya to neighboring Bangladesh in only three months (238).

Several years following, the regime passed the Citizenship Law of 1982, which revised nationality determination procedures, basing them on *jus sanguinis* principle, effectively preserving citizenship for those that had proven blood ties to the historically Buddhist ethnic groups (2018:238). It was the Citizenship Law that stripped the Rohingya of their legal status in the region, enabling the military regime to target them as 'illegal Bengali immigrants,' using brutal strategies of forced displacement and targeted mass killing to remove them from the territory (Zarnit and Cowleyt 2014:687).

These actions coincided with various Buddhist nationalist social movements led by political and religious elite in Myanmar. Various demonstrations against the Rohingya and other Muslims in the country have been linked to a social movement called Buddhist 969, which sees the presence of Muslims in the country as a threat to a Burman national identity based on the Buddhist faith (Akins 2018:241). The spiritual leader of the movement, a Buddhist monk named U Wirathu, said in a TIME magazine interview that Muslims, "are breeding so fast, and they are stealing our women, raping them […]. They would like to occupy our country, but I won't let them. We must keep Myanmar Buddhist" (Beech 2013).

Statelessness for the Rohingya and Social Theory of National Identity

Considering the colonial and post-colonial past of Myanmar in light of social theory of national identity reveals a history of group dynamics that have led to today's extreme exclusion of the population. British colonialism, by dividing Burma into two separate entities—the urban Burmese populated areas and the rural minority populated areas—for administrative purposes created two divergent experiences for the majority and minority populations. These divergent experiences resulted in a strong Burmese nationalist movement that perceived ethnic minorities to be outsiders and threats from the beginning. The nationalist movement was supplemented by a dichotomy that equated the indigenous with characteristics of the majority ethnic Burmese and determined deviants to be foreigners, in addition to the frequent use of troops consisting disproportionately of ethnic minority soldiers to quash rebellion movements by the majority Burmese. The rise of Burmese nationalist social movements in response to British colonial practices illustrates a collective increase in commitment to the national group that has persisted to today.

Following Burma's liberation from British colonial rule, the rise in Burmese nationalism was accompanied by an incremental narrowing of national group boundaries. The first sovereign

government of Burma recognized the Rohingya as citizens and as one of many indigenous ethnic 'nationalities' that had historically resided in the territory, despite actively pursuing Buddhist nationalism as a strategy to build national stability. However, the 1962 military coup represented a shift in the approach to ethnic minorities in the territory by instituting symbolic changes to reflect a nation that was exclusively Buddhist and Burman, despite its remarkable diversity. These symbolic changes were followed by the 1974 Constitution, which withdrew the official recognition of the Rohingya as an indigenous minority, and the 1982 Citizenship Law, which dispossessed the Rohingya of their citizenship status and limited citizenship qualification based largely on ties to ethnic majority groups. In hindsight, each of these actions constituted a legal reflection of the ongoing narrowing of national group boundaries, resulting in statelessness for the Rohingya minority.

The case of the Rohingya of Myanmar illustrates the complex social processes that precipitate a large population's exclusion from formal citizenship status within a country. Even during the period of 1948 to 1982, when the Rohingya had formal citizenship status, they were subject to severe human rights abuses due to extreme communal violence. They were also consistently the targets of state-sponsored violence, exemplified by Operation Naga Min. This underlines that, even historically, formal belonging to a national group did not prevent the severe human rights abuses to which we observe stateless populations to be more vulnerable today. The underlying cause of the negative human rights outcomes associated with the Rohingya of Myanmar has not been the exclusionary Citizenship Law of 1982, but rather an exclusionary understanding of who belongs in the 'imagined political community' of Myanmar.

Discussion

While a legal approach to statelessness is crucial for any organized effort to combat the issue, the dominant legal framework must be supplemented by an interdisciplinary approach in order to understand and address its underlying causes. The case of the Rohingya of Myanmar supports the argument that legal citizenship status is neither the sole cause nor the sole solution for the crisis that has emerged. Rather, by approaching the issue employing social theory of national identity, it becomes clear that the setting of increasingly exclusive national group boundaries over the course of many decades has resulted in the dispossession of both legal and social belonging to any state-sponsored group for the Muslim minority.

The growing consensus of genocidal intent by the state toward the Rohingya makes a future in their home Rakhine State ever more insecure. The approximated remaining 600,000 Rohingya in the borders of Myanmar must be protected from continued communal and state-sponsored violence, and an independent tribunal should hold perpetrators of violence accountable. These recommendations seem unlikely under the current government, as the same military regime that has been responsible for many violent actions toward ethnic minorities remains in power. Nevertheless, in order for the Rohingya to return to Myanmar and enjoy their full rights as citizens, not only must their legal citizenship status be reinstated, but the state-sponsored Buddhist nationalist ideology must be supplanted by an inclusive idea of who belongs in the national group—a 'Burman national' must be socially redefined to include the ethnic minorities that have historically inhabited the territory.

Conceptualizing statelessness as a consequence of national identity also produces creative approaches for its solution. Theiss-Morse proposes that the negative effects of national identity can be mitigated by changing the stereotypes and norms of the national group to include those that have been marginalized (Theiss-Morse 2009:180-183). These approaches are admittedly limited in that they entail social processes that lag generations in producing observable outcomes, but, understanding the atrocious paths that narrow ideas of national group belonging can take, it is necessary to assess and address exclusionary nationalist social movements before they take hold. An arguably determining factor leading to the Rohingya crisis was the adoption of a Buddhist nationalist ideology by the government from its independence in 1948. Had the political elite pursued a more inclusive strategy of nation-building from the state's conception, very different outcomes may have emerged. Ultimately, as Theiss-Morse observes, "the solution that could possibly work attempts to break down the setting of exclusive boundaries while keeping intact the sense of community that leads to good group outcomes" (Theiss-Morse 2009:183), suggesting that civil society involvement could be a promising strategy.

There is also much to understand about the multiplicity of the facets of statelessness. From a sociological perspective, it is fitting to ask: when is national identity likely to become exclusionary? The case study employed in this work indicates that state-sponsored, ethno-nationalist ideology can be employed as a strategy of state-building when a regime attempts to consolidate its power, and similar instances have been recorded by other scholars (Chakma 2010; Mulaj 2007; Preece 1998). But under what other conditions do the boundaries of national identity become so narrow so as to render a group of people *de facto* or *de jure* stateless? Along this line of inquiry, it must also be understood how society and politics interact to determine the boundaries of national identity. How can the political elite leverage group dynamics achieve their most ambitious political goals? Such gaps in the current understanding of statelessness indicate the valuable perspectives that sociology and political science offer.

In addition to sociology and political science, however, it holds true that a historical approach to instances of statelessness is necessary to understand their causes and, because of the role of norms in national group dynamics, it is appropriate to suppose that anthropology as a discipline has much to offer to the current understanding of nation-state belonging. In this regard, an interdisciplinary statelessness framework is necessitated.

The postwar construction of the international human rights regime, along with its dependency upon the modern international state system, was arguably one of the most impressive cases of international collaboration in history. Statelessness, however, constitutes a formidable barrier to its effective realization. By better understanding the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that regulate who is included in state-sponsored national groups, the international community can work to devise a pathway to ensuring the universality of human rights.

References Cited

Akins, Harrison
   2018 The Two Faces of Democratization in Myanmar: A Case Study of the Rohingya and
      Burmese Nationalism. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 38(2):229–245.
      DOI:10.1080/13602004.2018.1475619.

Alam, Jobair
2019 The Current Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar in Historical Perspective. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 39(1):1–25. DOI:10.1080/13602004.2019.1575560.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G
2006 *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* Rev. ed. Verso, London; New York.

Arendt, Hannah
1966 *The Origins of Totalitarianism.* Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.

Beech, Hannah
2013 The Face of Buddhist Terror. *TIME Magazine*, July 1, 2013.

Belton, Kristy A
2011 The neglected non-citizen: statelessness and liberal political theory. *Journal of Global Ethics* 7(1):14.

Brewer, Marilynn
2003 *Intergroup Relations.* 2nd ed. Open University Press, Buckingham.

Chakma, Bhumitra
2010 The post-colonial state and minorities: ethnocide in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 48(3):281–300. DOI:10.1080/14662043.2010.489746.

Eliassi, Barzoo
2016 Statelessness in a world of nation-states: the cases of Kurdish diasporas in Sweden and the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(9):1403–1419. DOI:10.1080/1369183X.2016.1162091.

Gabiam, Nell
2015 Citizenship and Development: Palestinians in France and the Multiple Meanings of Statelessness. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 50(4):479–499. DOI:10.1007/s12116-015-9196-0.

de Groot, Rene, and Olivier Vonk
2012 Nationality, Statelessness and ECHR's Article 8: Comments on Genovese v. Malta. *European Journal of Migration and Law*:10.

Howard, David M
2016 Analyzing the Causes of Statelessness in Syrian Refugee Children. *Texas International Law Journal*:33.

41

Human Rights Watch
    2020 Myanmar: Rohingya Await Justice, Safe Return 3 Years On.
    https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/08/24/myanmar-rohingya-await-justice-safe-return-3-years,
    accessed November 20, 2020.

Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion
    2018a *Statelessness in Numbers: 2018*.
    2018b *Addressing statelessness in Europe's refugee response*. Stateless Journeys.

Isin, Engin F., and Bryan S. Turner
    2002 *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.

Kingston, Lindsey N
    2014 Statelessness as a Lack of Functioning Citizenship. *Tilburg Law Review* 19(1–2):127–
    135. DOI:10.1163/22112596-01902013.
    2016 Recovering from statelessness: Resettled Bhutanese-Nepali and Karen refugees reflect
    on the lack of legal nationality. *Journal of Human Rights*:19.

Massey, Hugh
    2010 *UNHCR and De Facto Statelessness*. UN Legal and Protection Policy Research Series.
    United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Miller, David
    1995 *On Nationality*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Mulaj, Klejda
    2007 Ethnic Cleansing and the Provision of In/Security. *Security Dialogue* 38(3):335–356.
    DOI:10.1177/0967010607081515.

Preece, Jennifer Jackson
    1998 Ethnic Cleansing as an Instrument of Nation-State Creation: Changing State Practices
    and Evolving Legal Norms. *Human Rights Quarterly* 20(4):26.

Schinkel, Willem, and Friso Van Houdt
    2010 The double helix of cultural assimilationism and neo-liberalism: citizenship in
    contemporary governmentality: The double helix of cultural assimilationism and neo-
    liberalism. *The British Journal of Sociology* 61(4):696–715. DOI:10.1111/j.1468-
    4446.2010.01337.x.

Shaheen, Neda
    2018 Discriminatory Nationality Laws Must be Eliminated in order to Eradicate
    Statelessness. *DePaul Journal for Social Justice* 11(2):18.

Sköld, Nannie
    2019 Mapping a Sociology of Statelessness. *Tilburg Law Review* 24(2):217.
    DOI:10.5334/tilr.155.

Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth
    2009 *Who Counts as an American? The Boundaries of National Identity*. Cambridge
        University Press.

United Nations
    1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. United Nations General Assembly.
    1954 *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons*. Treaty Series. United Nations,
        New York.
    1961 *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*. Treaty Series. United Nations, New York.
    2014 *Ending Statelessness Within 10 Years*. United Nations High
        Commissioner for Refugees.
    2019 *Detailed findings of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar*.
        United Nations Human Rights Council.
    2020 *Figures at a Glance*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
        https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/figures-at-a-glance.html
    n.d*. Ending Statelessness*. The United Nations. https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/ending-
        statelessness.html.
    2020 b Rohingya emergency. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*.
        https://www.unhcr.org/rohingya-
        emergency.html, accessed November 18, 2020.

Zarnit, Maung, and Alice Cowley
    2014 The Slow-Burning Genocide of Myanmar's Rohingya. *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Joural*
        23(3):73.

Explanations for Brazil's Inequality Reduction From 1989 to 2015

José N. Cabrera-Schneider
Latin American Studies, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, USA
jcabreraschneider@tulane.edu

Abstract: *Latin America has been known for its persistent inequality, and the explanations of its origin vary greatly. However, in recent years (the 1990s to early 2010s) inequality in Latin America decreased significantly. In this paper, I focus on the inequality trends in Brazil to look for particular drivers that reduce inequality. Among the essential drivers are education; a reduction in the income gaps between gender, race, geography, and formality; and types of income, such as income from labor or income from conditional cash transfers. However, the effect of the drivers is not always the same, especially for education.*

Introduction

Latin America has been known for its persistent inequality, but the explanations for its causes differ significantly. Engerman and Sokoloff (1994) suggest that natural resources in an area lead to the attraction of colonialists around 1800. Also, De Ferranti et al. (2004) indicate that natural resources and the power structures that are form to extract those natural resources are part of the explanation of inequality since circa 1800. Acemoglu et al. (2002) present the idea that the power structures established during the colonialization period are part of the explanation of the current levels of inequality in Latin America. Furthermore, Armendáriz and Larrain (2017) synthesize the argument that the legal structures established in the post-colonial period influence the level of inequality in the countries. Others, like, Coatsworth (2008), say that the inequality in Latin America has a later arrival, and the lack of adaptation to the new industrial era was its cause. Williamson (2015) suggests that Latin America missed its opportunity in the "great leveling event" that happened worldwide starting in 1870. This collection of studies exemplifies how multifaceted and complex are the explanations for the inequality in Latin America.
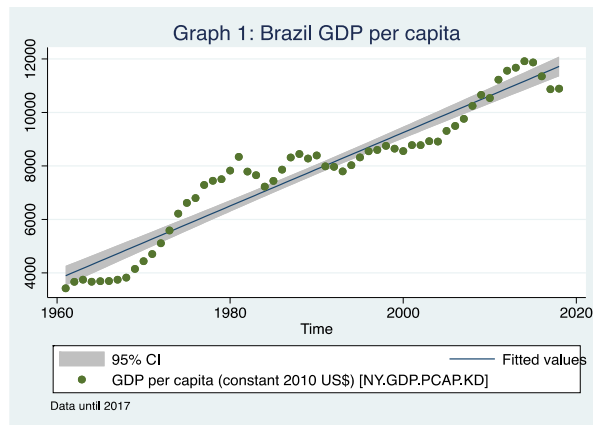
Moreover, they have contributed to maintaining the idea that inequality in Latin America is consistently high. However, in recent decades the inequality has decreased in Latin America (Cornia 2015; Lustig et al. 2013a). This paper will focus on the recent trends in inequality in Brazil from 1989 to 2015. This paper is a literature review that looks for explanations for the reduction of economic inequality in Brazil.

A brief intro to Brazil's economy and population

Brazil's GDP is the largest in Latin America going from 425 billion in 1989 to 2.4 trillion in 2014 (both in current US $). The gross national income per capita has grown from 2760 to 10190 (current US$) from 1989 to 2015. Other countries with similar gross national income per capita in Latin America (sans the Caribbean region) are Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Argentina. Brazil's population has increased by about 58 million people from 1989 to 2015,

reaching 204 million in 2015. Life expectancy was 75 years in 2015 an improvement of 9 years from 1989 (The World Bank data accessed 2020).
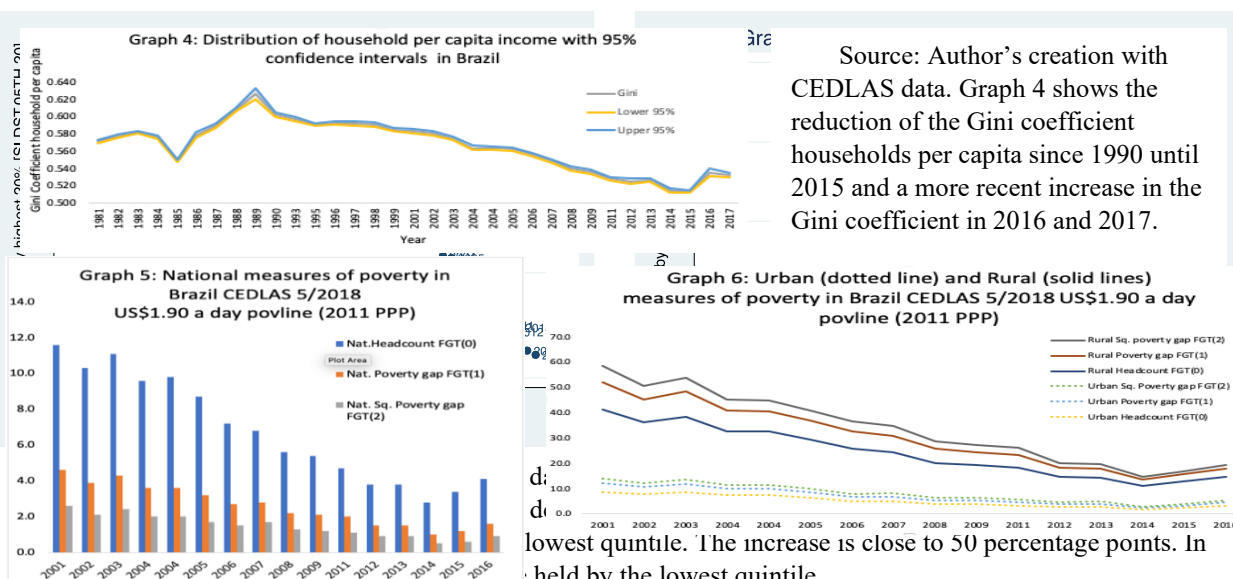
Evolution and main determinants of inequality and poverty in Brazil

Graph 1 shows that Brazil's GDP per capita has been increasing since 1960. Furthermore, the share of the income held by the richest quintile has decreased by almost 10 % (Graph 2). Similarly, the share of income held by the poorest quintile has increased by 50 % (Graph 3). These changes in income accumulation are reflected in the household per capita Gini coefficient, which has seen a decline by more than 10 points from 63.3 in 1989 to 51.3 in 2015 (Graph 4). However, in the last four years, there has been a reversal on this trend, the Gini has increased to 53.9. Poverty measures, at a national level, and in rural and urban areas (Graph 5 and 6) follow the Gini pattern of dramatic decline with an increase in the most recent years. Among the explanations present in the literature Ferreira, Leite, and Litchfield (2008) point to four potential explanations of the decline: 1) A reduction in the returns from education; 2) a reduction in the income difference

Source: Author's creation with data of the World Bank. Graph 1 includes 95% confidence intervals in gray. In the last years of the graph there is a decline in the GDP per capita.

Source: Author's creation with CEDLAS data. Graph 4 shows the reduction of the Gini coefficient households per capita since 1990 until 2015 and a more recent increase in the Gini coefficient in 2016 and 2017.

lowest quintile. The increase is close to 50 percentage points. In held by the lowest quintile.

Source: Author's creation with data from CEDLAS. Graph 5 is the national level poverty measurements. Graph 6 is the urban and rural poverty measurements in Brazil from 2001 to 2016. Both graphs follow similar pattern as the Gini coefficient in graph 4. In Both graphs there is an increase in the poverty levels in all of the measurements

between the rural areas and urban areas; 3) a reduction in racial inequalities; 4) an increase quantity and effectiveness in the social assistance transfer programs from the government.

45

Ferreira and colleagues also include economic stabilization and hyperinflation reduction as factors that may have played a role in improving income inequality.

Reduction in the returns from education

The effect of an increase in school attainment shows a fluctuating effect on inequality in the period from 1995 to 2009, as is demonstrated by (Lustig, Lopez-Calva, and Ortiz-Juarez, 2013; Ferreira, Firpo, and Messina, 2017). In both cases, the authors demonstrate that higher school attainment increased inequality (the paradox of progress) until the early 2000s, but after that, it reduced inequality. The explanations for the reducing effect are an abundance of supply individuals with higher-level school degrees that are not met with a demand higher skilled worker. Additionally, the quality of education might not match the needs of labor demand.

Reduction in the income difference between the rural and urban areas and reduction in racial inequality

According to Reis (2017), Brazil's geographical differences in density of economic activity, income per capita, and labor productivity did not change significantly from 1872 to 2000 maintaining a distinct northwest-southeast divide. One policy that has interrupted the northwest-southeast divide is the conditional cash transfer program Bolsa Família. The Bolsa Família program targets individuals by geographical location and by means-testing their poverty or extreme poverty status (CEPAL 2014). The Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, (2010) reports over 57,324,167 million families, covering about 22 % of the families. The cost is very cheap, 6.5 billion US $, which is about 0.003 of Brazil's GDP for 2019 (~2 trillion US$) (CEPAL 2014). Perhaps the most impressive results that Higgins (2012) reports are a reduction in the squared poverty gap in 2009 by 50% in the most rural state Piauí and 8% in Rio de Janeiro (when adjusting spatial price index à la Laspeyres).

Furthermore, Ferreira, Firpo, and Messina (2017) argue that the reduction of inequality in Brazil is due to two factors: a decrease in the returns to potential experience and a decline in wage gaps between gender, race, geography, and formality. The potential experience is an estimation of the individual labor experience and had an essential role in reducing income inequality in Brazil from 1995 to 2012. The effect of reducing inequality is explained by individuals spending more time acquiring their degrees, reducing their work experience levels, leading to earning less income. Meanwhile, this is happening in a context where there is an overabundance of skilled labor supply.

Improvements in the social assistance transfer programs

The first transfer program in Brazil starts in 1988 with the creation of the current constitution of Brazil. It is a social care system for individuals with different capacities and individuals with insufficient pensions or income. In 1995, the first conditional cash transfers started to emerge in different municipalities and the Federal District of Brazil. The great success of these initial programs and the sharing of experiences prompted the creation of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage Program. During the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the conditional cash transfer programs reach national coverage. At the same time, more programs are

46

created, and some replaced the existing programs. The new programs are Bolsa Escola, Auxílio Gás, Cartão Alimentação. These new programs were later unified under Bolsa Família by Ignácio Lula Da Silva. The goal of the unification was to reduce the bureaucracy and allows for more efficient control and transparency. Later, Dilma Rousseff adds a more complex vision to the program Bolsa Família. This new vision included three pillars: urban employment, rural production, and access to public services (CEPAL 2014). In ten years (2003 to 2013), the cost of the transfers has only increased 0.31 of a percentage points of the GDP with an increase of the population coverage of 19.1% (CEPAL 2014). Additionally, (Sánchez-Ancochea and Mattei 2011) estimate that the Bolsa Família program reduced the GINI coefficient by 10% from 2001 to 2008.

Economic stability and Hyperinflation reduction

It is not the first time that inequality rises in Brazil in fifty years. (Ferreira et al. 2008) provide two possible explanations as to why inequality rose from 1984 to 1993, inflation and increase school attainment. In the current rise in poverty and inequality, these two explanations do not play a role. Inflation does not explain the recent increase in inequality because, since 2000, inflation (consumer price index) has been decreasing, from 7.4 in 2000 to 3.7 in 2019 (The World Bank, data accessed 2020).

Other explanations

Income from labor

Another explanation for the reduction in inequality came from Soares *et al.* (2018) when they evaluated the impact of the program Bolsa Família and other programs. They argue that income from labor has the most substantial effect on reducing inequality. The change in the concentration and composition coefficient is -0.0234. This change is not surprising because labor income has a high percentage of all the types of income an individual receives. Conditional cash transfers and other types of incomes (*Other* is a catch-all category that is anything but conditional cash transfer, social security, or labor income) also had a significant effect on reducing inequality. Their concentration and composition coefficients are -0.0057 and -0.0043, respectively. A counterintuitive result came from the social security concentration and composition coefficient (0.0060). This coefficient indicates that social security increases inequality. Soares *et al.* (2018) explain this phenomenon by arguing that individuals in the lower-income deciles do not have access to contributing to social security systems such as retirement pensions. Furthermore, Ferreira, Firpo, and Messina (2017) argue that minimum wage increases had a decreasing effect on inequality from 1995 to 2003. However, from 2003 to 2012, it increased inequality, to the point that in the whole period, the effect of the minimum wage was nullified.

As Firpo and Portella said 2019 when referring to the relation of minimum wage to income inequality, it depends on the economic context. Sometimes an increased income will lead to a decrease in the inequality, but not always. The factors that will affect income's capacity to reduce inequality are actual compliance with the minimum increase and saturation of the minimum wage capacity of reducing inequality.

47

Conclusions

In this paper, I review several explanations for the reduction of Brazil's economic inequality. One important observation that can be distilled from the explanations is that the economic, social, and political context is important in determining the effect on economic inequality (Firpo and Portella, 2019). To exemplify this point we can see the progress paradox (Lustig, Lopez-Calva and Ortiz-Juarez, 2013), where an increase in educational attainment could lead to an increase in economic inequality. An increase in educational attainment would not reduce inequality if there are no jobs available for the high skilled individuals. Additionally, having a higher education degree does not guarantee that the education is enough to match the demands of the jobs available.

Minimum wage is another instance where the context is important. We can see from Firpo and Portella (2019), that an increase in the minimum wage can have a reduction or an increase in economic inequality it depends on the actual compliance of the minimum wage increase mandate. In the informal sector, this compliance tends to low. Also, if the minimum wage is closer to the median wage its impact on income inequality would not be that strong (Firpo and Portella, 2019).

References Cited

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson.
    2002 Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(4):1231–1294.

The World Bank
    World Bank Open Data | Data. https://data.worldbank.org/, accessed April 8, 2020.

Armendáriz, Beatriz, and Felipe Larrain
    2017 *The Economics of Contemporary Latin America*. MIT Press.

CEPAL
    2014 Transferencias de ingresos para la erradicación de la pobreza Dos décadas de experiencia en los países de la Unión de Naciones Suramericanas (UNASUR). CEPAL.

Coatsworth, John H.
    2008 Inequality, Institutions and Economic Growth in Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40(3):545–569. accessed April 6, 2020.

Cornia, Giovanni A.
    2015 *Income inequality in Latin America: Recent decline and prospects for its further reduction*. 20th ed. Vol. 2015. WIDER Working Paper. UNU-WIDER.

De Ferranti, David, Guillermo Perry, Francisco H. G. Ferreira, and Michael Walton (editors)
    2004 *Inequality in Latin America: Breaking with History?* The World Bank.

Engerman, Stanley L, and Kenneth L Sokoloff

    1994 *Factor Endowments: Institutions, and Differential Paths of Growth Among New World Economies: A View from Economic Historians of the United States*. Historical. Working Paper Series. National Bureau of Economic Research.

Ferreira, Francisco H. G., Sergio P. Firpo, and Julian Messina

    2017 *Ageing poorly?: accounting for the decline in earnings inequality in Brazil, 1995-2012*. The World Bank.

Ferreira, Francisco H. G., Phillippe G. Leite, and Julie A. Litchfield

    2008 THE RISE AND FALL OF BRAZILIAN INEQUALITY: 1981–2004. *Macroeconomic Dynamics* 12:199–230. accessed April 6, 2020.

Firpo, Sergio, and Alysson Portella

    2019 *Decline in Wage Inequality in Brazil: A Survey*. The World Bank.

Higgins, Sean

    2012 The impact of Bolsa Família on poverty: does Brazil's conditional cash transfer program have a rural bias? *Journal of Politics & Society* 23.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística

    2010 Population Census | IBGE. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística.

Lustig, Nora, Luis F Lopez-Calva, and Eduardo Ortiz-Juarez

    2013a Deconstructing the Decline in Inequality in Latin America. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* (6552). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper:18.

Lustig, Nora, Luis F. Lopez-Calva, and Eduardo Ortiz-Juarez

    2013b Declining Inequality in Latin America in the 2000s: The Cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. *World Development* 44:129–141.

Reis, Eustáquio

    2017 Historical Perspectives on Regional Income Inequality in Brazil, 1872–2000. In *Has Latin American Inequality Changed Direction?*, pp. 143–170. Springer. International Publishing.

Sánchez-Ancochea, Diego, and Lauro Mattei

    2011 Bolsa Família, poverty and inequality: Political and economic effects in the short and long run. *Global Social Policy: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Public Policy and. Social Development* 11(2–3):299–318.

Soares, Sergei, Rafael Guerreiro, Fábio Veras, Marcelo Medeiros, and Eduardo Zepeda

    2018 Conditional cash transfers in Brazil, Chile and Mexico: Impacts upon inequality. *Estudios Económicos de El Colegio de México*:207–224.

49

Williamson, Jeffrey
2015 *Latin American Inequality: Colonial Origins, Commodity Booms, or a Missed 20th Century Leveling?* National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Tourism's Impacts on Local Populations

Morgan Glup
School of Global Integrative Studies, UNL, Lincoln, NE, USA
morgan.glup@huskers.unl.edu

Abstract: *This writing serves to discuss the various impacts of tourism on local populations. Despite the growth of the tourism industry, only a handful of anthropological studies about the impact of tourism on local populations exist. Therefore, this writing is focused on the study of tourism by anthropologists as there is much about tourism that lends itself well to being studied from an anthropological perspective. Issues relevant to anthropology such as political economy, social change, and cultural identity are directly affected by tourism. A brief overview of the work done by anthropologists on tourism and local populations is discussed. Many anthropological studies on tourism focus exclusively on how non-Western societies are affected when exposed to Western tourists, but little is done to look at the growing impact of non-Western tourism on a global scale. Some common themes when discussing tourism's effects on the local population are the commodification of culture and displacement or dispossession of land. The growing issue of overtourism and how it affects the destination and the local residents are outlined as well. This paper argues that overtourism decreases the quality of life of the residents by increasing housing costs, limiting the diversity of economic opportunities, and exposing residents to the misuse of public spaces. Many of the effects outlined in the paper are negative, however, tourism also can have positive effects such as being beneficial for the economy.*

Introduction

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines tourism as "a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes" (Westcott 2019). People worldwide experience tourism in various ways as tourists themselves or as inhabitants of a high-tourism location, but the experience of local populations is the highlight of this work. Tourism's effects on local populations will be discussed by examining anthropological studies of tourism and more recent studies on the phenomenon of overtourism. Anthropological studies of tourism have typically focused on how non-Western or indigenous populations have been impacted by the development of tourism in their region. The studies done on overtourism, however, are largely focused on Western cities, primarily in Europe, that have become major tourist destinations.

Tourism and tourism development can result in the commodification of culture, displacement or dispossession of land, and changes in the values and lifestyle of local residents. These effects are often seen in indigenous populations when the tourism industry moves in. Overtourism can also decrease quality of life for residents, leading to an increase in housing costs, limited economic opportunities, and/or exposure to the misuse of public spaces.

51

Anthropology and Tourism

There are many commonalities between anthropologists and tourists. Peter Burns, in his *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*, states that anthropology and tourism have "obvious synergy" as both "seek to identify and make sense of culture and human dynamics" (1999:71). Stronza echoes this sentiment stating "both spend time exploring the cultural productions and rituals of society, and both carry the status of outsider as they make forays into the lives of others" (2001:261). Peter Burns, Stronza and others agree that there is much about tourism that lends itself well to being studied from an anthropological perspective. Tourism, much like anthropological research, results in face-to-face encounters between people of different cultures. The issues of political economy, natural resource management, social change, and cultural identity are all affected by tourism. Today there are only a handful of countries and cultures that have not been exposed to tourism or felt its impacts. As a result, the more remote places that typically most interest anthropologists are being increasingly exposed to tourism (Stronza 2001:264).

Burns (2004) outlines why anthropologists should be concerned with the study of tourism and be involved in the tourism industry. The tourism industry is constantly changing and new forms of tourism continually emerge. Burns argues that to understand tourism different methodological and theoretical approaches are needed. For example, she explains the potential role of anthropologists and anthropological theory in the emerging trend of ecotourism. Ecotourism is concerned with preserving both the cultural and physical environment. Burns states that there is less literature on the socio-cultural values of ecotourism and goes on to say that because ecotourism offers greater opportunities for indigenous peoples' involvement, it requires anthropological analysis (2004:13). For these reasons (and others), anthropologists should engage themselves with the study of tourism and the tourism industry.

History of Tourism

Tourism has a long history, even if the word itself was not used until the 18th century. Evidence of leisure travel goes back to ancient Egypt (Gyr 2010). Writings of the privileged classes in Egypt under the pharaohs tell of journeys taken for pleasure to sites such as the pyramids at Giza and the Sphynx. Evidence of traveling for pleasure is also available from the Classical Greek and Roman periods. In Classical Rome, the development of infrastructure, mainly the roads, led to the wealthy taking holidays for relaxation outside of the city (Gyr 2010). Beginning in the 12th century, a greater emphasis was placed on travelling for educational purposes. Starting with the 12th century, scholars journeyed to famous educational institutions such as Oxford in London and Paris or Montpellier, France. There were also the journeymen from the 14th to the 18th centuries. These journeymen were craftsman, required to travel as part of their training. Oftentimes, guilds would require craftsmen to travel for three to four years with the desired outcome being that, through travel and experience, the craftsmen would learn, mature, improve their craft, and return as accomplished men (Gyr 2010). From the 16th century to the 18th century, there was the trend of the grand tour of Europe for the young adults of Europe's elite society. The goal of traveling was to provide education and to learn and practice etiquette. From the Enlightenment of the early 18th century to the 19th century, educational journeys were taken by the upper-middle class (Gyr 2010; Westcott 2019). Pleasure soon

replaced education. Guidebooks were first introduced in the 1800s and short-stay or day trips also became more popular around this time with the advances in transportation such as steam ships and railways. Yet, travel was still a mostly upper-class activity. The 19th century saw a boom in tourism. Organized all-inclusive group holidays became popular. The opening of the Alps to tourists introduced a new side to tourism: nature and sport/recreation. For the first time in history, people from lower socio-economic backgrounds could take part in leisure activities and travel. The summer retreat to the countryside to escape the city gained popularity as it was also affordable for the lower socio-economic classes. Since the end of World War II, with the improvements of technology and affordability of transportation, leisure became the main reason for travel (Gyr 2010).

Tourism is now a major and substantial part of the global economy. Data indicates that travel and tourism contributed 8.81 trillion US dollars to the global economy in 2018 (WTTC 2019). Travel is no longer an activity for just the upper classes as advances in transportation have made it easier and faster to travel, allowing more people to do so. The cruise ship industry has boomed and Airbnb and other short-term rental platforms have made accommodations less expensive making travel more accessible. Rising middle-classes in countries such as India, China, and other countries have made it possible for more of those populations to travel. Governments have also contributed to the rise in tourism by marketing their countries and cities as tourist destinations (Abend 2018). Tourist arrivals around the globe have been increasing since World War II, with about 25 million arrivals in 1950 (Roser 2017). In 2018 the number of international tourist arrivals reached 1.4 billion (UNWTO 2019). This shows a large number of people are traveling and that the tourism industry is a significant contributor to the global economy.

In addition to the changed rate of travel itself, how tourists go about visiting destinations has also changed dramatically. Travel has been made easier by international banking systems, one-stop shopping for travel bookings, and handheld devices. Travelers no longer have to carry a map, compass, camera, etc., today all of these items can be accessed through a smartphone. In addition, smartphones have made it easier to select a place to eat, navigate big cities, and translate foreign languages.

Literature Review: Anthropology of Tourism

The anthropological study of tourism has a much shorter timeline than that of tourism in general. It was not until around the 1960's and the 1970's that anthropologists started to take an interest in tourism. Multiple scholars have attributed this in part to a reluctance to study tourism, citing Nash's (1981) attempts to theorize why the study of tourism was dominated by economic, geographic, and marketing domains. Reasons given for this reluctance include the view that tourism was seen as frivolous and not for serious scholars, a lack of awareness of the socio-cultural significance of tourism, and anthropologists not wanting to be identified with "sandal-footed, camera-toting" tourists (Burns 1999; Stronza 2011; Burns 2004).

Jafar Jafari and Valene Smith are considered pioneers in the anthropological study of tourism. Burns credits them for making tourism a legitimate subject for academic study (1999:80-81). Jafari founded the *Annals of Tourism Research* in 1973, which became the official

journal of the Society for the Advancement of the Tourism Industry. Only a year later, the first article was published in this journal, focusing on the social sciences and tourism. The work of anthropologists had appeared in the journal, but the first article published with 'anthropology' in the title, making the direct connection between anthropology and tourism, was Aspelin's 1977 work. In the 1980's, articles on tourism began to appear in anthropology journals (Burns 2004:8). Valene Smith organized the American Anthropological Association's first symposium on tourism in 1974 and the papers from the symposium became *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism.* This compilation of articles covers subjects such as tourism and leisure, tourism in non-Western societies, tourism in complex societies, and theories of tourism (Smith 1989).

Since then, there have been a number of published works concerning the anthropological study of tourism. Burns (2004) begins her discussion of the history of the anthropological study of tourism with a 1963 work by Nunez, where he looked at acculturation when different cultures come into contact, such as with tourism. Burns (1999) lays out a table of key authors in the anthropology of tourism. The first author listed is Nelson Graburn and his 1977 article discussing tourism as a form of escapism. Nash's 1981 work is also frequently cited. In it, Nash discusses that tourism involves interactions between the traveler and the host that affect the people and cultures involved. Burns comments that Urry's 1990 work allows for a study of tourist motivations from a social science perspective (Burns 1999:82-83). He also lists Dann's 1997 work that proposed that theory and academic study should be used in the tourism industry to contribute to sustainability (Burns 1999:82-83). Anthropologists have sought to answer questions such as how culture is represented in tourist settings and how it is perceived, as well as how cultural traditions are changed or reinvented to meet tourist expectations, and many others (Stronza 2001:262). The history and approaches of the anthropological study of tourism can be can be traced back through the works of those who studied tourism through the lens of anthropology.

Impacts of Tourism on Local Population – Focus on Indigenous Societies

When looking at literature on the anthropological studies of tourism, the focus is almost entirely on how non-Western societies are affected when exposed to Western tourists. Some common themes when discussing tourism's effects on the local population are the commodification of culture, displacement or dispossession of land, and changes in the values and lifestyle of local residents.

Commodification of Culture

Commodification is the act of taking something's original form and commercializing it in order to be consumed (Burns 1999:60). The commodification of culture refers to when aspects of a culture are turned into a commodity to be consumed, in the scope of this paper, by a tourist. Root (1996:68, 70) uses the example of Native cultures of British Columbia being explicitly marketed by the tourism industry to draw in visitors. She writes specifically about images such as totem poles on display, souvenirs with traditional raven and thunderbird styles printed on them, and being able to pay to witness spiritual ceremonies.

This example is tied into the larger issue of the "politically or economically dominant societies" taking cultural symbols and using them to draw in tourists and, turning them into commodities (Root 1996:68). She states "culture is neatly packaged for the consumer's convenience" (Root 1996:70). Root (1996) continues to explain that the people from whom the material or images are taken are often not compensated equally or at all. At the time of her writing, she describes a scene she witnessed in British Columbia of an indigenous artist trying to sell his designs to shopkeepers. She points out that the shopkeepers selling such souvenirs are white, while the artist is of an indigenous group and much of the souvenirs being sold include imagery of that group. Root (1996) explains that while indigenous artists may be paid reasonably well for commissioned work such as a carved pole, the indigenous community is not usually consulted or compensated when their designs are used for tourist or other objects, nor do they see a profit from the "great deal of money" (Root 1996:68) tourist shops make.

When cultural traditions are commodified to draw in tourists, staged authenticity can become a problem. The pride and dignity of the local residents can also come at the expense of tourism when cultural traditions are exploited (Theobald 1998:71). Aspects of the traditional culture such as dance and art can become commercialized, resulting in cheap imitations, with the goal of satisfying visitors and obtaining money for less effort (Theobald 1998:71).

Mowforth and Munt (2003) use Gunson's (1996) example of the Maya in Mexico and Central America to illustrate this point. Gunson (1996) discusses how Mayan civilization and its descendants are used as a marketing concept, whether it be a "Mayan sauce" on the prawn cocktails or the archaeological sites. He states that Mayan organizations and other critics of the tourism industry's marketing are concerned that archaeological sites will be turned into "giant theme parks" while the local population has no say in the decisions being made. This has the potential to limit local populations' access to their own cultural heritage, such as when entrance fees are charged for sites that are beyond the means of the local people. One example is of the "once-unspoilt" Mayan ruins of Xcaret near Cancun with an entrance fee of thirteen pounds (around $18 today) at the time (Gunson 1996). Local people feel they are viewed as "obstacles to development" as local initiatives such as guesthouses are ignored in favor of large hotels that will not benefit them (Gunson 1996).

The lack of inclusion and participation of the local people concerning certain aspects of tourism is another component to this issue. Root (1996) discusses this issue more generally; however, Mowforth and Munt (2003) relate it specifically to tourism. They state "it is the local people who have so often been left out of the planning, decision-making and operation of tourist schemes" (Mowforth and Munt 2003:238). This exclusion can result in locals not seeing equal benefits from tourism and being pushed off of their land.

Displacement

Displacement is defined by Merriam-Webster dictionary "to remove from the usual or proper place" and "to expel or force to flee from home or homeland," when referring to people specifically (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). The case of the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania is just one case of locals being displaced. With the creation of national parks and wildlife reserves, the Maasai have been increasingly restricted in where they are allowed to be and what they are allowed to do on the land. While the displacement was carried out by Kenyan

and Tanzanian authorities, their actions were guided by "First World conservationists" that operated in their own interests and those of tourism industry developers (Mowforth and Munt 2003:262-264). They do state that today it is better recognized that the Maasai and the wildlife of the region have coexisted for many centuries and that the old argument of the conservationists that the Maasai's pastoral activities were damaging to the environment holds less weight. Mowforth and Munt (2003) quote Monbiot saying there was a "fantastic abundance of wild game" that existed along the Maasai "up to and beyond the arrival of the British" (p.264), this stressed the inaccuracy of those claiming the native people are a threat to the wildlife and the land. Monbiot continues on to say it was because the Maasai had not decimated the wildlife that people pushed for the conservation of the land. The Maasai have practiced grazing and coexisted with the local wildlife for centuries. The landscape being conserved is a product of their grazing and burning practices, at least until recently (Mowforth and Munt 2003:264).

Pushing the Massai out of certain areas opened up these spaces to tourists and other visitors that are not native to the land. There are campsites for tourists in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area on the crater floor and tourists can enter the Olduvai Gorge, an archaeological site; both are areas that have been restricted for the Maasai (Mowforth and Munt 2003:264). Steps have been taken to address tourism's impact on conservation issues such as banning new tourism accommodation and road construction. However, the land and grazing rights of the Maasai, the native inhabitants, have not been mentioned. It has also not been acknowledged that tourism and conservation have been largely responsible for the Maasai's displacement. The authors do go on to state that measures are being taken to better include the Maasai. One example is in 1996, a deal was made between a group of the Maasai and a British tour operator. A luxury lodge was constructed and a portion of the money generated from tourist stays would go to the Maasai group. The authors acknowledge that this alone cannot make up for their displacement, allow them to retrieve their former lifestyles, or compensate them for their losses (Mowforth and Munt 2003:265-266), but that it does offer a hope of improvement.

The development of tourism in Mexico is another good example of how local populations can be displaced when the government or other powerful agencies decide to bring tourism into the area. Multiple experts have written about how locals have been dispossessed of their land. In areas such as Jalisco and the Maya Riviera, locals have been dispossessed of their land when the government decided to build the tourism infrastructure, mainly large-scale resorts and hotels. In one example, the tenants of El Rebalsito were initially compensated by the Mexican government for the loss of parts of their land. It was state authorities and other allied groups that threatened those who resisted giving up their land (Santillán 2017:726). Another example given is a small fishing community being displaced for the development of the Four Seasons Punta Mita resort. As a result of this displacement, the fishermen have had to work in nautical tourism to supplement their living, as the new location lacked access to productive lands (Santillán 2017:726). With the lack of resources necessary for fishing and subsistence agriculture, the community was no longer able to support themselves as they had before. Without the availability of productive lands, the people of the community had to adjust to what was available and work in the tourism sector. This account is also an example of how locals can lose aspects of their traditional ways of life due to displacement and other results of tourism.

The case study by Pi-Sunyer et al. (2001) looks at how tourism has changed the social organization, demography, wage employment, diet, and health of the villagers in Quintana Roo. Before mass tourism came to this region of Mexico, it was inhabited by Mayan forest dwellers. The Spanish had failed to colonize the region and it had remained largely unchanged for centuries (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.125). When the region began being developed for tourism, most notably Cancún, in the 1970's the villagers of Quintana Roo had to adapt to the changes and modernization. Pi-Sunyer et al. (2001) state that when regions such as Quintana Roo undergo modernization the dominant society still generally has a negative perception of local populations are assign them subordinate roles development of their area (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.126). They go on to argue that local populations are marginalized and displaced in their own land, in part because of the influx of job seekers from other areas with the result that the local population becomes a minority in its own land.

Changes in Values and Lifestyle

Traditional Maya communities were "intimately linked through mechanisms of reciprocity and agricultural practices that reinforced social solidarity" (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.130). This communal lifestyle, where goods were collected and redistributed among the community, is threatened by tourism development. Subsistence and communal agriculture have largely been replaced by wage labor jobs within the tourism industry. This has changed what was once a key aspect to the more traditional way of life for the Maya of Quintana Roo (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.131). The increasing restrictions on land use are also a threat to subsistence agriculture. As areas are being restricted to local populations due to the protection of archaeological ruins or the natural environment, often for the benefit of bringing in tourists, local populations are losing land necessary for agriculture and raising livestock. Pi-Sunyer et al. (2001) determined that in this region of Mexico, the minimum land necessary to maintain a single family through the slash-and-burn method of agriculture is around 50 hectares (approximately 123.6 acres) of rainforest, not including space for the raising of livestock. However, they determined that, at the time the article was written, many of the land holdings were reduced to around 20 hectares or less per household, making it difficult to continue these practices (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.131).

Tourism has also had a significant impact on the indigenous population's belief systems and religion. The belief system of the local people of Quintana Roo was a mix between Mayan cosmology and Catholicism. However, different religious groups, such as Evangelical groups, have become popular more recently. These Evangelical congregations were brought in by the influence of those in the tourism development industry, the tourists themselves, and media such as television. They challenge the emphasis on communal ties and rituals and instead emphasize the individual as a "consumer and autonomous economic agent" (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.132). Class segmentation can be another effect of tourism development. The authors of *Tourism on the Maya Periphery* found in *Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21ˢᵗ Century*, discuss the new class of merchants, shopkeepers, restaurant owners, and other stakeholders in the tourism industry in the village of Coba. Before tourism came to this area, there was not this type of segmentation. These changes are evident not only through economic measurements, but are evident through cultural measurements as well, such as the wealthier being more comfortable speaking the Spanish language than peasant farmers (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.135). Theobald (1998:72) also expresses that local populations may adopt the tastes and habits of the visitors, such as

57

gambling, prostitution, and drug-trafficking. The authors state that in more extreme cases, habits (such as those listed above) could be adopted from the tourists, in part due to the need to cater to tourists.

With tourism comes more direct contact between people of contrasting lifestyles and levels of income. Tourism can lead to power being taken from the local and regional levels and concentrated into the hands of multinational companies (Theobald 1998:68). These companies work to negotiate at the national level and therefore, problems are dealt with on the national level, excluding the local population. Additionally, at the operational level, higher paying and more "respectable" jobs in hotels and other establishments are often held by expatriates or citizens who have moved to the area to work in the industry, while the indigenous population occupies the lower paying positions (Theobald 1998:69).

Exposure to affluent tourists may lead locals to want to emulate the lifestyle of the tourists. This is not always a negative, as it can be a source of motivation to work hard or to achieve higher levels of education. However, if the local people are unable to attain the same level of affluence it may cause frustrations and a sense of deprivation. Theobald (1998:72) does state that more research needs to be carried out looking at this issue. A culture of consumerism may also come with tourism as people desire "the long list of commodities that forms part of the new requirements and aspirations" (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.135).

Effects of Tourism on Local Population – Focus on Overtourism

Overtourism is the focus of much of the more recent literature on tourism. According to Goodwin (2017), the term overtourism was first used on the social media platform Twitter in 2012 as a hashtag and has since become a widely used term when addressing overcrowding due to tourism activity. Overtourism describes "destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably" (Goodwin 2017). Many places are experiencing overtourism, as travel has become a more accessible activity. As the tourism industry has continued to grow, destinations are now becoming overcrowded and are experiencing negative consequences associated with overtourism.

Overtourism is directly correlated to decreased quality of life for residents by increasing housing costs, limiting the diversity of economic opportunities, and exposing residents to the misuse of public spaces. There are many destinations that are experiencing overtourism, which has led to more antagonism towards tourists from residents and, in some cases, protests against the number of tourists in their cities. Three of the cities most referred to when discussing overtourism are Venice, Amsterdam, and Barcelona. As a result of the negative effects of overtourism, these cities, many others, and other tourist destinations such as national parks, historical sites, and UNESCO World Heritage sites are implementing new measures to try to alleviate the pressures of overtourism on the residents and the sites themselves.

In 2017, TravelBird assigned overtourism scores to different cities in Europe. The scores are on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the worst regarding residents' willingness to welcome

visitors into their city. Barcelona ranked first with a score of 2.05 followed by Amsterdam and Venice with scores of 2.18 and 2.19 respectively. The scores were assigned based on the amount of available accommodation relative to the number of visitors, the number of visitors in peak season relative to the number of residents, and a survey. The survey asked residents to rate how positively or negatively they felt tourism impacted them during peak season (TravelBird 2017). With scores that low, it is clear that overtourism negatively effects the quality of life of the residents of popular tourist destinations.

Higher Housing Costs

One way in which overtourism negatively affects the quality of resident life is through an increase in short-term rentals, most notably Airbnb. A study published this year used evidence gathered from Airbnb listings in Barcelona to answer the question of whether short-term rentals affect housing markets. The authors chose to focus on Airbnb and Barcelona because Barcelona is Airbnb's 6th top destination and a very popular tourist destination. Their findings show that the presence of Airbnb increases the prices and rents of long-term rentals and housing (Garcia-López et al. 2019). In 2015, the average long-term rental price was about 735 euros a month or 11 euros a night, while the average Airbnb price was 71 euros a night. According to these figures, owners would earn the same amount from renting short-term through Airbnb in 10 days as they would from renting long-term to a resident in one month (Garcia-López et al. 2019).

The study demonstrated that Airbnb reduces the number of residential housing units and has a direct effect on the quality of life for local residents, often resulting in their displacement, due to the fact that it is more financially beneficial to rent short-term to tourists. This also increases the housing costs for residents living in areas with high Airbnb activity. Costs are increased because less units are available and demand is high, but also because owners will charge residents more just to make the same amount as they would if they rented to tourists. According to the data the authors collected, they estimated that in areas with high Airbnb activity, the presence of Airbnb has increased rents by an average of 7%. Transaction prices, the amount of consideration the entity expects to be entitled to, increase by an average of 20%, and posted prices, the price at which a company has publicly announced it will buy or sell a commodity, by an average of 14% (Garcia-López et al. 2019; Killian 2019; Chen 2018). While this study focuses on Barcelona, the issue of higher housing costs for residents due to short-term rentals platforms, mostly Airbnb, is experienced in many other cities. Many sources have mentioned Airbnb as a contributing factor of overtourism that results in a decreased quality of life for residents.

Tourist Misbehavior

The rise of short-term rental platforms such as Airbnb bring more tourists into neighborhoods and residential areas and increase contact between tourists and residents. This means that residents are dealing with more noise and disturbance in their neighborhoods caused by tourists. Tourist behavior is not only a concern in neighborhoods, but throughout the city too. The Netherlands and Amsterdam are famous for their tulips, but tourists are damaging fields trying to get a social media worthy picture (Quest et al. 2019). Residents are dealing with disrespectful tourist behaviors such as public urination, vandalism, jumping into canals, littering,

59

and more (Abend 2018; Baskas 2019). Often times tourists are simply not aware that they are behaving in a disrespectful manner. This is due to many factors, but largely a cultural barrier. Other times, as tourists do not view the places they visit as their home or someplace they will be long-term, they may simply not care about littering or inappropriate dress. Tourists are less likely to worry about keeping a place clean, for example, if they will be leaving soon. This type of behavior is problematic not only because it potentially upsets residents, but it could encourage others to do so as well.

Misuse of Public Spaces

Overtourism also affects the use of public areas and services for locals. In Abend's (2018) article, she quotes a Barcelona resident expressing his frustration with the number of tourists in his city. He says "You can't walk there [La Rambla Boulevard], you can't shop at the Boquería market. You can't get on a bus, because it's packed with tourists" (Abend 2018). Reykjavik, Iceland's main shopping street has been taken over by shops catered to tourists and only one hardware store remains (Tourtellot 2019). Goodwin (2017) describes this problem as a tragedy of the commons situation. He explains that many of the tourist attractions are public spaces, meaning people are not required to pay an entrance fee. La Rambla in Barcelona and Piazza San Marco in Venice are used as examples. Public spaces are free to visit and non-excludable; as a result, they are susceptible to over-use and exploitation from tourists and companies. Tour companies are now charging tourists for a public good, as part of an itinerary, for which they themselves do not have to pay for. A popular example is the changing of the Guard at Buckingham Palace in London Englad. Another Example is Piazza San Marco which is the main public square in Venice, Italy. However, Piazza San Marco does have a finite carrying capacity and when it is reached it deters from the attraction: "views are spoilt, picturesque village streets become crowded with people and tour buses, peace-and-quiet becomes noise and bustle" (Goodwin 2017). Other problems include vandalism, pollution, and traffic congestion (Seraphin et al. 2018). Not only do public spaces get abused, but it is left to the residents to pay for the upkeep of the space through their taxes.

What is Being Done

Different measures are being taken to alleviate the negative effects on the quality of life for residents that overtourism causes. Many cities have implemented campaigns to remind tourists to behave respectfully. Venice has its #EnjoyRespectVenezia campaign and employs people to watch for misbehaving tourists and issue fines when necessary. Barcelona will also issue fines to tourists walking around the city center in bathing suits among other things. Amsterdam has its Enjoy & Respect campaign and has introduced fines and banned mobile bars called "beer bikes" (Abend 2018). Amsterdam's tourist board has posted signs outlining what is and is not acceptable behavior around tulips and some farmers have even fenced in their fields (Quest et al. 2019). Visitors to Iceland are asked to take the Icelandic Pledge which reminds them to respect the landscape (Baskas 2019). Destinations are trying to educate visitors about the effects their behavior has on the area and are reminding visitors to behave respectfully while visiting.

In response to public services, Barcelona only allows tour groups into the Boqueria market at certain times. Governments are also taking measures to combat the growing problem of short-term rentals and other tourist accommodations. Copenhagen, Denmark has limited the number of days an owner is allowed to rent their unit (Abend, 2018). Barcelona has specifically targeted Airbnb and now requires that the company shares information about owners and removes listings for unlicensed apartments. To go along with this, the city has set up a website where visitors can check to see if the apartment they are looking to rent is registered (Abend 2018). Amsterdam has banned Airbnb short-term rentals in busy city areas. Reykjavik, Venice, and other cities have restricted the construction of new hotels in the city center. Venice has also created a fast lane for residents using public transport (Baskas 2019; Tourtellot 2019).

As a means of controlling tourists, many places are considering or have already implemented timed ticketing. The Sagrada Familia and Park Guell in Barcelona already do this. Venice requires day-trippers (visitors not spending the night) to pay an entrance fee to enter the city. Those staying the night do not have to pay as they are charged a tourist tax at their accommodation (Fox 2019; Garcia-López et al. 2019). Other proposals to control the number of tourists have been brought up in Venice but the locals protested against them. It is their concern, and the concern of residents in many popular tourist cities, that their city will turn into an amusement park. In 2020, Amsterdam will no longer allow tours of the Red Light District because of the growing concern that the sex workers are being treated as a tourist attraction (Quest et al. 2019). While they want to find solutions, many residents are hesitant about measures such as timed tickets to public spaces, entrance fees for a city, turnstiles and others because they want their city to remain a city. Barcelona and Venice have also begun limiting the number of cruise ships that they allow in their ports in an effort to reduce the number of tourists arriving in the cities (Abend 2018; Fox 2019).

Another way that cities are trying to deal with overtourism is through campaigns centered on encouraging travel elsewhere. Amsterdam's famous "I amsterdam" sign has been moved from its location outside the city's main art gallery at the request of the city because it was attracting too many visitors looking for a picture to an already limited space. Now the city is moving the sign around to lesser-known areas in an effort to encourage visitors to go beyond the city center. Not only that, but the city has decided to stop promoting Amsterdam as a destination and is now focused on managing their problem with overtourism (Quest et al. 2019). Venice and Barcelona are also ceasing to promote their city and instead promote travel to lesser-known towns and sites nearby (Goodwin 2017).

Limited Diversity of Economic Opportunities for Residents

Related to the quality of life for residents, overtourism also limits the diversity of economic opportunities for locals. As mentioned above, Reykjavik's main street has been overrun with tourist shops. The reason being that retailers will cater to the tourists' demand, specializing in products favored by tourists, without taking into account the needs of the residents. Local businesses are being pushed out by the change in customers' preferences (Ka & Ling 2019). This is not only happening in Reykjavik but many other cities as well. Some popular tourist cities are faced with a declining population as young professionals leave because they do not want to work in the tourism sector. Abend (2018) speaks to an Amsterdam local, Annelies

van der Vegt, who lives in the city center. She says she is thinking of moving to Norway as she is tired of all the tourists, especially when entire groups are on her doorstep admiring her 17th century house.

Venice has perhaps been the most affected by this. In 1951, the city had a population of nearly 175,000. Today it is closer to 55,000. This amounts to a net loss of around 1,000 inhabitants a year. In her article, *The Race to Stop the Death of Venice*, Fox (2019) quotes a Venice local's take on the issue. He believes that Venice needs to create conditions so that people stay. He says that jobs for graduates are limited as the jobs available are primarily those catering to tourists, such as serving in a restaurant or selling souvenirs at a kiosk" (Fox 2019). As locals are driven out of city centers, more space is opened up to be taken over by restaurant and tourist shops. Cities are prohibiting more restaurants and shops targeting tourists to be opened, as well as limiting short-term rentals and other accommodations, Amsterdam, Venice, Reykjavik and others have all implemented regulations along these lines. Not only is this an attempt to address the issues mentioned above, but also to try to preserve the authenticity of the destination.

Positives

Anthropologists have largely focused on the negative effects of tourism on local populations, and more recently scholars have focused on overtourism. However, tourism also benefits countries and communities. Perhaps the most obvious benefit of tourism is seen in the country or region's economy. Tourism development can generate employment and income opportunities in less developed regions of countries where alternative options for development may be more limited. Tourism can also create a market for local crafts, providing a monetary incentive for the continuance of traditional or local art and customs. It can also provide a market for local produce. Another way tourism can be beneficial to local populations is that infrastructure needed for tourism becomes available to the local residents, such as highways and airfields. This can also give more access to wider markets for locals (Theobald 1998:65-66). Shubert et al (2011:1) highlights many of the same benefits of tourism. They also note that tourism plays a role in the diffusion of technical knowledge and research and development.

Beyond economic benefits, tourism can foster a better understanding of different ways of life and a better appreciation of problems specific to the region. Tourism, both domestically and internationally, can encourage the preservation and maintenance of culture, traditions, and culturally significant sites (Theobald 1998:69, 72). Those who travel to a destination for its natural environments can help lead to the preservation and protection of the area from further ecological decline. These areas also have development potential, but as they generate income through tourism, the tourism can be a source of protection against development. The income of tourism may contribute or make possible the preservation and restoration of historic sites. A tourist destination may also undergo improvements such as cleaning and repairs to meet expectations of visitors (Kreag 2001:8).

As mentioned before, local populations may take on the habits and values of those visiting their region. While this can be a negative, as outlined above, it can also be a positive. Tourism has the potential to bring with it new standards in gender equality or health and safety

62

(Kreag 2001:9). Cultural traditions can also benefit from tourism. An example being the revival of traditional ceremonies because of their appeal to tourists. Tourism can be a means for people to expose themselves to new perspectives and cultural practices, and to learn about the world. This can open dialogue and potentially help to foster relations among countries. As Kreag (2001:10) stated," by learning more about others, their differences become less threatening and more interesting" (Kreag 2001:10).

Conclusion

This paper seeks to answer the question of how local populations are affected by tourism. This paper argues that tourism can have both positive and negative effects on local populations. Tourism can result in the commodification of the local's culture, the displacement of the local population, and changes in the lifestyle and values of local communities. Overtourism can also result in decreased quality of life for residents by increasing housing costs, limiting the diversity of economic opportunities, and exposing residents to the misuse of public spaces.

Much of the literature covering this topic argues that there is much yet to be studied about tourism, as it is a complex topic. Many authors also argue that tourism should be studied through the lens of many different disciplines in order to get a more holistic view. Literature on the study of tourism also calls for more sustainable development models for tourism. As this is not the primary topic for the literature, what makes for more sustainable tourism is often vague, but common suggestions are to better include the indigenous or local populations in the planning and development of tourism in their area. It is argued that this could help to alleviate some of the adverse effects that locals experience due to tourism. When tourism was first studied, the focus was mainly on the economics of tourism, then on the tourists and their experience. However, today there is much more work being done on how the locals are affected by and experience tourism. There is more attention being draw to how local populations are negatively impacted.

References Cited

Abend, Lisa.
    2018 *The Tourism Trap*. Electronic document, https://time.com/5349533/europe-against-tourists/, accessed October 22, 2019.

Baskas, Harriet.
    2019 From Amsterdam to Venice, the impact of too many tourists sparks outrage and action. Electronic document, https://www.cnbc.com/2019/06/14/too-many-tourists-from-amsterdam-to-venice-tourism-sparks-outrage.html

Burns, Georgette.
    2004 *Anthropology and Tourism: Past Contributions and Future Theoretical Challenges*. Anthropological Forum, 14(1), 5–22.

Burns, Peter.
    1999 *An introduction to tourism and anthropology*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Chen, James.
    2018 Posted Price. Electronic document,
      https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/posted_price.asp.

Fox, Kara.
    2019 The race to stop the death of Venice. Electronic document,
      https://www.cnn.com/travel/article/venice-tourism-overcrowding-intl/index.html.

Miquel-Àngel Garcia-López, Jordi Jofre-Monesny, Martinez Mazza, Rodrigo, and Segú,
Mariona.
    2019 Do Short-Term Rental Platforms Affect Housing Markets? Evidence From Airbnb in
      Barcelona. *Journal of Urban Economics* 119.

Goodwin, Harold.
    2017 The Challenge of Overtourism. Electronic document, https://haroldgoodwin.info/wp-
      content/uploads/2020/08/rtpwp4overtourism012017.pdf, accessed October 10, 2019.

Gyr, Ueli.
    2010 *The History of Tourism: Structures on the Path to Modernity*. Electronic document,
      http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/the-history-of-tourism/ueli-gyr-the-history-
      of-tourism, accessed October 27, 2019.

Ka Shing Cheung, and Ling-Hin Li.
    2019 Understanding visitor–resident relations in overtourism: developing resilience for
      sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(8):1197–1216.
Killian, Julie.
    2019 *Revenue Recognition: Determining Transaction Price: Detroit CPA*. Electronic
      document, https://claytonmckervey.com/revenue-recognition-determiningtransaction-price/.

Kreag, Glenn.
    2001 *The Impacts of Tourism*. Electronic document,
      http://www.seagrant.umn.edu/tourism/pdfs/ImpactsTourism.pdf

Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary.
    n.d. Electronic document, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/displace

Mowforth, Martin, and Ian Munt.
    2003 *Tourism and sustainability: new tourism in the Third World*. London: Routledge

Quest, Richard, Tamara Hardingham-Gill, and Lidz-Ama Appiah.
    2019 *How Amsterdam is fighting back against mass tourism*. Electronic document,
      https://www.cnn.com/travel/article/amsterdam-overtourism/index.html

Root, Deborah.
    1996 *Cannibal Culture: art, appropriation, and the commodification of difference*. Boulder,
      CO: Westview Press Inc.

Roser, Max.
  2017 *Tourism*. Electronic document, https://ourworldindata.org/tourism.

Salazar, Noel B.
  2017 Anthropologies of Tourism: Whats in a Name? *American Anthropologist*, 119(4):723–725.

Santillán, Ángeles A. Lopez.
  2017 Development, Power, and Exclusionary Politics: Tracing Articulations of Scale in Tourism Production in Mexico. *American Anthropologist*, 119(4):725–730.

Seraphin, Hugues, Paul Sheeran, and Manuela Pilato.
  2018 Over-tourism and the fall of Venice as a destination. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management,* 9:374–376.

Schubert, Stefan Franz, Juan Gabriel Brida, and Winston Adrian Risso.
  2011 The impacts of international tourism demand on economic growth of small economies dependent on tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32(2):377–385.

Smith, Valene. (Ed.).
  1989 *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Electronic document, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fhc8w, accessed February 16, 2020.

Smith, Valene, and Maryann Brent.
  2001 *Hosts and guests revisited: tourism issues of the 21st century.* New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Stronza, Amanda.
  2001 Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30(1):261–283.

Theobald, William F.
  1998 *Global tourism* (2nd ed.). London: Elsevier.

TravelBird.
  2017 *Ranking of the worst cities for over-tourism in Europe in 2017** [Graph]. In Statista. Electronic document, https://www.statista.com/statistics/778687/overtourism-worst-european-cities/, accessed November 05, 2019.

Tourtellot, Jonathan.
  2019 *Why it Matters: Overtoursim*. Electronic document, natgeotravel.com

UNWTO.
  2019 Number of international tourist arrivals worldwide from 1996 to 2018 (in millions) [Graph]. In Statista. Electronic document, https://www.statista.com/statistics/209334/total-number-of-international-tourist-arrivals/, accessed November 05, 2019.

Westcott, Morgan. (Ed.).

    2019 *Introduction to Tourism and Hospitality in B.C. Victoria, B.C*.: BC campus. Electronic
      document, https://opentextbc.ca/introtourism/

WTTC

    March Direct and total contribution of travel and tourism to the global economy from 2006 to
      2018 (in trillion U.S. dollars). Electronic document,
      https://www.statista.com/statistics/233223/travel-and-tourism-total-economic-contribution-
      worldwide/, accessed November 05, 2019.

The Investigator: Demons of the Balkan War (English Translation).

VLADIMÍR DZURO, 2019. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. xxi + 355 pp. US $29.95 (cloth: alk. paper), ISBN 978-1-64012-195-9.

Reviewed by Brianna Petersen
School of Global Integrative Studies, UNL, Lincoln, NE, USA
Bhumphrey2@unl.edu

The Balkan War is regarded as a very dark period in world history, with death, torture, destruction, and displacement all being methods used to perpetuate violence against multiple groups of people in the area. *The Investigator: Demons of the Balkan War* by Vladimír Dzuro (hereafter referred to as *The Investigator*) is a chilling personal account of criminal investigations of the perpetrators of the war that broke out in the former Yugoslavia. Dzuro, initially an employee of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and later the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), addresses the many horrors of this war, spanning into fields beyond the adrenaline-rushing investigations, arrests, and trials. He pays homage to those that are not typically in the public eye but whose work he understands he would have had little success in his investigations without, which helps this book to stand out from my perspective as a graduate student studying forensic anthropology.

The Investigator, initially published in Czech in 2017, was translated into an English version which was published in 2019. The book is made up of ten main chapters, the first few being arguably the most intense and captivating. Though the author uses informal language to make the reader feel as though they are investigating alongside the author rather than reading about it, Dzuro ensures that adequate history and crucial background information is included all throughout the book to give proper context to the reader. As someone who has not done significant research regarding the investigation portion and criminal trials of The Balkan War, I did not feel as though I needed to do external research to keep up. As previously stated, the author often uses casual language which certainly helps to keep such tough situations and experiences light and digestible for those that are not used to reading about such horrific experiences. Because this was initially written in Czech and translated into English, I found some of the word choices (likely due to the translation) to be unfitting.

The first chapter, a massive 82 pages long, makes up the bulk of the book. This chapter is highlighted not only by the experience and goals laid out by the author, but includes valuable photographs and the work and struggles of the forensic process, including the work of forensic anthropologists and forensic archaeologists in a mass grave site and an exhumation at Ovčara. Dzuro heavily reflects on these processes but does not overstep as a non-forensic anthropologist/archaeologist. During the height of atrocities, control of the media was assumed in Serbia as a tool for propaganda in a further effort to achieve territorial goals in Croatia and Bosnia. Because of this control, evidence of the atrocities occurring (such as photographic evidence) was limited, adding a layer of difficulty to the investigation and forensic processes. These types of struggles are a common theme throughout the book. I think that adding this

provides relevant context into the investigation of war crimes and provides the reader, who may or may not be knowledgeable about forensics or criminal investigations, with an idea of why "justice" may look different than what is shown in the TV shows.

Following this, relevant context into Operation Little Flower was provided in chapters 2 and 3 and there was further discussion into the indictment, arrest, and trial of Slavko Dokmanović. This was the first arrest made on the basis of a secret indictment and made the ICTY become more legitimate and credible. These chapters are essential as they provide behind-the-scenes information into the difficulties in capturing this particular man. This section of the book really shows another layer of potential barriers associated with attempting to move forward with legal proceedings, the first of which is finding the individuals and securing them secretly. There is the added difficulty of keeping them safe from others and from themselves; in a highly politicized war where the perpetrators are losing momentum, there is the significant possibility of them being killed by citizens out of anger and of killing themselves to avoid punishment. Valuable information is lost when a key player in war crimes is killed, so keeping these people safe from harm's way is crucial and difficult, as articulated here.

Continuing with the theme of judicial proceedings as presented in Chapter 3, Chapters 4 and 5 touch on the indictment and trials of several more men accused of involvement in war crimes. Like in Chapter 3, these chapters also discuss some of the unique difficulties in arresting the accused: cooperation issues from local authorities, dangerous propaganda/media reporting, safety concerns in a former/current war zone, and other difficulties regarding apprehension. Chapter 5 highlights the process of witness questioning and the politicization of the war and legal proceedings in the local public eye and the international eye. The reliance on witness testimony in a convoluted situation where people were frightened and physical evidence was destroyed or commingled made gathering pertinent, accurate information incredibly difficult.

Not only do external forces as mentioned complicate things, but internal issues within special operations/security units and growing pains with the creation of new organizations occur often; this is articulated in Chapter 6 as well as other witness and evidence-related strains. Yet again, the forensic process of a mass grave exhumation was identified, this time with an added struggle being that it was a water well. Like before, Dzuro is careful to not overstep his boundary being that he is not a forensic scientist. His recount of the process was accurate, concise, and incredibly valuable for context. This helps to lay down a foundation where researchers can identify needs for better or new methods with regard to mass graves and war casualties.

Chapter 7 came in at a surprising four pages of text, which I found to be irksome. This chapter is meant to emphasize the visit of Carla Del Ponte, Chief Prosecutor, to Eastern Slovenia. While an important inclusion, I am not sure that it warrants having its own separate chapter. Because Chapter 8 discusses the International Tribunal from the perspective of Dzuro, who was the only Czech national, I think that the contents of Chapter 7 could have been included here or in Chapter 10 (as elaborated upon later); doing so would have created a smoother experience for the reader. In addition, the bulk of this chapter (8) consists of the

experience of Anna Richterová, a war crime prosecutor. While relevant as Richterová was the prosecutor and Dzuro was the investigator, I felt that this recount would have been better suited as an addition in Chapter 10 with the other various personal reflections. The final two chapters (9 and 10) work to wrap up the events of the book and attempt to leave the reader with some kind of feeling of resolve, though trials are still ongoing for this issue so it is not entirely over.

As stated previously, the first three chapters involving the forensic process and dealing with Slavko Dokmanović are the most intense and make up just under half of the book. From this high point, the book goes on a slightly downward trend in terms of alluring personal content; the captivating personal stories as seen in the first portion are minimal while the history and smaller-scale events are prevalent. I think that this is valuable in showing that not all forensic/investigative efforts in a war crime situation are action-packed like the TV shows, but this latter half of the book lacked the same touch that the first half did. The chapters became incredibly short, with the shortest being just four pages long. After powering through an 83-page first chapter and a 70-page sixth chapter, a four-page chapter just seemed tired and it seems that the editing process should have worked to even that out for a better reading experience throughout the entirety of the book. Overall, minus the editing critiques and the translation concerns, the content of this book provides a unique account of the process of pursuing justice in a dangerous and heavily politicized situation and I believe that the style of this book is captivating to all types of audiences. This book is truly written for all; it builds a bridge between those interested because of the CSI-effect and, on the flip-side, those that are heavily invested and educated in the field of forensics and criminal investigation.

What Remains: Bringing America's Missing Home from the Vietnam War

Sarah E. Wagner, 2019. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts - London England. ix + 288 pp. US $29.95 (cloth: alk. paper), ISBN 9780674988347.

Reviewed by Erik Schulz
School of Global Integrative Studies, UNL, Lincoln, NE, USA
eschulz3@huskers.unl.edu

A book with a story, history and emotion that encompasses the story of multiple United States military personnel and their families. I first heard of this book after attending a lecture by Dr. Sarah Wagner (Georgetown University) at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln in January of 2020. In her lecture, she spoke about the publication by telling the story of Lance Corporal Merlin Raye Allen who was Killed-in-Action and his body was not recovered for over four decades. While this book focuses on Lance Corporal Allen, he is just one of many discussed within these pages.

This story is more than just history of how the remains of these lost heroes were discovered and excavated. The book tells the story of how people in the United States feel about Military remains being labeled Missing-in-Action (MIA) or Killed-in-Action and Body-Not-Recovered (KIA BNR). This book also takes into account the feelings of the families and the different organizations that assisted in recovering their loved ones and bringing them home.

The book is composed of eight primary chapters with three subchapters. Each subchapter looks at events that happened in one particular year; 1967, 1970 and 2018. The publication begins by discussing the importance of retrieving the remains. It also takes the reader into the process of what considerations have to be taken into account. Some of these considerations include honoring the wishes of the fallen hero, the considerations of what the families want, and how to honor the hero. The middle of the book is split into different parts, one part is the recovery process with Dr. Freas. The second part describes how the process of identification takes place through forensic anthropology. Lastly, the third part explains what expectations are held by the public and by the professionals/government. The final chapters focus on the family's stories and what their role is in obtaining the remains, processing the loss, and the ultimate internment of the remains.

Dr. Wagner's research for the book included working with individuals from the Central Identification Laboratory in Hawaii which now is part of the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency (DPAA). Before DPAA, the organization was known as Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command (JPAC). JPAC was under military command under the United States Pacific Command (PACOM). Dr. Wagner began her research while the organization was still known as JPAC. When JPAC became what is now known as the DPAA, the new organization set a goal of identifying 200 individuals a year. This goal would later be changed to 350 per year. The

increase is in part to having civilian staff as well as having more funding and opportunities. This is the area where forensic anthropologist, odontologists, and others work together in order to study remains in hopes of discovering their identification.

Another part of her research was to accompany the DPAA to the site of the helicopter crash that killed Lance Corporal Allen and four others with only three survivors. Throughout the writing, the reader learns about the history of the DPAA agency and the process of how families and friends feel about those who were missing. The book also goes on to explain how this has changed and shaped the perspective and processes on what to do with remains that are not recovered immediately from the battle field. The history has positive and negative points, but the most important is the end result in which the DPAA has changed Forensic Anthropology and the process of identifying its lost service members. The protocols and procedure put in place at DPAA have improved the process of identification and the techniques used. One example of this is DPAA's procedure for retrieving and analyzing DNA material from individuals remains that had been dusted with Lye. Remains would be covered in Lye when they were buried in order to keep the bones in good condition. A drawback of this method is that Lye made DNA identification impossible until this new technique was developed.

The bulk of her research is the ethnographic research. This research entailed talking to families and communities that have been affected by the deceased and missing military personnel. The main story of LCpl Allen and Private First Class Duwayne "Wotsy" Soulier takes place in Bayfield and Red Cliff Wisconsin. There are a few phrases that appear throughout the book and have significant meaning and history behind them. The first is "One who will never come home, the one who came home forty-six years later and the one who came home right away." This is relating to LCpl Allen, PFC Soulier, and PFC James Hessing all of them were from Bayfield and Red Cliff and the area surrounding. The phrase is visible at the Duwayne Soulier Memorial Post. Two other more well-known military phrases are "No man left behind" and "Bring them Back or Send us Back." All of these are explained within the book and give the history of what they mean and how they changed the United States.

Many people are familiar with the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers at Arlington National Cemetery. Though the original individual that was buried in the Vietnam War tomb has been identified, the symbolism of the tomb is still powerful to the nation as well as for those families and friends that have someone unaccounted-for. The Tomb is referenced many times throughout the book as well as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall. The author talks about her own experiences at these places as well as the stories of military family members and friends of those that have someone missing.

While this is a short summary of her work and does not discuss everything talked about in the book. I believe that anyone interested in military history, forensic anthropology, politics relating to war, anthropology or that is just looking for a great read would find this piece of work to be interesting and thought provoking. The history and ethnographic accounts in this book are amazing. No one's story is the same and the author was able to seamlessly make connections between different military members and their families as well as seeing the differences in their personality is iconic. This book also highlights other resources one could look at for more information on POW/MIA meetings and events or for future research. While the author may not

71

be a forensic anthropologist, she does an amazing job of explaining what forensic anthropology is and the different processes that occur.

I found myself having an emotional connection to some of the stories told in the book, and was even in tears toward the end when the author quoted different families about their loved ones. My family has a strong military background as many served in different service branches. Currently I am studying forensic anthropology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln as a graduate student. I am also an intern at the DPAA laboratory in Omaha Nebraska, where I work in the lab assisting forensic anthropologists and others with identification of remains. Dr. Wagner's description of the CIL in Hawaii is incredibly accurate as I myself have been there for training. I greatly enjoyed this book and found the information knowledgeable and very rewarding; I would highly recommend taking the time to read this book!

Published by the
University of Nebraska-Lincoln's

AnthroGroup