

## Women Anthropologists and Detective Writing

Frank A. Salamone

Iona College and University of Phoenix

The purpose of anthropology is to make the world safe for human differences. Ruth Benedict The Eternal Feminine and the Eternal Male in Western Thought

There has long been an overt or covert belief in the innate difference between males and females in Euro-American culture. Even those who may deny the innateness of the dichotomy and of its biological roots will hold for its cultural truthfulness. At least this modified position holds out for possible change and that things can be other than they are. However, the consequences of the dichotomy, whatever its root source in nature or culture (nature/nurture) is the same: woman is put on a pedestal and man is demonized. This view has consequences for female novelists which can limit their subject matter and their treatment of it.

The Eternal Feminine is a philosophical position going back at least as far as Plato and, perhaps, best expressed in the Goethe's *Faust*. The ideas are clearly expressed in James Brown's version of "It's a Man's World," a song he co-wrote with Betty Jean Newsome Brown. In the song, Betty Jean Newsome Brown, contrasts the nature of women and man in what many felt perpetuated the stereotypes of the passive woman and the dynamic though often evil active man. It is a popular version of the long running ideal of the innate virtues and vices of the men and women.

Elena P. O'Brien in her Master's Thesis (2012 5) notes

Plato's teachings of the Eternal Feminine, as well as other aspects of the thought of the great philosopher, have influenced and continue to influence Western philosophical and theological thought up to the present day: The

neo-Platonic Philosophy, the ideas of the Church Fathers, the Cabbalistic Jewish Mysticism, and the Christian Mysticism of Jacob Böhme have all been inspired by Plato. Although these thinkers and their schools of thought are different in many aspects, they all have similar goals in common: to explain the higher spiritual reality and the mystery of the universe by giving a special attention to the Feminine principle and by trying to define the special role of this principle and trying to juxtapose it to the Masculine principle or that of the eternal Father which plays the central role in the Jewish-Christian tradition

O'Brien (2012 60) develops this idea in discussing the contrast between the two principles and the role of the Eternal Feminine in redemptive thought.

In other words, the existence of the Eternal Feminine presupposes the existence of the Eternal Masculine principle. The Eternal Mother is connected to the Eternal Father. . . . Goethe`s representation of the Eternal Feminine has a strong redemptive element to it which becomes apparent in the concluding part of the drama Faust.

The very essence of this concluding episode is Faust`s salvation, his escape from the clutches of Mephisto and eternal damnation. The leading agent of salvation is the Feminine principle . . . Faust is being fought over by an army of the feminine and attractive Angels who battle the powers of Satan with love and use their charms to disarm Satan. Another feminine figure, Gretchen, is leading Faust to his new world, again surrounded by female repented sinners . . .

Women are, then, the softer sex, the carriers of goodness and wisdom, the civilizers and domesticators. The tropes are too familiar to bear full listing and repetition. What is more important

is to ascertain whether there is any truth to the image. Do female novelists differ in large degree from male authors? More importantly, I think, do those whose training is in cultural differences and influences exhibit or reject these differences? Do female anthropologists who are novelists differ significantly from male anthropologists? To make it more interesting do they differ when writing in the same genres, detective novels and science fiction?

The work of four anthropological writers is explored, two females and two males. One male and female are from earlier periods. Similarly, one female and male are currently writing. The representatives of the earlier period are Margot Arnold and Chad Oliver. Kathy Reichs and Aaron Elkins represent the more recent period. In many ways there is a contrast between authors of the earlier versus the later period as well as between male and female authors of the same period. The linguistic work of Deborah Tannen (1994) offers some guidance regarding the way in which men and women differ in their speaking styles. For instance, she notes in *You Just Don't Understand*

For males, conversation is the way you negotiate your status in the group and keep people from pushing you around; you use talk to preserve your independence.

Females, on the other hand, use conversation to negotiate closeness and intimacy; talk is the essence of intimacy, so being best friends means sitting and talking. For boy, activities, doing things together are central . . . (Deborah Tannen 95 1990).

Tannen is in a long tradition of linguists who argue somewhat along the same lines. For example, Shlomo Argamon Moshe Koppel, Jonathan Finec Anat Rachel Shimon state in *Gender, Genre, and Writing Style in Formal Written Texts*

Several statistical phenomena have emerged that appear to be fairly stable across a variety of contexts. For example, females seem to talk more about relationships

than do males (Aries & Johnson 1983; Tannen 1990) and use more compliments and apologies (Holmes 1988; Holmes 1989) and facilitative tag questions (Holmes 1984). Holmes (1993) has suggested that these and other phenomena might be generalized to a number of "universals" including that females are more attentive to the affective function of conversation and more prone to use linguistic devices that solidify relationships ( *Gender, Genre, and Writing Style in Formal Written Texts* 3, <http://u.cs.biu.ac.il/~koppel/papers/male-female-text-final.pdf>).

The question then is clear. First do these differences emerge in the writing of the anthropologists under discussion and what do they mean? If four representatives passage, two from males and two from females, are examined in light of Tannen's suggestions, then we should find distinct differences between male and female authors. We can then go on from there to probe more deeply into their writing and ideas. Before turning to this question we first need to examine the issue of culture and its relationship to nature, among other issues.

### **Anthropological Influence in Science Fiction: The Role of Women**

It is appropriate to start this chapter with a reference to Ursula Le Guin whose work forced readers and authors alike to rethink gender and its consequences. As John Wray notes

No single work did more to upend the genre's conventions than *The Left Hand of Darkness* (1969). In this novel, her fourth, Le Guin imagined a world whose human inhabitants have no fixed gender: their sexual roles are determined by context and express themselves only once every month. The form of the book is a mosaic of primary sources, an interstellar ethnographer's notebook, ranging from matter-of-fact journal entries to fragments of alien myth. Writers as diverse as Zadie Smith

and Algis Budrys have cited *The Left Hand of Darkness* as an influence, and Harold Bloom included it in *The Western Canon*. In the decades that followed, Le Guin continued to broaden both her range and her readership, writing the fantasy series she has perhaps become best known for, *Earthsea*, as well as the anarchist utopian allegory *The Dispossessed*, to name just a few books among dozens. Her productivity is remarkable. *Lavinia* (2008), her most recent novel, was her twenty-third book-length work of fiction (2013).

Although Le Guin is not a formally trained anthropologist, she comes by her knowledge of the field honestly. Her parents are revered in anthropology. Her mother was Theodora Krakow Kroeber and her father was Alfred Kroeber. Both were involved in folklore and anthropology and had many friends in these fields as well as the arts. *The Left Hand of Darkness* in fact is a novelistic treatment of Alfred Kroeber's theoretical stance stressing environment over biology, culture over nature.

Certainly, not all women anthropologists who write fiction choose to explore gender issues alone. In fact, male and female mystery authors tend to differ in general from most non-anthropological authors. However, one can make a good case that there is a difference in the way women anthropologists approach various genres compared with males, including male anthropologists, and I will try to make that case in exploring detective fiction. I will choose two female anthropological authors of mysteries and compare them with two male non-anthropological authors and two male anthropological mystery writers and two female non-anthropological female mystery writers. Kathy Reichs and Margot Arnold (real name Petronelle Marguerite Mary Cook) are both best-selling authors as are Aaron Elkins and Chad Oliver,

## General Background

Anthropology has had a great influence on popular culture since the nineteenth century. Not only have there been anthropologists who have written fiction themselves but there have been authors who have taken anthropological ideas and used them in their writings, fictional, dramatic, or poetic. In the Twentieth and Twenty First Centuries there have been movies featuring characters who are anthropologists. In many cases, the quality of the work in all these popular culture areas is surprisingly good. Indeed, the great authors include Joseph Conrad, T.S. Eliot, and Willa Cather among others.

Nancy Schmidt (1981) presents a fine discussion concerning the nature of ethnographic fiction in response to Langness and Frank's (1978) article *Fact, Fiction and the Ethnographic Novel*. Schmidt extends the meaning of the ethnographic novel beyond that of the earlier work. In addition to works written by anthropologists she adds the work of indigenous people, such as Chinua Achebe about his own culture and works by creative writers about another culture. Schmidt also discusses the importance of all these works in understanding cultural understanding.

That theme is more fully and explicitly explored in the writing of Eric Arnoff (2013) and Jeremy MacClancy (2008). Arnoff's article explores the work of Willa Cather in relation to Edward Sapir's concept of genuine and spurious culture. A significant passage in his fine article is the following. "Cather's work, then, embodies the ways in which aesthetics and social science, humanism and anthropology, progressivism and imperialism interpenetrated in the interdisciplinary debates over culture in the 'teens and '20s – the period in which one could argue "culture studies" first emerges. (2010:85). He then ties Cather to modernism and anthropology as well as the debates about the whole issue of culture raging today.

MacClancy is interested in similar issues but in a broader way. He examines the way in which anthropology has influenced many writers from Joseph Conrad to T. S. Eliot and beyond. He begins with the impact of the *Golden Bough* by Sir James Frazer and continues well into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century with the professionalization of the field into more recent times. His conclusion is quite insightful. It is a riff on Rodney Needham's comment that Claude Levi-Strauss should be considered not as a structuralist but as the greatest of surrealists. MacClancy then notes that "for all the pretension of some of its practitioners (anthropology) can be as much one of the humanities as one of the social studies, as much an art as a purported science (92)." In sum, he notes that there is no single anthropology but rather a "kaleidoscope of possible anthropologies, different patterns appearing with each turn" Each pattern influences different forms of literary expression.

Finally, it is important to note that some of the great literary writers of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century were trained in anthropology and had degrees in the field. Saul Bellow and Kurt Vonnegut, for example, were University of Chicago trained. Zora Neale Hurston was Franz Boas's student at Columbia. More recently, Kiran Narayan has written novels about her university days at Berkeley and her youth in India. John O. Stewart has written novels about Trinidad, his focus of study as well as his birth place.

There have been a number of other anthropologists who have written fiction. Certainly, Chad Oliver ranks among the elite of science fiction writing. Kathy Reich's excellent series featuring Temperance Brennan works in fine genre fiction, police procedural, along with exciting forensic anthropological work. The TV series has only added to her fans. Aaron Elkins had trod some of this ground before her, leaving professional anthropology for a successful career as a novelist who writes about Gideon Oliver, a forensic anthropologist.

There is a long tradition of anthropologists writing fiction about their fieldwork. Laura Bohannan's *Return to Laughter* is the most famous but there have been others. Issues of *Humanistic Anthropology*, for example, offer poetry and fiction celebrating the fieldwork experience. Certainly, the fieldwork experience is at the root of most anthropological fiction writing as well as most anthropological writing in general. Timothy Mason spoke eloquently of this fact (2006).

Although Elkins bills himself as a "former anthropologist" on his homepage (<http://www.aaronelkins.com>) his Gideon Oliver novels make it clear that the skeleton detective is very much a forensic anthropologist, Elkins says he is the first in the literature, and he draws deeply on his anthropological background while keeping the details of the work true to life in the midst of all the derring-do.

Thus, the image which professional anthropologists generally give of their anthropological heroes is a sympathetic one. Temperance Brennan in the novels is competent, has human faults, but her work is professional. Indeed, many of her problems in everyday life with lovers, her sister, or her daughter result from being so dedicated to her anthropological work. Anthropology becomes an all-consuming endeavor, an entity which one could say we anthropomorphize. In the TV show *Bones*, which portrays a younger version of Temperance Brennan, a great deal of humor is wrung out of this great dependence on anthropology and Tempe's belief that all one needs to know comes from anthropology and rationality.

It is true that Bohannan in both "Shakespeare in the Bush" and *Return to Laughter* pokes fun of herself and by implication her fellow anthropologists. The teasing is good-humored and one is left in no doubt that Red Woman has learned a great deal through having her field errors and presuppositions corrected through running up against the reality of real people in the real field.



There is no substitute for the field and no other professional, some would add personal, experience in an anthropologist's life ever quite matches it. Its uniqueness adds to the fiction of those anthropologists who succeed as novelists and feeds the foundational myth of the Heroic Anthropologist.

More widely famous among readers than most professional anthropologists who also write fiction, Kathy Reichs has written many bestsellers and is associated with a celebrated TV series, *Bones*. E.R. Wayman (2006:560) reports Reich as stating that every book she writes is based on one of her own cases or something she has done. She does so to keep the focus on facts, providing an anthropological education while she entertains. She teaches through her fact-based fiction, providing that spoonful of sugar along the way.

### **Students of Anthropology**

As mentioned there have been a number of authors who have gone on to great success as novelists after studying anthropology in the university. Not only do we have a great diversity of temperament and style among these authors, we have different views of life. However, amid this diversity there is a deep grounding in humanistic perception and an allegiance to promoting human values. If one adds Ursula K. Le Guin to this list, then we simply deepen the rooting in human values and expand the diversity.

It is important to note once more that the link between anthropology and literature is an old one, as Handler and Segal (1999) have noted. They see Jane Austen as modeling the ethnographic method, which anthropologists used later. They see in her fiction an exploration of the meaning of kinship, rank, marriage and courtship in late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century England. Using Austen's writings, they demonstrate how good fiction is ethnography and good ethnography follows the methods of fiction. Remember, for example, Chagnon's entrance into the field as he depicts in his

first chapter of *Yanomamo: The Fierce People* (1983:4 ff). He enters like a conquering hero, unafraid and ripe for adventure, the lone anthropologist conquering new worlds. It is an image he repeats in his videos and subsequent writings. It is both novelistic and cinematic. To a lesser extent others have followed suit. Paul Stoller in a number of his works continues this tradition, especially in his *In sorcery's shadow:*

*a memoir of apprenticeship among the Songhay of Niger*, 1987. Once again, the image of the heroic anthropologist is depicted in an ethnography, which, with just a few changes could easily have been a novel, and not just a mediocre novel but a great one.

One further example will strengthen my point. Kirin Narayan has proved herself one of the more creative anthropologists of her generation. She has written excellent ethnographic narratives, witty and sensitive. However, she has shunned the heroic anthropological image in both her narrative anthropological works and her fiction. Her *Love, Stars, and All That* (1993) is an honest reflection of the anthropological experience, filled with self-deprecating humor. That, in my mind, she emerges as heroic in this depiction is a consequence of her honesty and modesty. The work parallels her “Shared Stories” in Grindel and Salamone *Bridges to Humanity*, yet her novel is not simply fictionalized anthropology nor her “Shared Story” ethnography striving to be fiction.

Finally, a note should be given on anthropologists in movies. In “*Anthropologists in Films: ‘The Horror! The Horror!’*” Weston, et al. survey the depiction of anthropologists in the movies. They discovered that a large number of the films, 26 of 53, were horror films. More importantly, perhaps, the authors indicate that the films approach significant ethical issues. They chose *Wild in the Streets* (1968), with Richard Pryor as a kind of Malcolm X anthropologist, and somewhat predictably *Avatar*. These films deal with issues near and dear to most anthropologists: racism, imperialism, power imbalances and, of course, accuracy of representation of anthropological work.

## Brief Backgrounds

Perhaps the most famous anthropological fiction writer today Kathy Reichs became a popular novelist with her first novel, *Deja Dead*. The book made it to the New York Times Bestseller List, among many other such lists, while winning the Ellis Award in 1997 for Best First Novel. Many other novels followed soon after up to her newest novel, *Speaking in Bones* (2015). Additionally, she has published a number of young adult books with Brendan Reichs, her son.

Her books are admittedly based on her own anthropological experiences, teaching, consulting, and research. She has been a consultant to the Chief Medical Examiner in both North Carolina and Quebec. Additionally, she has taught various law enforcement agents to identify remains in many parts of the world, including the World Trade Center site. She continues to hold a teaching position at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte as a full professor of anthropology. Additionally, she has taught at numerous other places as a visiting professor. Her academic publications are numerous and well-respected.

In fact, Kathy Reichs waited until she was a full professor at the University of North Carolina to publish her first book, *Deja Dead*. There was a fear among working anthropologists that fiction or poetry writing may be considered as frivolous. However, as noted a number of anthropologists did write poetry and fiction but often under a pseudonym. Reichs has helped break down that prejudice. She notes, "Each of my books springs from a case or something I have done." Indeed, her main character, Temperance Brennan, is based on herself. The books are a means of teaching but also entertaining. Perhaps, it is more accurate to say that the entertainment is a means for teaching. (E.R. Wayman, "Forensic Anthropology." *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 47, No. 4 August 2006, p. 567)

Not quite so well-known as Kathy Reichs, Margot Arnold, whose real name is Petronelle Marguerite Mary Cook, is nevertheless popular as an author of cozy fictions. Arnold was born in England. She has a Diploma in Prehistoric Archeology and Anthropology from Oxford (1947) and an MA from the same university in 1950. Her Penny Spring and Sir Toby Glendower novels are set in Oxford University. The books follow a cultural anthropologist and archeologist through their adventures in solving crimes.

Once again there is a focus on teaching through entertaining. The first book in the series featuring the characters Penelope Spring, American anthropologist, and Toby Glendower, Welsh archeologist, entitled *Exit Actors, Dying* (1979) sets the pattern for the subsequent books in the series. There is an interesting setting, Turkey, and an academic reason for being there, a sabbatical. Penelope notes as an inside joke that she is in Turkey taking a holiday when she should be at the Wenner Gren convention. There is a mysterious murder, followed by another yet another one. The first body turns up at an amphitheater lying on the grassy stage. Penny leaves to get the police. When she returns with them, the body is missing. Then a member of a film crew disappears. This time Toby finds the body. The two academics join up to solve the murder.

At this point their anthropological training comes into play. They use it to scour and understand the Turkish surroundings. Their cultural understanding comes into play to enable them to befriend the film crew and their culture as well as the archeological setting around them. Working together, they solve the crime. The series demonstrates the manner in which anthropological methodology and understanding may aid in solving real world problems.

This understanding of the way in which anthropology can solve mysteries is common to both male and female anthropological mystery writers. They also share a belief in the way in which

anthropology can entertain while instructing. There is little if any didacticism in these works. In general, these books explain anthropology in an intelligent and understandable fashion.

Chad Oliver certainly understood that there is a symbiosis between anthropology and, in his case, science fiction. He noted "I like to think that there's a kind of feedback ... that the kind of open-minded perspective in science fiction conceivably has made me a better anthropologist. And on the other side of the coin, the kind of rigor that anthropology has, conceivably has made me a better science fiction writer" (Collins 2004:243). Oliver was one of the first, if not the first, working anthropologist who wrote fiction under his or her real name before establishing an academic reputation. He was able to be a premier contributor to both fields, finding inspiration in both areas and using ideas in anthropology taken from science fiction and in turn using anthropology to inspire science fiction.

Specifically, Oliver focused on culture contact, and the resulting culture conflict that typically resulted from it. Additionally, he investigated cultural relativism, and as product of anthropology in the 1950s, explored the remnants of cultural evolution, even as classical cultural evolution was dying and being reinterpreted in that period. Oliver found that both anthropology and science fiction typically focused on exploring reality from different perspectives. At root, they wanted to understand what it means to be human.

Oliver's later work shows the influence of a change in anthropological tone and a criticism of anthropology itself as well as a change in its focus. The 1960s and 1970s began to question the notion of social engineering as well the benign intentions of western, including American intervention. The shock of the Vietnam War had consequences in anthropology and the critiques of Talal Asad and Vine De Loria also had an impact within the broader anthropological

community. There was a turn to reflexivity and self-doubt. Oliver was not immune to this trend and his fiction show his feelings more clearly than his “pure” anthropological work.

Shores demonstrates his reaction to the spying which some anthropologists carried out and to the role of the West in creating dependency among local populations. There was a new awareness of how anthropological insights were misused by colonial powers. Granted some of the breast beating was an overreaction. The majority of anthropologists were against colonialism and the misuse of anthropological ideas, not to mention the collaboration of anthropologists in secret governmental research and the overthrow of third world governments. (See the work of Charles Frantz 1974 and David Price 2015 a and b.) Nevertheless, there was a great attack on anthropology and anthropologists both within and outside the profession. Some of this attack led to some caricatures in popular culture works, such as *The Simpsons* and various other TVs and movies.

Oliver’s later sci-fi writings show him wrestling with attacks on anthropology. Perhaps, his most famous work, *The Shores of Another Sea*, is the most famous example of his mature thought in anthropology as well as science fiction. Oliver began to question the role of anthropology in the colonial endeavor and its cooperation with colonial powers. He noted the way in which ruling powers had misused anthropology and how some anthropologists had willingly cooperated with these ruling powers, including American anthropologists not only in World Wars I and II but also in the Vietnam War. Moreover, he began to question quite openly the notion of Euro-American moral superiority and privilege in the world. *Far from This World* set in Kenya is a blistering attack on neo-colonial dependency and its distortion of indigenous culture, made into a touristic spectacle.

Aaron Elkins, best known for his Gideon Oliver series of novels, is also a forensic anthropologist. Before becoming famous as a novelist, Elkins was an anthropology professor. As

with Reichs and other anthropologist who write fiction, Elkins also uses his characters to teach anthropology. His hero, Gideon Oliver is an anthropologist- detective, who uses his knowledge of forensic anthropology to solve cases. Elkins continues to be a practicing forensic anthropologist and is generally considered to be the founder of the forensic novel, pioneering the field with his 1982 novel *Fellowship of Fear*.

Elkins describes himself in this manner “I’m a former anthropologist who has been writing mysteries and thrillers since 1982, having won an Edgar for *Old Bones*, as well as a subsequent Agatha (with my wife Charlotte), and a Nero Wolfe Award. (Aaron Elkins <http://www.amazon.com/Aaron-Elkins/e/B000APQYOQ>). Elkin taught for the University of Maryland in Italy and used that experience for his novel *Good Blood*. Indeed, much of his own experience forms the basis for his books. Elkin still attends forensic workshops and meetings to keep his character’s research up-to-date. Moreover, he uses his novels to teach forensic anthropology to his readers.

Each of the four anthropological fiction writers shares a number of things in common with the others. For example, each has taught anthropology in classrooms. Each worked as an anthropologist before writing fiction. Moreover, each draws on anthropological work from personal experience and continues teaching in her or his novels. Each maintained or maintains a strong tie with the field in one way or another.

In the next section I will discuss some male/female differences in point of view and focus.

### **Male-Female Differences**

There are two quotations regarding Feminist Anthropology that reflect the similarities and differences within and between male and female anthropologists.

The subfield of Feminist Anthropology emerged as a reaction to a perceived androcentric bias within the discipline (Lamphere 1996: 488). Two related points should be made concerning this reaction. First of all, some of the prominent figures in early American anthropology (e.g. Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict) were women, and the discipline has traditionally been more egalitarian, in terms of gender, than other social sciences (di Leonardo 1991: 5-6). Underlying that statement, however, is the fact that the discipline has been subject to prevailing modes of thought through time and has certainly exhibited the kind of androcentric thinking that early feminist anthropologists accused it of (Reiter 1975: 13-14 (Feminist Anthropology Johnna Dominguez and Marsha Franks and James H Boschma, III).

The most obvious contribution of feminist anthropology has been the increased awareness of women within anthropology, both in terms of ethnographic accounts and theory. This emphasis has challenged a number of enshrined beliefs, for instance concerning models of human origins wherein the "man the hunter" model was seen as being the driving force in human evolution, ignoring the role that women's productive and reproductive roles in the evolution of *Homo sapiens sapiens* (Conkey and Williams 1991: 116-7) (Feminist Anthropology Johnna Dominguez and Marsha Franks and James H Boschma, III).

Essentially, the current Feminist Anthropological view, one which the majority of males also hold, is that there is no simple pigeon hole into which all women fit. The role of culture, rather than biology, is paramount in exploring differences and explaining them. These difference, then, vary from society to society and change over time in every society. That does not deny obvious biological differences, childbirth, general physical strength, and the like. Most of these biological differences vary along a range and their meaning is given through culture.



These four authors, of course, adhere to cultural meanings within the times and places in which they set their stories. Temperance Brennan has to battle prejudice against women in a number of novels, for example. We can find some examples of unconscious stereotyping in Chad Oliver and Aaron Elkins, but very few in their own voice. Most are in the voices of characters in the novels. In sum, they share more opinions than differ about their views. Thus, let us turn to the idea of culture which these novelists use and share.

### Reflections

Anthropology has long been a very diverse discipline. As Clifford Geertz said “Younger anthropologists have the notion that anthropology is too diverse. The number of things done under the name of anthropology is just infinite; you can do anything and call it anthropology. (<http://topfamousquotes.com/quotes-about-anthropology>)” That may indeed have drawback. However, it has one important result; namely, it allows anthropologists to seek far and wide in their pursuit of subject material, to boldly go into unexplored regions, or even explored ones, with fairly open minds. They can raise seemingly naive questions that specialists may consider trivial when they consider them at all. Therefore, it is worth considering the influence anthropology may have on other disciplines as well as the influence those disciplines have on anthropology itself.

It is the concept of culture that is at the core of what anthropology has offered the world, including other disciplines. In turn, much of what anthropology has taken from other disciplines has been taken to understand culture better. Franz Boas (1858-1942) launched a direct attack on cultural evolution and its racism and ethnocentrism. His position came to be known as cultural relativism. For Boas and his followers biology is not destiny. Human behavior is learned. It is, moreover, learned through habituation, unconsciously. All cultures are equal and serve to adapt people to the environment. None is more “developed” or “evolved” than any other. Boas’s final point regarding culture may be his most controversial.

Cultural traits cannot be classified or interpreted according to universal categories appropriate to "human nature". They assume meaning only within the context of coherently interrelated elements internal to the particular culture under consideration. (Boas, Franz 1920: 311-322).

Each of the anthropological fiction writers has used the concept of culture in her or his works. In general, their use is in ways compatible with one another. Yet, there is indeed a male/female split on specifics and what is stressed. Simply, men and women use the culture concept differently. I argue that getting rid of the term culture simply forces us to use other terms to take its place. To me that is an unnecessary exercise in redundancy. Perhaps, it is best to start with a brief discussion of the culture concept in anthropology and then to move on to how it has been interacted with other disciplines and the results of such interaction.

Thus, differences between one culture and another is due to learned behavior. Similarly, differences within a cultural group are due to learned behavior. The conditions for culture change are ever evolving as “nurture” changes; that is, as the environment changes.

These changes and differences are obvious in these novels. Women struggle, for example, much more frequently to be accepted as equals or even superiors in Reichs's novels than in Aaron Elkins's. Elkins does, however, take culture into account to explain relationships across the board. He notes also differences between, for example, American and German culture.

The entire fictional oeuvre of Chad Oliver is directed toward cultural differences in much the same way as that of Ursula Le Guin. Interestingly, the two appear to have known little of each other's works, if we are to believe their statements. Certainly, Le Guin does not mention Oliver in her website and Oliver did not mention her work as an influence. Others, however, connect them, seeing Oliver as a precursor, writing important science fiction before Le Guin, and science fiction truly grounded in anthropology. There is no doubt in my mind that Le Guin understands women far more deeply than Oliver did, just as Reichs shows a deeper understanding than Elkins of the struggles of professional women. Generally, the central characters of both Elkins's and Oliver's novels are men.

The case of Arnold is interesting, for she has a dichotomy in her heroes with both a female and male working together to solve cases. However, it is clear that the book is written by a woman since it is a cozy and since the two characters are merely friends over the course of all the novels. Moreover, there is a good deal of Miss Marple- like common sense in solving the case mixed with dealing with emotions.

Although times change and culture along with it, it is clear that there is still a distinct difference in the interests and styles of men and women novelists over time. In the concluding section I will examine a representative sample from each of the four authors to see similarities and differences.

## Conclusion

*The Jewish World Review* presented an interesting review and quotes from the work of Shlomo Argamon regarding empirical proof of the difference between the writing in English of men and women. The conclusion of the review and of Argamon's work is not surprising.

This paper has presented convincing evidence of a difference in male and female writing styles in modern English books and articles," Argamon concluded. "Such a difference is sufficiently pronounced that it can be exploited for automated text classification with accuracy of approximately 80 percent (and higher in some cases) (More proof of gender differences: Women, men have different writing styles, computer program finds <http://www.jewishworldreview.com>).

Argamon's algorithmic examination found basically the same differences between male and female authors as had earlier studies of Lakov and Tannen. However, his work provides empirical proof of these differences as well as proof that in most cases readers can correctly identify the author of a work as male or female in a blind test (Argamon, et al.,2010). He states

Several classes of simple lexical and syntactic features that differ substantially according to author gender are identified, both in fiction and in non-fiction documents. In particular, we find significant differences between male- and female-authored documents in the use of pronouns and certain types of noun modifiers: although the total number of nominals used by male and female authors is virtually identical, females use many more pronouns and males use many more noun specifiers. More generally, it is found that even in formal writing, female writing exhibits greater usage of features identified by previous researchers as "involved" while male writing exhibits greater usage of features which have been identified as "informational". Finally, a strong correlation between the characteristics of male

(female) writing and those of nonfiction (fiction) is demonstrated (Shlomo Argamon Moshe Koppale Jonathan Finec Anat Rachel Shimon **Gender, Genre, and Writing Style in Formal Written Texts**, 1 <http://writerunboxed.com/wp-content/uploads/2007/10/male-female-text-final.pdf>).

The short (less than 50) list of features which our algorithm identified as being most collectively useful for distinguishing male-authored texts from female-authored texts was very suggestive. This list included a large number of determiners {a, the, that, these} and quantifiers {one, two, more, some} as male indicators. Moreover, the parts of speech DT0 (BNC: a determiner which typically occurs either as the first word in a noun phrase or as the head of a noun phrase), AT0 (BNC: a determiner which typically begins a noun phrase but cannot appear as its head), and CRD (cardinal numbers) are all strong male indicators. Conversely, the pronouns {I, you, she, her, their, myself, yourself, herself} are all strong female indicators. (Shlomo Argamona Moshe Koppelb Jonathan Finec Anat Rachel Shimonib **Gender, Genre, and Writing Style in Formal Written Texts**, 1

<http://writerunboxed.com/wp-content/uploads/2007/10/male-female-text-final.pdf>).

These four excerpts from the early pages of each of four novels gives an excellent composite example of Argamon's point. Even the less careful readers would, I believe, be able to sort out the female from the male authors. The choice of words and tone of the writing gives the gender of the authors away. Reichs and Arnold wax poetic in their descriptions while Oliver and Elkins and Oliver appear prosaic and down to earth in their descriptions. Compare the "mutual support" of Reichs and Arnold's "The fawn brown of

his back mottled imperceptibly into pale primrose on his underside and head” with the description of Oliver “The cabin was a neat compromise. for the man, fed up to the gills with the stinks of the city and afflicted with the annual back-to-nature bug, it had yellow pine walls with prominent rustic knotholes.” and Elkins’s “. They worked with a cold precision, item by item, methodical and disinterested” The descriptive style and narrative tones continue throughout the works. Compare these excerpts with Reichs’s” The one that got away? Maybe. But, alas, too bad. Danny Tandler is now married and out of play. Over the years Danny and I have provided mutual support through dissertation defenses, board consultant, Danny proposed my name. That was back in the early nineties. I served in that capacity for almost ten years (Reichs, Kathy. Spider Bones (pp. 17-18). Simon & Schuster, Inc. Kindle Edition). Margot Arnold’s contribution is in the same style “A small rustling noise indicated that the seat next to her had just been taken, and she opened one eye to see a mall brown lizard sprawled at his ease there. The fawn brown of his back mottled imperceptibly into pale primrose on his underside and head, which was turned toward her. His pale0yellow throat was palpitating nervously, but he stood his ground and, deciding that Penny presented no threat, settled down to bask contentedly beside her (Arnold, Margot. Exit Actors, Dying. 1988.10).

The differences between the styles of the male and female anthropologists are clear. However, the similarities are equally patent. While the women may seek to form

relationships and consensus and the men be more informational, both seek understanding of the cultural meaning of actions. Both use anthropological methodology to solve issues. Each novelist seeks to find the cultural and social meaning of the situations they examine. Moreover, each has a sense of humor and uses it. Finally, each seeks to teach something about the cultural foundations of the human condition. There is a love for humanity with an awe of its multiple cultures in each of the novels.

Arnoff, Eric *Composing Cultures*. Charlottesville University of Virginia Press 2013

Arnold, Margot *Exit Actors, Dying*. Playboy Press, paperback original, 1979. W. W. Norton / Countryman Press, softcover, 1988.

Argamon, Shlomo editor, Kevin Burns, Editor and Shlomo Dubnov, Editor *The Structure of Style: Algorithmic Approaches to Understanding Manner and Meaning* 2010th Edition Springer; 2010

Baker-Cristales, *Poiesis of Possibility: The Ethnographic Sensibilities of Ursula K. Le Guin*. *Anthropology and Humanism*, 37: 15–26.2012.

Bohannon, Laura *Return to Laughter: An Anthropological Novel*. New York Anchor 1964

Chagnon, Napoleon *Noble Savages* New York: Simon & Schuster, in press.

Collins, Samuel Gerald *Sail On! Sail On! Anthropology, Science Fiction, and the Enticing Future* *Science Fiction Studies* 30(2): 180-198. 2003

Collins Samuel Gerald *Scientifically Valid and Artistically True: Chad Oliver, Anthropology, and Anthropological SF* Author(s): Source: *Science Fiction Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Jul., 2004), pp. 243-263 2004

Doja, Albert *The Advent of the Heroic Anthropologist in the History of Anthropology* volume 66, Number 4, October 2005

Dominguez, Johnna and Marsha Franks and James H Boschma, III, *Feminist Anthropology* <http://anthropology.ua.edu/cultures/cultures.php?culture=Feminist%20Anthropology/>

Elkins, Aaron *Fellowship of Fear* New York Open Road Media (2014)

Elkins, Aaron <http://www.amazon.com/Aaron-Elkins/e/B000APQYOQ>

Frantz, Charles 1974 Structuring and Restructuring of the American Anthropological Association. Paper read at the 73<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. November 22, Mexico City, Mexico.

Holmes, J. Women's talk: The question of sociolinguistic universals, *Australian Journal of Communications* 20, 3.1993

Holmes, J. Paying compliments: A sex-preferential positive politeness strategy. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12(3), pp. 445—465. 1988

Holmes, J. 'Women's language': A functional approach, *General Linguistics* 24(3). 1984

Holmes, J. (Hedges and boosters in women's and men's speech, *Language & Communication* 10(3).1990

Holmes, J. Sex differences and apologies: One aspect of communicative competence. *Applied Linguistics*, 10(2), pp. 194—213.1980

Johnson, F.L. and Aries, E.J. (The talk of women friends. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 6, 353-361. 1983

Langnes, L.L. and Frank, G. (1978), *Fact, Fiction and the Ethnographic Novel*. *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly*, 3: 18–22. doi:10.1525/ahu.1978.3.1-2.18

Le Guin, Ursula K. *The Left Hand of Darkness* New York Penguin 2000.

Le Guin, Ursula K. *A Wizard of Earthsea* New York Bantam Spectra 2004

Le Guin, Ursula K, *The Dispossessed* New York Harper Perennial Olive Edition 2015.

Jeremy MacClancy *Anthropology, Primitivism, Myth IN A Concise Companion to Modernism* Edited by David Bradshaw. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing 2008

Mason. Timothy *Swallowing Stones: The Anthropologist's Magician Talk Given at Institut Catholique de Paris, during the Colloquium 'Mages et Magiciens', on Wednesday 11 December 2002* <http://www.timothyjmason.com/WebPages/Publications/Magician.html>

O'Brien, Elena *The Eternal Feminine in Goethe* <http://mindandbody.forumotion.com/t14-goethe-s-concept-of-the-eternal-feminine> 2015 Originally MA Thesis University of Florida Tallahassee, Florida 2012

Oliver, Chad *The Winds of Time*. New York Avon Books 1975

Oliver, Chad, Wilson Tucker, and Paul Anderson, *Three in Time: Classic Novels of Time Travel*. White Wolf/Borealis, 1997

Price, David 2"A Short History of American Anthropological Ethics, Codes, Principles, Responsibilities--Professional and Otherwise." In *Anthropological Ethics in Context*, eds. Dena Plemmons and Alex Barker, 23-34. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press 2015a



Price, David [co-authored with Roberto González] "The Use and Abuse of Culture (and Children): The Human Terrain System's Rationalization of Pedophilia in Afghanistan." *CounterPunch* October 9, 2015b

Reichs, Kathy *Deja Dead* New York Pocket Star Books 1998

Reichs, Kathy *Spider Bones* New York Pocket Books 2011

Reichs, Kathy. "Reichs's Literary Skullduggery: Forensic Anthropologist Digs into Mysteries with *Déjà Dead*." Interview by Bob Minzesheimer. *USA Today*, August 28, 1997, p. 06D. Interview with the author on her first novel and how her work informs her writing.

Reichs, Kathy. *The World of Kathy Reichs*. <http://www.kathyreichs.com> Author's Web site includes brief biographical information, a curriculum vitae, a list of her fiction (with plot summaries and first chapters), and an overview of forensic science.

Salamone, Frank A. *The Yanomamo and Their Interpreters*. University Press of America, 1997, Nancy Schmidt (1981)

Sontag, Susan. *Against Interpretation*. New York: Macmillan, 1966.

Stover, Leon E. *Anthropology and Science Fiction*. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 14, No. 4 pp. 471-474 1973

Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* Yale University Press, 2nd ed. 2000

Tannen, Deborah *Gender and Discourse*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994

Tannen, Deborah *You Just Don't Understand*. New York and Oxford. Oxford University Press 1990

Uy, Vanessa *Bones Blog*. <http://bonesbrain.blogspot.com/2008/10/star-trek-based-airsoft-HYPERLINK> "<http://bonesbrain.blogspot.com/2008/10/star-trek-based-airsoft-game-scenarios.html>"\_Wednesday, October 29, 2008

Wayman, E. R *Forensic Anthropology: An Anthropological Education through Fictional Anthropology*. Source: *Current Anthropology*. 47: 56.2006

Wayman, E. R. "Forensic Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 47, no. 4 (567). Profile of Reichs that looks at her career and how she uses her knowledge in her writing. 2006):

Wray, John Interview with Ursula K. Le Guin *The Art of Fiction* No. 221 2013