CHAPTER FIVE

THE LONG-TERM STUDY AMONG THE NAVAJO

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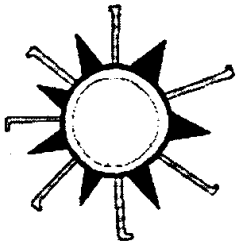

The Navajo, with a population estimated at 270,000 in the year 2000, are the largest Native American group in the United States, and their 18-million-acre reservation is about the size of New England. Anthropological research on the Navajo dates back into the late nineteenth century. Thousands of publications touch every facet of their lives (Bahr 1999). This abundance of research gives us an opportunity to examine the special place of long-term research in comparison with shorter studies and to evaluate the contributions of long-term projects on the Navajo since the first one more than sixty years ago.

As anthropology has developed, the prevailing theories surrounding research on Navajo culture have been transformed, as have techniques of data collection and codification. In addition, the situation of the Navajo and other Native American groups has substantially changed. There is, I believe, a dialectical or interactive relationship between anthropological theory and method, on the one hand, and the economic, social, and cultural setting of the study population, on the other. The relationship that holds for one decade and determines the nature of research may not be relevant or useful fifty years later. Just as the data and results of a project begun in the 1930s might seem arcane and unhelpful given the needs of the present-day Navajo population or the interests of contemporary researchers, so might ongoing or future research seem out of place and irrelevant fifty years from now.

Research on the Navajo by anthropologists and other Anglo scholars has been extremely varied, in terms of both the topics chosen for investigation and the research design employed. Although much writing on the Navajo is intended to be about the Navajo Nation as a whole, most research has been carried out in the context of particular communities where Anglo researchers have lived and studied. Projects have been carried out by "lone" investigators, by teams of two, and by larger groups, either loosely or tightly organized.

The Navajo themselves have been actively engaged in research and publication since the mid-1970s, particularly through the Rough Rock Press (formerly the Navajo Curriculum Center). The roles of Navajo translators and collaborators have been recognized, and since the late 1980s more publications

Four generations of females in Navajo culture. Photo by Wesley Thomas.

have appeared jointly authored by Navajos and Anglos or published by Navajos alone. The founding of the Navajo Studies Conference in 1986, the appearance of *Diné Be'iina'* and *The Journal of Navajo Education*, two journals which specialized in Navajo research, and the emergence of the Navajo Studies Departments at both the Shiprock and Tsaile branches of Diné College (formerly Navajo Community College), provided new outlets for scholarship by both Anglos and Navajos in the 1980s and 1990s. This has centered some scholarly work on the reservation rather than at universities outside of the Navajo Nation.

Long-term research has ranged from restudies of the same community by the same investigator, to restudies by different investigators (sometimes students of the initial researcher), to continuous investigation by a number of investigators over a substantial period of time. In this chapter, I emphasize large-scale team research, beginning with the earliest and perhaps most famous long-term Navajo research enterprises: the Ramah Project and the Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures Project, both directed by Clyde Kluckhohn and both focused on the Ramah Navajo. I touch only lightly on long-term research as it developed in the period following the Ramah research (1957–1972) and instead highlight the Lake Powell Research Project as an example of long-term research in the 1970s. For the period since 1985, the most significant long-term research has been the continuing work of Kunitz and

Levy (both of whom worked earlier on the Lake Powell Research Project) and the Navajo Healing Project directed by Thomas Csordas. In addition, other Anglo scholars continue to publish the results of short-term and long-term research, utilizing data from new reservation-wide, team-oriented projects as well as from a critical reassessment of older ethnographic sources, while Navajo investigators either publish as collaborators or pursue their own teaching or research interests.

In discussing long-term research, I also examine the way particular projects portray the Navajo as "objects," "subjects," or collaborators. Between 1938 and 1970, anthropological researchers tended to gather "hard" data, first to aid cross-cultural understanding and administrative policy, and later for scientific use in making cross-cultural generalizations. Anthropologists were the investigators; Navajo culture was the object of investigation. Beginning in the 1970s, Native American groups in the United States and Canada began to assert their legal rights and attempted to alter their relationship to the economy and supralocal political institutions. With the advent of tribal sovereignty and tribal control over many institutions on reservations (the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA], local schools, community colleges, health and community service programs, and growing tribal bureaucracies), research became first more policy oriented and then more collaborative and engaged in cultural preservation.

The Ramah Project: 1936–1945

Kluckhohn conceived of the Ramah Project after he had completed his Ph.D. and had begun his appointment at Harvard University. He had already spent considerable time (during 1923 and in the summers of 1926–1929) in the Ramah area, south of Gallup, New Mexico, and had written briefly about his experiences in his two chronicles of reservation travels, *To the Foot of the Rainbow* (1927) and *Beyond the Rainbow* (1933). The Ramah Navajo (population 400 in 1940) were pushed to the south of the town of Ramah when it was settled by Mormons in the 1880s and, at the time of Kluckhohn's initial study, lived in hogan clusters scattered over several townships. As off-reservation Navajos, their claims to land were tenuous. Mormon and Texas ranchers held some sections, interspersed with land allotted to Navajos during the early part of the twentieth century, land purchased by the Navajo tribe in the 1940s, or land still held by the Bureau of Land Management.

Kluckhohn's original plan had been to conduct a long-term study of the socialization of Navajo children, using the Ramah community as an ethnographic backdrop. However, he was soon dissatisfied with the ethnographic phase of the project, since his initial description showed that "we had not yet mastered the basic patterns, let alone the cultural dynamics" (Kluckhohn 1949:v). By 1939, Kluckhohn felt that a long-term study was necessary to overcome the "flat, one-dimensional quality" of most anthropological studies. He was impressed by the suggestion of Donald Scott, director emeritus of the Peabody Museum of Har-

vard University, that it would be useful to study a population over time, watching it change and grow.

The research gradually evolved into a multidisciplinary long-term project, since Kluckhohn felt that "multiple observations by different persons and multiple approaches by individuals who had received their training in various disciplines" (Kluckhohn 1949:v, vi) would enrich both ethnographic recording and the study of socialization. Alexander and Dorothea Leighton, both psychiatrists, were perhaps the most important contributors to the project during the 1939–1942 period. Fifteen graduate students in anthropology from Harvard and other institutions participated in summer fieldwork, and Kluckhohn lists several psychologists, physicians, and psychiatrists among his collaborators (Kluckhohn 1949:x). The loose integration of this team project seemed to complement its interdisciplinary character. Fieldworkers pursued topics of their own interest or investigated subjects (e.g., the family as a "small-group culture" or Navajo ceremonialism) that seemed appropriate to the field situation (e.g., living with a family or attending the frequently held curing ceremonies).

By 1949, when publications were beginning to appear, Kluckhohn wrote that the aim of the project was a series of reports devoted to special topics such as the history of the community, ceremonialism, social organization, and even basketry. Some studies would focus on theoretical topics, whereas others were to deal with the relationship of individuals to their culture; an overall report would integrate the various aspects of Ramah Navajo culture.

In other words, the goals of the project were broadly ethnographic. Kluckhohn was committed to a vision of ethnography that involved the accumulation of the minute details of everyday life, a commitment closely allied with his definition of culture. For Kluckhohn, culture consisted of "designs for living" (Kluckhohn and Kelly 1945:97) or "the set of habitual and traditional ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting that are characteristic of the ways a particular society meets its problems at a particular point in time" (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946:xviii).

Following Benedict, Kluckhohn saw these structured ways of thinking and doing as "patterned." By *pattern*, Kluckhohn meant an overt, conscious aspect of culture, a discrete interrelated set of facts that produce structural regularities in the realm of ideas (ideal patterns) or consistencies in social relationships and action (behavioral patterns) (Kluckhohn 1941). In contrast, patterning at the covert level was characterized by the term *configuration*, a generalization from behavior that was largely unconscious or unverbalized by the participants in a culture.

The concepts of pattern and configuration helped Kluckhohn to deal with variation in Navajo life both in examining topics of general ethnographic interest (e.g., ceremonialism, social organization) and in studying socialization and personality. To ascertain overt patterns was to make sense out of the myriad details and to pull together conflicting statements about what should be done in a given

situation and what individuals actually do. This interaction between a definition of culture and Kluckhohn's commitment to detailed observation can be seen in his early work on Navajo religion (see bibliography in Kluckhohn 1962) and in his monograph on Navajo witchcraft (Kluckhohn 1944). In each publication, he dealt carefully with the number of informants consulted, the statements agreed on by most informants, and deviant statements. On some topics, his method was to gather "every (or virtually every) relevant datum" in the community being studied (Kluckhohn 1962:250). From this corpus of details on a particular topic Kluckhohn abstracted his patterns, often ethnographic generalizations (e.g., that ceremonial instruction is always paid for) or tabulations showing variation (e.g., the close biological relatives in the Ramah area from whom ceremonies were learned). Likewise, from detailed observations on a number of topics, Kluckhohn abstracted what he considered to be the important configurations or unconscious patterns of Navajo culture: "fear of malevolent intentions of other persons," "distrust of extremes," and "the spirit outlet" (that is, a break in a pottery or weaving design) (Kluckhohn 1941:125). Unfortunately, a summary of patterns was often very abstract and disembodied from the data, so that it is often unclear how a particular pattern is related to information or tabulations presented elsewhere in the publication.

These same theoretical and methodological concerns—the collection of ethnographic details and the abstraction of patterns and configurations—also oriented Kluckhohn's study of socialization. Even Kluckhohn's definition of culture as abstracted patterns led him to be interested in the relationship between culture (as a set of elements described by the analyst) and the individual (the personality who learns cultural patterns in the process of "culturalization"). To understand this process and the resulting variation in personalities, the Ramah Project focused on the socialization of forty-eight children (about one-third of the total number of children at Ramah), a group selected by Kluckhohn and the Leightons to represent children from various age groups, economic backgrounds, and family clusters. In making behavioral observations of children, the aim was to record everything seen and heard, checking observations against a list of important topics so that relevant information would not be missed (Kluckhohn 1962:251).

In addition, Dorothea Leighton and other fieldworkers administered a number of psychological tests (intelligence tests; projective tests, including the Thematic Apperception Test and Rorschach; and a battery of psychological tests) to Ramah children, and these supplemented the observations recorded in field notes and kept in the growing Ramah Files. Most of the forty-eight children were followed over a period of several years, and the results of the testing and case study material on individual children are reported in *Children of the People* (Leighton and Kluckhohn 1947) and in several articles. Like the work on ceremonialism and witchcraft, the study of Navajo personality was designed to give a precise indication of the patterns of Navajo personality as well as an indication of the variation in individual personality configurations.

The loose organization of this team project probably facilitated the possibility of interdisciplinary work, a relatively new approach in the late 1930s, and allowed the collection of ethnographic material to progress along with the parallel culture and personality study. Both kinds of data were geared to producing detailed descriptions of Navajo culture and individual adaptations, rather than to isolating natural or cultural cycles or testing of hypotheses.

From our vantage point today, it is easy to understand the limitations of the Ramah Project, in terms of both data collection and theory. Most of the fieldwork took place during the summer months, although the Leightons' field research extended over most of the year. Most of the students conducted their studies in either one or two field seasons, worked through interpreters, and learned very little, if any, of the Navajo language. The short exposure to Navajo culture and the lack of control of the language inhibited the kinds of topics that could be studied and the ways in which data could be collected and related to each other.

Information was kept on individuals and families in the community, and field notes were categorized under a set of topics devised by Kluckhohn, since the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) system had not yet been developed and adopted. These were kept in the Ramah Files at Harvard. Much of the material was collected in terms of the anthropologists' categories, not those of the Navajo. This is true of the Peabody Museum Papers on ethnobotany, land use, sex practices and reproduction, and the material on Navajo personality (which was interpreted in terms of the psychological categories worked out by professional psychiatrists and psychologists). It is less true of the material on ceremonialism by Kluckhohn and Wyman, in which an elaborate system of translation of Navajo terms for ceremonies, parts of ceremonies, ritual paraphernalia, and plant medicine was worked out, and of the monograph on witchcraft in which Kluckhohn used Navajo categories to sort his data.

Researchers did pay attention to Navajo words and terminology, carefully noting and translating names for plants, for example. However, the overall structure of what we now call a "domain" was not worked out. In some cases, today's reader cannot ascertain the significant Navajo categories and in others, where categories are presented, we cannot determine how they are indexed (e.g., in a taxonomy, paradigm). Even with the data on Navajo ceremonialism, I feel that the order is partly imposed by Kluckhohn and Wyman rather than being a reflection of an informant's ordering of events or terms. More useful than the Ramah Project writings on Navajo ceremonialism are the Navajo texts (often with interlinear translations) collected between 1929 and 1934 by Father Berard, since these provide raw material for understanding the content of Navajo ritual as well as the context of important symbols and concepts.

In the 1960s, the cultural neutrality of projective tests and the usefulness of interpreting modal personality structure or personality configurations began to be questioned. Attention turned away from "culture and personality" studies and focused on studies of symbolic interaction, cognitive development, or conceptions

of the self and ethnopsychology (the study of personality and emotion in terms of native categories). Life history material has remained popular, but none of the Ramah life histories is as lengthy or as interesting as *Son of Old Man Hat* (Dyk 1966) or *Sun Chief* (Simmons and Hine 1963).[1] In other words, most of the Ramah personality data do not fit into contemporary frameworks; nor are they relevant to recent interests in social structure, political economy, gender, ethnicity, or issues of tribal sovereignty and cultural preservation.

Even the short description of Ramah social organization written by Kluckhohn and published posthumously (Kluckhohn 1966) is disappointing. As David Aberle (1973:90–93) has pointed out, Kluckhohn's tabulations were precise, but they tended to be enumerations on one variable, not associations of two or more variables. Connections between one pattern and another are not made, so that differences are not brought into conjunction with each other. Most importantly, interpretation is often substituted for explanation. From the Ramah monograph one gets no sense of how Navajo life fits together as a system and how personality, social structure, and culture are related. I feel that this is directly connected to the use of culture as a major organizing concept and the particular definition of culture that Kluckhohn used. By concentrating on patterns and configurations, and by abstracting these one by one from informant statements and behavioral observations, one gets little sense of the relationships among patterns. Where a relationship is presented, it is often imposed by the investigator, and when a single pattern is explained, it is done through Western psychological theory or functionalism.

Finally, the focus on patterns meant that process was ignored. Kluckhohn had felt that he was working toward a more accurate description of the culture of a population in order to understand change, but, at least at that stage in the Ramah research, cultural cycles (such as that of domestic groups) were not studied nor were unidirectional changes analyzed (such as the importance of population growth for resource utilization, the increasing impact of neighboring groups, and the effect of institutions such as schools on Navajo culture). In the period 1936 to 1948, Kluckhohn appears still to have been under the profound influence of American anthropology as shaped by Franz Boas. Although Kluckhohn was never a student of Boas, he was committed to a view of culture as patterned elements without a clear framework for analyzing relationships among individuals, groups, and shared ideas except as abstract patterns.

Kluckhohn's theoretical framework and his commitment to precise ethnographic recording are also related to his position on the ethical responsibilities of the researcher. His views on the relationship between anthropologists and native communities were expressed both in his publications and in "behind the scenes" activities on behalf of the Ramah Navajo and the Navajo Nation as a whole (Adair 1973). Kluckhohn accepted, implicitly, the relationship between a nation-state and an ethnic minority like the Navajo. He felt that one of the major questions of the time was understanding how minority peoples could be dealt with so

that they would not be a perpetual problem and so that human values embedded in their lifeways would not be lost to the rest of humanity (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946:xvi).

Kluckhohn viewed the situation of the Navajo in the late 1930s and early 1940s as "the nation's foremost Indian problem." He saw their situation as one of adjusting to (perhaps inevitable) "technological change," yet felt that this process could be less disruptive if "human needs" and cultural differences were taken into account. The problem was one of inadequate communication between administrators and Navajos, and Kluckhohn sought to make government and private programs more effective through social science research and publication that communicated the native culture to members of the larger U.S. society. "The central aim of this book," Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946:xix) explain in discussing *The Navajo*, "is to supply the background needed by the administrator or teacher who is to deal effectively with the people in human terms."

Anthropologists are, therefore, "interpreters," "brokers," or "intermediaries"—those who translate native cultures to others, including those teachers, health personnel, government agents, and other administrators who have to "deal with" minority populations. Even though the categories of the ethnography were those of current anthropological theory or derived from Western categories, the emphasis was on presenting Navajo culture in its own terms as "baseline," in order to record later changes and responses to contact with other cultures. In this conception of the anthropologist's role, there is little analysis of power relationships, of inequality, and of poverty. Change is viewed as inevitable, the product of contact between two cultures (defined neutrally with regard to each other), but there is no analysis of the economic, political, educational, and religious institutions which impinge on life within minority populations and determine relationships between traders and customers, teachers and students, doctors and patients, and government agents and clientele.

In a personal way, however, Kluckhohn did his best to make the wishes of Navajos known to the appropriate authorities. For example, he took an active role in helping the Ramah Navajo become part of the United Pueblo Agency rather than under the jurisdiction of the more distant and unresponsive Window Rock Agency, and he was an important witness for the Navajo Tribe in their Land Claims Case. Kluckhohn, in these and other activities, took the informal role of "broker," mediating between the Navajo and non-Navajos, much the same role he filled in the more formal context of published anthropological scholarship.

Kluckhohn saw no contradiction between purely anthropological and scientific problems and the potential usefulness of this material for those involved with policy decisions relating to Navajo life. He felt that his study of Navajo culture and personality patterns would lead to more humane decisions on the part of those who actually made policy with regard to health, education, and land use. His writings were not directed toward specific policy decisions, but in his personal actions he worked to bring about the decisions he felt Navajos wanted.

LOUISE LAMPHERE

The Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures: 1949–1955

In 1948, the study of the Ramah Navajo became part of a new team project. In the years following World War II, Kluckhohn's participation in the formation of the Department of Social Relations at Harvard and his growing interest in the social theories of his colleague Talcott Parsons turned him to the study of values. Kluckhohn's predisposition for interdisciplinary research was compatible with the philosophy of the department, and Parsonian structural-functionalism provided a more sophisticated formulation of the relationship between culture and personality. Parsons's analysis of the social system posited a series of analytic layers: the biological organism, the personality, the social system (with four functional subsystems), and culture. Social interaction in Parsons's "action frame of reference" was oriented by "pattern variables" or, in later formulations, by "value orientations." Kluckhohn had disagreements with Parsons's framework (for example, in positing social structure as autonomous from culture), but the term *value orientation* and sociological functionalism as an approach undoubtedly influenced his thinking about values (Edmonson 1973:176).

The Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures Project was a six-year enterprise, funded for $100,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation and administered through the Laboratory of Social Relations under an advisory committee consisting of Kluckhohn, J. O. Brew, and Talcott Parsons. John M. Roberts and Evon Z. Vogt served as the field directors. Between 1949 and 1953, more than thirty-seven fieldworkers from a variety of social science disciplines conducted research on a number of specific topics.

The Values Project focused on an empirical study of values and their variation, using a comparison of five communities in the Ramah area: the Mormons, the Texan Homesteaders, the Spanish Americans, the Zuni, and the Navajo. Kluckhohn felt that the Ramah area was an ideal setting for comparison since the five communities were small in size, were subject to the same historical process, and yet contrasted in important ways (Kluckhohn 1951a:ix).

The goal of the project was to explore why cultural variations and differences persisted among these communities, given the similar environment and technology available within the region. In other words, the project was to work toward a more complex understanding of one aspect of culture (values) rather than to study process and change as such. In this context, the Ramah Navajo were treated as if they were not a subpopulation within the larger Navajo culture (where generalizations could be made that applied to the Navajo as a whole), but instead as a complete "society" to be compared with four other non-Navajo populations.

One of the immediate problems of the project was to define the concept of "values" and to provide a framework for studying them. In reaching an early definition, Kluckhohn utilized his previous writing on the concept of culture. He defined *values* in terms of "orientations toward experience which influence choice," a notion

not too different from that of *pattern* or *configuration* (Edmonson 1973:168–69, 174). Later, Kluckhohn's (1951b:395) published definition included the notion of "the desirable" to distinguish values from culture in general. "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action."

During the course of the Values Project three schemes for the study of values emerged: Ethel Albert's classification (Vogt and Albert 1966) adopted the categories of Western philosophy; Florence Kluckhohn's sociological value-orientation scheme postulated variations in value orientations along six universal dimensions (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961); and Clyde Kluckhohn's own framework for comparison of value-emphases depended on binary oppositions derived from structural linguistics and distinctive feature analysis (Vogt and Albert 1966:12). Kluckhohn did not fully explicate his scheme until the mid-1950s after most of the fieldwork for the Values Project had been completed. It reflected his increasing disenchantment with functional explanations and the influence of structuralism on his thinking (see Lamphere and Vogt 1973:98–100). That no single scheme was adopted by all researchers reflected not only the difficulty of constructing a framework for studying a topic as abstract as values, but also the loose integration and interdisciplinary composition of the project.

Like the Ramah Project, the Values Project emphasized a permissive policy that allowed fieldworkers considerable freedom in their choice of topic, methodology, and analysis. Not only were diverse definitions of values used, but some fieldworkers specialized in a single culture while others compared two or more of the five cultures. Some work focused on values, while other research concerned the relationship of values to an aspect of environment, personality, or culture (Vogt and Albert 1966:4). Taking all the projects together, it seems likely that, while investigators acknowledged the relationship between their studies and the general topic of values, they focused on topics of more immediate interest only peripherally related to values.

These studies of the Ramah Navajo did, however, build on the ethnographic and theoretical base already provided by Kluckhohn and his coworkers in the early 1940s. Some studies "filled in" data not previously collected, explicitly or implicitly using Kluckhohn's statements about Navajo cultural patterns and configurations in examining these "new" areas. Examples include the study of aesthetic and philosophical aspects of Navajo culture, such as David McAllester's study of *Enemy Way Music,* George Mill's book on *Navajo Art and Culture,* and John Ladd's monograph on Navajo ethics, *The Structure of a Moral Code* (all listed in the bibliography of Vogt and Albert 1966).

Of all these Ramah monographs, I have always been the most impressed by Ladd's book. Though based on only two months of fieldwork, it provides a "microlevel" analysis of Navajo "norms" and moral precepts that offers an extremely accurate picture of what Navajos are like.

Two other studies, Vogt's (1951) "Navajo Veterans" and Rapoport's (1954) monograph on missionary activities expanded the use of psychological tests and life history data begun by Kluckhohn and the Leightons and also dealt with change and acculturation. They illustrate both the type of culture and personality studies current in the early 1950s and the integration of anthropological, sociological, and psychological methods that was part of the Harvard Social Relations milieu. Both authors used Kluckhohn's list of implicit configurations as a "baseline" for determining Navajo values (Vogt 1951:35–38; Rapoport 1954:51–54). Both designed their own psychological tests in addition to using standard personality tests and collecting life histories. Furthermore, these studies entailed a research design more complex than anything attempted during the Ramah Project. Both investigators focused on subpopulations within the Ramah Navajo community and formulated specific hypotheses that could be tested with their data. Not only was hypothesis testing a more sophisticated approach than formulating questions, as Kluckhohn and his coworkers had done, but these hypotheses reflected, in each case, a model of the relationship between the individual personality, the social situation, and various aspects of culture such as values. While the Ramah Project remained descriptive, these studies looked for relationships among variables and viewed aspects of Navajo life as forming some sort of "system."

Other aspects of the Ramah Project were carried on into the Values Project. Fieldworkers continued to contribute their field notes to the growing Ramah Files. New file drawers were set aside, some for each of the five cultures, and notes (dittoed in multiple copies) were filed on five-by-eight-inch sheets under as many HRAF system categories as applied to the material. Like Kluckhohn's previous categories, the new system was imposed from the outside rather than based on Navajo concepts. Even the schemes for describing values were derived from external categories: this was necessary, perhaps, for cross-cultural comparison, but was not as faithful to Navajo distinctions as later approaches have been.[2]

An overall appraisal of the Values Project did not appear until 1966, several years after Kluckhohn's death (Vogt and Albert 1966). It contains comparisons among the five cultures on a series of topics rather than an overall synthesis of the study of values alone. By the time the book appeared, interest in values in anthropology had waned and other theoretical approaches and new methods had emerged.

The Values Project did not alter the anthropologists' relation to the native community, but did change their mission to nonanthropological audiences. Partly because of its cross-cultural nature, the Values Project aimed at a more abstract scientific understanding of values, instead of emphasizing the practical and policy-oriented ways in which cultural interpretation could affect the actions of teachers, administrators, and health personnel. The task was to understand "human behavior," the universal features of society and culture, rather than the workings of one culture or a particular community. This mirrors, I think, the turn away from "applied anthropology" or more action-oriented approaches in the late 1950s and 1960s in an attempt to build a more rigorous anthropology that could be more

closely connected with cross-cultural generalizations and with the findings of other social sciences.

Just as the Ramah Project concentrated on the culture of the Navajo as more or less isolated from the social forces that impinged on it, the Values Project was, in its original conception, a study of five "cultures" or "societies" in isolation from the larger nation-state. It was perhaps naïve to see each of these five communities as being five "societies" or "cultures." Important historical connections between the larger "cultures" and the Ramah area communities were ignored, and the power relationships among these populations and with outside forces were largely unexplored. All cultures were assumed to share the same technology, rather than having differential access to an economic system controlled from outside the region, and the microenvironmental differences among their habitats were discounted. In discussing differences among the five "political systems," emphasis was on local decision-making patterns, while the implications of subordination to the wider society were not explicitly drawn.

Research on Ramah during the 1960s and 1970s

A third phase of research in the Ramah area was mainly characterized by the presence of summer field schools in ethnography (in 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1972) and some individual short-term research (Blanchard 1971). As a participant in the 1963 field school supported by the National Science Foundation (Lamphere 1964) and as someone interested in the study of land use, domestic group organization, and authority patterns (Reynolds, Lamphere, and Cook 1967), I was in a position to understand the difficulties of the use of long-term research data by a "new generation" of anthropologists. There are many problems in using previously collected material when no one with firsthand knowledge of that project is available and when changes in research methodology and theoretical orientation alter the usefulness of a given body of material. These issues are much more important in assessing the Ramah Project and the Values Project as examples of long-term research than are either their team composition or their loose organization.

As a well-studied community with already established contacts and a substantial data file (located at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe since its transfer from Harvard in 1963), Ramah should have been an ideal location for continued training and research in ethnography and social anthropology. However, Kluckhohn's death in 1960 severed the personal ties between anthropologists and the Ramah Navajo. Many of Kluckhohn's students moved on to other research areas or began to work on other parts of the Navajo reservation. Links to individual families were lacking, as was someone with a thorough knowledge of the community who could have interpreted the masses of accumulated data. It was as if the "key" to the Ramah Files had died with Kluckhohn. Only hours of digging through "cut up" field notes revealed facts that might easily have come to light in a conversation with him.

Problems in using the files were related to the kinds of data collected and to the categories used in filing, which were in turn determined by the theoretical foci of the Ramah Project and the Values Project. Economic data were only to be found in "bits and pieces"; basic demographic and land-use data were incomplete. In general, it was difficult to gain an overall picture of the economic and social structure of the community, since Ramah research (intended as descriptive ethnography or studies of personality and values) had not focused on these types of data. For instance, in one search through the Ramah Files, I located the 1948 census but not a version updated through the 1950s. Particularly lacking was a classification of individuals into households and residence groups and the linking of these to a map indicating spatial location of kin groups and land use. Kluckhohn's genealogy of the Ramah Navajo (obtained from Richard Kluckhohn), the 1963 Tribal Census for Ramah, and the Allotment Files (then located in the Gallup Area BIA Office) were much more useful for constructing an analysis of residence patterns and land use than anything I found in the Ramah files.

Long-Term Research in Other Navajo Communities

While research in Ramah had focused on general ethnography, on Navajo personality, and later on values, fieldwork carried out by Malcolm Carr Collier at Navajo Mountain in 1938–1939 and by William Y. Adams sixteen years later at Shonto indicated an interest in local social and economic organization, a trend which characterized much community research in the 1960s. Many projects began as individual, two-person or team projects on a short-term basis and later were continued either by the same researcher or by others with access to the original data. The two major projects involving more than two researchers were those sponsored by Cornell University at Fruitland and Many Farms. Both focused on culture change—the former on the ramifications of an irrigation project and the latter on the impact of a new health clinic—and both were very much in the mainstream of 1950s-style "applied anthropology."

In many ways, the research of the late 1950s and 1960s overcame the theoretical and methodological difficulties of the Ramah research. Fieldworkers did a much better job of collecting economic and social structural data on local communities (Shepardson and Hammond 1970; Lamphere 1977; Aberle 1981b). They went much further in understanding Navajo cultural categories. Better control of the language by several investigators made it possible to investigate problems such as social structure, health, and ceremonialism according to Navajo taxonomy and conceptualization (see Witherspoon 1975). A "thicker," more complex understanding of Navajo culture and social relationships has come about not only from new methodological approaches and better collection of demographic, economic, and social structural data, but also from the sum total of a large number of short-term and long-term studies in different areas of the reservation.

Over the decades, the Navajo Nation has changed considerably. The Ramah community exemplifies some of these changes. During the 1960s, the community became more completely integrated into Navajo tribal politics and programs. A new Chapter House was constructed, an FM radio station started, and a community-controlled high school founded when the Navajo community took over the Mormon school which was being closed due to declining enrollments. A new suburban housing complex was built on reservation land about five miles east of Ramah. In the 1970s, a new multi-million-dollar elementary and high school complex was built away from the Mormon town in the heart of the Navajo residential area. A health clinic owned by the Ramah Navajo School Board also serves this population.

These changes seem strangely unrelated and untouched by previous anthropological research. There was some resentment against anthropologists; for example, the 1972 field school had difficulty placing students with families and gaining cooperation from some Navajos (Blanchard 1977). On the other hand, a student quarterly published during the 1970s, *Tsa aszi'* (*The Yucca*), illustrates that young Ramah Navajos were doing their own ethnography. The journal included pictorial essays on cultural patterns (medicines, proverbs, traditional hair styles, and dress) and daily activities (how to shear sheep, butcher, weave a rug, prepare natural dyes, and make a silver bracelet). Drawings and poetry were also published. By the late 1970s, the community had gained a more definite sense of itself and more control over its political affairs. In the process, some community members came to question the validity of traditional anthropological research done by outsiders and its usefulness in terms of Ramah's own goals.

These changes were characteristic of those felt throughout the Navajo reservation in the 1960s and early 1970s and serve as a backdrop for understanding the Lake Powell Project, a very different kind of long-term research project. Throughout the Navajo reservation, the growth of county and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools, Indian Health Service facilities, and new industries reflected the increasing impact of Anglo-dominated institutions. Government and tribal programs increased, ranging from the poverty programs of the 1960s to legal services and community-controlled schools in the 1970s. The Tribal Government faced complex disputes and negotiations regarding the Hopi–Navajo Joint Use Area, licensing of Anglo traders, industrial development, and natural resource utilization (including coal strip-mining and power plant construction). These developments indicated not only a new level of change for the Navajo Nation, but also the need for a new kind of anthropological research.

The Lake Powell Project: 1972–1977

The Lake Powell Research Project, "Collaborative Research on Assessment of Man's Activities in the Lake Powell Region," represented the involvement of anthropologists in interdisciplinary research with physical scientists and other social

scientists. Through a large grant from the NSF RANN (Research Applied to National Needs) Program, geologists, biologists, geochemists, and other environmental scientists studied the impact of the Glen Canyon Dam and Lake Powell on the surrounding environment as well as on the development of coal-burning power stations surrounding the lake. Anthropologists collaborated not with psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists as in the Ramah Project, but with lawyers, political scientists, and medical personnel to study the impact of water and power development on human populations. The overall project was composed of several disciplinary and interdisciplinary subprojects, including three (anthropology, epidemiology, and law/political science) which dealt with the Navajo in relation to Lake Powell. Each of these subprojects centered on a narrow problem or set of topics. They employed a variety of techniques and team-research approaches (Henderson and Levy 1975).

The anthropology subproject, headed by Jerrold Levy (principal investigator) from the University of Arizona and Lynn Robbins (senior investigator) of the Huxley College of Environmental Studies, focused on the economic impact of strip-mining and power plant construction on Navajo families in three communities: Page, its adjacent rural area (Lechee), and nearby Black Mesa. Several families in the adjacent Kaibeto–Red Lake area studied between 1960 and 1969 by Levy and Stephen Kunitz were used as a control group. These Lake Powell microstudies were built on two kinds of previous research: short-term, reservation-wide, and community-specific studies on such topics as social organization, homicide, suicide, and drinking patterns; and long-term contact with families in the Kaibeto–Red Lake area, supplemented by recent fieldwork on kin-group adaptations since the 1920s.

The microstudies combined participant observation techniques with an extensive survey. A sample of seventy-five to a hundred households in each community was queried regarding household and residence group structure, income and economic resources, industrial work experience, cooperative patterns, health, and political behavior. These data were analyzed to document changes in the economy, social organization, and cooperative networks in the three communities. Other papers published by the project dealt with an analysis of Navajo voting patterns (Levy 1977), the impact of power production on Navajo development (Robbins 1975a), Navajo participation in labor unions (Robbins 1975b), and the impact of industrialization on Navajo households (Callaway, Levy, and Henderson 1976).

These anthropological microstudies involved a tighter program of team research than that conducted in Ramah, with the exception of Florence Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) survey on value orientations. This tighter team organization was aimed at both the isolation of long-term trends and the testing of a series of specific hypotheses. The Lake Powell Research Project was well equipped to examine "process," especially long-range changes in the microeconomy and social organization of the Navajo and in the relationship of the Navajo Nation to the broader Anglo-American economy and political structure.

To complement these anthropological surveys, the law/political science subproject took a "case study" approach to understanding the history of Navajo water rights and how they were affected by the legislation that permitted the construction of Lake Powell. In collaboration with the anthropology subproject, two lawyers investigated the history of the Navajo Generating Plant and the role of the Navajo Tribal decisions to develop the coal resources on Black Mesa. This focus on the relationship between state government, federal agencies, private industrial interests, and the Navajo Tribe had been missing in most previous ethnographic research (Mann, Weatherford, and Nichols 1974; Mann 1976).

Navajo Research since the 1980s: Toward the Navajo Healing Project

Even though the Lake Powell Project dealt with policy-related issues, it was still funded and carried out by non-Navajo investigators. With the increasing importance of cultural resource management and the growth of Diné College and community-controlled schools, research and publications by Navajo scholars and teachers began to appear in the 1970s.

Diné College, through its Navajo Studies Program and the Diné College Press, has published more than thirty books documenting important historical events, such as the Long Walk and Livestock Reduction (Roessel and Johnson 1973, 1974), as well as a history of Navajo education (Thompson 1975). The Navajo Curriculum Center (which is now the Rough Rock Press), operating out of the Rough Rock Demonstration Project and Community-Controlled School, published a version of the Navajo origin story (Yazzie 1971), a pictorial history of the Navajo (Roessel 1980), a collection of biographical sketches (Hoffman 1974), a book on the *Kinaalda* or girls' puberty ritual with text in both Navajo and English (Begay 1983), and a book on Navajo women (Roessel 1981). During the mid-1980s, it published a Navajo Oral Tradition series written in both Navajo and English by Alfred W. Yazzie, a Navajo *hataalii* from Fort Defiance (Yazzie 1984).

The same strip-mining and power line projects that inspired the Lake Powell Project also spawned a great deal of archaeological contract work as federal law necessitated a study of any land to be disturbed by roads, power lines, mines, or other projects. Most of this research is strictly archaeological and some of it has been based in the Navajo Nation Cultural Resource Management Program and the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department. However, some archaeological projects have utilized cultural anthropologists who have conducted ethnohistorical research on kinship and land-use patterns. Klara Kelly (1986) has published a fine study of the McKinley Mine area near Window Rock, and Fred York (1990) has studied Navajo settlement outside the eastern boundaries of the Navajo Reservation and in the Chaco Canyon area. In 1986, the Navajo Nation created a Historic Preservation Department, and, as employees of the department, Kelly and

Navajo researcher Harris Francis collaborated in a reservation-wide study of Navajo sacred places (Kelly and Francis 1993, 1994).

A number of Anglo scholars have continued to conduct research on the Navajo reservation. Much of this research was not located in a particular community, but treated the reservation as a whole; and several projects, although framed in terms of a scientific problem, had policy implications (for health issues, mining, and environmental issues, etc.).

Originally involved in the Lake Powell Research Project in the 1970s, Stephen Kunitz and Jerrold Levy have continued studies started during that project and also have expanded their horizons. They have examined issues of the Navajo life career, both in terms of aging (Kunitz and Levy 1991) and in terms of social/health issues such as drinking. Some twenty years after their initial publication (Levy and Kunitz 1974), they issued a follow-up study (Kunitz and Levy 1994). Recently, after more than thirty years of collaborative research with the same population, they have assembled a collection of papers focused on the origins, trajectory, and consequences of alcohol use among the Navajo (Kunitz and Levy 2000). In addition, Levy has ventured beyond his long-term work on health issues to ponder the myths and verities of Navajo origin stories (Levy 1998).

Other scholars have found their work taking on new significance because of changing legislation and legal issues involving the Navajo and other Native American populations. For example, Charlotte Frisbie (1987) continued her research on Navajo religion by focusing on Navajo ceremonial *jish,* or medicine bundles, and their disposition. Her book has become particularly relevant since the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990. Federal agencies and museums must now repatriate human and cultural remains, including sacred objects, but the private art market (where many *jish* circulate) has remained unaffected (Frisbie 1993).

While David Aberle continued to publish on kinship (1981a, 1981b, 1985, 1989) based on his long-term research in Pinon, perhaps more significant has been his role as a member of the American Anthropological Association ad hoc panel on the Navajo–Hopi Land Dispute. During the height of the dispute, Aberle offered yearly updates on the progress of the conflict and the impact of relocation on Navajo families (e.g., Aberle 1993).

During the 1980s, a new generation of Anglo scholars, especially students (e.g., Mark Bauer and Mark Schoepfle) of Oswald Werner at Northwestern and students (e.g., Eric Henderson, Christine Conte, Ann Wright, Scott Russell, and Tracey Andrews) of Jerrold Levy at the University of Arizona, completed dissertations on the Navajo. Many of these young scholars subsequently collaborated with Navajo researchers and translators (often teachers at Diné College) on topics relevant to contemporary Navajo life. For example, Mark Schoepfle collaborated with several researchers including Navajo researcher Ken Begishe on a study of the Navajo–Hopi Land Dispute (Schoepfle et al. 1979) and worked with Navajos on a study of Navajo perception of energy development on the Navajo

environment (Schoepfle et al. 1978). Mark Bauer and Frank Morgan (Navajo scholar at NCC Shiprock) published on Navajo conflict resolution (Bauer and Morgan 1987). More recently, Anne Wright and Mark Bauer, along with Navajo researchers Frank Morgan and Ken Begishe, conducted a study of Navajo beliefs and practices surrounding infant breast-feeding (Wright, Clark, and Bauer 1993; Wright et al. 1993).

Current issues of anthropological theory have been examined in the Navajo context. For instance, studies of the transformation of the informal economy among the Navajo from 1868 to 1995 (Francisconi 1998) and the question of gender identity and personhood among the Navajo (Schwarz 1997) not only provide valuable data, but also offer new perspectives on questions posed by earlier researchers among the Navajo.

Nor have earlier Navajo research projects been exempt from critical reflection and reanalysis. For example, Katherine Halpern and Susan McGreevy (1997) have reconsidered the cultural studies done by Washington Matthews between 1880 and 1894, while James Faris (1996) has provided a critical history of the photographic representations of the Navajo since the 1870s. In 1993, Willow Roberts [Powers], then a doctoral student at the University of New Mexico, interviewed a number of researchers, colleagues, and students of Kluckhohn for a dissertation on the Values Project. In setting the Values Project in its historical and theoretical contexts, her work helps us to discern to what extent the Ramah Research Files can provide useful data for further research in those five communities (Powers 2000).

In 1986, Charlotte Frisbie and Dave Brugge organized the first Navajo Studies Conference at the University of New Mexico for the purpose of collating and disseminating some of the research back to the Navajo people. Over two hundred persons heard some thirty papers on archaeology, history, religion, and social organization. Most of the presenters were Anglo scholars, but there were sessions on the issues of repatriation of sacred objects and the Navajo–Hopi land dispute, both of which involved presentations by Navajos. Over the years, the emphasis has shifted from scholarly sessions to a combination of scholarly papers and a variety of traditional activities (shoe games, Yeibichai dances), recognition banquets, tours of archaeological sites, and film showings. More Navajo scholars or Navajo Nation employees and teachers give presentations, as evidenced by an examination of the history of the conferences held through the year 2000 (cf. www.sjc.cc.nm.us/Campserv/NAP/conference/navstudy.html).

Diné Be'iina', published by Diné College, Shiprock, and the *Journal of Navajo Education*, published by editor Daniel McLaughlin, were important in the late 1980s and 1990s for scholarly work, poetry, and writing on educational issues. A great deal of interest has focused on issues of language maintenance and literacy in Navajo in a period when language loss is becoming more acute.

Several Navajo scholars are teaching at universities in the Southwest. Roseanne Willink is teaching Navajo language and linguistics courses at the

University of New Mexico; Mary Ann Willie is at the University of Arizona; Alice Neuendorf (1983), author of a Navajo/English bilingual children's dictionary, has been an assistant professor of bilingual education at Northern Arizona University; and Jennie R. Joe is the director of the Native American Research and Training Center at the University of Arizona. Joe's work on disabilities issues (1980; Joe and Miller 1987; Joe and Locust 1989; Joe and Young 1994), diabetes (Joe and Young 1993), drug issues (Joe and Young 1992), relocation (Scudder et al. 1982), and even firefighters (Joe and Miller 1993) have been important contributions in the area of applied medical anthropology.

The Navajo Healing Project

In 1993, Thomas J. Csordas began a five-year study of Navajo healing (comparing traditional, Native American Church, and Charismatic Christian forms). Although initiated and funded by non-Navajos, this project has been much more collaborative than long-term projects begun in early decades. Ethnographic interviews and observations have been gathered for ninety-five healers and eighty-four patients within the different healing traditions across the Navajo reservation. Several articles (see a special thematic issue of *Medical Anthropological Quarterly*, especially Csordas 2000 and Lamphere 2000) and two dissertations (John Garrity and Elizabeth Lewton) already have been completed. In 1999, the project received a three-year continuation from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH).

The Navajo Healing Project demonstrates the strengths of a methodology that is becoming more prevalent in anthropological research. Research teams combine anthropologists from outside the community with researchers from within the community itself or members of the same ethnic population. This collaborative team approach has meant that the Navajo Healing Project can examine a much broader range of healing traditions throughout the reservation than has been possible in the past. Only this style of ethnography, combined with a long-term approach, can elucidate the complex and multilayered sets of experiences in three healing traditions among the Navajo. Moreover, the inclusion of Navajo researchers has meant that frameworks more compatible with Navajo categories can evolve as the research continues. Thus, Csordas and his collaborators are able to achieve a level of analysis that was simply beyond the dreams of Kluckhohn, Vogt, and other anthropologists of an earlier era.

Conclusions

Research on the Navajo has gone through four phases since the 1930s. Large-scale, long-term research projects have been important in all of these phases. In the first phase, represented by the Ramah Project, Kluckhohn and his students researched specific ethnographic topics with careful attention to details and vari-

ation. Kluckhohn's theoretical interest in culture and in covert and overt patterning led him to generalized abstractions about Navajo culture phrased in anthropological categories, not those of the Navajo. The Ramah population was seen as a laboratory for understanding Navajo culture in general; the focus was on the community itself rather than on its place in the larger society. The policy orientation that underlay some of Kluckhohn's and Leighton's research seems almost naively paternalistic by the standard of the twenty-first century, as some researchers (Adams 1993; Faris 1993) now acknowledge.

In the second phase, beginning with the Values Project in Ramah and continuing through the community research of the 1960s, culture was still an important analytic concept, but more attention was paid to a theoretical framework that integrated various aspects of culture, personality, and social structure. More consideration was given to understanding Navajo social structure and culture in terms of Navajo categories (Witherspoon 1975; Lamphere 1977), but few were able to link changes in Navajo life to an analysis of the impact of American economic and political forces upon the Navajo.

In the third phase, exemplified by the Lake Powell Research Project of the 1970s, Anglo anthropologists were able to combine careful collection of local-level socioeconomic data with analyses of the Navajo Nation's relationship to state, federal, and private industrial interests concerned with resource development. The Lake Powell Project was not concerned with describing Navajo culture per se. Rather than treating local communities as isolates, the project explicitly studied the links between the Navajo and the "outside" world and was policy oriented. However, in both the second and third phases, Anglo research interests and a commitment to a scientific paradigm continued to determine both long-term and short-term studies.

In the fourth phase, exemplified by the Navajo Healing Project, from 1993 through 2001, anthropological research has been conducted in a much different setting than existed in earlier times. The Navajo Nation has established more institutions interested in research and published materials (e.g., Diné College, the Historic Preservation Department). In this context, research has become more collaborative and more defined by Navajos who work in these institutions. This reorientation also has characterized research with other Native American populations (Merrill, Ladd, and Ferguson 1993; Dongoske, Ferguson, and Yeatts 1994).

Applied research connected with cultural resource management (CRM), historic preservation, repatriation, and policy-related issues such as aging, diabetes, drinking, and relocation has become as important as traditional topics such as Navajo cultural patterns, ceremonialism, values, kinship, and social structure. With the need for more teaching materials in both English and Navajo, there is renewed interest in biography (or life history) and Navajo history. Institutions such as the Navajo Museum, Diné College, and the Navajo Nation Preservation Department could become long-term repositories for research.

The extent to which Anglo researchers and universities will continue to contribute to long-term study of the Navajo depends, I think, on the willingness of non-Navajos to collaborate with Navajo scholars and to forge their research agenda in concert with local communities where research takes place and with other institutions on the reservation. The example of the Navajo Healing Project demonstrates that long-term studies *can* be transformed from Ramah-style enterprises designed, funded, and conducted by non-Navajos using external cognitive categories. I imagine a future in which collaborative long-term research efforts will continue to evolve. Conceived and directed by Navajo principal investigators, the next generation of long-term studies surely will demand new methods, new theories, and new forms of collaboration among Navajo and non-Navajo anthropologists.

Notes

I would like to thank Willow Roberts Powers for reading the first version of this chapter and for providing helpful comments concerning the field notes for the Ramah Project and Values Project.

1. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, interest in life histories resurfaced. Joyce Griffen has edited and annotated the previously unpublished life history of "Lucky" collected by Alexander and Dorothea Leighton (1992) and is working on another life history for publication. Various segments of the Navajo population are often interested in the publication of life histories for use in classrooms and as a part of preserving Navajo traditional life.

2. Willow Roberts Powers reminded me that the way in which data were classified often resulted in irrelevant material being placed in a category. For example, a description of a young Hispanic traveling to Grants to go drinking was categorized under "Non-Alcoholic Beverages" (which were not mentioned in the notes), "Alcoholic Beverages," and "Children's Games." Using the files can be frustrating since one may read through several inches of notes without finding much of interest; she has found the chronological notes filed under each fieldworker's name to be much more rewarding to use.

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