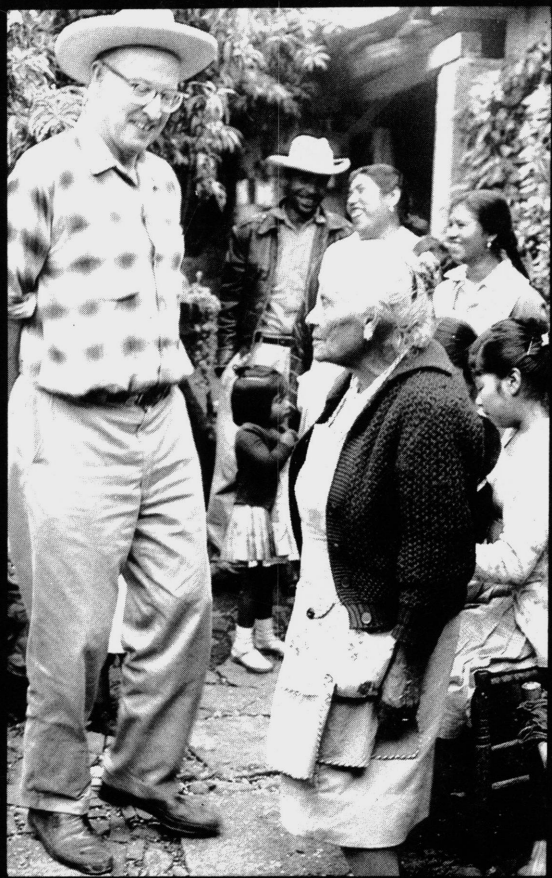


From Tzintzuntzan to the “Image of Limited Good”

Essays in Honor of
George M. Foster

Margaret Clark
Robert V. Kemper
Cynthia Nelson
Editors



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**Kroeber Anthropological Society
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THE KROEBER ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY PAPERS

Numbers 55-56

30th Anniversary Issue

**FROM TZINTZUNTZAN TO THE "IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD"
ESSAYS IN HONOR OF
GEORGE M. FOSTER**

Margaret Clark
Robert V. Kemper
Cynthia Nelson
Editors

Berkeley, California
1979

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

The *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* publish articles in the general field of anthropology. In addition to articles of theoretical interest, the *Papers* will welcome descriptive studies putting factual information on record, as well as bibliographies and historical documents of anthropological interest. The Society welcomes student research papers of high quality.

Manuscripts must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, and submitted in duplicate. Endnotes (the *Papers* do not employ footnotes) and bibliography should be placed on separate sheets. Prospective contributors should consult recent issues of the *Papers*, or the *American Anthropologist*, for manuscript style. Authors will receive without charge twenty reprints of their articles. Additional reprints may be ordered at extra charge.

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Back issues of the *Papers*, Numbers 1-29, may be obtained from the Johnson Reprint Corporation, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003. A list of available subsequent numbers may be requested directly from the Society.

COVER PHOTOGRAPHS

The lower-left picture shows George Foster and village friends during an after-supper discussion in Tzintzuntzan (photograph taken in summer 1974; courtesy of Robert V. Kemper). The upper-left picture shows George Foster and friends enjoying corn-on-the-cob in the village plaza (photograph taken in summer 1978; courtesy of Stanley Brandes). The picture on the right shows George Foster dancing with Doña Andrea during a saint's day celebration for Mickie Foster (photograph taken in summer 1967; courtesy of Stanley Brandes).

CONTENTS

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	<i>vii</i>
PREFACE	<i>ix</i>
DEDICATORY LETTERS	1
THE HOUSEHOLD DEVELOPMENT CYCLE IN TZINTZUNTZAN Stanley Brandes	13
COMPADRAZGO IN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE: A COMPARISON OF TZINTZUNTZAN MIGRANTS AND VILLAGERS Robert V. Kemper	25
THE MESOAMERICAN BARRIO: A RECIPROCITY MODEL FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION Norman D. Thomas	45
RELIGION, MAGIC, AND MEDICINE IN HUAVE SOCIETY Charles C. Cheney	59
THREE CASES OF FOLK DISORDER AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICANS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURE CHANGE Margaret Clark	75
COMMUNITY-HEALTH ASPECTS OF NUBIAN RESETTLEMENT IN EGYPT Hussein M. Fahim	81
GOING AFTER THE DREAM: PEASANTS IN A PROVINCIAL CITY Michael B. Whiteford	91
FROM "LIMITED GOOD" TO EXPANDING OPPORTUNITY Laura Zarrugh	99
ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION AND THE IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD IN THE FRENCH ALPS Richard Vernon Wagner	119
AN APPLICATION OF THE MODEL, THE IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD, IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY Frederick C. Gamst	131
LETTERS TO THE FIELD: REFLECTIONS ON TWO DECADES OF CORRESPONDENCE FROM GEORGE FOSTER Cynthia Nelson	153

CONTENTS (Continued)

WILL THE REAL GEORGE FOSTER PLEASE STAND UP? A BRIEF INTELLECTUAL HISTORY	159
Eugene Hammel and Laura Nader	
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF GEORGE M. FOSTER	167
LIST OF PATRONS	183

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Numbers in parentheses indicate the pages on which the authors' contributions begin.

PREFACE

The impetus for this volume goes back several years to a symposium, "The Tarascans: Changes and Continuities in Ethnicity of a Mexican Population" organized by Ina Dinerman for the 1974 American Anthropological Association meetings in Mexico City. Implicitly, that symposium was intended as a symbolic tribute to George M. Foster in recognition of his long-term contributions to Tarascan studies through his extensive fieldwork in Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán. Stimulated by this gesture, but realizing that "The Tarascan Symposium" did not do justice to the full range of Foster's contributions to contemporary anthropology, Cynthia Nelson contacted Margaret Clark and they began discussing what came to be called the "Foster *Festschrift*".

In early 1975, Clark and Nelson wrote to many of Foster's former students regarding their idea for organizing and publishing a volume of papers in his honor. They felt that the very wide circle of Foster's professional contacts would make it difficult to include the large number of colleagues and students who would wish to contribute papers to such a volume. Therefore, it was decided to limit the initial "call for papers" to his former students. This approach also had the advantage of demonstrating to the anthropological community the wide range of topics which his students were investigating. The response to the initial letter of inquiry was most encouraging, and over the next three years the project slowly developed.

Then, in early 1979, Robert V. Kemper joined Clark and Nelson as a co-editor in order to bring the papers through the final phases of editing and to supervise the actual production of the volume. With the gracious and prompt cooperation of the contributors, it proved possible to have this volume ready on the occasion of Foster's retirement as Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley. A copy of this volume was presented to Foster during the departmental graduation ceremonies—at which he delivered the Faculty Lecture—on 16 June 1979.

We believe that the essays in this volume represent a significant cross-section of themes which have also been a focus of Foster's own work. The essays range from the ethnographic specificity of a barrio in Tzintzuntzan to the "image of limited good" among railroaders in the United States; from the *compadrazgo* among Tzintzuntzan migrants and villagers to the concept of the "good life" among migrants in Popayán, Colombia; from an analysis of worldview by means of Thematic Apperception Tests among Jacalan (Mexico) migrants in California to the analysis of the situational determinants of peasant worldview in the French Alps; from the development of the MesoAmerican barrio as a social structural type to the changing status of folk medicine among Mexican Americans; and from the traditional Huave communities on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (Mexico) to the communities of relocated Egyptian Nubians near the Aswan Dam.

The essays are arranged in four overlapping sets. The first set—by Brandes, Kemper, Thomas, and Cheney—all deal with Mexico, the arena of most of Foster's fieldwork. Although the authors examine populations as diverse as traditional Indian communities and peasant migrants in Mexico City, the focus on continuity and change reflects a similar perspective expressed in many of Foster's publications. The second set of papers—by Cheney, Clark, and Fahim—explore the domain of medical anthropology to which Foster has devoted a considerable share of his professional career. The authors touch on a range of topics—including the relationship between magic and medicine, the relationship between traditional and modern medicine, and the relationship between community development and public health—which exemplify the range of Foster's own contributions in the field of medical anthropology. The third set of papers—by Fahim, Whiteford, Zarrugh, and Kemper—deal with the themes of migration and modernization, which have always been on the frontier of Foster's own research and teaching. The fourth set of papers—by Zarrugh, Wagner, and Gamst—address the "image of limited good" model for which Foster has become famous in recent years. Ranging from Mexican-American migrants in California to railroaders in the U.S. Northeast to peasants in the French Alps, the authors show that the model applies to a wide variety of situations in modern society.

In considering Foster's impact on anthropology in America and beyond, the editors felt that this volume should do more than present a series of articles linked to Foster's research interests. Therefore, we asked a number of Foster's friends, colleagues, and students to write brief "dedicatory letters" to be included in this volume. We believe that these dedicatory letters provide insights into Foster's character—as a teacher, field-worker, administrator, and academic leader—which no single article could have. Moreover, the letters contain many juicy tidbits about the development of anthropology since the 1930s which will interest present and future historians of the discipline.

In addition to the dedicatory letters, this volume contains three other contributions which deal directly with Foster, the man and the anthropologist. Through a selection of letters written by Foster during the past twenty years, Nelson illuminates his fascination with fieldwork as a key element in the anthropological experience. This personal perspective is reinforced by its companion essay—"Will the Real George Foster Please Stand Up? A Brief Intellectual History"—in which Eugene Hammel and Laura Nader consider Foster's career on behalf of the Berkeley departmental community. Finally, his long-term productivity is reflected in the bibliography of Foster's publications, a fitting conclusion to this volume.

As editors, we wish to thank the many people who have helped us create this volume, especially the officers and the editorial staff of the Kroeber Anthropological Society who encouraged us to publish this volume in the *K.A.S. Papers*. This is especially appropriate since the volume also serves to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Kroeber Anthropological Society. It is a fortuitous coincidence that the two occasions—Foster's retirement and the Society's 30th anniversary—can be commemorated in this special issue.

The production of this volume has been an international endeavor. We wish to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Rosemary Zumwalt, Gerry Moos, Elvira Pineda, and Dorothy Koenig in Berkeley; Erika Hublitz in San Francisco; Mary Coleman, June Schelling, Kim Walters and Marjorie Croucher of the Southern Methodist University Anthropology Graphics Lab; and Loy Hooker and the staff of the SMU Print Shop, where the volume was printed and bound. Finally, we would like to thank Mickie Foster for serving as a willing co-conspirator during the long gestation period of this volume.

This volume is, indeed, a collective effort. As former students and now as professional colleagues, all of us know that George Foster is a special person. We are now symbolically linked in the fictive kinship created on this special occasion.

In accord with social structural principles which Foster himself has described for Tzintzuntzan, we now invite all of the readers of this volume to join in this fictive kinship.

16 June 1979

Margaret Clark

Robert V. Kemper

Cynthia Nelson

DEDICATORY LETTERS

To the editors:

George Foster has enriched my life in many ways. The first time was when he was a student in my first teaching experience when I gave a course on the Indians of Mexico in a summer session at the University of California at Berkeley in 1935. My self-confidence was at a low ebb. After receiving my doctorate in 1930 and aspiring to an academic career of teaching and research, I had received no offers of an academic job. Instead of teaching I had subsisted on post graduate fellowships and the emergency programs of the National Park Service. The fact that in the depression years all my colleagues were in the same situation was little comfort and I came to wonder if the fault was not mine. When Kroeber offered me a summer job, it was with great trepidation that I took a leave of absence from the NPS and accepted.

The immediate and enthusiastic response of George Foster was reassuring. After almost every session he came to me with enthusiasm to ask sensible questions and seek enlargement on various points. By the end of the term we had established a friendship that has lasted through the years and extended to our families. His encouragement led me to turn down a better paying government job to accept a temporary appointment at UCLA in February, 1936.

Over the years we have met at conferences and meetings and visited at one another's homes when we could. George substituted for me at UCLA on one of my leaves of absence, occupying my house. My colleagues became enthusiastic about him and tried their best to get a new position established in order to keep him. I served as consultant on some of George's research projects, was associated with him in Washington during the war, while he in turn with his Tzintzuntzan study carried forward part of the program of regional studies of the Tarascan area planned by D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, Paul Kirchhoff and myself. Paralleling in a sense my earlier Cherán study, George improved on the methodology and gave the study greater depth.

Our friendship endured even greater tests. After the Seminario de Integración Social in Guatemala in the 1950's, George and I and our wives and my daughter toured northern Guatemala in a hired car, including both highlands and coast. Despite some very bad roads, often rather primitive accommodations, and Mickey Foster's outraged first encounter with black sand beach, we still ended good friends.

These rather personal recollections are perhaps justified as a background for my appraisal of George Foster as one of the more creative and judgemental anthropologists of his generation. He has eschewed the fads and follies of our profession but he has pioneered soundly in the field of applications and contributed important ideas to the study of peasantry. And from the contacts I have had with his students I judge him to be an excellent and probably distinguished teacher.

It has been a pleasure to know George Foster for over 40 years and to have this opportunity of acknowledging my debt to a fine scholar and admirable human being.

Sincerely yours,



Ralph L. Beals
Professor Emeritus
University of California, Los Angeles

To the editors:

George and I first met in the early fall of 1935, at the Kroeber home on Arch Street when we were both newly arrived graduate students from Northwestern and Texas respectively. Not long thereafter, Mary LeCron and Beatrice Gale, who were to become our wives, joined the small band of anthropology students at Berkeley. The four of us have been fast friends ever since, and neither time nor distance has diminished this mutuality.

Perhaps friend is too neutral a word; academic sibling seems more appropriate, for in our relationship there is a bond more like that of brothers, with that particular identification that makes the successes of one the pleasures of the other—pleasures made more poignant by a touch of sibling rivalry.

Our one joint publication followed our initial field work. In those years, students were sent to the field from the very beginning and George went to the Yuki and I to the Nomalki in the summer of 1936. On our return we taunted one another with the victories each of our informants had claimed their tribe had had over that of the other's, but ultimately decided that the combination of our stories (along with those collected by Frank Essene) offered a new, if small, contribution to the sociology of folklore.

We have worked together on professional matters from time to time. George's deep sense of moral purpose helped me with some of the issues when we were both representatives to the National Research Council. His advice, and the model he provided as president of the American Anthropological Association, had no small influence on me when I later held that office.

George's contributions to the Profession have been many and varied. His concept of limited good has entered the anthropological vernacular; his work in Mexico has been exemplary; his efforts on the part of the department at Berkeley, and his heroic task as Association president during its most turbulent years are each accomplishments that would have fulfilled a lesser person. Yet on top of these are his services in various capacities to the nation and the international community, starting with his seminal role at the Institute of Social Anthropology during the war.

Clearly, anthropology has been enriched by George Foster's dedication and ability, a debt I think fully recognized by the rest of us. I, too, have personally been enriched by our long association.

Sincerely,



Walter Goldschmidt
Professor
University of California, Los Angeles

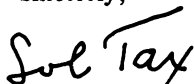
To the editors:

It gives me great pleasure to join in honoring George Foster. My years in Guatemala coincided with George's at Northwestern, so I think we did not meet around Chicago. As I recall, I first met George through his first book, written from his thesis, which I had the pleasure of reviewing in the *American Anthropologist*. More recently I came to know George, and Mickey, in affairs of the American Anthropological Association—he was President while we were "Fellows" together at the Center for Advanced Studies at Stanford—; in relations with Latin American anthropologists; and then with those of all nations through *Current Anthropology* and the International Union.

George is one of the most remarkable scholars and one of the very finest people I have known. His career has been marked by selfless devotion, ingenuity, and absolute honesty. Others may not be as aware as I am of the positive influence of George Foster's orderly mind; his wisdom; his justness; his penchant for getting at the record which lies behind an issue and his skill in explaining it to others; his sensitivity to the complexity both of political problems and of the interplay of feelings and personalities. I myself often awaited George's views to find my own wisdom.

I only wish that scholars like the Fosters had their proper influence also in national and world affairs.

Sincerely,



Sol Tax
Professor Emeritus
University of Chicago

To the editors:

When we were fellow graduate students, George Foster, Katherine Luomala, and I and a couple of hundred other people lived in the Berkeley International House. George already showed the independence and self-direction that would characterize his later work: he was more solitary than most of the other students. But he had the good sense to court, bring out to Berkeley to visit, and marry Mickie (Mary LeCron). They proved to be a remarkably effective team.

Later, during and after World War II, when George had an office in the Smithsonian "Castle", when the many anthropologists were working in scattered Federal agencies in the Washington area, the Fosters gave some of us an opportunity to see each other, entertaining graciously as they have during subsequent years. One should note that their home always has shown a good combination of esthetic and scientific judgement in their collections as in their research, not only regarding pottery but various crafts and arts.

In an effort to preserve his (Inter-American) Institute of Social Anthropology during the post-war wind-down, by showing its usefulness, George asked Erasmus, Kelly, Oberg, Simmons to survey the health needs in their respective sections of Latin America. Thus began public notice of his interest in public health. Again showing that he knew what he wanted, George ignored advice from some of us to remain in Washington and fortunately returned to Berkeley to teach in the U. C. School of Public Health. Although I was a few years later in entering the public health field, from the early period (in the 1940s) of my interest in applied anthropology, George's writings were useful to me and helped me greatly when I did join the U. S. Public Health Service.

Later, in teaching applied anthropology I found that his publications were indispensable, stimulating me to analyze and organize others' and my own ideas better, providing good examples for instruction, and giving a long-term view of this new profession. In the 1950s, academic anthropology, expanding on campus and not needing to seek employment off campus—it appears to me—did not give George Foster the recognition that he deserved. Without personal reference, he understood the status of applied anthropology at that time: "As possessors of specific knowledge, concepts, and working techniques, anthropologists recognize intellectually their responsibility to contemporary society. But it is apparent that wholehearted acceptance of this responsibility, in the sense of willingness to participate in action programs, is a difficult step for many to take." ("Relationships between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology." *Human Organization* 11(3):5, 1952.)

In the 1960s and '70s when George Foster thrust his theories on peasantry into its body of theory the academic community reacted, and graduate students outside California learned something of what this ethno-

logist-specialist on Latin American cultures had been doing, but they never knew what the peripatetic high-level consultant to government agencies in South Asia and Africa was doing. His career has had variety but not a random succession of interests. There have been strong threads forming an interesting pattern in a useful cloth.

George belonged to a period in Berkeley anthropology that produced other independent people, like Homer Barnett who also functioned as applied anthropologist as well as ethnographer. We were not simply Kroeber students or Lowie students—something that our European colleagues never could understand—and we did not live several years on training grants obtained by mentors, since there were no such grants. We chose our problems, staked out our territories, worked in war agencies for a while, far from academe, and obtained an understanding of administration that has proven invaluable to us personally and occasionally useful to others. George Foster, by his lucid pragmatic presentation of his observations and analysis of what he saw has enlightened and stimulated those of us who were not so skilled or tough in their profession.



Margaret Lantis
Professor Emerita
University of Kentucky

To the editors:

George Foster and I were closely associated early in our respective careers. He had come to the Smithsonian in Washington to work in the Institute of Social Anthropology. For some of the years of the middle and late 1940's he, and his good wife Mickie, were in Mexico in what was a teaching and research establishment of the Institute; and for another part of that period they were in residence in Washington where George had succeeded Julian Steward as the Institute's director. I had come to Washington to work in the old Bureau of American Ethnology, and from that base I also did fieldwork in Latin America, in Peru and Panama.

Considering that George was a "social anthropologist" and that I was an "archaeologist", we nevertheless, seemed to have a lot of anthropology to talk about. We were generally pretty much in accord on matters of culture history and theory. George was more sophisticated in these things than I was, but then that was the way it was supposed to be at the time. On political matters, I was a staunch Rooseveltian New Dealer, and George's secret model was probably Herbert Hoover—but, in spite of this, we lunched together regularly and became good friends. In 1949-50, when George took a year's leave to go off to Spain, to work on Spanish culture as a part of a program to understand more about Latin American acculturation, he left me in charge of the Institute of Social Anthropology, as Acting Director, my only governmental bureaucratic job as an administrator. I suppose my only qualifications were that I, too, was a Latin Americanist, and all of the Institute's business was in Latin America, that I was already around the Smithsonian, and that I was a friend. I used to send him long letters to Spain, "reporting", as it were, on "how things were going". George was always very tolerant of my efforts and fumbings, never looking over my shoulder nor giving advice. Shortly after George's return, perhaps in a year or two, the outfit closed down. I trust that this was just the State Department's way of saying that we'll put our money elsewhere and not the result of my feeble administrative hand during my year of duty.

I have always regretted that I have not seen more of him in later years, but we have been a continent apart. As with so much that one sees through the perspective of an intervening 30 years, incidents, a kind of feeling tone of old associations, are much clearer and have a sharper depth of focus than those of last week. My years at the Smithsonian are like that to me, and George is a very important part of it all.



Gordon R. Willey
Professor
Harvard University

To the editors:

I feel it an honor to be among those who can here express their admiration for George Foster, offering him congratulations at the time of his academic retirement and good wishes for the future. This will not be a period of so-called leisure, but an opportunity for more work in a different setting.

Intelligence, ability, and perseverance are demanded of any anthropologist. George Foster has plenty of these qualifications. But he also possesses the rarer attributes of the outstanding anthropologist: kindness, consideration for others, the gift of friendship, and the ability to share generously and selflessly. There is no "limited good" in him!

These same qualities which have enabled him to understand so well and to communicate to us the worlds of the Mexican peasant and the Spaniard, are those which he has so often put at the service of the whole anthropological community, as member of the Executive Board and as President of the American Anthropological Association, and already as a member of the National Academy of Sciences. Let us hope that the numerous public demands which will be made on his expertise will not prevent him from enjoying many years of happy research.



Frederica de Laguna
Professor Emeritus
Bryn Mawr College

To the editors:

I feel honored to have the opportunity to write a letter regarding George Foster. It is more than to pay tribute to an old teacher and valued scholar on Mexican anthropology. Foster established and followed up a long-term research program that has resulted in several original contributions to knowledge. Indeed, his work has gone far beyond the limits of his singular conceptual approach expressed in "The Image of Limited Good."

The Second World War caused the United States to pay greater attention to all of its neighbors south of the Rio Grande. The founding of the Institute of Social Anthropology within the Smithsonian Institution brought together a scholarly, well-trained group of anthropologists who were officially associated with Mexican scholars from the recently organized Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia. Foster was one of those American scholars from whom I and many others received guidance and scientific knowledge which later helped us in becoming professional anthropologists.

Among Foster's many contributions to the development of anthropology in Mexico, probably the most outstanding was in shifting the focus of research from traditional Indian populations to modern mestizo-peasant communities. The relationship between alternate usage of anthropological models was in fashion in Mexican social anthropology in the 1940s (e.g., note the work of Redfield, Beals, Lewis, Tax), and Foster emerged as one of the innovators in that period, whatever the criticisms of his seminal ideas a generation later. Of special importance was Foster's interest in linking substantive categories with behavioral categories to generate formal statements about the relationships among several variables in concrete research situations.

In conclusion, Foster's modesty, profound thinking, enduring friendship, and his multiple interests in anthropology have left a distinctive hallmark on Mexican anthropology. I am pleased to thank him for his contributions through this public letter.



Fernando Cámara
Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia
México, D. F.

To the editors:

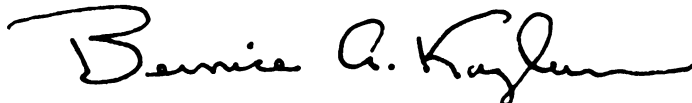
It is hard to remember now the time when I didn't know George Foster though probably our earliest contacts were by courtesy of the U. S. Postal Service at the time Gabriel and I were seeking a locale for field work in Mexico where we would find many returned migrants, a necessity for each of our research projects. George's suggestions were specific, as were his admonitions of the problems (and pleasures) we might expect in a number of possible locations. We had known of, and taken pleasure and delight in his scholarly work long before we first met but, as everyone surely knows, the word and the flesh may be one when you are face-to-face, but when the word is in the book and the flesh is an idea in your mind coalescence of the two may be more difficult to achieve. Years later we had the good fortune to spend a year on the Berkeley campus and there came to know both George and Mickey on their own turf and to learn at first hand what generous and patient people they are.

Perhaps the most vivid recollection of the man (in the flesh) goes back to those painful war years and especially to 1969 when George was President of the AAA. Watching him keep his cool throughout a long, agitated, emotional meeting is something those who were there will not soon forget. The AAA has seen and will be seeing in the years ahead presidents and presidents, but to this observer it will be many years before another such as George appears.

The New Orleans' meeting was a trying one—everything was awry. There were racial pulls and tugs, Jensen had recently made his genetic assertions, ethical issues were beginning to give rise to uncertainties, some American Indian groups were declaring anthropologists to be a dispensable commodity, students were yelling and screaming that they couldn't afford to go to Hawaii (and the leis that the Hawaiian anthropologists had brought with them to welcome us ahead of time just wilted). The business meetings went on and on (two long sessions past 1 a.m. and another shorter one too) and through it all never once did George get ruffled. He listened. He heard, he responded. What a diplomat, what a gentleman, what a model for the rest of us—patience personified! (I have small-reel tapes of the proceedings, should someone ever wish access to them for scholarly purposes, but cannot vouch for how well they have stood up over time.)

Since then there have been many other opportunities for appreciation. George is one of the few who recognized that there was a debt to be repaid to the people of those countries where many of us have done field work, and that there were useful ways of meeting this obligation without worrying about precedence

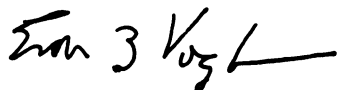
setting or loss of face for anyone. The sharing of self through the encouragement and support of others provided another aspect of the human (as distinguished from the "scholar") side of George Foster. Indeed, human and scholar are closely wrapped together and each reflects the other through the example of a total human being. We are all augmented by having had the opportunity to share in his presence.



Bernice A. Kaplan
Associate Professor
Wayne State University

To the editors:

Thinking of my long association with George Foster brings back a flood of wonderful memories. . . my first reading of his fascinating monograph on *Empire's Children: the People of Tzintzuntzan* as I was finishing my Ph.D. in 1948 at the University of Chicago. . . a delightful dinner party at Ozzie Simmon's house in the Boston suburbs in the mid 1950s when I walked off with George's raincoat by mistake and George had to track it down at our house in Lexington since our different statures didn't allow an exchange. . . a memorable visit by George and Mickie to our field station in the Highland of Chiapas in the early 1960s when we discussed George's two classic papers on "The Dyadic Contract" and George impressed my Zinacanteco informants with his Polaroid camera that produced instant copies of their photos. . . my stimulating correspondence with George as he prepared his article on "The Mixe, Zoque, and Popluca" for Volume 7 of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. . . the meetings of the 1975 Symposium on "Long-Term Field Research in Social Anthropology" at Burg-Wartenstein in Austria when George, with his co-chairmen Elizabeth Colson and Ted Scudder, presided so congenially and effectively over the wide-ranging discussion. . . more recently my re-reading of George's *Culture and Conquest*—another real classic—as I prepare for a forthcoming field trip to Spain. . . George Foster's scholarly work is always insightful, always empirically solid, and full of theoretical sparkle. . . I salute a great anthropologist on the occasion of his retirement.



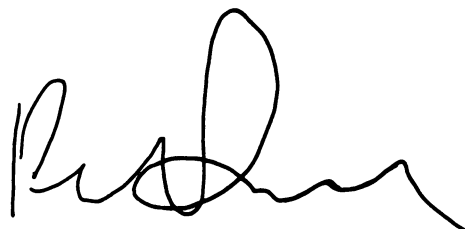
Evon Z. Vogt
Professor
Harvard University

To the editors:

It is not too much to say that without George Foster there might be no Latin American Anthropology Group within the AAA, none of the publications of LAAG-sponsored symposia, and less cooperation among Latin Americanists of different countries. When in 1972 June Macklin called a membership meeting of what was then the Mesoamerican Ad Hoc Group within the American Anthropological Association to announce that professional commitments made it necessary for her to resign her chairmanship, there was universal regret, for it had been her able leadership and generosity with time and even personal funds that had kept the Group together—however informally, and however perpetually on the brink of financial disaster. At the time dues were a dollar a year, but even that now unthinkably modest sum was so slow and unreliable in coming in that June was forever dipping into her own pocket to defray expenses of the Group. Instead of assets the Group had a membership that, despite all urgings, was largely unpaid, and a debt of \$90 dollars owed to the national

office of the Association. George Foster was at that meeting, as he had been at others before—indeed, it was his loyal support that had kept the Group afloat for so long. As he said, there were two choices: to disband entirely with June's resignation, which seemed unthinkable, or to find a way to achieve a larger membership, greater visibility, financial solvency, and effective cooperation across national borders through the mechanism of a professional association within the AAA. It was he who first suggested reorganizing as the Latin American Anthropology Group. He outlined the multiple benefits of such an expansion, not only in terms of membership and solvency but in the recognition of the mutuality of interests among colleagues in Latin American anthropology. Although there were voices in favor of continued exclusivity, his wise counsel prevailed, as did his suggestion that the leadership of new Group be international—one North American, one Latin American. It was he, also, who promised to prevail on the national office to forgive our \$90 debt, even offering to defray it out of his own pocket if necessary, and who immediately wrote out a personal check so that we might start with a clean slate and in the black. Likewise, it was at his suggestion that LAAG decided to let the national office take care of dues and other bureaucratic matters, an arrangement that, thanks to his continued interest and the support and cooperation of Edward Lehman, has proved enormously beneficial and certainly had much to do with the rapid increase in *paid-up* membership to its present figure of over 900.

George Foster's voice has been a crucial one at the annual membership meetings of LAAG, always ready with solid suggestions for improvement of our activities and relations among Latin American colleagues. He has been an especially strong supporter of the principle of sharing research results and publishing in the language of the host country. That for more than six years there was no change in the U.S.-Mexican co-chairmanship of LAAG is in large measure due to his persuasiveness and strong support: as one of the towering figures in American anthropology, as author of some of the best work ever done on Mexican village culture, as a colleague, and as a friend, George Foster is a difficult man to say "no" to.



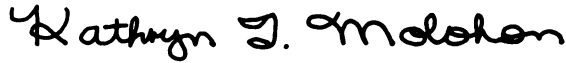
Peter T. Furst
Professor
State University of New York at Albany
Co-Chairman, LAAG

To the editors:

I am delighted to be able to write a letter for Dr. George Foster. Although I did not study directly under Dr. Foster, I associated closely with several of his students at Berkeley, and thus benefited greatly from "indirect" contact with Foster's attitudes and abilities. In addition I benefited directly from Dr. Foster's enormous contributions to the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley. Among other things, these contributions included his attitude of professionalism and his corresponding expectation that all students ought to have the same attitude, his ability to assert priorities for both intellectual development and the maintenance of professional standards, and his acquisition and administration of a large United States National Institute of General Medical Sciences Training Grant for the Department between 1964 and 1979. Finally, during the mid-1960's when everything seemed to be turned upside-down, George Foster understood the importance of maintaining long-term priorities for both Anthropology and the training of its students. Moreover, he was

willing to work extremely hard at maintaining these priorities. For these and countless other magnificent achievements, several generations of graduate students in Anthropology at Berkeley owe Dr. Foster a resounding vote of appreciation.

Sincerely,



Kathryn T. Molohon
Associate Professor
Laurentian University, Canada

To the editors:

As one who had the privilege of knowing and working with George Foster, I am happy to be able to contribute to this volume in his honor. Throughout the many different stages of my career in anthropology, George has provided a model for me, and has inspired me in more ways that I can express.

My first experience with George was in his undergraduate course on applied anthropology at Berkeley, where he opened up a new meaning for anthropology that I have tried to incorporate in my work ever since. I can think of no greater tribute to a person than to say that I never missed a single lecture, despite the fact that they were held at eight in the morning!

Throughout my studies at Berkeley, George continued to influence my career, both through his teaching and his published work. When I would get down in the dumps (as all graduate students inevitably do) and question whether anthropology was really where I belonged, all I had to do was look at what he had accomplished, and I would be charged up once again and ready to tackle the world. When I would get frustrated with the seemingly petty research and publications that I was forced to plow through, I could turn to George's latest book or article and be refreshed by his ability to pull so much together and make so much sense of it.

But perhaps the greatest debt I owe to George is for the role model he provided for me as a teacher, adviser, and professor. Today when I am deluged with field notes from graduate students, I recall how George never failed to read through his own students' notes (and he had far more than I) and comment upon them. When I suffer the drudgery of writing letters of recommendation or doing any of the myriad tasks of my job, I recall how grateful I always felt for his efforts. When I'm looking for short cuts in preparing a lecture, I think of how far I have to go even to approach the effectiveness he had in the classroom.

George's accomplishments in many areas are widely known, and many of my senior colleagues are far better qualified to attest to his greatness. But few, if any, can say that they have been lucky enough to have been influenced by George as a human being to the extent that I have. I will always cherish the memories of my experience at Berkeley, and I will always be grateful to George Foster for what he gave me.



John Friedl
Associate Professor
Ohio State University

To the editors:

I am pleased to have an opportunity to thank George Foster for many years of advice, encouragement and interest. Although it is difficult to generalize about a scholar of his stature, I would like to mention two facets of his approach to anthropology which have most strongly influenced my own work: his emphasis on a thorough knowledge of anthropological methods and his awareness of the great potential for the application of anthropological research.

As a graduate student in one of Foster's early Medical Anthropology seminars, I was intrigued by the idea of conducting applied anthropological research in the United States. It was with his support that a project for the seminar was expanded into a study of an entire mainstream health care delivery system. And, it was with his encouragement that I applied the results of this study to planning and implementing improvements in the system while working in a bureaucratic context. George was aware of the frustrations inherent in working outside of an academic context, and of the difficulty of convincing people who were not familiar with the field of the validity of anthropological research. Throughout this often difficult period George was always available, and his strong conviction that anthropology can contribute significantly to the health fields was a constant source of encouragement.

As a teacher, George was able to impart his belief that an emphasis on meticulous detail could be combined with a broad and imaginative conception of anthropology. With regard to the latter, he recognized that anthropology could and should be taken outside of purely academic settings. I have always appreciated his encouragement and support of my decision to become an applied anthropologist, working in health, business and other organizational settings. Unlike some, George has not become jaded by his long involvement with anthropology, and is still capable of becoming excited about new applications or unusual work.

I offer my congratulations to George Foster on the publication of a *festschrift* in honor of his retirement. And, I look forward to his future work: anyone who knows George knows that his retirement from teaching anthropology does not mean his retirement from anthropology.

Sincerely,



Stephen C. Frankel
Consultant
Albany, California

To the editors:

When I put my feet up on the desk, clasp my fingers together behind the back of my head and think of George Foster, the first thing that comes to my mind is a 7:00 A.M. telephone call I received from him one typically grey, January-in-Berkeley, morning in 1976, when I was a second-year grad student in the then new medical anthropology program.

Foster called to tell me that he was to be my interim adviser while Margaret Mackenzie, my regular adviser, was on leave, and that he wanted to know when I was going to take my orals, when I planned to go to the field and when will I submit my fieldwork budget! Such questions so early in the morning brought little more than a belch as an initial response, followed by a halting, sleepy-headed statement that I was going to make my presentation in Gene Hammel's research design course sometime during Winter quarter, take my orals at the end of Spring quarter, write the budget over the summer, make fieldwork plans in the Fall and leave for the field (Ghana) in December. Foster replied with "What the hell are you waiting for? See Gerry Moos in the morning, get a sample budget from her and turn in your budget in a day or two. And why wait so long to take your orals and go to the field? Take them as soon as possible and get the hell out to the field."

There's no use hanging around campus like a lame duck. Gene (Hammel) will probably let you be the first person to make your presentation in his class, and he will, I'm sure, excuse you from attending for the remainder of the quarter if you are going directly to the field." He then rung off.

Here was a typical example of Foster—a man who gets things done. The phone call lasted for a minute or two, but it set the stage for a series of actions culminating in my doing all the things he suggested, thus returning from the field when I originally had planned to go there, and—with the help of my dissertation committee—graduating a year early, as Berkeley's first medical anthropology Ph.D. Thanks, George. You lit a fire under my butt; it left no scars.



Jack Gershon
International Center for Health Sciences
Meharry Medical College
Nashville, Tennessee

To the editors:

On this special occasion, it is indeed a pleasure for me to write a letter paying tribute to Professor George M. Foster. Dr. Foster was my professor and advisor throughout my years of graduate study at U.C. Berkeley and during those years I came to have great respect for him as a teacher and a scientist.

As a teacher, Dr. Foster was one of the finest. During a time when many professors had become somewhat relaxed about standards, he continued to demand a high quality of work and, because of his high expectations, I was inspired to do my best work. Because of his enthusiasm for the subject, his seminars were very stimulating, and he always seemed to be learning and enjoying them just as much as the students. It was a particular privilege to be a student in his seminar in Medical Anthropology; his first-hand experience and involvement in this field provided us with valuable insights into the development of this area of Anthropology.

Although Professor Foster was relatively formal in the classroom, all of his students had an opportunity to know him personally during the many evenings when he would invite groups of students to his home for dinner. Despite the amount of work involved, he and Mrs. Foster seemed to enjoy these evenings thoroughly, and it was at these times that we enjoyed him the most and realized how much he cared for his students.

Upon the occasion of his election to the National Academy of Sciences in 1976, a group of graduate students decided to honor him with a dinner. During the evening, I remarked that we had invited some of his fellow professors, but, that unfortunately, they were unable to come. "I'm sorry they couldn't make it," he said. "But I don't know how it could have been a nicer evening." Clearly, he was moved by our arranging this party for him, and it seemed that he was happy to be celebrating this special evening just with his students. He told us that evening that the greatest reward for him over the years had been his students, and that they had provided the greatest satisfaction for him in his work.

It was while writing my dissertation that I came to know Dr. Foster best. I was under a great deal of pressure to finish the dissertation before beginning a new position in September. We worked together throughout the summer of 1978, and because of his help, support, and encouragement I managed to finish just in time. As is typical of many beginning writers, the first draft was overwritten and needed a great deal of editing. I would no sooner have given Professor Foster a chapter than he would be on the phone asking me to come in so that we could go over it together. He spent many hours with me editing the manuscript page by page and explaining how I could make it a much "tighter" dissertation. "This is just what Kroeber did with me," he said, "and I have been doing it with my students ever since."

When I completed my dissertation, the copy I gave to Dr. Foster bore this dedication: "To a firm taskmaster, an excellent teacher, and an exemplary role model; what student could ask for more?" On this special occasion, I offer my appreciation and congratulations to Professor Foster, and I am certain that what I have written expresses the respect and affection accorded him by many of his former students.

Sincerely,



Jeanie Kayser-Jones
School of Nursing
University of California, San Francisco

To the editors:

Ours has been the special pleasure of knowing George Foster as a fieldworker as well as a teacher, adviser, and friend. I did my doctoral research under Dr. Foster's direction in Tzintzuntzan and we have been able to share the fieldwork experience with him over a period of years. His obvious joy in fieldwork and the quality of his relationships with several generations of Tzintzuntzeños have been as impressive to us as the caliber of his data.

Since the publication of Malinowski's diaries, it has become increasingly acceptable to admit that you did not enjoy your fieldwork. Dr. Foster may, in fact, be a rare case, an anthropologist who is never more relaxed and happy than when he is in the field. He has been known to insist that even the Ritz crackers taste better in Mexico. His enthusiasm is contagious; after thirty years the imponderabilia of village life still delight him and he has the stamina to take notes until the early morning hours during night-long fiestas.

El doctor is by now a village institution and we soon discovered that memorates about him are a firmly established part of local folklore. Villagers like to tell the story of how in the early days, fearful that he was a communist, they threw lime on his head as he walked down the street. Another story concerns the brewing of hot mescal (with the young anthropologist busily taking notes) and offering it to *el doctor*, who politely drank a cup before he was advised that mescal causes instant diarrhea. In a third story Dr. Foster offers cigars to a group of men, one of whom refuses with the humorous refrain *Que fuma puro, ladron seguro* ("He who smokes cigars is a thief for sure"); this incident ends with *el doctor*, unabashed, whipping out his notebook to record the item. These stories, and others like them, illustrate the special kind of relationship that exists between the Tzintzuntzeños and their anthropologist. The formality and respect that villages display in their encounters with outsiders is tempered by the joking, teasing relationship found only among intimates.

We owe George Foster an enormous debt of gratitude for all his personal and professional encouragement and support. In all of this, the experience of working with him in Tzintzuntzan has been especially meaningful; we could have had no better example of what anthropological fieldwork ought to be.



Melissa Kassovic



Julius Stephen Kassovic
Dickinson College
Carlise, Penn.