

HOMELESS AND SELF ORGANIZATION.

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Cover: Ashley Marinaccio's photo "A Call to End Gun Violence in South Bronx" is one of this year's standouts from the 2014 AAA Photo Contest. Here, Girl Be Heard Company member Karen Vigo participates in a street performance to end gun violence in NYC communities. For more from the 2014 Photo Contest, see pages 20–25 of this issue. Photo courtesy Ashley Marinaccio

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RACE IN AMERICA

The Violence of the Status Quo

Michael Brown, Ferguson and Tanks

PEM DAVIDSON BUCK
ELIZABETHTOWN COMMUNITY AND TECHNICAL C

Years ago I thought about writing a paper I would call "The Violence of the Status Quo." I never wrote that paper. Perhaps now is the time—although it would have been appropriate any time in the last 500 years of US history. Michael Brown, yes, and as of August 19 four other young Black men, all unarmed, perhaps not perfectly behaved, but killed in the last month by White police under circumstances in which Whites are almost never killed by police. And a bit earlier Trayvon Martin... the list goes on. The people of Ferguson have made it impossible for the rest of the country to do the usual: a bit of hand-wringing, a bit of a mea culpa moment on the part of liberals, a bit of celebration on the part of White supremacists, a profound (apparent) disinterest on the part of most everyone else except those who well know the daily-ness of such acts, those who have to live their lives in the consciousness of them—and then attention shifts, often to focus on fields where men play with balls, for circuses do work even when the bread is unevenly distributed. Or it can be the latest celebrity scandal, anything so profoundly unimportant to anyone but the individuals involved that no questions will arise whose answers would show the status quo for what it is. Violent. The violence of Ferguson—the murder and the tanks is not new. It is the status quo, unmasked.

We all know the obvious acts of violence backing injustice and inequality in US history. But we know them as isolated factoids, not as part of a larger pattern, a pattern of continuous violence that continues today: the forced dispossession of the Native Peoples of this land, the enslavement of Africans, the lynching and executions of Jim Crow. Some of us know about the enforced servitude of *encomienda*, the confinement and dispossession of Japanese and Japanese-Americans in California, the near enslavement of Chinese railroad workers, and some of us see the violence involved in mass incarceration and immigrant deportation. But there is also a masked violence, a daily violence that accompanies the status quo, a violence that is critical in maintaining the privilege that accompanies whiteness, a privilege that only partially coincides with middle class status. It is the violence created by inequality itself—

structural violence—and of the continuous low-level violence required to maintain that inequality: incarceration, social service confiscation of children and the lack of resources needed to prevent it, deaths from poverty and discrimination, the maintenance of a school to prison pipeline: the daily struggle to survive without attracting the dangerous attention of the state.

We can connect the dots between past violence and present violence—we can show that the violences we have been taught to dismiss as isolated are in fact part and parcel of the same thing.

But it is hidden violence. Hidden, that is, from those with a bit of privilege. We are supposed to see this as law and order, or as the unfortunate collateral damage that accompanies a benevolent, or at least inevitable, capitalism, or as the fault of the individuals involved. We don't see it as part and parcel of the Trail of Tears and the Middle Passage. We don't see it as the violence required to provide elites with cheap labor and cheap resources, and the somewhat privileged with some degree of comfort—all without provoking revolt. It is when this daily violence fails, when the ideology that masks it loses legitimacy in the eyes of the more privileged, that the tanks begin to roll. The violence in Ferguson is not new.

The people of Ferguson, in their refusal to accept either yet another death or the viciously militarized response of the police, have torn off the mask that hides these truths. It could have been torn off over other deaths, and certainly emerged tattered after Trayvon Martin's murder. Militarized violence itself could have been unmasked in the wake of the attack on the Boston

Marathon, when tanks rolled through the streets of Watertown in a massive display of the militarization of policing, accepted as protection against the foreign Other. We should have remembered that they come first for the other, and if we let them do that, they will eventually come for us. As indeed they have.

But the militarization of the police is merely the latest twist in the punishing deployment of force on which all states are, at root, dependent. States are, among other things, the mechanism by which an elite gains the power to systematically transfer the wealth produced by the labor of people and the resources of the land into their own hands. Doing so requires the use of force, and that force is deployed by the state. People don't choose to be exploited. They don't choose to watch children starve. They don't choose to die of Black Lung; they don't choose the Trail of Tears, or slavery, or debt peonage, or segregation or *encomienda*; they don't choose near slavery as immigrant contract labor nor to die crossing the border to enter the US as did the grandparents or great-grandparents of those trying to keep them out, or to live in fear of Homeland Security in their homes and workplaces if they survive. They don't choose terrible schools for their children, despite their high taxes, nor spotty health care. Neither do they choose to watch their daughters and sons struggle with minimum wage jobs, assuming they are available, or with discrimination even with a college degree. And they do not choose to see their sons incarcerated or shot dead by the very people deployed by the state to serve and protect.

Maintaining such conditions is never easy; protest and resistance, as well as acting out, is nearly continuous. Even people suffering through the confines of slavery managed, as Gerald Horne's *The Counter-Revolution of 1776* makes clear, to keep Whites in a state of terror with arson, poisoning, murders and plots—sometimes successful, and sometimes timed to coincide with Spanish or French attacks—to rise up, kill Whites, and take control or flee. Punishments were delivered with horrifying public spectacles of pain—sending a message to other would-be rebels. One has to wonder about the bleeding body of Michael Brown, left in what amounts to public display for hours. The perhaps escalating pattern of police killings of young Black men, along with mass incarceration, is part of the ongoing state terrorism that has kept voting down and those most likely to turn to the use of force in response to inequality off the streets.

Maintaining such conditions now and the ideology needed to mask them is particularly difficult in times of increasing misery for people used to a little privilege. There is the danger that those who develop a bit of class consciousness as a result may join with those who have been suffering all along; they may infect those who might otherwise turn to racist backlash and victim blaming, the ideologies that are so powerful in masking the injustice of the status quo. That danger has arisen now, with a greater questioning of the hegemonic narrative than has been seen in years. It has arisen with the present massive transfer of wealth to the 1% in the face of the misery of structural adjustment and its destruction of the social safety net, the faltering of US global dominance accompanied by continuous war and the misery it brings—financial, emotional, physical—to soldiers, their families, and to the community at large. When legitimacy is questioned and the usual ideological tactics haven't worked, the tanks roll. But they have


rolled in Ferguson not so much to terrorize the people of Ferguson—although they are the target—as to display the punishing power available for all of us, should we be sufficiently recalcitrant as to threaten the ability of the few to control the transfer of wealth into their own hands. Those tanks send a message: The state will protect its own—as it has done throughout US history, to the detriment most dramatically of people of color, but also to the detriment of all but the elite. Unless we stop them.

And we can't stop them if we don't see through the masks to the underlying quotidian nature of the violence of the status quo. This is where anthropology can step in. Progressive journalists and commentators have quite rightly focused their explanations of the events in Ferguson on such issues as the long history of

inequality there and in the US, on the long history of violence against Blacks, on the racial disparities of the justice system, deindustrialization and financial meltdown, and sometimes on White privilege. They have also blasted the militarization of the police and the outrageously disproportionate response of the police which they feel sparked greater protests and perhaps the violence of a few of the people of Ferguson.

But there is a deeper level of explanation that is needed, and it is here that we anthropologists have a part to play. Anthropology can furnish analysis of the state, of the use of force, of whiteness, of structural inequality, segmented labor forces, and structural violence. We can connect the dots between past violence and present violence—we can show that the violences we have been taught to dismiss as isolated are in fact part and parcel

of the same thing. And in so doing—in straight-forward, readable language—we can help move us all toward a more just future.

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RACE IN AMERICA

Ferguson and the Right to Black Life

STEVEN GREGORY
COLUMBIA U

On March 19, 1935, the white manager of WH Kress & Co five-and-dime store on 125th Street in Harlem apprehended a 16-year-old Puerto Rican boy, allegedly for shoplifting a pocketknife. The teenager, Lino Rivera, was tackled and dragged by the manager and his staff to the store's basement to await the police. Black customers, fearful that the boy was being beaten, began to shout and toss merchandise, demanding they return Rivera to the main floor. When an angry crowd began assembling outside the store, police spirited the boy away through a back door.

Only hours later, activists from the Young Communist League and Young Liberators, a black civil rights group, arrived, forming picket lines and distributing leaflets. Harlem residents threw stones at the store's windows and a pitched battle broke out with the police. Later that night, rioters looted businesses across an area extending from 116th to 145th Street. Two days later, the *New York Times* published a "proof of life" photograph of Lino Rivera, smiling in the embrace of Lieutenant Samuel J Battle, Manhattan's first black policeman. District Attorney John Dodge announced that a grand jury would be convened to investigate the riot and told the press, "My purpose is to let the Communists know that they cannot come into this country and upset our laws."

The scapegoating of the Young Liberators and Communists, who had played minor roles at best in the civil unrest, elided the conditions of poverty, inequality and police violence at the heart of the disturbances. The claim that outside agitators had been the riot's ring-leaders implied—indeed, reiterated—that black people were incapable of acting as political subjects in the defense of their humanity and rights as citizens, and beyond the mindless discharge of a violent, inscrutable rage. As Franz Fanon put it, "the black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man"—no interior psychic life or autonomous existence as a rights bearing person. Instead, black subjectivity is *epidermal-*

ized as an obscure surface upon which to project the paranoid fantasies and supremacist *weltanschauung* of a white male power structure.

Unsurprisingly, the response of the authorities and press to the Harlem riot bears striking symmetry to events in Ferguson. Michael Brown, an 18-year-old African-American youth was gunned down by a white policeman, and people from Ferguson took to the streets to express their outrage and demand justice. I write "took to the streets" here to underscore the fact that, in the US, the notion of protest has become synonymous with forms and expressions of opposition that are deemed legitimate by the very authorities against whom they are directed. As in the Harlem riot, the media and authorities labored from the outset to distinguish between peaceful protestors, who obeyed the often incoherent directives of the police, and those others who were implicated in that great American bugaboo called "violence."

The violence that so alarmed police and pundits ranged from looting, to the tossing of water bottles, to simply *being*—like Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown or Kajieme Powell—a black male walking. But one is struck by the radical disparity between the police reports of violence and the media's live video feeds of a militarized police force indiscriminately firing tear gas and stun grenades, and "bum rushing" the crowd. Indeed, the media praised Highway Patrol Captain Ron Johnson for instructing his command to mix with the crowd—not to communicate or bond with the protestors but to more effectively weed out the so-called agitators. "We're asking people not to gather," Johnson told the media. "We're asking so we don't have gatherings of 200, 300, 400 people because then that allows, we've talked about the criminals, agitators—to embed themselves behind large crowds." This familiar human shield argument suggests that crowds of protestors are inadvertently, if not willfully, complicit with the thugs hiding in their midst, thereby legitimating collective repression and rendering *all* protestors illicit and life threatening to police in riot gear.

As I write, public officials and the media are celebrating the restoration of peace and normalcy in Ferguson with stories of hope, healing and understanding. But it was *this* peace and *this* normalcy that killed Michael Brown. Lost in the mass-mediated sighs of relief and longings for an end to violence has been the recognition that black people have the right to assert and defend their humanity and rights as citizens, and in a manner that can only transgress the status quo. Asserting this human right has repeatedly led to the death of black people by police and their self-appointed proxies: a menacing cut of the eyes, suspicious demeanor, lawful questioning of authority, or an offhand comment have all proved to be sufficient justification for the use of deadly force by policemen and others who, we are to believe, feared for their lives in the presence of black people. It is obscene, in my opinion, to even debate this self-defense argument—to puzzle over the precise distance, posture or attitude that renders a black person's existence life threatening to their white, typically male killers.

There are two important lessons that I take from the killing of Michael Brown and countless others at the hands of white police and vigilantes. The first is that we must recognize that these killings did not occur because their perpetrators feared for their lives, lacked sensitivity or were poorly trained. They killed because they encountered black people who had the audacity to comport themselves *as if* their rights as citizens were inalienable and protected by the full weight of the law. Trayvon Martin had the temerity to walk home at night in a hoodie, Ranisha McBride had the pluck to knock on a white man's door at 4:42 am, and Eric Garner had thechutzpah to protest to the police (the often fatal crime of "talking back") that he was being unjustly harassed. And the perpetrators killed them with impunity because they could. Some would argue, reasonably so, that we should not prejudge the police officer who killed Michael Brown; that we should weigh each

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Ferguson
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case on its own merits and let roll the wheels of justice. But the relentless pattern of extrajudicial police killings, investigative negligence and turbidity, and reason-defying exonerations of white shooters constitutes, in my mind, a Durkheimian social fact—one that we as a society must recognize if “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” is to have any but ironic significance. If we are to end gratuitous police violence, then we must hold these perpetrators and the institutions that enable them strictly accountable—liable *not only* for unjustifiable homicides but also for the quotidian indignities, abuses, hate speech, and denials of justice and due process that continue to texture the lives of black people across the nation.

Ten days after Michael Brown’s killing, a second black man was gunned down on a St Louis street. Twenty-five-year-old Kajieme Powell was shot twelve times by two white police officers after he allegedly threatened them with a knife.

Second, we must be critical of how discourses of black violence, chaos and criminality are mobilized to delegitimize black resistance while conferring carte blanche to police repression. It defies reason to treat isolated reports of violence, few of them confirmed, as equivalent or proportionate to the zealous, militarized police assault on the citizens of Ferguson. Is it not an act of violence to point an assault rifle at an unarmed

protestor? Is not the indiscriminate firing of tear gas, stun grenades and, by some reports, rubber bullets violence? And do not the acts of symbolic violence, subjection and degradation visited upon black youth, in particular, rise to the level of violence to be condemned and punished by law?

In the wake of the Ferguson unrest, there is a risk that we lose sight of the right of black youth—demonized as violent criminals and agitators—to refuse to submit to the subject position of “deserving, non-violent protestor,” worthy of being listened to, respected and not brutalized. To be sure, I am not advocating violence or condoning the sporadic acts of looting and bottle throwing that occurred in Ferguson. But it is wrong-headed and irresponsible to characterize those acts and expressions of outrage and disobedience as the irrational, apolitical and illegible brutality of “outside agitators”—persons who exist beyond the pale of reason and civility and, thus, humanity. It is these young people, who struggle daily at the stigmatized margins of society, who must be brought to the center of our discussions and debates about police violence and race relations in contemporary American society.


Ten days after Michael Brown’s killing, a second black man was gunned down on a St Louis street. Twenty-five-year-old Kajieme Powell was shot twelve times by two white police officers after he allegedly threatened them with a knife. Powell’s killing has received less attention than Brown’s, probably because it did not yield the spectacle of social unrest so irresistible to the media. Moreover, Powell, who was reported to suffer from a mental illness, was described as behaving “erratically,” telling police, “Shoot me, kill me now.” Powell was constructed as a black man who had stepped beyond reason and, thus, forfeited his humanity—his right to life. A suspect police killing became, as if by alchemic inversion, a “suicide-by-cop.” It seemed to be, at first, a justifiable homicide. Police Chief Sam Dotson told the press that Powell, brandishing a knife in an overhead grip, had advanced to within three feet of one officer, thus matter-of-factly rounding out the profile of a black man who could be killed with impunity. And then the pesky video was released—the video that revealed no overhead grip; that Powell, hands always his sides, was well beyond the arbitrary three-foot killing zone when

the two officers gunned him down and then proceeded to handcuff his corpse.

Some have asked whether the officers who confronted Powell were equipped with Tasers, which could have served as an alternative to firing twelve bullets. “Certainly a Taser is an option that’s available to the officers,” Chief Dotson, explained, “but Tasers aren’t 100 percent.” No, not if you intend to kill. But I would go even further: could not the officers not have lowered their guns, stepped back a few yards and made, at the very least, an effort to pacify or communicate with Powell—in short, made the effort *not* to kill? We should recall Antoinette Tuff here who, with courage matched only by her empathy, talked down a school gunman armed with an AK-47 in suburban Atlanta. But we are asked to believe that white policemen, when faced with black people, have but microseconds to react to safeguard their lives.

Indeed, Powell was gunned down only 16 seconds after police had arrived on the scene. But 16 seconds, it appears, was more than enough time to take in the “fact of blackness,” as Fanon put it—to project onto the surface of a black person’s skin, the tropes and narratives of black criminality, unreason and cultural pathology that are so deeply ingrained within American society. “Bring it on, all you fucking *animals!*” a policeman shouted at the crowd in Ferguson. An aberration, perhaps, but his words aptly convey the deep structural logic of the dehumanizing violence that continues to be visited upon African Americans and other people of color in America.

Bring it on we must. But we must fight this battle *with* and not against those who agitate for freedom, democracy and human rights.

Steven Gregory is professor of anthropology and African-American studies at Columbia University. He is the author of Black Corona (Princeton University, 1998), Santeria in New York City (Garland, 1999) and The Devil Behind the Mirror (University of California, 2006). 

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RACE IN AMERICA

Ferguson

An American Story

RAYMOND CODRINGTON
NEW YORK HALL OF SCIENCE

By now the story is familiar to many. In Ferguson, MO, a town of less than 16,000 people, Michael Brown, an 18-year old was walking in the middle of a residential street. He ignored police officer’s Darren Wilson order to move out of the street. Apparently, a struggle of some kind ensued. Brown retreated and witnesses state that he was shot by Officer Wilson with his hands

and arms raised in the air in surrender. Brown’s body fell dead approximately 35 feet from Officer Wilson. It is reported that the teen’s dead body lay in the street for four hours before it was removed. Michael Brown’s death, the police response and the discourse on race resonate because they demonstrate the impact of racism and inequality in this country. The images of people walking with their hands and arms raised in the air has become a national symbol of Brown’s death and fraught relations between police and the black community.

The fall out from Brown’s death took the form of debate and protesting. It is hard to forget the display of military grade weapons and tactics on civilians by law enforcement in Ferguson. This equipment was secured through the 1033 Program, which provides police departments with refurbished military equipment from the US Department of Defense. Crowd control tactics included using tear gas, rubber bullets and armored personnel carriers. An image that captures the tension between protesters and police shows an African American protester wearing an American flag T-shirt hurling a tear gas canister fired in his direction away from a crowd. In one hand, he holds the canister with his arm fully recoiled back while in the other hand he holds a bag of chips. In some ways, the chips reminded us that the protesters were our neighbors, not



A reverend does the “hands up don’t shoot” gesture in Ferguson, MO. Photo courtesy Wikimedia Commons

occupying a foreign war zone and that this was their normal where the extreme and mundane coexisted.

About a week after Brown’s death, a video was released of him allegedly taking a pack of cigarillos from a convenience store without paying and pushing a store clerk. News reports refer to the incident as a robbery. The video came to light on the same day that Officer Wilson’s identity was revealed. The video has been cited as evidence that Brown had criminal inclinations—mainly robbery—and an aggressive character. The act doesn’t seem the exclusive domain of black kids, as recently Caroline Giuliani, the 20-year old daughter of New York’s former Mayor Rudolph Guilani was arrested for shoplifting from the cosmetic store Sephora. Interestingly, here, shoplifting was not framed as robbery. I knew a lot of white kids in high school and some, not all, stole from convenience stores. I saw it as something that bored kids did because they could, they thought it was fun, and because there were few consequences. Sadly, Brown wasn’t able to play the youthful indiscretion card however and was cast as a hulking youth who defied authority and as such had to pay the ultimate price.

Michael Brown was a son before he was a victim of a police killing. *New York Times* appeared to paint Brown as “no angel” in a the background story “Michael Brown Spent Last Weeks Grappling With Problems and Promise” (August 24) by pointing out things that are common with most teenagers such as feeling that his parents didn’t understand him, experiencing difficulty in school, and aspiring to be a rapper, among other things. His parents note that as young man who was quite tall, they had spoken to him about how to behave in interactions with police. The assumption was that as a young black man, he would be stopped at some point, so stop and search literacy is needed to defuse the situation and avoid harassment, beating or worst yet death. I would venture to ask whether the “how to act around police” talk is as common

if not moreso than the birds and the bees talk. But the former is a rite of passage for too many black parents and youth. Race and youth are at the center in Brown’s killing in all too familiar and sad ways. The reality of black youth engaging police or violence more generally is commonplace. Youth can answer WEB DuBois’s question posed in the *Souls of Black Folk* in regard to “what does it feel like to be a problem.” The outcome of being seen as a problem is clear in the fate of Michael Brown for walking in the street, Trayvon Martin for walking home and looking subjectively suspicious, Jordon Davis for playing music perceived as too loud, and Renisha McBride for knocking on someone’s door at night seeking help, and the list goes on. In this, existence is tenuous, and there is no way of knowing if a chance


encounter with the police or a private citizen will end without incident and you will walk away, or whether you will be judged by twelve or carried by six. As I look back on my own experiences, especially as a teen, I wonder if the times when police accused me of car theft while driving the family car or when I was accused of kidnapping a white woman while driving with a white male friend who had long hair might have ended differently based on circumstance.

In a broader context, the events in Ferguson demonstrate the cumulative impact of structural and individual racism. There is a long history of race related problems in Ferguson, but the city is not unique by any means. Things came to boiling point with Michael Brown’s death but this is a national and global problem that has implications for race, class and gender. Most accounts note that Ferguson police stop more blacks than other groups. Three out of Ferguson’s 53 police officers are black while blacks make up the majority of the town. Blacks receive less protection under the rule of law and come into contact with the criminal justice system in disproportionate numbers. For example, in 2013 blacks made up 86% of traffic stops in Ferguson. At the same time, blacks were 92% of vehicle searches yet contraband was found 22% of these searches versus 34% for whites. Interestingly, in 2012 19% of Ferguson’s budget was financed through fines and court appearances. As such, the black community is essentially paying a tax through the outcomes of systematic profiling. In addition, established white populations who have lived in Ferguson longer than many blacks, who have lived there for about 15 years, have developed the infrastructure to consolidate power and elect white candidates. These advantages are demonstrated by the presence of one black city council member and school board member in Ferguson. Ferguson clearly shows how structural disparities are created and maintained and how becomes difficult it becomes to vote in officials and policies that will change racial dynamics.

Where do we go from here? What implicit bias or implicit social cognition tells us that one doesn’t have to consider themselves or be considered a racist to treat people different based on race? What goes through people’s minds when what they see is based on split second, subconscious assessments? For example, police officers who pull over motorists from historically racialized groups, sales representatives who practice shop and frisk, or the person who “has a lot of black friends” yet may cross the street or move to the other side of the elevator when a person of color is close may not recognize that they are indeed treating someone different based on race. This has both symbolic and material consequences. At the same time, the structural nature of race and racism is more subtle while not relying on overt racism. Disadvantage for historically racialized groups, is embedded yet rendered seemingly invisible in institutions tied to areas such as criminal justice, education, and employment because poor outcomes are the commonsense outcomes of the everyday practices and police. Here, it becomes easy to rationalize how and why historically racialized groups fare relatively poorly in these areas as well as why, for example, black communities require more strict policing. Understanding how policies and practices are impacted by the subtle as well as overt influence of racism is a central charge in moving forward.

As we think about both the historically proven and emerging forms of race based marginalization considering how the process of racialization works could illuminate some of the very social, economic and political realities that assign identity, power, and privilege or lack thereof to particular groups seems like a worthwhile direction to take. I say this especially in regard to developing broader analytical and organizing connections between what is happening in the US and in places such as the UK, which has also experienced civil unrest related to police treatment of minorities most recently noted in London in 2011 and Brazil this year where militarized police patrol favelas under auspices of the policy known as pacification. What can comparative cases teach us about developing strategies and frameworks for dismantling structural disparities?

It remains to be seen whether Michael Brown’s death represents a significant moment in time or the beginning of a wider movement. However, the moral questions around justice, how we treat our young, and what is the worth of black life are at the heart of the Michael Brown killing and our understanding of race, and racism, and civil society. As such, the Brown case could be seen as an opportunity to address the underlying processes of racialization that lead to his killing rather than looking at Michael Brown and black youth as problems that need to be fixed.

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RACE IN AMERICA

Standing Their Ground in #Ferguson

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In her 2013 AAA Presidential Address, *Anthropology Matters*, Leith Mullings outlined the mutually constitutive relationship between social movements of the '60s and '70s and anthropological theory. Listening to the speech, we were reinvigorated as PhD students and also envious. Comparatively, our work on the production of history, inequality and public culture comes across as a bit more abstract, especially to our students. So our guiding question is, how can we demonstrate, particularly for students, that the discipline is critical for contemporary comprehension and analysis? We believe not only does anthropology matter, but is imperative in interpreting and discussing the social movement that Michael Brown's murder has spurred.

This commentary is a collaborative offering that focuses on the ways in which #Ferguson can be used for our anthropology students as a way to analyze the relationship between contemporary power structures and the trajectories of sociopolitical mobilizations over time. While much has been written about social media's role in Ferguson, Missouri the interpretations varied little, with much of the focus on Twitter "scooping" traditional news outlets, who then sent organizational representation to Missouri, "allowing" Michael Brown's murder to become a national news story. While that narrative unfolded on the national stage, in our anthropology classrooms, #Ferguson can be an entry point to discuss power, history and the production of public spheres.

Our mode of discussion underscores the understanding that the socio-historical landscape from which #Ferguson emerges and circulates, is an intergenerational task—as is the provisioning of intellectual and practical tools to unpack and examine the larger categories and narratives that enable said landscape. For example, it's not just about facts (eg, how many unarmed young black men have been murdered by police officers in the last year), but how these facts (transmitted by organizations, corporations, politicians and individuals with particular interests) both take and give shape to larger frames of reference.

The power of assembly has fundamentally shaped the Black Freedom Struggle and other social movements throughout the African Diaspora. One way to situate #Ferguson is as an example of Black Americans actively claiming their right to assemble, to stand their ground against military-grade tanks, and create new modes of publicity—*physically*—in the streets, and *virtually*—via circulating social and traditional media representations.

Michelle Alexander has written about the social realities of the New Jim Crow, and how it operates as a racialized form of social control. While that control manifests itself in punishment, sentencing, convictions, policing, etc, but also circulates through characterization and rhetoric. In detailing the rise of mass incarceration in

the US Alexander links the activation and use of "law and order" rhetoric to conservative opposition to the non-violent protest techniques of the Black Freedom movement. It is exactly this "racialized criminalization," operating in tandem with militarized policing, which turned #Ferguson into a national issue. The response of the Ferguson police department to non-violent protest challenges the newer discourse on post-racialism but older US notions of rights. #Ferguson reflects how Black bodies continue to collectivize, aggregate, and come together virtually and on-the-ground. Metaphorically and concretely, "Ferguson" gives name to the challenges Blacks face in achieving racial equality and social incorporation, as well as illuminates the new forms of publicity that have emerged from an imaginative and politically-oriented black public sphere.

In the instance of #Ferguson, these new forms of publicity rest of digital sharing and exchange. Digitized social media has been indispensable in creating new possibilities for greater socio-political literacy across generations as it relates to an array of socio-historical configurations, including visual culture and the constitution of the public sphere, social stratification and inequality, and political mobilization. It is essential to consider the contributions and capacities of social media, without fetishizing it as the path to liberation, or "the way" to connect with youth. In the case of #Ferguson, we can see the ways in which the digital landscape activates imaginative ways of relating lightly packaged information (rather than tightly narrated facts) to and with diffuse individuals and collectivities.

The contemporary political climate emphasizes winner-take-all politics, which corresponds to a socio-economic context that gives primacy to scarcity. Social media provides a strong countervailing force, through its emphasis on sharing and aggregating; or as Jeffrey Juris explains, the distinction between logics of networking and logics of aggregating. #Ferguson demonstrates that social media's connectedness and exchanges are part of a narrative-building apparatus that rebuffs static tropes and hegemonic imagery. The digital sphere of the #FergusonUprising contested publics that attempted to marginalize historically under-represented groups, and challenged narratives that tried to normalize inequality, state violence, and white supremacy. What social media's aggregation logic and participatory framework has attempted to do is change the meaning and the story embedded in 21st century Black bodies. That has powerfully impacted the way we understand the racialized dimensions of several events over the past decade: the plight of Gulf Coast and Lower 9th Ward residents during Hurricane Katrina; the racialized imprecision of society's criminal justice systems in the case of the Jena 6; the idea that clothing justifies murder, in the case of Trayvon Martin.

The development of hashtags such as #FergusonSyllabus and #IfTheyGunnedMeDown are examples of digitized social networks mobilizing to create a repository of resources for educators and learners in the paradigm of community education. Both

examples highlight how social media has increased the scale, and made more visible, the latent social justice beliefs and ideas for a class of Black Americans who have had their political activity marginalized and reified.

The digital community utilized social media and grassroots media producers to bring immediate disruption to traditional media's attempts to organize social comprehension of these events through the tropes of wantonness, criminality, and pathology. The grassroots have used digital tools to change not only how we see examples of racism and racialized injustice, but to also publicize how the narrative of racial inequality in contemporary society is produced and transmitted.

In his discussion of power and the production of historical narratives, Trouillot (1995) sets readers up to examine the fruitful space between "what happened" and "what is said to have happened." Anthropological research provides the social and cultural origins (or biological), which presents the nuance and detail of processes. The coverage of the recent murder of Michael Brown crystallizes Trouillot's points about the roots of power operating largely invisibly, deeply embedded in centuries of knowledge production.


The success of digital activism in the case of #Ferguson, stems from the relentless, on-the-ground, minute-by-minute sharing that foreclosed the opportunity for what was happening in Missouri to be drained of political potency and circulate in the daily paper as a depoliticized abstraction. As we know, media representations—both images and rhetorics (tropes, categories)—assist in producing and reproducing hegemonic values and imaginaries, helping to shape ideas about the bodies that belong in public spaces and those that are deemed threatening by virtue of existence. The viral flow of information and images from the grassroots, the authority of which is not assumed or expected, usurps information asymmetry and creates opportunities for more democratic and representative public spheres, both in terms of participation and lack of censorship.

Contributing to the effect of images, videos, and audio disseminated from the streets of Ferguson, Missouri, were the 140 characters, and captions composed of sentence fragments. What is compelling about the limited text relates again to the issue of 'authority to represent'. Hegemonic news outlets, the authority of which is assumed- seek to create largely static narratives for a readership and viewership who want to understand current events through pre-existing categories of understanding. Whereas because social media is inherently diffuse, seemingly omniscient hegemonic narratives have little to no place, and thus it's uses for organizing, gathering evidence, and tracking what is unfolding have been highlighted. Digital activism is not neat, it's messy and ongoing—rather than nailing down 'facts', participants lift up previously neglected corners and shine lights on ignored sources, crowdsourcing information in an attempt to create the most nuanced landscape of understanding, and thus transformation, possible.

In another article in this series, Pem Buck reminded us, “The violence of Ferguson—the murder and the tanks is not new. It is the status quo unmasked.” And here lays our challenge as educators, particularly as the semester gets further underway—how do we keep the mask off, lesson by lesson, and keep our students’ eyes and minds trained on that which they are conditioned not to see or question? We’ve shared some of our ideas and urge others to do the same via social media, using #AnthropologyMatters. Assistant History Professor Marcia Chatelain’s observations will be instructive in this endeavor, as she reminds us, “... from where I sat, Ferguson was unlike anything most, traditional-age students had ever experienced.

I remembered unrest in Los Angeles in 1992 and feeling so overwhelmed by all of it. I realized that the majority of our students were too young to remember this or were not even born yet. I felt it was important to create a way for other educators concerned about how students understood what happened, and I simply want people to commit to thinking about ways to talk about it.”

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VIOLENCE

SOCIETY FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF RELIGION

Beheaded

An Anthropology

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What can anthropology tell us about the beheading of two American journalists by the self-proclaimed Islamic State (also known as ISIS or ISIL)? Anthropologists have been mostly silent so far, but with the US government escalating its intervention in Iraq and Syria, they should be more forthcoming. There are at least three ways that this new round of violence in the Middle East could be approached.

First, the Islamic State is an aberration because most Muslims condemn it as extreme or as not Muslim at all. In “The Trouble with ISIS,” Daniel Martin Varisco argues that the Islamic State will unleash a new round of Islamophobia even though it is “...a trouble not with religion but the overt and spiteful abuse of a religious veneer to justify political ambition and hateful vengeance.” This approach avoids the Orientalist assumption that Islam is inherently more violent than Christianity or any other religion by attributing the violence of the Islamic State to its politics rather than its religion.

Second, the Islamic State may be an aberration, but it is not novel: there have been caliphates before this one. What is new is the political context in which this caliphate has arisen. If a caliphate is not just a Muslim state, but one that has global ambitions, the conditions for the realization of those ambitions actually exist in the 21st century. This is why social media is as important to the Islamic State as controlling territory and resources, establishing a bureaucracy, and providing social services. It is a caliphate that has arisen from the conditions of globalization and uses them to its advantage.

The beheading videos produced and circulated by the Islamic State are part of a social media campaign to constitute a subject population. In “The Pornography of Jihadism,” Simon Cottee argues that the videos are pornographic in their logic and reach:

One of the most striking aspects of the more violent among these videos—especially the beheading videos of journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff—is their pornographic quality. They are primal and obscene and gratuitous. And, like most modern porn videos, they are instantly accessible at the click of a mouse.

The beheading videos are a kind of porn that Cottee (following Martin Amis) calls *gonzo*, which favors the display of violence over narrative. Gonzo porn is an example, he argues, of what Mark Juergensmeyer calls *performance violence*, which empowers, but has no strategic goal. Cottee also notes that gonzo porn inspires amateur imitation and that the beheadings staged by the Islamic State, coupled with social media, allow the theater of terrorism to expand in ways that were once hardly imaginable.

A variation on the second approach to the violence of the Islamic State could emphasize that beheading is a long-standing practice of statecraft, including Muslim statecraft. Beheading is almost always associated with the founding of a new social order or is reserved, after the social order is established, for outcasts, the worst criminal offenders, or both. In 2007, Saudi Arabia officially beheaded four Sri Lankan laborers who had been found guilty of armed robbery. This example and many others from history suggest that victims of state-sanctioned beheadings are not just criminals, but criminals who have been marked as different—as outsiders—by their race, ethnicity, nationality, class and/or gender.

In this respect, state-sanctioned beheadings could not be more different from the headhunting practices of nonstate societies. In fact, when headhunting occurs on the margins of states, it is most often a tactic in “the art of *not* being governed.” The victims are often subjects of the state, and the effect is the production of a nonstate space, a declaration that government control is weak or nonexistent. When headhunting occurs between nonstate peoples, it may have the same effect and/or it may indicate a relation of negative reciprocity between the social groups who are exchanging heads. Even though the groups are enemies, they are more similar than different. Headhunting is a barely-controlled mimetic crisis.


In beheading the journalists, the Islamic State was making a claim to statecraft. Even if it has declared the US and the West to be its enemy, and even if the

expressed reason for the beheadings was that the US did not meet the demand of the Islamic State to stop bombing its territory, resources and subject population, the intended audience of the beheadings was surely not the US government, which the Islamic State must have expected to seek retribution. It was, instead, the existing and potential members of the subject population of the Islamic State. The beheadings are a classic case of what Rene Girard calls a founding violence—the violence at the origin of a new social order, usually directed at an outsider, a sacrificial victim, whose death is intended to dispel internal conflict.

Many commentators have noted the suddenness with which the Islamic State has come into being. Just a year ago, it was not on the geopolitical map. Now it is the center of the map. I do not know the details of its emergence, but it seems clear from news reports that there has been much violence along the way. This violence was initially directed at internal others like Shias, Christians and Yazidis. It is now directed at external others like foreign journalists.

As the US intervention to “degrade and destroy” the Islamic State begins—and the fragile order founded on violence begins to collapse—the violence will escalate in an attempt to restore the emerging order. The beheadings will not only continue, they will occur more frequently, and they will be more violent than could be imagined. This has already begun: another video released by the Islamic State shows the beheading of David Haines, a British humanitarian aid worker.

A search for “Islamic State” on the AAA website yielded two relevant hits: “The Trouble with ISIS” by Daniel Varisco and a letter to US Secretary of State John Kerry from Susan Gillespie on behalf of the AAA and its Cultural Heritage Task Force.

Please send news and items of interest for this column to SAR Contributing Editor Christian S Hammons at christian.hammons@colorado.edu. 

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SCIENCE

ANTHROPOLOGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Climate Change Denial

The Organized Creation and Emotional Embrace of Unsupported Science Claims

MERRILL SINGER
U CONNECTICUT

The August 13, 2014 issue of *Arctic News* begins, “A catastrophe of unimaginable proportions is unfolding in the Arctic Ocean. Huge quantities of methane are erupting from the seafloor of the East Siberian Sea and entering the atmosphere over the Arctic Ocean”. This discovery was made by an international team of scientists from Sweden, Russia and the US that is conducting research on methane release. Already, the IPCC recognizes the possibility of a worst-case scenario characterized by a mean temperature rise above 20 degrees Celsius in this century, which for humans and many other species is an obviously catastrophic proposition. Yet, this IPCC scenario does not include many feedback processes that accelerate temperature rise, such as the massive and abrupt methane release now being recorded in the Arctic Ocean. Combined with other data a growing realization among climate scientists is that climate change is far worse than had already been realized.

And yet, climate change denial thrives. How? Why?

Evidence of the continued campaign to dispute the mountain of scientific evidence revealing not only the extent but also the source of global climate change—data that has even convinced the Pentagon that climate change presents a significant security threat to the US—is abundant. In September, the new crop of school textbooks for use in Texas were altered to reflect the denier views espoused by the Heartland Institute, a well-funded organization that first gained notoriety for its rigorous defense of the Joe Camel campaign to attract young smokers. The 6th grade science book, for example, was altered to read: “Scientists agree that Earth’s climate is changing. They do not agree on what is causing the change,” and quotes two staffers at the Heartland Institute who are not scientists. Of course, a startlingly high percentage of scientists (about 97%), in fact, do agree on what is causing climate change, human behavior. The textbook alterations sparked outrage that Texas children would be not be taught why they world they live in is growing ever warmer and would be ill prepared to cope with the changes that are unfolding.

In 2012, Peter Gleick, a MacArthur Fellow and the CEO the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment, and Security in Oakland, exposed internal documents from the Heartland Institute that revealed concrete and well organized plans to promote school curricula that cast doubt on the scientific finding that fossil fuel emissions endanger the long-term welfare of the planet.


Subsequently, Brendan Montague, a London-based investigative journalist, who has been studying the climate denial industry for three years, was (apparently inadvertently) invited to attend Heartland Institute’s 9th International Conference on Climate Change in Las Vegas. Based on his experience at the conference, he wrote “It would almost be possible to dismiss this whole crowd as a bunch of sad cranks... Not just snake oil salesmen but snake oil customers at the same time. Immune to the accumulating evidence that free market economics is not only responsible for the economic crash of 2008, but also the ever-closer ecological catastrophe.” Moreover, the people who attended the conference, he noted, “are having a real influence on American politics. They are just one of the hundreds of Koch and Exxon funded think tanks and fake grassroots campaigns that have frustrated and blocked Obama’s administration at every turn.”

In short, the climate change denial effort appears to be composed of three main groupings. At the bottom of this social milieu, the base of the denier social pyramid, are individuals who are skeptical and disdainful of anything scientists or intellectuals have to say. They often assume that left-wing conspiracies are afoot (in which climate scientists participate, consciously to get government grants or as foolish dupes). In Montague’s view, many of these individuals feel that their intellectual abilities are not appreciated by society and are resentment towards academics who appear to be reaping the rewards of social recognition. However, Public Policy Polling has found that 58% of self-identified Republicans believe climate change is a hoax, suggesting a broader conservative political ideology—namely a commitment to an unbridled productivist ethic—promoting climate change denial.

The second tier of the denier pyramid is populated by what Naomi Oreskes and Erik Conway call “the merchants of doubt,” a set of individuals (eg, media pundits like Rush Limbaugh and George Will) and organizations that work systematically to sow seeds of uncertainty in the public’s understanding and concern about climate change. Exemplary is the aforementioned Heartland Institute—although there are multiple organizations engaged in climate change misinformation—which views itself as a think tank. In a 2011 editorial the journal *Nature* exposed the organizations scientific credibility: “It would be easy for scientists to ignore the Heartland Institute’s climate conferences. They are curious affairs designed to gather and share contrarian views, in which science is secondary to wild accusations and political propaganda.... The Heartland Institute and its ilk are not trying to build a theory of anything. They have set the bar much lower, and are happy muddying the waters”.

The pinnacle of the climate change denier pyramid is occupied by corporations and their organizational creations that have both significant vested economic interests in blocking legislation that might limit the production of greenhouse gases and, as a result, are highly motivated to fund denier campaigns. Key entities include Donors Trust, a group of very conservative and very wealthy British citizens who funnel money anti-climate change think tanks in the US, Koch Industries and Exxon Mobil. Green Peace, for example, reports that Koch Industries has provided over \$65 million in funding to denier groups since 1997.

Climate change deniers often style themselves as skeptics. Without question, scientific skepticism is healthy. In fact, science by its very nature is skeptical. Genuine skepticism means considering the full body of evidence before coming to a conclusion. However, when you take a close look at climate change arguments denial, what you observe is cherry picking of pieces of evidence while rejecting any data that don’t fit the desired picture. This isn’t skepticism; it is ignoring the facts and rejecting science.

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SECULAR AND SACRED

MIDDLE EAST MUDDLE

Dancing through Istanbul

DANIEL MARTIN VARISCO
QATAR U

Turkey is all over the news these days. Former Prime Minister and now President Recep Tayyip Erdogan is

seen by liberals as attempting to be a new “Islamist” Neo-Ottoman Sultan and by Bible Belters as a top candidate for the Antichrist. Earlier last summer there were the riots in Gezi Square. Thousands of Syrians and Kurds have now flooded over the border fleeing

the advancing black-flagged IS/ISIS/ISIL forces. But beyond the CNN-level sound bites, Turkey remains a touristic paradise, especially for the historic sites of Istanbul. I spent the recent Islamic Eid holiday in the Sultan Ahmet tourist hub of Istanbul, with travelers

from just about everywhere crowding the streets and tram stops. Near the imperial splendor of the Topkapı palace are two must-see architectural wonders, the Hagia Sophia of Byzantine fame and the majestic Sultan Ahmet mosque. Spread out along the main tramway and narrow alleys are a multitude of small hotels and restaurants, most offering the ubiquitous kebab cuisine.

Given the crowds of tourists lining up to see the major sites, I opted for the more prudent option of walking the streets. The ethnographer in me wanted to see the bustle of life today rather than take in the jewels of Ottoman heritage, precious as those can be. So in this mindset I danced through the side streets and narrow alleyways, absorbing the everyday mix of new and old. Turkey today thrives on its Ottoman past. The major Islamic empire of half a millennium never erased its Byzantine Christian or Jewish past. As unfashionable as the old binaries are today (whether East vs West, Ottoman Era vs Atatürk, liberal vs conservative), the ghosts of the Orient Express pervade and define this historic part of Istanbul. Across the street from a kebab restaurant you can find a McDonalds or a Burger King or a Domino's Pizza, as though fast food heals all political wounds. There are couples holding hands: some with the man in a t-shirt alongside his wife in niqab, others as though romantic tourists are strolling along the Champs-Élysées in Paris. On the face of a clothing

store is a giant image of a scantily clad woman advertising Victoria's Secret-like underwear for public view; across the street a modern mosque is squeezed in beside the dens of modern commerce.

The Istanbul on display to the world defies pigeonholing as either European or Oriental. In Atatürk International Airport, the duty free stores sell as much Chivas whiskey as any other major airport, while many of the cafes feature Efes Pilsen beer alongside the unmatched Turkish coffee. There are mosques everywhere, some centuries old and showing the wear of their age, but the latest boutiques also abound. There is even an Eataly in Istanbul, and of course, an Ikea. In the 1980s, when I first visited Istanbul on a Fulbright fellowship, I was amazed to find virtually naked centerfolds in major Turkish newspapers. When I naively asked a Turkish friend why a major newspaper would put such a risqué photograph inside, I was told the obvious: sex sells. Erotic overlap in advertising is still as visible in Istanbul as Vienna or Berlin or New York.

Of all the images, the one that most captured my attention to the neoliberalized neon schizophrenia of Istanbul today is an image used to entice tourists to see local dance performances (see the online version of this essay for the image). Here you will notice the whirling dervish heritage above the exotic belly dance, both the religious and the secular serving the commercial need

of an economy that thrives on international tourism. Turkey has been touted as offering a middle way for an Islamic majority country, the middle maintaining the secularity that Europe and America see as a buffer to the various Islamic resurgence movements of the past half century. Reconciling Atatürk with Erdogan's Islamic wave requires a delicate dance step, one that does not waltz too closely to the Eurozone's secular whims, yet one that avoids the dangerous tango with extremist groups like the Muslim Brotherhood or ISIS/ISIL/IS. For the time being and for the foreseeable future, given the massive influx of tourist Euros and dollars, you have an invitation to dance through the secularly blessed sacred precincts of a welcoming Istanbul.

Daniel Martin Varisco is president of the American Institute for Yemeni Studies. Since 1978 he has conducted ethnographic and historical research in Yemen, Egypt and Qatar. His latest book is Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid (2007). He currently serves as editor of Contemporary Islam and editor-in-chief of CyberOrient (www.cyberorient.net). ☞

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INEQUALITY

OTRA ECONOMÍA OTRA SOCIEDAD

Self-organization, Integration and Homeless People

ANA INÉS HERAS
ARGENTINEAN RESEARCH COUNCIL

Some people are stigmatized as excluded, marginalized, poor, homeless and helpless, and other categories with which western capitalist societies tend to label the living situation of people who do not conform to common sense patterns of the market economy. Palleres (2004) has documented that over time, people living on the streets are signified as lacking (a home or shelter, abilities to work, capacity to conform to the norm). It is seldom that what people living on the streets know and can do is documented, analyzed and interpreted in key of contribution. Many of the so-called excluded, marginalized and homeless, however, have been developing a collective position of their own, and a critical thinking process about their living experience which, in turn, informs the conceptualization of self-management, collective decision-making and social solidarity economy. In this post I will show some of these processes and reflect on their contributions in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The Espacio Carlos Mugica are a collective group composed of people who live on the street and by organizations that support people who live on the street. Its main purpose is to participate in the design, implementation and assessment of public policy to protect the rights those who live on the streets.

Funded in 2012, this collective of organizations was built taking into account the work of another network (la Red en la Calle) which existed between 2010 and 2012, and whose main purpose was to help put together a law specifically directed to protect homeless people's rights.

However, as documented by Ávila, Palleres, Colantoni and Sangroni (2014), both the Red and the Espacio, as organizations, bring together a prior history of attempts to self-organize and reclaim the voice of those who live on the street. According to these authors, the 2001 crisis in Argentina aggravated the situation of people who were at the verge of supporting their lives within the market economy, and many of them lost their jobs, their homes and drastically changed their daily living patterns. However, it was during those years (2001–03) that, simultaneously, a process of direct political organization started.

In this way, paradoxically, the same crisis that pushed thousands of people to the streets was the scenario in which self-organization, direct decision making and political horizontal participation made possible specific collective practices by homeless people. As early as 2003–04, people living on the streets started to organize by establishing a meeting point in the city of Buenos Aires, where, weekly, they would discuss their issues and find ways of taking action, collectively. Primarily, their actions were geared towards supporting

their lives (food, shelter, health), yet very soon, they focused on issues of public policy.

It was out of this process that one specific organization called Proyecto 7 started to advocate for the rights of street people. This organization sustained their work over the years, and recently started to self-manage an Integration Center. This is the first organization, world wide, self-managed by homeless men.

Anthropologist Palleres (2004) documented that in Argentina, prior to 2004 didn't exist an organization conducted by people living on the street, a phenomenon that was found in other parts of the world; she documented that Proyecto 7 is the first in kind for Argentina.

As documented elsewhere (Pagotto and Heras, 2014a) the *Espacio Mugica* has been able to put to debate a specific way of conceptualizing what counts as support when it comes to understanding the situation of people who live on the street. Support, for this collective of organizations, is defined as a frame of reference in which people network with other people in order to take care of themselves at the same time they advocate for their rights. This conceptual frame is different than the one most prevalent in public policy, oriented towards defining people who live on the streets as people who can't organize, nor participate in public policy decision-making processes (Heras and

See *Self-organization* on page 12

Self-organization
continued from page 11

Pagotto, 2014). In this manner, support, self-organization, and advocacy are pillars of a way of conceiving political participation by people who currently live on the streets. Additionally, the Espacio Mugica has also emphasized that one of the ways in which this conceptual frame is put to work is by exchanging knowledge among the different organizations that network together and by critically examining their practice (Pagotto y Heras, 2014 b).

These orientations are also held by other organizations, such as the Isauro Arancibia Educational Center (IAEC hereafter) or the Herman@s de Calle. The IAEC started their work during 1998, prior to the big 2001 economic and political Argentinean crisis, aimed at supporting the educational process of children, youth and adults for whom the public school system failed. The teachers who funded the IAEC started noticing that such student population was—for the most part—

living on the streets. These teachers advocated for the public school system to allow for a specific educational center that would work with a critical pedagogy approach and foster schooling for this specific population. Over the years they organized as a self-managed public school.

In turn, their educational practice supported youth attending the IAEC to conform their own organization (Herman@s de Calle). They started to work as a group during 2014, and their main goal is to design and implement a collective housing project. Meanwhile they have networked to contest a governmental decision to demolish their school, since the IAEC is now housed in a building that is under dispute (the current Buenos Aires administration is arguing to tear it down in order to modernize the transportation system).

What is original about Herman@s de calle is that it is an organization composed by young people, it starts out within an educational project, and it is geared towards re-thinking the issue of housing from a collective, cooperative perspective.

I end on a reflective note, posed as rhetorical questions: Could it be that those who seem to be out of the system are contributing to push our thinking about the system all together? Is it that they are proposing us to practice a different way of living, one based on the collective good? And finally, what can we identify when we look at the importance of combining support with self-organization and advocacy for all? May this be an important contribution by those who seem to have nothing?

Ana Inés Heras earned her MA and PhD in education (1995) with a Fulbright scholarship at UC Santa Barbara. She currently studies participants' collective learning processes at autonomous, self-managed organizations in contemporary Argentina, focusing on how diversity is understood in such processes.

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ASSOCIATION BUSINESS

2014 AAA President's Report

MONICA HELLER
AAA PRESIDENT



This report is divided into three parts. The first part takes a look at what we have accomplished in the last year with respect to our goals of constructing a better public presence and better external relations. The second examines what has happened within the association, or more precisely, how we are trying to (re)shape ourselves, more or less constantly, to make the AAA as useful a space as possible for members. It will close with a consideration of what look to be some of the major issues we need to think about in 2015.

A Better Public Presence

For several years now, we have worked hard at bringing anthropology into public debate and public awareness, locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. This year we have made progress on our internal ability to keep on top of, and respond to, breaking news, as well as on shaping stories. I will mention a few highlights. These include work by our Task Forces, as well as four major interventions in both national and international discussions, and increased relations with sister organizations. Also, I need to mention that I became the first tweeting AAA president (follow me @anthroprez).

Interventions in Public Debate

One example is our well-received response to a book by former New York Times science editor, Nicholas Wade, *A Troublesome Inheritance: Genes, Race and Human History* (published in March 2014 by Penguin). With the rapid mobilization of key colleagues (Agustin Fuentes, Alan Goodman and Jonathan Marks), and the use of our new webinar infrastructure, we were able to establish a strong counter-narrative to Wade's astonishingly well-publicized attempts to bring back social Darwinism.

Second, largely due to the efforts of our executive director and staff, we have consistently responded, together with sister US-based social science organizations, to the unceasing stream of US lawmaker efforts which seriously threaten anthropology funding programs, both in terms of available resources and in terms of the degree of close oversight government wishes to exert on thematic eligibility. As the executive director will no doubt report, we are aiming to construct strong relations with Congressional staffers so that it becomes increasingly possible to educate elected officials about anthropology, not simply react to their initiatives.

Third, we continue to develop, on our own and in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution, a public education initiative on mobilities, migration and displacement, with a core team involving members from around the US, as well as from Europe. Our goal is to use the classic anthropological strategy of making the familiar strange and the strange familiar, in order to place the often fractious contemporary debates around immigration in a much broader context in which we can take stock of the fact that moving around is a normal thing for humans, and that we all have migration stories of one kind or another. We aim to do this in participatory rather than transmission-pedagogy ways; we want to get people talking and listening.

Fourth, thanks to the organizational skills of our executive director and of one of our members (Sharon Alane Abramowitz), with the help of the World Council of Anthropological Associations, and the financial support of the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, George Washington University, and the International Development Research Centre (Canada), we are developing an initiative to use anthropological expertise to help stem the spread of the ebola virus, as well as to address the suffering it causes. We hope the international communication infrastructure developed through this initiative will lay the groundwork for better coordinated rapid responses to global health crises and global health concerns generally, not only among anthropologists worldwide, but also among anthropologists, health professionals, health agencies and government.

I should also mention that we are examining how to participate in emerging conversations about redefinitions of World Bank safeguards against inappropriate use of World Bank development funds, and in particular regarding concerns that these redefinitions might make it easier for recipients to sidestep monitoring effects of development on indigenous populations and on the environment.

Task Forces

Three task forces set up a few years ago submitted their final reports this year: the Task Force on Anthropology and (K-12) Education, the Global Climate Change Task Force, and the Task Force on Race and Racism. All three reports are (or will soon be) available on the AAA website. I would like to thank the chairs and members of all three for their remarkable work. Follow-through on their recommendations will take a number of forms, from releasing a statement on humanity and climate change, to strategies to work towards the inclusion of anthropology in K-12 curriculum, to the development of a survey instrument that will allow AAA to regularly track our progress on the inclusion of racialized minorities within the association, and within the discipline more broadly. (Let me also mention parenthetically that with the help of EB member Ramona Perez and the Committee on Gender Equity in Anthropology, we

are working on ways to evaluate the extent of, in order to better counter, sexual harassment in anthropological activity, from training to workplace to the field.)

Two other task forces are presently at work (their charges are available on the AAA website). The Task Force on Cultural Heritage is due to report to the Executive Board in May 2015. In the meantime, its co-chair, Terry Majewski, is representing the AAA on a working group initiated by the Associação Brasileira de Antropologia, and including the Society for American Archaeology, to explore the establishment of a UNESCO-sponsored Interamerican Forum on Cultural Heritage. The Task Force on Israel/Palestine is due to report to the Executive Board in October 2015. Its members are present at this meeting, benefiting from conversations going on here and the availability of members with a wide range of expertise and viewpoints to gather information.

On this topic, I would like to take a moment to quote myself and my colleagues, so as to ensure that our goals circulate as widely as possible. The following is from a text written by me, Alisse Waterston, Hugh Gusterson and Ed Liebow, and published in *Anthropology News* last spring:

The debate over Israel/Palestine is historically important and anthropologically relevant. We believe the association is well placed to offer AAA members a chance to gain an anthropologically informed perspective on the region and the broader questions it raises, and to participate in productive conversations about them. Our members can provide us with a diverse set of lenses through which to understand and illuminate these questions.

Just as importantly, we have an opportunity here to develop modes of mutually respectful exchange on controversial anthropological topics that will serve us well now and in the future. After all, anthropologists work at understanding multiple perspectives for a living—indeed, it is one of our signature strengths. If we are able to have a focused conversation in which opposing views can be expressed, and complexities can be acknowledged and understood, we will have made progress in exploring how to make dialogue work despite—or maybe because of—difference. In and of itself we believe this is a worthy goal.

We know that this subject is controversial and has the potential to be divisive, but we think our approach can actually strengthen the association. It is important to facilitate exchange in ways that allow members to feel they have had a chance to learn what they want to learn, and say what they want to say, in ways that respect the integrity of anthropology and the legitimacy of our members' perspectives. It is also important to take the time to have this conversation well, and with all interested members—recognizing that while some of us have been thinking about some of these issues for a long time, others may well be relatively new to this set of topics, and deserve to have the chance to inform themselves to their satisfaction.

Relations with Sister Organizations

We have coordinated joint panels with the American Association of Applied Linguistics and the Linguistic Society of America, at their conferences, and this week, at ours. Thanks to Niko Besnier and the Society for Linguistic Anthropology for helping set up both.

We have successfully negotiated a joint conference in 2019 with the Canadian Anthropology Society/Société canadienne d'anthropologie. By the time of the 2014

See President's Report on page 14

President's Report
continued from page 13

Business Meeting, I might even be able to tell you where it will be held.

At the invitation of Junji Koizumi, President of the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology (JASCA), a delegation from AAA attended the IUAES intercongress and 50th anniversary JASCA conference in May, presenting our public education initiative, and a three-part joint AAA-JASCA panel. I attended a meeting of the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA) at the beginning of the conference, as well as the WCAA biennial meeting in Taiwan in September. The WCAA also meets during our conference. A major issue on the WCAA agenda continues to be the renegotiation of its relationship with a newly restructured International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), whose new president, by the way, is our own Faye Harrison.

Finally, I attended the annual meeting of the Canadian Anthropology Society/Société canadienne d'anthropologie in May and the biennial meeting of the Associação Brasileira de Antropologia in August; Alisse Waterston and Ted Hamman represented the AAA at the biennial meeting of the European Association of Social Anthropologists in Tallinn in July; and Ed Liebow attended the conference of the Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología in August. Setha Low (an AAA past president) is currently working with Mexican colleagues on collaboration in the context of the 2015 conference in Mexico of the Asociación Latinoamericana de Antropología.

Association Issues

Supporting Members in the Workforce

Last spring, the association voted to endorse a resolution introduced at last year's Business Meeting, regarding contingent and part time academic labor. I have asked the Committee on Labor Relations to provide advice regarding best practices in the employment of adjunct and contingent faculty. More broadly, we are trying

to understand the contours of the labour market for anthropologists, and how the association can best support our members and the discipline under these conditions. Our attention to the recruitment, retention and professional advancement of racialized and other minoritized anthropologists is a key element of this broader concern.

Committee Structures

Our ability to accomplish the goals of our committees has been challenged increasingly in recent years, especially, interestingly, in the case of committees composed entirely or largely of elected members. We have difficulty recruiting and retaining committee members, and especially chairs; there are often no established procedures for continuity; there is little engagement from committee members, lack of clarity about objectives, and poor communication within and across committees, and between committees and other AAA entities. A working group of the Executive Board is currently examining this problem, in consultation with committee chairs. I have asked them to report on possible alternative structures that preserve our ability to achieve the goals we want committees to achieve, while solving the problems in doing so. The Executive Board will make a decision on how to move forward at its meeting in May.

Articulation between Section Assembly Leadership

Under current arrangements there is little articulation between the Section Assembly Executive Committee (SAEC) and the two EB members elected as Section Assembly representatives. The SAEC has developed a proposal to address this problem structurally, which will be submitted to the Executive Board. Any changes approved by the EB will likely require a change in bylaws, and hence a membership vote.

Looking Ahead to 2015

In the next few months we will continue to work on most of the issues we focussed our attention in 2014. There is one foundational issue I do want to flag however: sustainability and diversification of revenue. I have asked

Ted Hamann, our treasurer, and Linda Whiteford, chair of our Resource Development Committee, to initiate a process of planning for revenue diversification. Much of our revenue is generated through publications royalties, membership dues and meetings registration. We are probably well-acquainted by now with the concerns facing the sustainability of our publications portfolio, and we have wonderful volunteer committee members and an expert publications department doing stellar work in working towards sustainability. The pilot open access project of the journal *Cultural Anthropology* will teach us a lot. Membership and meeting attendance continue to be high. We need to bear in mind the two groups driving this growth are students and attendees from outside the United States. Students are likely motivated at least in part by precarity, and I believe we should investigate and try to address their concerns. Registration of members from outside the US is now at 23% of total attendance; it would serve us well to try to get a sense of the position of the AAA in an increasingly interconnected international discipline, and to try to shape the role we would like to play. Costs of attending the meeting continue to be of concern to a variety of types of members (eg, contingent and adjunct faculty, students, some retirees, anthropologists with no access to travel grants), as well as to members who are interested in bringing in non-anthropologists. It is increasingly difficult to find unionized facilities. Diversifying revenue and find new means to sustain it would help us address some of those concerns.

In this first year as president I have been struck by the power of anthropological approaches to understanding just about anything. I have also learned a great deal about how anthropologists ask questions, including questions you didn't know were there to be asked. I do think we have the ability to use this association as a safe space to do that, in the service of broad enquiry, and in the service of managing to hold in one frame many ways of knowing and of being in the world. People laugh when I say that what can look like fragmentation is actually our signature strength—but I mean it. In the upcoming year, let's use it well. ■

The Impact of a Little

ANGELA STOREY

AAA RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

I'll be honest: as a graduate student, I don't often have surplus income. When I do, I think very closely about what to do with it. This year I chose to make a small contribution to support internships for undergraduate and early-graduate anthropology students. I was motivated to make this small contribution because my own early forays into research are what built my passion for anthropology. Those chances made me see that anthropology isn't just work to read about, but is a practice I could engage in myself. Supporting internships helps me provide that kind of opportunity to other students.

I'd like to ask my fellow graduate students to also consider making small, voluntary contributions to internship and outreach programs that provide students with initial steps into the discipline. A

contribution of even \$10 helps keep these internships running, and also demonstrates to interns the importance that we place in these experiences and in the potential of them as individual students.

If you do not know about the AAA summer internship program, or the other educational and outreach work that AAA does throughout the year, I encourage you to visit the website. You can also dig out your November/December 2014 issue of *AN* to read Maria Vesperi's interviews with our two excellent 2014 summer interns. These young people had a chance to spend six weeks in the DC area, interning with research or curatorial projects and also engaging in work with the AAA. Equally important is that this internship is funded, which means that interning students are provided with free housing and with a stipend for meals and travel.

The 2014 interns—Joshua Anderson and Katie Patschke—worked with the Naval History and

Heritage Command and the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of African Art, respectively. Their internships offered the chance to see the inner workings of research and curatorial institutions, as well as to develop their own skills by engaging in specific projects. Joshua and Katie also spent a portion of their internship working on educational and outreach programs at the AAA office.

Graduate students colleagues, these interns are us a few years ago. They are eager for opportunities and excited about anthropology. Amazingly, it doesn't cost that much to fund each of these interns, which means that small contributions to the program go a long way in making these internships happen. The next time you renew your AAA membership, I hope that you will add \$10 or more to the "Internship Program Fund"—or, also importantly, to one of the other funds that supports AAA educational and outreach work. These programs exist only because we, as AAA members, have elected to support them each year. I hope you will join me to support these important programs in 2015. ■

New Web Presence Coming Soon

ED LIEBOW
AAA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



We are overhauling the association's web presence in 2015. It will be better consolidated, easier to navigate, easier to search, more interactive, and graphically more sophisticated. Content that is currently spread out over seven domains will be consolidated into

two. Easy access will be provided via mobile devices and tablets. Full compliance will be achieved with the Americans with Disabilities Act. The point is to provide an improved user experience that allows for better communication with anthropologists and the general public, encourages frequent visits and interactivity.

Currently our web presence includes AnthroSource (our publications portfolio), our main web site (aaanet.org), six other domains (Open Anthropology, This Is Anthropology, our two public education initiative portals on race and migration, the AAA blog, and *Anthropology News*). In addition, we host about half of the AAA Sections' websites.

Redesign and consolidation will incorporate content and functionality from:

- Open Anthropology
- AAA Ethics Blog
- This is Anthropology
- Understanding Race
- Understanding Migration

Sites and domains that will *not* be part of this consolidation include:

- AAA Blog
- *Anthropology News*
- AAA Section websites

The AnthroSource 2.0 portal is being redeveloped by our publishing partner, Wiley-Blackwell. We have provided significant input on the features, navigation, and format for this site through user experience testing with AAA members, input from the Committee for the Future of Print and Electronic Publishing, and diligent monitoring by Publishing Director Oona Schmid and myself.

The *Anthropology News* website has been refreshed over the past few months. Under the able supervision of Managing Editor Amy Goldenberg and Digital Editorial Assistant Elyse Bailey, a swarm of contributors provide new content weekly. This material remains publicly accessible for four months before being archived in AnthroSource. Its layout is cleaner and more easily navigable, and its use of images is attractive. The refreshed site features a responsive design, which lets it adjust automatically to mobile devices and tablets. In 2015, the AAA blog will be integrated in the *Anthropology News* site.

These long-awaited updates are a big deal. And an even bigger deal is the main site's overhaul. Why now? And why a major overhaul? It should be quite clear that there is no such thing as a "fix it once and for all" website redesign. And it is equally clear that we should avoid repeating the redesign process every few years like spendthrift amnesiacs. At the same time, our incremental fixes over the years did little to address some significant user experience problems. And they have resulted in a proliferation of sites, each with distinct information architecture (platform, content management system, customized applications), accompanied by overly complicated and inefficient management requirements.


Thanks to the Internet Archive (with a nod to Peabody and Sherman, affectionately known as "The Wayback Machine"), we can take a stroll through the past 15 years of AAA's web presence. Full disclosure: I was a part of an advisory group on electronic communications, appointed by Yolanda Moses and Jane Hill in 1997, chaired by Jon Anderson and included Peter Peregrine, Jeanette Blomberg, Tony Gault and David Hakken, that helped launch the AAA's first website in 1999. Here's a thumbnail summary of the past 15 years of aaanet.org:

- May 1999: Earliest web presence for AAA
- May 2000: Added logo, along with a blue background for the left-hand navigation field
- June 2002: To commemorate AAA's centennial, we rolled out a new graphic look
- June 2005: AnthroSource launched as an online member benefit

- April 2007: Debut of the Race Exhibition and website
- February 2008: Current design launched
- May 2009: Electronic voting for members established
- June 2009: Established Twitter handle (@AmericanAnthro)
- February 2011: Our social media presence is in full force
- December 2012: First issue of Open Anthropology
- March 2013: AAA's hosting of *This is Anthropology* launched—a collaborative effort between AAA and students who started it in response to Florida Governor Rick Scott
- May 2013: Advertising on website is well established

For a series of screenshots that capture our web presence since May 1999, check out the online version of this column.

In the first quarter of 2015, AnthroSource 2.0 will be launched. For the main AAA site, our outside web development consultant will be undertaking a process of discovery, establishing user requirements by consulting with AAA members and staff, and planning a design strategy for the revamped information architecture. In the second and third quarters, we expect development and site integration work to be completed, and then, after thorough testing, the new site will be live.

With my best wishes for a healthy, productive, and happy new year! 

National Anthropology Day



February 19, 2015

<http://bit.ly/NationalAnthropologyDay>

Meet the Staff



D Rachael Bishop joined the American Anthropological Association as the director of communications and public affairs in October 2014.

A career science communications professional, she has more than 25 years' experience in all aspects of the trade spanning journalism, academic research centers, professional societies and foundations, federal and state agencies and publishing. Most recently, Rachael worked for the American Chemical Society as manager of public policy communications leading national media campaigns and advocacy efforts on issues common to both the physical and social sciences, including: federal science funding, open access to scientific research, globalizing influences, climate change, scientific integrity of professional testimony, consumer choices and waste and many other subjects.

Rachael specializes in translating complex scientific, economic, and policy topics to language that appeals to lay audiences. Her articles and opinion pieces have appeared nationally and internationally in such publications as *The Economist*, *The Atlantic*, *Pacific Northwest Magazine*, *Vermont Magazine*, *Washington CEO* and numerous newspapers. For four years, she wrote a food and wine column for *Albemarle Magazine*. From 2009–14, she designed and taught writing and literature courses for the University of Virginia. She continues to offer weekend workshops.

She received her Master's in Fine Arts from Hamline University in 2008. Her critical thesis examining the factors behind boys' failing interest and engagement in reading won Hamline University's Jane Resh Thomas prize for critical scholarship. She received her BA in history from the University of California, Davis in 1985, with substantial coursework in the physical and social sciences, energy policy and languages.

In 1981–82, she lived and attended school at Fosen Folkehøgskole, in Rissa, Norway, above the Arctic

Circle, studying traditional farming, seamanship and Norwegian.

She continues to maintain diverse interests in East European and Arctic history and culture, marine issues, gardening, cooking, the environment and public policy. Rachael lives in northern Virginia, where she is raising two teenage sons, one with a passion for baseball and the other with a fondness for music and psychology. Among them, they have three cats.



Tatiana M Cornejo joined AAA in September 2014 as the AnthroGuide and publications coordinator. In this role, she manages the development of the eAnthroGuide database, print AnthroGuide and guide websites. She also supports the Anthropological Communication Committee.

Tatiana comes to AAA with two years of experience in the insurance industry. There, she developed customer service and marketing skills that she hopes to implement in her outreach strategies for the AnthroGuide.

Tatiana received her BA in anthropology from James Madison University (Go Dukes!) where she was heavily involved on-campus as a student leader in the Latino Student Alliance (LSA). LSA helped contribute to the campus and surrounding community through volunteer work and cultural awareness events. She has continued to give back to her community by becoming the co-chair of communications for the Arlington Latino Network. The network works to disseminate information to Latino students in Arlington about opportunities for higher education, a cause that she fervently supports.

In her spare time, Tatiana enjoys watching independent and foreign films, playing her guitar, and trying to get on Jeopardy. 

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Meet the 2015 Annual Meeting Program and Site Committee

ANN B STAHL
EXECUTIVE PROGRAM COMMITTEE CHAIR

Making the “familiar strange” and the “strange familiar” is a durable strategy in the anthropological toolkit, one that has for generations and across subfields been used to spark in students those *aha* moments that are often taken as a hallmark of anthropological insight. Performance artists and activists have similarly deployed the strategy with effect by transgressing boundaries in order to provoke alternative imaginings among mainstream publics. As a pedagogical strategy for training

meaningful engagement among them; look beyond the “American” in our association’s name and encourage participation of and dialogue with practitioners of anthropology in its global forms; and foster innovative practice in connecting our meetings to our host city’s diverse publics. As such we aim to build on initiatives over recent years to have our annual meeting spill out from the confines of the Colorado Convention Center to engage the city’s and the region’s wider communities.

A diverse and distinguished group of scholars and practitioners has generously agreed to roll up sleeves and help make our Denver meeting an opportunity to substantively engage the program theme in creative and innovative ways. Working together, our EPC and Site Committees look forward to receiving your ideas and working with you to deliver on these aspirations. It is a pleasure to introduce committee members here and in somewhat fuller detail in *AN* online. We encourage you to be in touch with us as ideas pop up and we look forward to receiving your proposals for executive sessions and innovative events for the 2015 AAA Annual Meeting.

Manuela Ciotti is associate professor of Global Studies at Aarhus University, Denmark, and Framing the Global Fellow (2011–15) at Indiana University, Bloomington.

Micaela di Leonardo is professor of anthropology and performance studies at Northwestern University.

Sevrin Fowles is assistant professor in anthropology at Barnard College where he directs the archaeology track in anthropology.

Aaron Glass is an assistant professor at the Bard Graduate Center in New York City.

Alma Gottlieb is a professor in the anthropology department of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Debra L. Martin is the Lincy Professor of Biological Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Sofian Merabet is an assistant professor in the University of Texas at Austin’s anthropology department.

Lawrence Schell is a professor in anthropology at the University of Albany, New York and serves as director of the Center for the Elimination of Minority Health Disparities.

Ty P. Kāwika Tengan is an associate professor jointly appointed to the departments of ethnic studies and anthropology at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

2015 Site Committee

Christina Kreps, introduced above, is chair of the Denver site committee which includes individuals from a range of Colorado institutions.

Kathleen Fine-Dare is professor of anthropology, affiliated professor of Native American and indigenous studies, and professor and coordinator of the program in gender and women’s studies at Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado.

Esteban Gomez is an assistant professor in the department of anthropology at Colorado College.

Michele Koons is a curator of archaeology at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science.

Christine Landrum is acting superintendent, Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Park and Curecanti National Recreation Area and director for the Office of Indian Affairs and American Culture in the National Park Service.

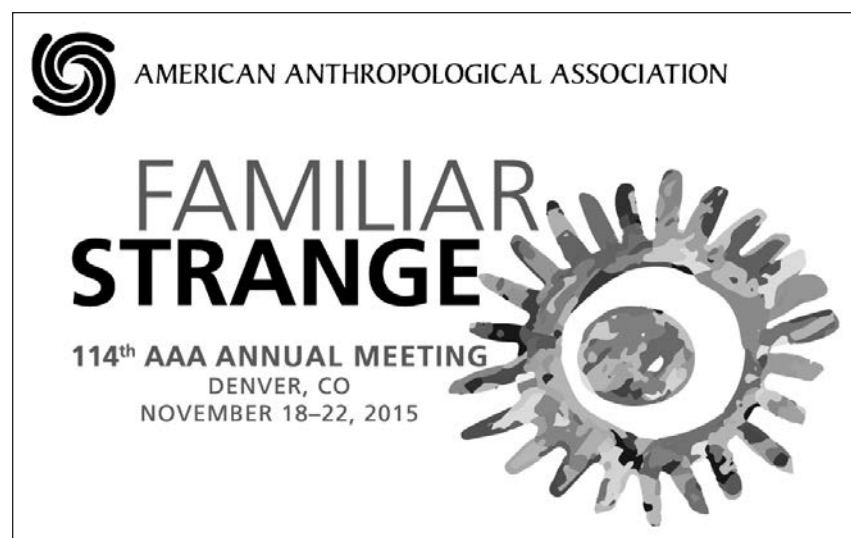
John Lukavic is associate curator of Native Arts at the Denver Art Museum.

Kafia Roland is an associate professor at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

Zaneta Thayer is an assistant professor of biological anthropology at University of Colorado Denver.

Communications about the program theme should be addressed to 2015 Program Chair Ann B. Stahl and Site Committee Chair Christina Kreps at 2015aaaaprogramchair@gmail.com.

All other annual meeting questions should be sent to AAA staff at aaameetings@aaa.net.org.



attention in new ways, it can be productive in denaturalizing the “taken-for-granted” and provide scaffolding for new-found, often empathetic engagement. Yet this lever for understanding is simultaneously a tool with historical freight, smuggling in associations of exoticism and primitivism in its elision of context and relations of power and powerlessness. Its very durability and ubiquity encourages us to pause in these early decades of our discipline’s second century to reflect on what Familiar/Strange simultaneously opens up and nails down. As outlined in this year’s call for papers for our November 2015 gathering in Denver (*AN* 55: 11-12[55]), we invite innovative, multi- and cross-sub-disciplinary engagement with the Familiar/Strange dyad and its historical, contemporary and future roles in an anthropological toolkit by anthropologists and by our partners in knowing (the communities with whom we work; the publics we aim to reach).

In developing a program around the Familiar/Strange theme, the Executive Program Committee (EPC) and Site Committees (introduced below) further aspire to: locate and connect our meeting to its place, which is first and foremost the traditional territories of the region’s indigenous peoples; generate interest among and develop an attractive program for anthropologists across our discipline’s traditional subfields and foster

2015 Executive Program Committee

Ann B. Stahl, the 2015 EPC chair, is professor and chair of the anthropology department at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Christina Kreps, chair of the 2015 Site Committee and member of the EPC, is an associate professor in anthropology and director of museum studies at the University of Denver where she also serves as director of the Museum of Anthropology.

Mary L. Gray is the past chair of the 2014 AAA Executive Program Committee and ex-officio member of the 2015 EPC. She is senior researcher at Microsoft Research New England in Cambridge, MA and an associate professor of communication and culture at Indiana University.

Samuel Martínez is the 2016 EPC chair and an ex-officio member of the 2015 EPC. He is an associate professor in anthropology at the University of Connecticut and affiliated faculty with the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies.

Vered Amit is professor of anthropology at Concordia University, Montreal.

Jillian R. Cavanaugh is associate professor in the department of anthropology and archaeology at Brooklyn College CUNY and the anthropology program at The Graduate Center CUNY.

114TH AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING

General Rules for Participation

Denver, Colorado, November 18–22, 2015

Please be sure to review the rules for participation in its entirety prior to submitting your proposals for the 2015 Annual Meeting.

Meeting Dates

The scholarly program of the 2015 AAA Annual Meeting will begin in Denver, CO at noon on Wednesday, November 18, and continue through noon on Sunday, November 22.

Online Submission and Deadlines

Please check the AAA website (www.aaanet.org) in January for online submission procedures. Be sure to read the helpful hints posted with the online AAA Annual Meeting call for papers. There are two different deadlines:

- Executive Session proposal deadline is February 17.
- All other session proposals are due by 5:00 pm EST (10:00 pm GMT) April 15.

Types of Sessions and Events

There are nine types of sessions and events: (1) Executive Sessions submitted to and evaluated by the Executive Program Committee; (2) Invited Sessions organized by AAA sections—all sessions are reviewed and eligible to be granted Invited by AAA Sections; (3) Volunteered Sessions; (4) sessions constructed from individually volunteered papers or posters; (5) Retrospective Sessions (6) Public Policy Forums; (7) Special Events; (8) Installations; and (9) Film Festival Submissions. **All sessions on the scholarly program are to be submitted as a single (1.75 hours) session.**

Executive Sessions

Proposals Due February 17

The 2015 AAA Executive Program Committee, in association with AAA President Monica Heller, will select a small number of executive sessions that speak directly to the conference theme and serve to engage the broad constituency of anthropologists and our interlocutors. We particularly encourage proposals that draw out anthropology's shifting place in the world in the widest sense: conceptual, political, social, economic. Such sessions can be traditional panels with papers, but we also encourage these to take different formats. The Executive Session proposals (and these proposals *only*) should be submitted online in the abstract system by February 17.

Section Invited Sessions

Proposals Due April 15

Each AAA Section is responsible for the organization of one or more innovative, synthesizing sessions

intended to reflect the state-of-the-art and the thematic concerns in the major subfields. Section Program Editors will review the entire candidate pool of submissions to determine sessions that will receive Invited Status on the final program. To submit a proposal for an invited session, go to www.aaanet.org and follow the links to the call for papers. A session abstract of up to 500 words is required. Participants are bound by the rules of the meeting and must submit final abstracts, meeting registration forms and fees via www.aaanet.org by April 15.

Volunteered Sessions

Proposals Due April 15

All sessions must be submitted online at www.aaanet.org. The organizer must select one appropriate section for review. If accepted, the volunteered session will be listed as part of the reviewing section's program. The program committee strongly urges members to contact and work closely with section program editors and to follow the guidelines:

- The organizer is responsible for articulating the session theme and relevance in the session abstract. Each paper should reflect the session's concept. Poorly integrated groupings are subject to revision or distribution of papers to other sessions.
- Session presentations and discussion periods must be included in the proposal at the time of submission. A maximum of 15 minutes will be allotted for any single paper presentation, discussion, or discussion period.
- Papers within a proposed session will be evaluated individually. Organizers should be prepared for the possibility that some proposed papers may be rejected and others substituted or added.
- Audiovisual equipment must be requested with the proposal submission. LCD projectors will be provided for each scholarly session on the AAA program. Audiovisual equipment must be operated by the participant. No changes to the original audiovisual order submitted online may be made after April 15.
- Every participant included in the proposal, including paper presenters, roundtable presenters, chairs, discussants and organizers must be registered to attend the annual meeting by April 15 to appear in the program.
- Organizers must limit proposals to one session with a total scheduled time of 1 hour and 45 minutes. There are no exceptions to this rule.
- All paper or poster presentation proposals must be submitted via the AAA website.
- To submit a session, go to www.aaanet.org and follow the links to the call for papers. A session

abstract of up to 500 words is required. Meeting registration forms and fees must be submitted for each participant. Submission deadline is 5:00 pm EST (10:00 pm GMT) April 15.

Individually Volunteered Papers and Posters

Proposals Due April 15

The program committee welcomes the submission of individual papers and posters independent from organized sessions. For evaluation purposes, the author of each individually volunteered paper and poster must select one appropriate section for the review process.

To submit an individually volunteered paper or poster, go to www.aaanet.org and follow the links to the call for papers. A paper or poster abstract of up to 250 words is required. Proposals must be accompanied by the meeting registration fee. Deadline is 5:00 pm EST (10:00 pm GMT) April 15. Accepted volunteered papers and posters will be grouped by the appropriate section program editor or executive program committee into sessions around a common topic or theme. A maximum of 15 minutes will be allotted for each paper presentation.

Retrospective Sessions

Proposals Due April 15

New last year, Retrospective Sessions recognize the career contributions of established leading scholars (for example on the occasion of their retirement or significant anniversary). These new sessions add to the range of forms of contribution to anthropological knowledge found on the scholarly program. Proposals may be accepted by any regular sponsoring entity.

Public Policy Forums

Proposals Due April 15

AAA's public policy forums provide a place to discuss critical social issues affecting anthropology, public policy issues of interest to anthropologists, and public policy issues that could benefit from anthropological knowledge or expertise. They engage panelists (who may or may not be anthropologists) and audience members in a discussion of public policy issues to enhance the application of anthropological knowledge in society at large. Recognizing that there are diverse perspectives on panel topics, public policy forums seek to present balanced views to promote dialogue among participants. Ideally, at least one policymaker will be included in each forum.

No papers are presented in public policy forums. The ideal format includes a moderator and no more

than seven panelists. Following introductions, the moderator proceeds to pose questions to panelists as a group or individually. Adequate time should be set aside at the end of each forum for audience participation. Generally, each public policy forum is scheduled for 1 hour and 45 minutes. Since the dual purpose of the forum is to maximize discussion of policy issues among the panelists and the audience, it is recommended the forum be structured as follows: introduction (15 minutes); moderator-posed questions and answers (60 minutes); and audience questions and comments (30 minutes).

To submit a public policy forum, go to www.aaanet.org and follow the links to the call for papers. In the submission area, select "public policy forum" under the session option. Refer your proposal to the AAA Committee on Public Policy for review, *not* a section. When you complete the Session Structure Form, identify the moderator and potential panelists and note that your time allotment is 1 hour and 45 minutes. Submit an abstract of 500 words describing the public policy issue to be discussed. The deadline for forum submissions is 5:00 pm EST (10:00 pm GMT) April 15.

Special Event Proposals

Proposals Due April 15

Special Events are business meetings, committee and board meetings, workshops, food and beverage functions, which will be scheduled as part of the special events program and are the responsibility of the executive office.

To avoid conflicts with scientific sessions, most special events are limited to 1 hour and 15 minutes and are scheduled during the times 12:15 pm–1:30 pm and after 6:00 pm. To submit a special event proposal, go to the AAA homepage. Follow the links to the call for papers. All proposals must be submitted online by April 15. First priority in the assignment of time and space will be given to AAA and Section business, board and committee meetings. Other special events will be accommodated to the degree possible. Please note that no special event or scholarly program can be scheduled to conflict with the Annual Business Meeting held on Thursday, November 19, 6:15 pm–7:30 pm.

For events sponsored by organizations other than AAA Sections, Committees or Task Forces there is an administrative fee of \$500 to cover costs of arrangements and inclusion in the program. The Special Events Program will not accommodate panels, papers or professional presentations that belong on the scientific program. To be listed in the meeting program, special event proposals must be accompanied by administrative fees at the time of submission.

Installation Proposals

Proposals Due April 15

Installations invite anthropological knowledge off the beaten path of the written conference paper. Like work shared in art venues, presentations selected as part of the AAA Installations program will draw on movement, sight, sound, smell, and taste to dwell on the haptic and engage AAA members and meeting attendees in a diverse world of the senses. Presenters

may propose performances, recitals, conversations, author-meets-critic roundtables, salon reading workshops, oral history recording sessions and other alternative, creative forms of intellectual expression for consideration. Selected Installations may be curated for off-site exhibition and tied to the official AAA conference program. Successful proposals will offer attendees an opportunity to learn from a range of vested interests not typically encountered or easily found on the traditional AAA program. Installations are meant to disrupt who and what we tend to see at the annual meetings, helping attendees encounter new people and to do different kinds of things at the intersections of anthropological arts, sciences, and cultural expression. If you have an idea that might require some organizational creativity or logistical advice, please contact us as soon as possible at aaameetings@aaanet.org. Participation in an Installation is treated as a primary role such as paper, poster and roundtable presentations. Submission deadline is 5:00 pm EST (10:00 pm GMT) April 15.

Media Submissions

Proposals Due April 15

The 2015 SVA/AAA Film, Video and Interactive Media Festival will take place during the 114th AAA Annual Meeting. As in the past, the Society for Visual Anthropology (SVA) will select a jury of anthropologists and film scholars to decide which submissions to include in the festival and which among those will receive awards. SVA continues to welcome interactive media work and also encourages short work that is under 15 minutes. DVD formats are acceptable. Submitted materials will not be returned. Please check the SVA website in early February for submission details, including additional information on preferred formats. Submission deadline is 5:00 pm EST (10:00 pm GMT) April 15.

Award winners will be notified in the summer and clips of award-winning films may be placed on SVA's website. For more information, see the SVA's website at www.societyforvisualanthropology.org.

Review Procedures

The AAA follows a policy of peer review and merit consideration for acceptance and inclusion in the program. Proposals for Executive Sessions should be submitted in the abstract system by February 15. The Executive Program Committee will review all proposed executive sessions and deliver decisions by March 17. Organizers of sessions not given this status can still submit their information to any of the 40 AAA sections for review elsewhere on the scholarly program.

Invited Sessions, Volunteered Sessions and Individually Volunteered Papers and Posters are reviewed by program editors and committees established by each AAA Section. Public Policy Forum proposals are reviewed by the Committee on Public Policy. Special Event proposals are reviewed and organized by the executive office. Installation proposals are reviewed by the Executive Program Committee. All submissions are due by April 15. There are no exceptions to the deadline.

Organizers and presenters are required to select one review section when submitting proposals

online. Secondary review sections may be selected in the event the primary section editor wants to transfer the submission. The decision should be made on the basis of content and intended audience; membership in a section has no bearing on the review process. The recommendations of sections are forwarded to the Executive Program Chair, who assumes final responsibility for the acceptance or rejection of proposals. The Executive Program Committee prepares the final program schedule according to the rankings submitted by each Section. All final program notifications about acceptance and scheduling will be mailed by the Executive Program Chair through the executive office. There is no appeal process.

Presentation Policy

Participants may only: (1) present one paper or poster, or serve as a participant on roundtable, retrospective session or Installation and (2) serve as a discussant on one other panel. The policy of one major presentation plus one discussant role will be strictly enforced. The program committee will remove any name that appears more than twice on the scholarly program and urges individuals to refrain from accepting more than one commitment of any kind in the scholarly program. A participant may be credited with co-authorship of one or more additional papers when co-authorship is understood to include participation on a research project. Presenters' names must appear first. An individual may serve as organizer and/or chair of any number of sessions.

Eligibility

No proposals for participation in the scholarly program of the meeting can be considered unless formally submitted online through the AAA website. Participation is a benefit of AAA membership and limited to current members. To update your membership or join, contact AAA at (1)703/528-1902, ext 1178 or visit www.aaanet.org. The membership requirement may be waived for scholars from other disciplines or for anthropologists from countries other than the United States or Canada. In instances of this membership waiver the participant must still pay the nonmember meeting registration fee. Details regarding this policy can be found online at www.aaanet.org. Registration fees will not be waived for any participant. All persons who expect to be listed as participants on the scholarly and special events program must register by 5:00 pm EST (10:00 p.m. GMT) April 15. Registration fees will not be refunded to participants who cancel their participation after the submission deadline.

Refund Policy

Refunds are not available to participants who cancel after April 15. Exceptions are made only if a proposal is not accepted for inclusion in the 2015 Annual Meeting Program. Instructions for receiving a refund in the instance of a rejected proposal will be sent with the notifications in summer 2015.

Inquiries

If you have questions regarding participation guidelines, please contact the AAA Meetings and Conference Department (aaameetings@aaanet.org). 



KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE

2014 AAA Photo Contest


ANDREW RUSSELL
AAA MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

AAA continued its popular photo contest in 2014 with more submissions and votes than ever before.

This year we experimented with new technology, including using Facebook to vote as a means of opening up the voting pool to non-members. For the most part it was a grand success! While all the photographs submitted were striking and thought-

provoking, below are the highest “liked” photos for the three categories: people, place and practice.

Photographs from the entire submission pool were selected by staff and our printer for the 2015 annual calendar, which was distributed at the annual meeting. The calendar is also available upon email request.

Do you have good photos to submit to the next photo contest? While next year’s calendar contest timeline has not yet been established, we can continue to accept entrants through photos@aaanet.org. 



A Call to End Gun Violence in South Bronx

Photographer: **Ashley Marinaccio**

Girl Be Heard Company member Karen Vigo participating in street performance with Girl Be Heard to end gun violence in NYC communities.



A Day's Work

Photographer: **Anna Rushton**

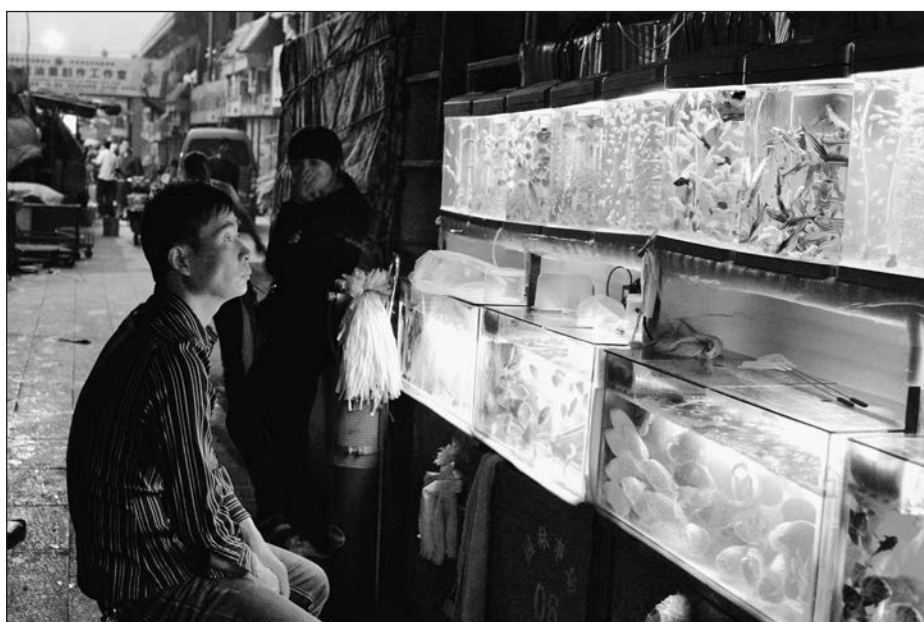
In this remote village, landless families struggle to find day jobs and often turn to traditional pottery making in order to make a few francs. Historically favoring immediate returns on labor, Batwa have continued pottery making for generations. The time and labor that goes into getting clay, making the pots, and firing them is rarely worth the amount of money they will get from the pot, but this practice is continued anyway.



Afghan Men Pulling Heavy Load

Photographer: **Damon Lynch**

Afghan men pulling heavy load. Photo taken on March 29, 2014 in Afghan Bazaar, Ishkashim, Badakhshan, Afghanistan.



By the End of a Day

Photographer: **Ming Xue**

A shop owner was sitting in front of his fish tanks. He moved over 800 miles from his home town in Sichuan to Xining to make a living. More and more people are moving to this plateau city from other big cities in China due to the lower living cost and the slower pace of life in Xining, although it means they have to get used to the plateau and to cope with the cold weather for more than half of the year.



Cooking Vessels Drying in the Village of Chijipata Alta, Bolivia

Photographer: **Andrew Roddick**

The specialized potting village of Chijipata Alta has been producing cooking vessels for many generations. These hand constructed pots are produced by more than half of the 30 families living in the village and are distributed throughout Bolivia and Peru through both markets and personal trade relationships.



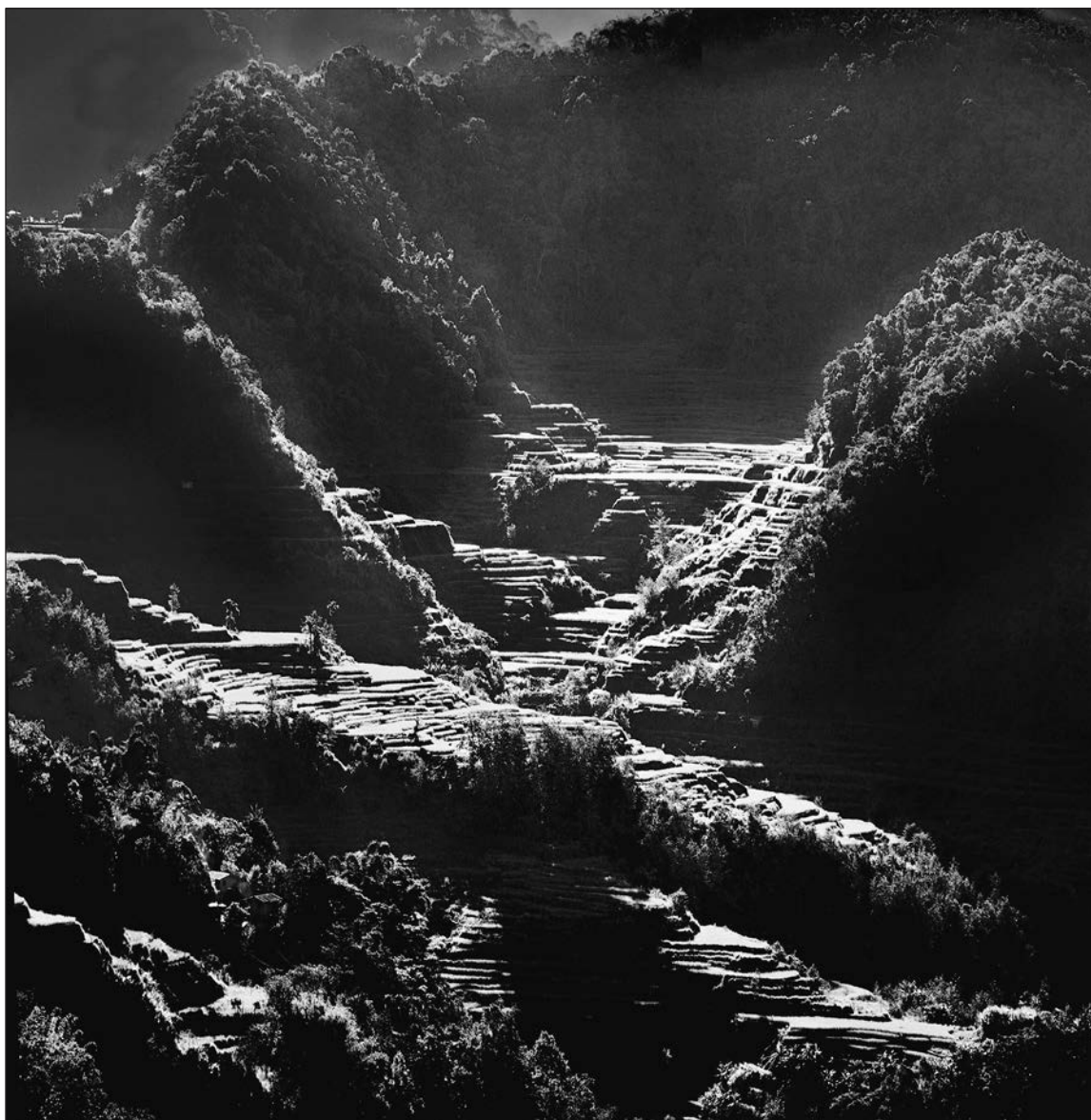
Cosmologies of Capture

Photographer: **Lys Alcayna-Stevens**
Young boys (and sometimes girls) begin hunting and trapping in the forest with their older siblings from a young age. In order to capture animals, they must have a keen knowledge of those animals' relations of kinship and predation, as well as their behavior and habits. In this photograph, three young boys proudly display a sunbird (*Cyanomitra sp*) which they have lured into a trap with her favorite flower.



Interior of an Ifugao Rice Granary

Photographer: **Glenn Stone**
Interior of an Ifugao alang (rice granary), showing bundles of seed rice and bulul rice gods.



Morning Sun on Rice Terraces

Photographer: **Glenn Davis Stone**

Morning sun on rice terraces, Ifugao Province, the Philippines.



Nothing Going On

Photographers: **Jesse Colin, Lindsay Jackson and A Bell**

The circumpolar world is often depicted as distant, empty, and isolated, disconnected from powerful economic or cultural centers further south. Life north of the 60th parallel is assumed to be rural, slow paced and non-modern. The region's disparities in health and wealth are often attributed to there being "nothing going on." Using a composite of stills gathered in thirty seconds at the main intersection of the peri-urban town of Hay River, Northwest Territories, the image "Nothing Going On" reveals a circumpolar city in motion and gestures to the particularities of attempts at northern modernization.



The Bride's Butterflies

Photographer: **Viktoria Ivanova**

Delicately grasping her bouquet of peach roses, the young bride awaits her husband-to-be in her childhood bedroom; meanwhile he energetically negotiates with her mother at the front door to be let into the apartment. By Bulgarian tradition the mother-in-law urges the groom to first fill one of the wedding shoes with all the money he has before entering and taking her daughter away to the church to get married.



Preparing for World Cup

Photographer: **Gregory Goodrich**

Havana, Cuba. June 2014



Batwa Children

Photographer: **Anna Rushton**

I met these children in a small village reachable only by footpath in the hills above Lake Kivu in Rwanda's Western Province. The Batwa, numbering less than 1% of the population, are widely accepted as the indigenous minority in Rwanda, although post-genocide policies have criminalized ethnic identification as inciting divisionism. Historically marginalized and currently among the poorest groups in Rwanda, the Batwa have struggled to make the transition from forest to village life. Many children in this village refused to go to school because of the discrimination they faced by their classmates and teachers for being poor, for being dirty, and for being Batwa.



Blok T, Nuuk, Greenland

Photographer: **Hunter Snyder**

GHOST ANTHROPOLOGIES

Twitter on the Plaza

The Spatial Practice of Online Social Networks

SAMUEL GERALD COLLINS
TOWSON U

What are the relationships between the city and the social media used in the city? I assume that social media have had an impact on the ways we relate to the city. This, after all, was one the goals in utilizing Twitter in #Occupy protests—to organize people in space. During those protests, social media helped evoke alternatives to hegemonic spaces structured by capital flows. On the other hand, I also assume that social media is shaped by historic and contemporary urban practice—by flanerier, by different systems of mobility, by contemporaneous technologies such as books, newspapers, earphones, and by the history of media in the city.

But how do we understand this give and take? Many of the analyses of Twitter in the city have been variations on Big Data: that is, work has tended to answer questions about large-scale movements of ideas and discourse. In the process, many of the small questions about place and meaning have not been as interesting to Big Data scientists. But here's one area where anthropology has some real advantages. We may (at least for the moment) be able to download thousands of tweets—a global population. But, ultimately, these micro-communications are local: the thoughts of people embedded in place (not withstanding robots and zombies).

Korea (where I'm on a Fulbright grant for the 2014–15 year), offers me an opportunity to explore these ideas. Not only are smartphone penetration levels higher in Korea than in the US (70%–66% in the US), but, more importantly, the practice of smartphones is different. Koreans are more likely to use their smartphones on the go, with Koreans showing significantly higher mobile internet usage when on the go (eg, taking the subway) or in third spaces (cafes, restaurants, etc) ("Our Mobile Planet"). Accordingly, Koreans are more likely to update their Twitter accounts while they're moving around ("Our Mobile Planet").

Network Types

In a recent Pew Research Center report, Marc Smith, Lee Rainie, Itai Himelboim and Ben Schneiderman suggest that Twitter communications might be grouped into predictable typologies based on the type of communication and the relationship between Twitter account holders. For example, the Polarized Crowd features two tight clusters with few connections between them, the Broadcast Network has a hub and spoke structure with people re-tweeting the broadcast message, while

the community cluster type features different groups forming around common topics (Smith et al 2014).

These typologies are extremely useful in characterizing Twitter's discursive space. But what if we expand those insights into physical space? Could we see similar parallels between communications in social networks and spatial practice? What would we look for?

Seoul—City of Plazas

Over the past ten years, downtown Seoul has been transformed in many ways—new parks, the restoration of Gwanghwamun, the opening of major thoroughfares to pedestrian traffic—all alongside a ruinous bout of "re-development" (재개발) that has led to widespread gentrification. And, interestingly, the construction and/or transformation of public plazas. Since its completion in 2008, Gwanghwamun Plaza (광화문 광장) has provided highly effective visibility for social movements. On the other hand, the plaza has also figured into city and national-efforts at branding and commodification through the creation of spectacle; indeed, there is rarely a day when there are not multiple events and attractions.

Nothing typifies this tension between different spatial practice along the plaza more than the ongoing protests by the grieving families of the children lost to the Sewol ferry accident (세월 유가족) and their many supporters, all of whom have been waging a lengthy and highly visible protest in Seoul's plazas since spring of 2014. In addition, there have been protests from a right-wing group as well, one whose smaller numbers are belied by the attention given them by the conservative press. Finally, there has been a continuous series of events and entertainments at the Plaza during the same period—sometimes these have been consonant with the Sewol protests, as in the August 2014 visit from Pope Francis where he articulated his support for the Sewol families. More often, however, the events have been disconnected—unlikely bedfellows sharing the same space.

Online Spatial Practice

Back in the Twitterverse, I used NodeXL to download twitter data from September 11–13 (2014) using the keyword "Gwanghwamun" (광화문). Stripped of identifying labels and grouped by connected components, the search yielded about 700 nodes (Twitter accounts) connected to each other by over 1000 edges.

Based on the graph (included with the online version of this column), we can see several different events and/or groups, all utilizing the plaza at the same time.

The clusters in the largest box are tweets regarding the Sewol protests, with the large cluster on the left side of the box associated with the Sewol families, and to the right the right-wing group against any special investigation into the Sewol ferry disaster. On the right of the graph are a series of smaller boxes, declining in number to isolated self-tweets at the bottom. These smaller, disconnected clusters are broadcasting events in Gwanghwamun Square; the smallest are personal messages ("Meet me at Gwanghwamun Square").

What's important here is that these different elements reflect different kinds of spatial practice. In the Marc Smith et al model, the first type, the broadcast network, shows itself in a typical radial pattern—the organizers broadcasting their event. Accordingly, people at these events (free calligraphy, performance or concerts) came as individual consumers (whether singly or on units of family and friends). They lined up to consume at different booths, and having consumed the event, went their separate ways—the plaza practiced according to the spectacle of tourism and consumption.

The Sewol protest shows clusters of tightly connected Twitter accounts, linked by multiple connections between them. This seems somewhere between a community cluster (within the coalition of Sewol protestors) and a polarized crowd (between the protesters on the left and the right-wing group on the right). Physically, the Sewol activists are likewise divided into coalitions (for example, religious groups supporting the Sewol families), each of which occupies separate tents along Gwanghwamun Plaza. On the other hand, the right-wing encampment is down the plaza and across the street—occupying one tent. Moreover, the Sewol protest camp involves different groups each enacting different forms of social activism (fasting, praying, etc) towards a common goal of legislative change.

The point here is not to make any easy predictions about what spatial practice might look like based on Twitter networks, but to suggest that those intersections may constitute a rich source of data for anthropological investigation, mutually enforcing patterns of practice across both physical and virtual spaces that may not tell us much about big data, but may reveal something of local practices of social media.

Samuel Gerald Collins is a professor of anthropology in the department of sociology, anthropology and criminal justice and director of the Cultural Studies Program at Towson University.

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Anthropology News | @news4anthros

AAA | @AmericanAnthro

Contesting the Terms of Inclusion

Kichwa Midwives Challenge State Commitment to Indigenous Rights

HEATHER WURTZ
COLUMBIA U

There is an increased controversy on the role of indigenous midwives in the health of communities in Ecuador. Although they continue to be primary birth attendants within this population, they have, in the past, been largely excluded from the national health care system with little recourse for organizing or professionalization. However, in accordance with recent constitutional reform and the government's declared commitment to indigenous rights, the Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) has launched a series of initiatives to incorporate indigenous midwives and other indigenous health practitioners into government programming. But, as many have discovered, inclusion does not come without costs. As widespread new health initiatives sweep across the country and are taken up and transformed in the local sphere, midwives are finding themselves at a vital juncture: will they accept the proposed terms of inclusion or struggle to redefine them?

For an association of Kichwa midwives (the *Asocio*) in the Upper Napo region of the Ecuadorian Amazon, market integration is crucial to the survival and sustainability of their work. Government resistance to this demand has spurred critical commentary among midwives that challenges the government's alleged commitment to indigenous rights and a "plurinational society". As midwives situate their experiences within broader claims of cultural preservation and indigenous rights, they expose the limitations and pitfalls of cultural recognition without economic and political restructuring.

During the summer of 2013 I conducted exploratory research among *Asocio* midwives. I completed over twenty interviews with midwives, community women, Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) officials, and other key informants, and spent hours of participant-observation in diverse sites. When I first began this research, I expected conversations to revolve around topics of pregnancy and birth. However, over time and multiple conversations, a much different narrative evolved: one in which midwives made profound claims about social justice and government accountability—contesting the terms of their inclusion (and the faulty foundation on which it stands) and provoking a wider discussion about current political processes in Ecuador and their social implications.

According to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the practice and preservation of indigenous health systems is fundamental right of indigenous peoples. Many national constitutions in Latin America have recognized, at least in theory, the rights of Indigenous groups to maintain their cultural, territorial, and linguistic integrity (Montenegro and Stephens 2006). In 2008 the Ecuadorian government established a new constitution based on a "radical new paradigm" (Radcliffe 2011: 241), *Sumak Kawsay*, which touted a steadfast commitment to uphold Indigenous life-ways and knowledge. Article 363 specifically guarantees the recognition, respect and promotion of indigenous health knowledge and medicine. The MoPH

also established national and local divisions for intercultural health and, in 2011, launched a series of initiatives addressing indigenous health and inequality (UN Women 2014). However, as I found in my research among midwives in the *Asocio*, the principles of *Sumak Kawsay* are routinely ignored in practice. Interventions that seem to promote inclusion and recognition may actually serve to (re)produce the very inequalities they were allegedly designed to overcome.

Maintaining Practice, Preserving Culture

In 2012, the *Asocio* and the local MoPH agreed to combine efforts to improve health services through intercultural collaboration. Intercultural health is the integration of indigenous and biomedical practices. It is based on principles of equal participation, shared decision-making, and the respect and exchange of complementary knowledge systems. Although the provision of intercultural care initially undergirded this partnership, government efforts have been largely noncommittal and may, in fact, undermine the practice of the *Asocio* midwives. Indeed, since the collaboration began, the number of *Asocio* midwives and patients has rapidly dwindled. No longer supported by NGO funds from previous years and with no financial support from MoPH, midwives must now charge patients for services and herbal medicines (compared to free government biomedical healthcare for pregnant women). As a result, patient numbers have declined and midwives can no longer afford to maintain their services and facilities. A similar development was reported in the Andean town of Pujuli (Constante 2014). After the MoPH took over intercultural health programming (formerly managed by an NGO) and ceased compensating midwives for attending monthly meetings, participation dropped from 18 midwives to four. Although the meetings had facilitated intercultural dialogue and had been shown to improve health outcomes, midwives could no longer sacrifice a day's work to attend.

Although the MoPH in the Upper Napo has provided some training for midwives, and both midwives and biomedical providers have reported positive and productive working relations, the structural conditions (no pay, no external funding) imposed on midwives due to the subordinated status (no official certification) have severely restricted their practice. This predicament provides little hope for preserving their cultural heritage, let alone ensuring future growth. Financial resources are necessary to sustain their practices, which midwives view as a keystone of Kichwa culture. Market integration is also imperative to attracting younger generations to the practice of midwifery. "I want to leave the *Asocio* in the hands of the youth. If not, the Kichwa culture will not continue to exist; everything will be lost. It will fall into the hands of the Westerners."

Protecting Cultural Property

The demand for market integration is also a claim of cultural property rights. Recently, heated debates have stirred around cultural appropriation of Indigenous art, ecology and life-ways. Indigenous health prac-

tices are not exempt. However, the appropriation of indigenous health knowledge is often folded into a robust national discourse that hails biomedicine as a "metonym of modernity" (Connor 2001) and a bid for global membership (eg, Millennium Development Goals). In addition, the integration of indigenous practices within biomedical institutes is often lauded as a successful intercultural intervention without interrogating or politicizing the circumstances. For example, as a result of recent intercultural initiatives, many medical institutes throughout Ecuador have integrated indigenous practices like vertical birth. Vertical birth is believed to help curb rising cesarean section rates and has received considerable attention in Ecuador alongside the growing natural childbirth movement (*humanización del parto*). In one hospital, when vertical birthing services first became available, 95% of the women utilizing services were Indigenous. A year later, the ratio had changed to 56% Indigenous and 44% mestizo women (Soguel 2009). While a central tenet of intercultural health is open access to different health modalities, in many cases these practices are being carried out under the management of biomedical health practitioners, to the exclusion of their indigenous counterparts. Midwives in the *Asocio* are attuned to these trends, which they denounce as acts of cultural appropriation and exploitation. As one midwife relayed: "We are afraid to share our ideas (with biomedical providers and government officials)...we share what we know and then after they have this knowledge, they don't need us anymore. They can continue to work because they have their own salary, and we are left behind."

Durable Inequalities in "No-man's Land"

While midwives want to organize, professionalize and advance intercultural collaboration, they face considerable obstacles due to profound, durable inequalities. Lack of Spanish fluency impedes authentic dialogue with MoPH officials; illiteracy challenges implementation of new interventions, like documenting patient information; poverty limits their ability to attend meetings and workshops. Caught between a lack of government support, on one hand, and poverty and debilitating inequalities on the other, midwives are suspended in an ambiguous social and legal space—what Povinelli once described as a "bracketing of the other in a no-man's land of having been neither recognized nor denied recognition" (2011). Intercultural health programs are most significantly hindered by the inequalities they fail to address. If these programs are designed to "resolve" the problem of indigenous people" through interventions aimed for a "target population" (UN 2009)—rather than full participation of indigenous peoples—the (supposed) political and cultural projects undergirding these initiatives remain sorely out of reach.

Writing on state health policy among Inuit populations, Lisa Stevenson (2012) warns against the privileging of biological life over social and culturally proscribed forms of life embedded in local systems of kinship, care, and meaning. Well-intentioned or not, programs and interventions are insufficient (even destructive) when they are circumscribed within dominant biopolitical or biomedical frameworks. In contemporary society, life (and death) are increasingly understood, managed, and experienced through a schema of

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The Guns of August, Again

MICHAEL E HARKIN
U WYOMING

I have been thinking about World War One this summer. Of course, the centennial of the start of the Great War has produced many thought pieces in the higher-brow press, and one magisterial book, *The Sleepwalkers* by Christopher Clark, which I have been forging through. Still fresh in my mind is a Fulbright stint at Graz, in Austria, a beautiful old Hapsburg provincial capital, and travel through the Balkans, so I have a visual reservoir that I did not possess the last time I went on a Great War binge (*The Proud Tower* and *The Guns of August* by Barbara Tuchman; the *Regeneration* Trilogy by Pat Barker). Finally, I was invited to participate in a panel at this year's AAA meeting on the impact of the war on American anthropology. Private and professional parts of my life converged on a contemplation of the Great War.

It is a cliché but nevertheless true that the Great War snuffed out the long nineteenth century and ushered in the modern era. It opened the door to many national independence movements and the breakup of old empires; it produced the Russian Revolution and eliminated many of Europe's monarchs. At the same time, in the US especially, that war has long been eclipsed by the Second World War. This summer saw as well the commemoration of D-Day; only that was attended by world leaders. It is natural that they could be drawn to lovely Normandy to commemorate the decisive moment in the end game of the second, good war, and not to the side streets of Sarajevo, a city bearing scars of more recent sorrows that attest to the ambiguous outcome of the first.

To the generation born in the shadow of the Second World War, the first had the quality of rumor or fairy tale rather than memory. The second was historically legible in the way that the first, with its Czars, Kaisers, and Pashas, never could be. In my family, I had uncles who had fought in World War Two; although reticent about their experience, their exploits and medals were a part of family lore. And, of course, Hollywood and

the British film industry spent much of the succeeding decades refighting this war. These dramatic, violent (but rarely explicitly gory) spectacles were for us what westerns were for an earlier generation of children: examples of heroism and the triumph of good over evil, intended as models to be followed.

The good war. The greatest generation. These phrases simplify and valorize a complex and largely tragic experience. Certainly the evil embodied by the Nazis and the military aggression of both Germany and Japan were not only a *casus belli* but allowed us to imagine ourselves locked in a Manichean battle with a mythic foe. Especially in retrospect, with the full horror of the death camps revealed, it was easy to see both ourselves and our enemies as occupying unambiguous poles on the moral scale. If they were purely evil, then we must be purely good. The minor keys in this hymn—the firebombings of Dresden and Tokyo, the use of nuclear weapons—were mostly suppressed, at least until the Vietnam War created a market for satirical antiwar books by writers such as Joseph Heller and Kurt Vonnegut.

The template of the good war proved powerful indeed. It allowed for the collection of the three great US wars under this singular umbrella: the Revolution, the Civil War, and World War II. All were seen as wars of national sacrifice that resulted in the expansion of human freedom and the redressing of injustice, part of a national narrative that was patently Christological in nature. The United States, or America as proponents would have it, had sacrificed itself, or some part of itself, so that others, including future Americans, would be free.

This is not the place to engage in a discussion of the merits of these wars. Certainly, freeing the slaves, like freeing the survivors of the death camps, was unambiguously a good thing. However, drawing this lesson from this limited set of wars gives us an unrealistic view of war's broader effects. We need to recognize that war much more often resembles the Great War than it does this idealized version of the Civil War or the Second World War. What is more, the mythology of the good war led directly to wars that resembled the Great War

in nature if not scale. Blinded by the popular understanding of good wars, the United States involved itself in wars of choice (decidedly bad choice) in Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan. Even the Cold War was viewed through the naïve lens of the good war, to the point that the US consistently lacked any realistic understanding of the Soviets, including their abrupt collapse in 1989.

The foolish wars started by George W Bush have their roots in the Great War and have led directly to the headlines I read today, about Isis massacring Christian and Yazidi civilians, and forcing survivors to flee into the mountains. For this is the logic made manifest by the Great War: violent fission into smaller, mutually intolerant groups. The Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, though inefficient and imperfect, and defined by an official religion (Sunni Islam, Catholicism), nevertheless tolerated and protected religious and ethnic minorities. Being a Jew in the Ottoman Empire was, on the whole, far preferable to being a Jew in Russia or Western Europe. By the same token, Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish populations received similar treatment under the Hapsburgs. Things were not perfect, of course: part of the enmity maintained by the Serbs for the Austrians (and Croats) was their own perceived second-class status as Orthodox Christians. Nevertheless, both empires embraced and even celebrated, in the case of the Austrians, ethnic and religious diversity. Both were cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic entities occupying contiguous territory, ruling with some degree of legitimacy, possessing quasi-democratic institutions, the rule of law, and institutions of higher learning. Isis and other radical Sunni groups would expel or murder every non-Sunni and would raze every library and school that it could. This is the tragic legacy of the Great War, one to which the West itself, with the rise of nativist, reactionary political movements in the US, the UK, France, and elsewhere is also subject.

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biomedicine and technology. This often obscures other dimensions of health and wellbeing, precludes alternative social realities and interpretive frameworks, and denies experiences embedded within specific histories and cultural systems. Stevenson calls for a new vision that fosters alternative frameworks and does not privilege an abstract notion of life removed from context and kinship. This requires not only restructuring public health tools and programs, but also rethinking the logic on which they are based. Otherwise, age-old patterns of exclusion, neglect, and material deprivation may simply

be reproduced in new ways under a slippery guise of progressivism and the promotion of rights.

Through critical discourse, *Asocio* midwives have challenged the state's constitutional commitment to pluri-nationalism and social rights, and have complicated concepts of formal citizenship and other assumptions that underwrite the national development agenda. By examining midwives' narratives and their everyday experiences in navigating new political ground, we see how health becomes the terrain on which battles for citizenship and recognition are waged in a context of rapid political, economic, and social transformation. We learn how midwives both engage and contest dominant sociopolitical paradigms in efforts to achieve social belonging and market integration. We confront, too, the

structural barriers that impede innovative, intercultural programs. In the process, fresh questions arise about the legitimacy and effectiveness of progressive, post-colonial initiatives and the new forms of precarity and injustice that may surface in their wake.

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SOCIETY FOR MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Thinking with Kuru

BARBARA ANDERSEN
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I was sitting with a group of Papua New Guinean nursing students in the Open Bible Mission compound in Ivingoi, Eastern Highlands Province, when Gina, a second year nursing student, approached us holding up a book. It was the commemorative program for the “End of Kuru” conference that had been hosted by the Royal Society, London in 2007. One of the men living inside the mission compound, a member of the Fore cultural group who had formerly worked as a kuru surveillance fieldworker, had shared the book with Gina. He and several other older men from the region were depicted on the book’s cover standing at the Royal Society’s London headquarters. “Do you know about this *sik kuru*?” Gina asked us.

I had encountered stories about the neurodegenerative disease countless times since taking my first medical anthropology course as an undergraduate in the late 1990s. To my surprise, however, none of the other students or teachers of this program had ever heard of kuru. The Fore people had been immortalized in anthropology, medicine and popular culture as the victims of kuru, a prion disease spread through the ingestion of human remains during mourning rituals, that killed thousands—mostly women and children—from approximately 1900 until the last death in 2005. (For histories of the epidemic and of the scientific and anthropological research that unlocked the mystery of its origins, see *Kuru Sorcery* by Shirley Lindenbaum and *The Collectors of Lost Souls* by Warwick Anderson).

I eventually learned that while some in the Fore community remembered kuru, nurses in PNG were structurally excluded from the circulations of elite knowledge that had made kuru into an internationally valued biomedical object. This made sense considering that the last known sufferer of the illness had died in 2005, and nurses were never expected to come into contact with kuru patients. The very qualities that made kuru valuable to medical researchers—its resemblance to other prion-caused diseases, its unusual mode of transmission, and the fact that it existed nowhere else in the world—made it worthless from a public health standpoint. While this group of students initially expressed shock and terror upon learning of kuru (some students had even been worried that the Fore might still consume the dead), they deployed this new knowledge to critique gender inequality in their own ranks.

A student I’ll call Dorcas asserted that kuru was proof that “traditional culture” granted privileges to men at the expense of women’s health. Reflecting on the gendered distribution of human parts in Fore mourning rites, she mused, “Think about it, the men took the good parts of the meat, and the women ate the leftover garbage. We are still like that, because women want to give the tastiest food to the men. And that’s why we women get so many different kinds of diseases.” She had been thinking about the work nurses performed as prenatal care providers, encouraging pregnant and lactating




Three nursing students take a break from their rural health practicum at the Ivingoi Open Bible Mission Health Sub-center, Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea. Photo courtesy Barbara Andersen

women to eat protein and greens despite knowing that women would often reserve the best food for their male relatives. She was also thinking about the fighting over food provisions that continually arose between male and female students on rural trips.

While relationships between male and female students in the nursing program were mostly supportive and caring, with student “brothers” protecting their “sisters” from the dangers of urban life and “sisters” reciprocating with small gifts of food, money, and respect, these relationships could become strained during rural practicums. In village settings, female students often complied with traditional taboos such as not cooking or handling men’s food during menstruation, even though students were taught that menstrual taboos were *bilip nating* (only beliefs) and that menstruating women could not actually harm men’s health. Only a small contingent of the male students—those from Enga and Southern Highlands Provinces—were believed to be concerned about menstrual pollution. However, even those who did not necessarily believe they were in *physical* danger might interpret a lack of attention to these taboos as disrespect. Female students couldn’t help but feel that their male classmates were being disingenuous: these same young men were learning to deliver babies, perform vaginal exams, and counsel female patients on birth control. Why were they making such a fuss about pollution when dealing with the girls they lived and worked with? Women identified this use of “custom” as

an ideological cover for male privilege. Dorcas made an explicit analogy between Fore men in the time of kuru and Papua New Guinean men in the present day: like their male classmates, who tried to control food preparation and distribution through claims to respect, Fore men had organized a dietary regime that did harm to women’s bodies by limiting their access to non-human meat. Learning about the epidemiology of kuru gave these students a new interpretive resource with which to discuss gender inequality.

The topics that anthropologists find compelling are not always relevant to the people we work with. Yet relevance is itself always a work-in-progress: while nursing students in PNG don’t need to know about kuru in order to do their jobs, once they learned about it they used it to think through their own concerns. Kuru allowed women students to draw connections between the biomedical knowledge they acquired in nursing college and the gendered dilemmas they faced in their daily lives.

To submit contributions to this column please contact SMA Contributing Editor Megan A Carney (megcarney@gmail.com). 

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For the Love of Dogs

Approaching Animal-Human Interactions in Mexico

IVÁN SANDOVAL-CERVANTES
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In *Amores Perros*, perhaps the most famous Mexican film in recent history, a young man from a marginalized neighborhood in Mexico City earns a living by fighting the dog that he claims to love, a wealthy couple in a middle-class neighborhood treats their dog as a small child, and a homeless man travels the city with several street dogs that keep him company. Although dogs are not exactly the protagonists of *Amores Perros*, they provide a glimpse into the complex and, often, contradictory relationships between people and dogs in Mexico.

The history of dogs in Mexico is a complex one that hints at the ways in which colonialism and capitalism affect human/non-human relationships. The native Mexican hairless dog, called *xoloitzcuintle* in Nahuatl, was revered and sacrificed. During the wars of conquest led by Hernán Cortés, dogs of European breeds were used to attack indigenous peoples in central Mexico. In a way, this ambiguous relationship has persisted: dogs are loved and feared, adored and despised. But what does this tell us about the social and economic conditions that shape human and non-human animal relations?

During the last few years anthropologists and other social scientists have looked at the intricate relationships between human and non-human animals. The most prominent examples in the realm of animal studies and the anthropology of human/non-human animals are those of Donna Haraway, Colin Dayan and Eduardo Kohn who, among others, have provided compelling arguments for why problematizing our ideas about non-human animals can help us better understand our place as humans. In the same vein, social scientists working in Latin America have sought

to explore the co-construction of colonialism and speciesism, and how ideas about non-human animals inform our conceptions of local, regional, and national identities. For example, León García Garagarza analyzes how the arrival of cattle from Spain influenced indigenous social movements and diets in sixteenth century Mexico, while María Elena García discusses how the gastronomic revolution of Peru has affected both indigenous and non-human bodies.

In Mexico, such overlapping oppressions and violence appear on a quotidian basis in the streets and in the newspapers. As a Mexican national who also does fieldwork in Mexico, I can attest to the contradictory discourses and practices that surround human and non-human animals. As an anthropologist I wonder under what circumstances such discourses and practices originate, and how they both protect and harm humans and non-humans. As an academic interested in social justice, I have also wondered how social and economic oppression suffered by humans affects non-human animals, and how such overlaps are explained (by some) using classist, sexualized and racialized language.

It is often the case, but not always, that when I talk about non-human animal rights in Mexico, people will tell me that we must first deal with the human problems, and that perhaps once all of the human problems are resolved we can start thinking about non-human animals. Furthermore, non-human animal rights are sometimes referred to as a first world problem. While there might be some truth to that assertion, nevertheless the first anthropological question should be: Why? A second anthropological question should be: How can we think about intersectionality through the ways in which people treat, talk, and think about non-human animals in specific cultural settings in Mexico (and in the rest of Latin America)? If the

ways in which people treat, talk, and think about humans occur in historical and political contexts, certainly the same could apply to non-human animals. Let me give two brief examples illustrating these overlapping contexts.

In recent weeks the news that the Mexican Partido Verde (or Green Party) has been pushing to rid Mexican circuses of animals has been circulating in several media. The argument that the PV is making is a simple one: animals

in circuses are mistreated and exploited, thus the practice should be stopped. But, coming from a Green Party that has also supported the death penalty in Mexico, it is not hard to see that non-human animals are being used for political reasons. This contradiction has led some to ask why the PV is not also going after bullfighting. The answer has come in the language of class, since bullfighting (unlike cockfights and dogfights) is a lucrative enterprise enjoyed by middle and upper class Mexicans.

On the question of dogs, according to the Mexican National Institute of Geography and Statistics (INEGI), there are 18 million in Mexico and only 30% have owners. These 12.6 million “street” dogs are hard to ignore in Mexico. Although you can find them almost anywhere, they are concentrated in economically marginalized spaces—notably rural towns and in poor urban neighborhoods. There are many ways in which anthropologists have and could look at the social phenomenon of street dogs. We might analyze concepts of ownership in places where dogs are neither stray nor pets and where they occupy a liminal space. We could also analyze the ways in which language is used to describe both the street dogs and the people with whom they share a space; for example, even the term *callejero/a* (as in *perro callejero* or street dog) can be interpreted as having classist, racial and sexual implications.

As in the movie *Amores Perros*, non-human animals are often tied to the humans with whom they willingly or unwillingly share a space. Such ties are created in social and political contexts. The dog and the young man that participate in (illegal) dogfights do not share the same fate as the family that raises bulls for (legal) bullfighting. The lives of human and non-human animals overlap in the public political discourses and in quotidian spaces. For anthropologists in Latin America, these overlaps promise to be an interesting area of study that could tell us more about the intersections between the histories of human and non-human animals, as León García Garagarza and María Elena García, among others, have done.

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Please send any comments, suggestions, and ideas for future columns to SLACA AN Contributing Editor Ronda Brulotte at brulotte@unm.edu.



Of 18 million dogs in Mexico, only 30% have owners. Photo courtesy Iván Sandoval-Cervantes

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Increasing English Education in Japan

An Identity Crisis?

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In a recent article in *The Japan Times* entitled “English Education set to get serious in Japan,” Kodera and Komeda (2013) discuss the Ministry of Education Culture, Sports, Science and Technology’s plan to reform English education. According to the plan, by 2020 High School and Junior High School English courses will be taught exclusively in English (in contrast to the current grammar-translation approach) and formal English instruction will begin in the fifth grade.

Historically, English language education in Japan developed as a result of Western imperial dominance and expansion, and the demands of (American-driven) globalization. Interestingly, the current demands of globalization in Japan are set in the midst of Japanese discourses that have formed and informed Japanese identity construction processes for generations. As a result, while understanding the reciprocity between language and identity, which is that beliefs inform language, and language concepts inform cognitive concepts of self, the increased implementation of English education begs the question, in terms of identity, at what expense is English being taught in Japan? I will begin by discussing popular and historical discourses of Japan that form and inform beliefs about identity, followed by a brief discussion about theoretical possibilities of identity construction concerning the potential impact of English education in Japan.

Kokusaika

Kokusaika is a historical discourse that promotes homogenous views of Japan even while Japanese individuals are becoming increasingly transcultural (Pennycook 2007) as a result of a globalizing world. It began as a discourse in government policy, which was aimed at promoting a Japan that could defend itself against foreign pressures and essentially control its own fate (Burgess 2012). Kubota (2002, 16) suggests that *Kokusaika* is aimed at understanding people and cultures in international communities through social, cultural, and educational opportunities. However, contrary to the implications of globalization discourse, *Kokusaika* promotes Japanese tradition, culture, and identity (Kubota 2002, 28). As stated in the article, Kōdera and Komeda (2013), expect outcomes to include students being able to understand and exchange information and to debate and present in English. These outcome expectations suggest degrees of being bilingual, which is a complex identity concept that is not homogeneously Japanese.

Nihonjinron

Nihonjinron is another historical discourse that promotes homogenous views of Japanese identity, which began in the Meiji Restoration period (1868) when discussions about Japanese identity emphasized the importance of contrasting Japan with the West (Pyle 1969 in Burgess

2012). Interestingly, the discourse of *Nihonjinron* suggests that the Japanese are a homogeneous people of a unified nation (*tan’itsu minzoku kokka*) (Mouer and Sugimoto 1986, 406). In recent times, *Nihonjinron* ideologies are being tested, and will continue to be as waves of immigrants continue to settle in Japan (Burgess 2012), and as English is embraced more than other foreign languages. For example, according a recent article, nearly three quarters of Japanese companies require TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) scores as a

of Japanese identity is perceived as being threatened as a result of unwelcomed collisions with transcultural flows (Pennycook 2007). On the other hand, a positive view of English education is possible when understanding language in terms of language as ecology and hybridity, which is possible when we accept (1) the natural progression of language and the individual in terms of shift and loss (Ricento 2006) and (2) the reality that communities in Japan are not necessarily pure to begin with; rather they are potentially constructed/determined by complex memberships of multilingual/multicultural individuals. Multilingual/multicultural identity complexities are demonstrated by the more than two-million immigrants living in Japan as of 2010 who are often spouses of Japanese citizens and parents of *hāfu* (mixed-race) kids. According to the Ministry of Justice (2012), more than half of the immigrants living in Japan are from China and Korea, and only about four percent are from English dominant countries that

include the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. Based upon these statistics, it seems that Japan’s English education policy is a response to the English dominant demands of globalization and not a response to the potential language needs of the majority immigrant populations.

Choosing identity on these terms in the midst of homogenous ideologies and multicultural/multilingual realities may result in intended/unintended memberships to English diaspora existing in or away from Japan. It is the idea that memberships to language communities allow individuals to transcend physical communities and achieve membership on meta-physical levels and in cognitive spaces. Such language-shift practices tend to be typical in and among transcultural diaspora and multilingual communities around the world, even in Japan (Pennycook, 2007, p 122; Sarkar and Allen, 2007).

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Memberships to language communities

allow individuals to transcend physical

communities and achieve membership on

meta-physical levels and in cognitive spaces.

prerequisite for employment (Ronald 2013). As a result, English language learning in Japan may be, for the most part, learning English as *lingua franca* ie, English as a tool for communication with English speakers.

Identity

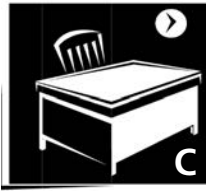
The potential of growing immigrant populations and the implementation of increased English education policy in Japan suggest that homogenous views about Japan may be changing. Change on these terms may include positive and negative views about identity construction.

Negative views may be described in terms of “governmentality” or “trans-governmentality” (Foucault 1991) where the “death of the subject” can potentially occur as a result of an imposing English education policy leading to hybrid identities as a result of acquiring English. The epitome of hybrid identity ideologies in Japan is perhaps the language and identity experiences of *hāfu* (mixed-race) kids born and raised in Japan, who are seen as not being wholly Japanese, even though they may speak Japanese as a first language, have a Japanese parent, a Japanese passport, and may have never lived anywhere else outside of Japan.

Perhaps identities can be simply a choice or a preference. Perhaps identities are “points of temporary attachment” that a subject makes with discursive constructs, which is to say, the subject can potentially choose (within certain parameters) to subscribe to positions and views about self, either completely, partially, or not at all (Hall 1996, pp 6-14).

On one hand, some may perceive English education in terms of power and violence, where the “Japaneseness”

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CAREER DEVELOPMENT

MAXIMIZING SUCCESS FOR UNDERGRADUATE ANTHROPOLOGY MAJORS

Dealing with Reality

Sexual Harassment in the Field

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Unlike our previous contributions, the topic presented below cannot be approached lightheartedly. Harassment and assault are serious matters for all college students. For anthropology majors, they can assume particular dimension, especially when they happen in overseas field settings. A recent survey of some 666 male and female anthropologists, sociologists and other scientists engaged in field research, revealed that 64% of female scientists had experienced sexual harassment while in the field. 22% had experienced sexual assault. Most of those who experienced harassment or assaults in this way were either still students or post-doctorates. Tellingly, the majority of affected women were not harassed or assaulted by their student peers or local residents. Rather, they were victimized by the person who was supposed to look out for their interests; namely, their professor. The United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defines sexual harassment as unwelcome sexual advances and offensive remarks about a person's sex. While legal definitions of sexual assault vary across the United States, the term refers to any unwanted sexual contact up to and including rape.

If you have experienced sexual harassment or violence please know that such actions are completely unacceptable. Reach out for help. Do not let it go unreported. If you are on campus, most universities have victim's services offices or student ombudsmen. These entities are mandated with protecting victims and looking out for their interests. Many schools also provide free legal representation.

Field schools are great opportunities to advance your career. However, they also often mean travelling and living in remote foreign locations where students effectively rely on their professors for essentials such as meals and lodging. They can sometimes be isolating experiences where students feel particularly vulnerable. If you find yourself in such a situation, it is essential that you keep yourself safe.

1) Take your campus victim's services email with you. These days, even the most remote field location has some form of Internet access. If you experience sexual assault from your professor or anyone else, you definitely should contact your university's victim's services via email. They can advise you about what to do next.

2) Reach out to other faculty. In most archaeological or anthropological field schools there are often multiple faculty members present. Reach out to one who is not involved in the harassment or making you feel uncomfortable. If you feel insecure about reporting what happened, you can say something along the lines of "I don't want to go into detail here, but I need to speak to you about something that happened as soon as possible." Talking to faculty about their colleague's misconduct is not easy, but it is sometimes imperative to do so. Consult with victim's services about ways to approach uninvolved faculty. Have a buddy go along with you for both support and to witness to the conversation.

3) Find a field buddy. One of the best ways to protect yourself against harassment or assault is having someone to watch your back. Predators often go after those who are alone. A precautionary measure to such vulnerability is to avoid being alone whenever possible. Even if you do not know anyone at your new field school, chances are you will click with someone. Once you do, you can make it clear why you want to buddy up. If you have each other's back, you can help keep each other safe.

4) Know the nearest American consulate's location. As a precaution, it is not only important to have a sense of how to get there but also how to contact consulate staff. American consulate personnel can assist you in communicating with family, finding places to stay, and getting home. They can also provide legal guidance.

5) Do some research before enrolling. What is the field school's reputation? Is heavy drinking or partying anecdotally a part of the experience? Are women in positions of power? If you can find female scientists who have attended the program, have a conversation with them about their experiences. One red flag is whether there seems to be quick turnover among the female researchers, while the same group of male researchers appears constant.

6) If you see something, say something. Although this advice goes to anyone, it is particularly directed towards males as, regrettably, they are typically the harassers. Rather than unfairly placing the onus of preventing or dealing with harassment/assault on (potential) victims, no field participant should take on a bystander role. If something is amiss or if harassment is occurring, make sure she knows she is not alone and offer her assistance in any way possible.

7) Make a concerted effort to make sure your field site is a safe space. This particular piece of advice is directed at those with the power: the professors in charge of running field sites. Harassment does not always come in the form of unwanted advances. More often, it begins with subtle comments and behavior which is demeaning to women (like questioning their ability to do math, operate heavy machinery, deal with the discomforts of the field, being hormonal). It can be perpetuated by creating a hostile environment that does not dissuade excessive partying or the objectification of women. These are all forms of harassment so subtle that they can leave vulnerable female students doubting themselves, wondering if they ought to be offended or if they are being too touchy. A good field director is sensitive to such concerns. S/he takes steps to create an inclusive environment while in the field.

8) Watch the alcohol. Yes, drinking is a huge part of the field experience and field culture in general. Many anthropologists, especially those doing team-based field research (biological and archaeological anthropologists) fondly remember days of hard labor followed by nights of drinking and partying. Everyone involved, however, needs to recognize that drinking inevitably exacerbates poor behavior and creates uncomfortable and potentially dangerous situations for students.

Beatriz Reyes-Foster is assistant professor of anthropology at the U Central Florida (UCF). Her current research interests focus on issues surrounding reproduction in Central Florida, particularly on the ways in which women seeking vaginal birth after cesarean (VBAC) make decisions about their medical care, and peer breast milk sharing.

Ty Matejowsky is an associate professor who specializes in cultural anthropology. He received his PhD in 2001 from Texas A&M U. His research interests include fast food, economic anthropology, globalization, urbanization, culture change and development, disaster studies. Ty currently conducts his research in Southeast Asia, particularly the Philippines. ☞

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Lessons from Directing a Study Abroad Program in Tanzania

From Siangiki to Yeyio

LAURA DELUCA
NAROPA U

As a doctoral candidate studying livelihoods in Ngorongoro from 2000–01, Maasai colleagues greeted me “Siangiki, takwenya,” which means “greetings young woman.” Ten years later when I returned to teach a summer study abroad program my name has changed. Sometimes I am “MamaCharlie” in the tradition of being named after the first-born. I am also called “yeyio,” or middle-aged woman. At first I reacted with disbelief when guide Ole Nariso greeted me “Koko, takwenya.” This literally means, “Grandmother I greet you.”

Returning to Tanzania made me reflect on my own ageing and also how this process prepared me for taking students annually to Tanzania. With each trip, I am reminded of a challenge presented to me in 2001 by Rahab Kenana, a Maasai woman then working for Oxfam. She asked, “If research contributes to northern Tanzania, then why isn’t this region richer given all the researchers here?” Her question challenges me more than a decade later. Bringing back students whose fees help support communities and locally-owned hotels feels like a small way to contribute.

For the past three years, I have brought 11–13 undergraduates each summer from the University of Colorado-Boulder (CU) to Arusha, Simanjiro, Nou Forest, Yaeda Valley and Ngorongoro. They study conservation and globalization and visit Maasai, Iraqw, and Hadzabe communities as part of a three-credit course called the Global Seminar Tanzania (GSTZ). We work with Dorobo Safaris, a company praised by the Lonely Planet for their commitment to sustaining wild-life and communities.

GSTZ examines the ecological and political issues associated with the Western-inspired national park model. Using the lens of political ecology, we discuss conservation, globalization, and development as they relate to indigenous communities on the margins of protected areas in Tanzania. Students give presentations around the campfire or even perched in the branch of a baobab tree as Stephanie Borcea did when she discussed Martha Honey’s article “Whose Eden is it?”

In GSTZ students learn through immersion. For example they read about Maasai management practices in Igoe’s *Conservation and Globalization* and then students travel to Silalo swamp in Tarangire to see firsthand how Maasai herders are blocked from using this resource. We also read McCabe’s article about conservation and development in Ngorongoro and then visit the village of Nainokanoka and hike with Maasai guides who teach us about the impact of the agriculture bans on local communities. We read Hodgson’s work on indigenous identity and Parkipuny’s writing on development in Maasai areas. For a visit to a Hadzabe commu-

nity, we read James Woodburn’s work on hunter gatherers and then at the base of Gederu rock, Alicia Baker reports on “immediate-return societies” who collect enough food for the day but do not stock up. After this we collect tubers and learn how to make arrows and hunt.

What brings this course alive for students is learning through immersion and reflecting on that learning through field journals. “My experience in Tanzania with you all two summers ago was unquestionably my

most exciting, incredible, enriching, transformative, and memorable experience of my entire college career and possibly my life.”

most exciting, incredible, enriching, transformative and memorable experience of my entire college career and possibly my life,” writes Billy Kromka on the GSTZ 2012 Facebook page. “I learn through doing,” says Kevin Shepard, GSTZ 2013, and “in some ways I learned more on the GSTZ than I did during four years of college.” GSTZ students are required to keep a daily field immersion journal and identify key themes when they return home. They learn about asking open-ended questions such as “tell me about...” instead of “do you like?” I also teach them about triangulation of data sources to help verify trends.


“Kuwa flexible” and “Haraka, haraka, haina baraka” are two Kiswahili sayings that encapsulate lessons learned from the GSTZ. Kuwa flexible, a Kiswahili-English hybrid literally means “be flexible.” Our Tanzanian guide Maggie Simbeye, who is one of only six female driver guides in the country, uses *kuwa flexible* like a mantra. *Kuwa flexible* embodies the idea of living in the present and relaxing. It also relates to the anthropological concept of cultural relativism and suspending judgment. An example is when GSTZ visited a Maasai “enkang” (a homestead usually belonging to different members of one family including male head of household and his

multiple wives). When we visited our Maasai host’s enkang in Terat village, some female GSTZ students commented on the difference between the way female and male students were greeted. In her journal GSTZ participant Lily Wilkinson reflects, “When we arrived, I definitely experienced a bit of culture shock abiding by their [Maasai] gender discrepancies as we were greeted. Each of us women approached the senior man, Ipanga, with our heads bowed and had Maggie [our Tanzanian leader] standing by to guide us through our greeting appropriately.” Despite initial discomfort, the students all followed the kuwa flexible approach.

“Haraka, haraka haina baraka” (hurry, hurry) has no blessing. GSTZ students exhibited this attitude when the LandRover’s alternator failed in Nainokanoka village. GSTZ students sat down avoiding the stinging nettles nearby and used the time to snack on crisps (potato chips) and to interact with a gathering crowd of Maasai children from the village.

Perhaps the “haraka haraka haina baraka” spirit of flexibility in the face of uncertainty is one of the most useful lessons Tanzania taught the GSTZ students. This African mindfulness practice urges one to slow down and recognize and respect other humans. Returning to the challenge posed to

me by Oxfam team member Rahab Kenana, perhaps what I can offer as a researcher is sharing the rich philosophical lessons I learned with the GSTZ students. Partly as a result of slowing down and cultivating gratitude, our GSTZ alumni groups of 2013 and 2012 worked together to raise funds to bring safari guide Maggie Duncan Simbeye to participate in CU-Boulder’s April 2014 Conference on World Affairs (CWA). The goal was not only to bring Maggie to the US but also to help facilitate knowledge building that would reach a broader audience. As director of DARE Women’s Foundation, Maggie creates opportunities to empower Tanzanian women through education and health.

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SOCIETY FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF WORK

Reflections from the Field

An Experience as a SAW Intern

AARON LEO

One of the first memories I have of my internship with United Workers, a human rights organization based in Baltimore, was attending a housing roundtable which had been organized to address the dearth of affordable housing for low-income residents of Baltimore City. At the table sat attorneys, community leaders, high school students, members of labor and faith-based institutions, advocates for the homeless, and social workers. Seven weeks later, I would attend another roundtable meeting, although by that time I had learned several important points about community organizing which resonated with my work as an anthropologist.

The roundtable, specifically, was engaged in a long-term project to create Community Land Trusts in Baltimore. These tracts of communally held land could be bought and sold, but only at a fixed rate which was immune to the dynamics of market speculation. Most significantly, the roundtable was working towards a structural understanding of housing inequality which took into account the history of class and race in Baltimore. Members were concerned with not simply creating more affordable housing units in the city, but also fostering among community residents a critical view of market-based capitalism. As one member put it, "we're interested in doing more than just putting a Band-Aid on a bad situation."

Their approach called to mind Antonio Gramsci's distinction between a "War of Maneuver" and a "War of Position". Gramsci realized, as did the members of the roundtable, that societal struggles required, in the case of the former, mobilization of material force as well as, in the latter, discursive battles. Thus, a "War of Position" is not just about fighting to create affordable housing units, it's engendering a critical counter-hegemony which poses the question of how and why Baltimore has tens of thousands of vacant buildings, a burgeoning (read gentrifying) harbor district, but lacks affordable housing for huge segments of its population.

Conversations on doorsteps, in meetings, or at local block parties often addressed these contradictions which have been brought to a peak under neoliberal capitalism. Many community residents, even those who didn't consider themselves active in any movement, were often quite knowledgeable about the structural roots of the inequality which was part of their day-to-day life. Long-time residents of the city often presented a trenchant critique of the historically racist policies which have disadvantaged low-income populations of color throughout the city.

United Workers also demonstrated the unifying power of human rights language. Capitalizing on the numerous community organizations throughout the city, United Workers recognized both the fragmentation and power of Baltimore's grassroots organizations. By deploying a human rights framework, United Workers effectively coalesced many groups with disparate goals around the ideals of universality and equality across color and class lines. Yet, the universalizing principles of human rights never seemed to supersede the distinct race and class histories of the populations of Baltimore which were often the main focus of dialogues.

Another aspect of the community organizing which I found to be integral to the workings of United Workers was their emphasis on education. Many meetings were inclusive, participatory and brought the voices of youngsters to the table. In one instance, I recall a member of United Workers taking several high school students to the library to find old photos of houses in their neighborhood. They would later juxtapose these decades-old photos with current photos they took of their neighborhoods. This approach type of political education reminded me of Paulo Freire's problem-posing approach to learning. By taking meaningful themes from their own lives and problematizing their contradictory elements, students took the Freirean step of asking "But why?" Placing the photos alongside one another, students contemplated the changes in their city and their communities, and their roles as agents in facilitating change. It is this dialectic of action and

reflection which is key to Freire's approach to a form of learning which facilitates social change. Furthermore, it is precisely the contradictions inherent to late capitalism which critics of neoliberalism such as David Harvey and Michael Apple see as the most fruitful places to begin a lasting social movement.

Working with United Workers this summer also demonstrated the need for anthropologists interested in education, like myself, to engage in multi-sited ethnographic works. Although ethnographies of schooling most often bring anthropologists to different community spaces, many often spend most of their time in schools. This summer, I hardly spent any time in Baltimore schools, yet I gained a sharper clarity of how social inequalities, such as a lack of affordable housing, must be seen as interconnected with unequal schooling outcomes.

The sites of urban struggle should be seen as central to the focus of social scientists who are interested in the role that schools play in reproducing class and race inequality in the US. In particular, neoliberal narratives which justify the reach of capital into the public sphere and transfer the explanations for inequality to individuals are the terrain of struggle for anthropologists who are interested in class and race stratification both inside and outside of schools. I'm grateful to the Society for the Anthropology of Work and United Workers for giving me the opportunity to see how these struggles are connected, and, crucially, to recognize the modes of resistance initiated by communities who are asserting their right to the city.

For images and additional information readers can access the United Workers website, the United Workers Flickr page and watch a short film about the United Workers housing campaign. SAW sponsors a paid internship for students in the early stages of their doctoral careers. Students work for eight weeks during the summer with an organization selected by SAW. For additional information about the annual internship sponsored by SAW please direct questions to SAW President Charles Menzies (cmenzies@interchange.ubc.ca). Our column welcomes all materials of interest to SAW members. Please direct inquiries and ideas to Susanna Donaldson at smdonaldson@mail.wvu.edu. ■■

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SOCIETY FOR ANTHROPOLOGY IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

From a Survey of Anthropology to Actually Applying It

BARBARA JONES
BROOKDALE COMMUNITY C

Anthropology courses offered at community colleges are apt to be of the survey variety. There tends to be

a basic cultural anthropology course, an introduction to physical/biological anthropology or archaeology, and, if you are really lucky, a course in linguistics or something applied, like an archaeological field or lab methods course. Typically there are also a couple

of 200-level courses, but even at that level, community college faculty in New Jersey (where I teach) can't expect to teach something as mind-enriching as ethnographic methods for transferrable credit. So many of the really wonderful anthropology courses

seem to be just out of our reach because of those two dreadful words: transferrable credit. Admittedly, in this age of high college costs, we want our students to take courses that readily transfer so they can complete their four-year degree in something close to four years; however, we also want to enhance their community college learning experience by offering something more than traditional bread and butter survey courses.

I have been somewhat fortunate in being, what it feels like anyhow, the last of the generalists most institutions ever hired, so although my academic training is in cultural anthropology, I participated in several archaeological field schools as I worked my way through graduate school. The field school experiences allowed me to take over our archaeological field school, which, when I arrived at my institution years ago, had disappeared off the course schedule. Moreover, because I was the first academically trained anthropologist hired in our program, I was able to develop a 200-level course that actually addressed contemporary issues in cultural anthropology. Sadly, though, once the almost essential stint as department chair swallowed me up, I no longer had time to run the field school and the course again disappeared from the schedule. That loss to our students was significant not only in terms of student learning, but also in their engagement with other anthropology courses. The results of the student survey for our five-year program review hinted at just how significant this loss was to our students. They loved anthropology, but they wanted to see it at work.

Archaeology was one way we could show students how anthropology worked, but it still did not attract all that many students and it didn't show those students interested in cultural anthropology or linguistics how ethnographic methods actually worked. Field assignments in our survey courses helped, as did larger field projects in the 200-level courses, but, according to the survey results from our program review, they didn't

offer our students enough. Each year a few students did sign-up to complete a special project in cultural anthropology. In their quest to understand another culture, those few really got to experience anthropology in action. The problem with a special project, though, was it only transferred as elective credit, so students had to be really committed to a degree in anthropology or have at least an intense curiosity about the discipline to consider taking on such a project.

The student survey results of our five-year program review really bothered me because I felt we were short-changing our students. Our department needed to create a transferrable course that had more real world-applications that were relatable to our students. The answer to this problem came from a lucky coincidence within my department of anthropologists and sociologists. I was actually trained through the human ecology wing of anthropology, while my office neighbor, Joe Boyle, a sociologist, studied topics related to the environment through his training in criminology. Our complementary interests in human environmental issues suggested to us a possible solution to our mutual need to engage students in real-life social science. We decided to design an introductory course (hopefully avoiding the pitfalls the more established survey courses had) in human ecology, where students would learn about topics like eco-terrorism and eco-tourism; they could learn about the environment through lecture topics on climate disruption to perceptions of nature; they could begin to think about human dietary choices that included veganism and vegetarianism; and they could consider how we use economic metrics to value resources whether it be through cap and trade or flood protection. Since our campus practically abuts the Jersey Shore and we have been victims of climate disruption through massive flooding and unprecedented storms, the course has the potential to offer our students a chance to learn about real-world issues through an anthropological lens in a 100-level transferable course.

To provide an actual hands-on applied component to the course, we plan to offer not only a human ecology course, but also a human ecology lab. The lab will give students the opportunity to work with professionals in the field as they strive to resolve issues as diverse as returning oysters to the Raritan Bay to the benefits of monetizing birding in Cape May County so bird habitat can be preserved because it has economic, as well as intrinsic value. Since New Jersey is called the Garden State, connecting students to agriculture will be another critical component of both courses' content. For the lab we intend to invite speakers from farmers markets and pick-your-own operations to demonstrate to students how important value-added components (eg, hay rides, haunted houses, barn weddings, and wine tasting) are to farm survival in a state as expensive as New Jersey is to own land and produce food.

Our goal with this human ecology course and lab is to offer our students a chance to learn about anthropology (and sociology) in a way that makes these disciplines more meaningful to them. By making it a survey-type course, the course will transfer more readily, leading to a speedier completion of a student's degree; yet, because the course is geared to satisfying recognized deficiencies within our own programs, we can heavily focus our learning outcomes on more applied aspects of our disciplines. If this course succeeds, my hope is, in another few years, during our next five-year program review, students will say how much they enjoyed learning about how anthropology works.

Barbara Jones is the contributing editor for SACC's column in Anthropology News. 

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ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE CLASSROOM

Anthropology in the High School Classroom

ERIN DEAN
NEW C FLORIDA

More and more high schools in the United States are including anthropology courses in their curriculum, presenting unique opportunities and challenges for the discipline. Dexter Chapin teaches classes in cultural anthropology, zoology, and sustainable systems at Seattle Academy of Arts and Sciences (SAAS), a college-preparatory school in downtown Seattle, WA. I asked him about his experiences as a high school anthropology instructor. Below is part one of a two-part interview.

Erin Dean (ED): *Why is it important to teach anthropology at the high school level?*

Dexter Chapin (DC): I think there are several reasons; in the abstract and in no particular order:

- “The purpose of anthropology is to make the world safe for human differences.” –Ruth Benedict
- There is no accepted or expected curriculum so we can wander without boundaries across the sciences, history, art, and language as the students and teacher negotiate. In doing so, it is one of the few (only?) high school courses that can weave together the disparate, isolated elements of their education.
- No other course allows the same kind of discussions of ideas such as schismogenesis, Thom's cusp, Touraine's historicity and System Dynamics.
- The Worldview Paper (as outlined by Funk and others) is reported by former students to be the best, most important, and long-lasting assignment ever.

ED: *You mention the Worldview Paper; can you describe that project? Are there any other activities, assignments, or topics that have been especially engaging to your students?*

DC: When I started teaching anthro in the seventies, I asked the students to list as many colors as possible in 90 seconds. The girls always listed more, and boys had no idea about taupe. Today, the numbers are closer but boys still have little or no idea about taupe. I use this to demonstrate that nobody has the entirety of their culture, subculture, or sub-subculture in their heads.

So, the worldview paper is an exploration of what is in their heads. The starting point is the definition, “A worldview is the set of beliefs about fundamental aspects of Reality that ground and influence all one's perceiving, thinking, knowing, and doing.” An outline is provided by Funk. Other sources include the Encyclopedia Cybernetica, science blogs, introduction sections of Exploring Diversity... and a bunch of other readings selected as we go along. (I once overheard my

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course described as “Whatever Dexter thinks is cool and interesting today.”)

This paper is about 80% of their grade. At least that is what I tell them. In reality, everybody who puts in the time and effort does well. They have eight weeks to write it. I measure time and effort in terms of self-described progress and how many drafts I get to read. In the drafts, I look for *reductio ad absurdum*; when do their first principles cross each other? (The old Vietnam, nonviolent CO question about family rape and killing; obviously one ranks one’s values and it is a simple answer). At 18, and maybe for the rest of their lives, these conflicts arise. It’s just nice to identify them in advance.

Everybody understands that worldviews are dynamic, and some folks are expert at changing them (Marine DI’s); at 18, their worldview best not be cast in concrete. But, next year, in discussions with their roommates, they will be more successful if they try to understand another worldview. In my honors anthro class the students have to compare at least two elements of their worldview with the Bantu version described by Temples (Bantu Philosophy 1959) and by the book Muntu (Jahn 1990).

Other assignments have included flint knapping to prove that those folks are smart and skillful. I quit that when we started to draw too much blood.

A lesser assignment that many enjoy is to write a creation myth. We look at a bunch and if it is to be original, it is a creative stretch.

ED: *It seems like you have a lot of flexibility to make this class current and relevant. How does your cultural anthropology course fit within the Seattle Academy curriculum?*


DC: I am not sure I have ever been hired to teach anthro. I am hired to teach science, mostly life sciences, and anthro just develops. SAAS hired me to teach anthro from the beginning. I’m not sure why, but it fits well with the social culture here. It has been a long, long time since we first had an openly gay student-body president, openly gay, married teachers, and transgender faculty and students. Do we go looking for them? No. They come our way because they know it can work for them. I say this because as I suggested in the first answer, anthro makes it safe to be different.

I teach it as a senior history elective. It is one of a wide range of such electives. I do not wish to teach younger kids because I think the worldview paper might not work well with younger kids. Today’s class,

after watching *Genie: Secret of the Wild Child*, I asked kids what could you remove and still be human. It was a wonderful class. I just pointed out that very smart folks could disagree.

Part two of this interview was published in the October Anthropology in the Classroom column on October 21, 2014. Both parts will be archived in AnthroSource.

Dexter Chapin has a BA in cultural anthropology and biology (Stanford U) and a PhD in educational administration and policy (U Maryland). In 2009, Dexter was named to the NAIS Teachers of the Future program. He currently teaches at Seattle Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Erin Dean is an environmental anthropologist and associate professor at the New C Florida. She focuses on conservation and development in Tanzania and Zanzibar. She is particularly interested in how control of land and resources is negotiated and ordered based on gender, age, ethnicity, class, political affiliation and institutional status. 

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ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

A Literature of Practice

KERRY FOSHER
MARINE CORPS U

As I have read this column over the last several months, I’ve been heartened to see many familiar themes. Contributors have covered the partialness and compromises involved in influencing decisions and policy, the complexities of implementation in large institutions, the importance of anthropologists as representatives of perspectives that are sometimes scarce in government, the need for persistence and endurance. These are critical aspects of practicing anthropology in the public sector and in other contexts. It was tempting to write on these same themes from the perspective of working in the Department of Defense (DoD). However, I wanted to take the chance to write about communicating back to the discipline, what Riall Nolan calls the “literature of practice”.

Accounts from practicing anthropologists have the capacity to transfer knowledge about large institutions or understudied populations back into the discipline. AAA has created a gray literature search site, which is a great step in the right direction. Some research reports produced by anthropologists working in or sponsored by government also are posted on one of the government technical information exchanges, such as the Defense Technical Information Center or National Technical Information Service. These venues capture knowledge developed in the course of research projects. However, they still leave us with a gap in terms of knowl-

edge developed through means other than research, and because this knowledge is not developed in the kinds of projects familiar to the discipline, it often goes under-reported.

Accounts from practicing anthropologists have the capacity to transfer knowledge about large institutions or understudied populations back into the discipline.

Much of what we publish as practicing anthropologists either reports on discrete research projects or takes the form of “notes from the field” or personal accounts of what it is like to work in our organizations. Many of the venues we use, often chapters or short pieces in journals, are not designed to accommodate lengthy theoretical or critical analyses and undergo minimal or no peer review. From my work within DoD, I have come to know a fair amount about the structures, processes, and discourses involved in how DoD sponsors and uses research. I could write it up as cautionary tales for those

considering working with DoD or information to be used by anthropologists doing critical analyses of the military. There is some utility in that.

What practicing anthropologists can contribute goes beyond talking about travelers’ advice. As is the case with many practicing anthropologists, despite the fact that I was not conducting a research project on science and technology processes in DoD, my knowledge development was informed by theory, method, and critique. If written up appropriately, it could make a contribution to the anthropology of organizations, science, policy, and so forth.

So why don’t more of us do this kind of publication? There is the usual tyranny of time and restrictions or burdensome review processes on publication. There are human subjects concerns given that few of us are able to obtain informed consent from every individual we might encounter in a given work year.

I think there also are structural issues within the conventions of anthropological writing and publication. I’ll mention just two of them here. First, writing from the standpoint of practice while being attentive to the rights of other people in the work context can be complex given the informed consent challenges mentioned above. The solution I have used in the past has been to write in the abstract, aggregating knowledge gained across many interactions and settings. The results lack the ethnographic richness and illustrative quotations that characterize anthropological writing. I also have experimented with small interview projects to supplement practice-derived knowledge, but this too has limitations. I’m sure others have experi-

mented with different approaches and I hope they will share their experiences and advice.

Second, most publication venues are designed to present the results of traditional or applied research projects. Editors and readers have come to expect certain things about evidence, standpoint and bias. We all know, more or less, what it means to gather information through fieldwork and to accept grants to support research. Authors do not need to expend article space explaining these things. NSF sponsorship can be mentioned in a footnote and people understand, but I don't think most readers would be satisfied with a footnote stating only that my knowledge was developed while employed by DoD. Addressing how knowledge was developed in a particular practicing context and accounting for limitations and biases would take much more explication, diminishing the amount of space dedicated to the topic.

Regular communication of knowledge back to the discipline from the standpoint of practice in ways that show theoretical rigor and critical perspectives require different formats. Digital publication may make that more feasible. We will need to develop acceptable practices for describing standards of evidence, bias, and constraint. We will need to think through how to provide ethnographically compelling accounts without violating confidentiality principles.

Those of us experimenting with this kind of writing also need to risk reaching out beyond our immediate circles of trusted colleagues for advice and critique. For

example, I am working on a project now to combine practice-derived knowledge with documentary and interview research in examining how people in military organizations understand and use scientific expertise and research. I would welcome discussion and advice about how to communicate what I am finding.

These are challenges, but many people, with far more experience in the practicing and applied realms than I, are thinking about them. I am hopeful and encouraged by the willingness of colleagues from practicing, applied, and traditional anthropology to engage in these discussions.

The views expressed are those of the author and do not represent the position of the USMC.

Kerry Fosher is a practicing cultural anthropologist focused on the integration of social science into decision-making in complex organizations. She has published on homeland security, ethics, and accounts of practice in DoD.

Sarah Ono, Heather Schacht Reisinger and Samantha L Solimeo are contributing editors of Anthropology in the Public Sector.

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Department of Anthropology seeks a full-time tenure-track archaeologist, in the early stages of an academic career (ie, eight years or less in a tenure track position), to begin August 1, 2015. The successful candidate will have an active research and teaching agenda focusing on the archaeology of the indigenous peoples of southeastern North America, engage in multidisciplinary research and collaboration, and have a strong methodological specialization. It is important that the candidate be able to teach introductory archaeology in rotation, cultural resource management, and courses that focus on the prehistoric and native peoples of the southeast. The ideal candidate would also have research interests in Native/European/African interaction in the colonial and early post-colonial period of the Southeast, Middle Atlantic or Caribbean. An active field program is preferred. Inter-subdisciplinary orientations that interface with biological/forensic anthropology and/or cultural anthropology, and the ability to teach qualitative/mixed methods are highly desired, as is a commitment to mentoring students for both academic and other professional career trajectories. The PhD must be in hand at the time of appointment. Send a letter of application, curriculum vitae, and a list of three references to: Dr David G Anderson, Chair, Archaeology Search Committee, Department of Anthropology, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0720. Review of applications began November 15, with initial interviews held at upcoming professional meetings, and will continue until the position is filled. The University of Tennessee is an EEO/

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University of Tennessee, Knoxville
 Department of Anthropology seeks a full-time tenure-track cultural anthro-

pologist, in the early stages of an academic career (ie, eight years or less in a tenure track position), to begin August 1, 2015. The successful candidate will have an active research and teaching agenda that contributes to the department's Disasters, Displacement and Human Rights (DDHR) undergraduate concentration and graduate certificate program. While thematic and regional specializations are open, we particularly seek candidates with expertise in any combination of the following: disaster studies; medical anthropology and/or public health; political economy and/or development studies; environmental anthropology (including climate change); applied/public/engaged anthropology; critical humanitarian studies; science

and technology studies; identity (race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality); and human trafficking. Applicants must demonstrate an approach informed by the historical, legal and ethical norms of human rights. Inter-subdisciplinary orientations that embody or enable creative interfaces with biological/forensic anthropology and/or archaeology, and the ability to teach qualitative/mixed methods are highly desired. Commitment to mentoring students for both academic and other professional career trajectories, and active participation in DDHR program development and departmental life, are essential. The PhD must be in hand at the time of appointment. Send a letter of application, curriculum vitae, and list of three references to: Dr Tricia Redeker-Hepner, Chair, Cultural Search Committee, Department of Anthropology, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0720. Review of applications will begin November 15, with initial interviews held at the American Anthropological Association meeting, and will continue until the position is filled. The University of Tennessee is an EEO/AA/Title VI/Title IX/Section 504/ADA/ADEA institution in the provision of its education and employment programs and services. All qualified applicants will receive equal consideration for employment without regard to race, color, national origin, religion, sex, pregnancy, marital status, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, physical or mental disability, or covered veteran status. The Knoxville campus of the University of Tennessee is seeking candidates who have the ability to contribute in meaningful ways to the diversity and intercultural goals of the University. ■

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IN MEMORIAM

AN is the association's major vehicle for information about the death of our colleagues, but it is only as good as the information received. As a service to the discipline, please notify editor Amy Goldenberg (agoldenberg@aaanet.org) as soon as you learn of a death. AN death notices may be up to 500 words and are always enhanced by a photo (tiff or jpg format). Please check facts with the deceased's family and colleagues prior to submission. *American Anthropologist* commissions longer obituaries of selected anthropologists after their AN death notices appear; different authors are preferred. For information on potential AA obituaries, contact AA Obituary Editor Sydel Silverman (ssilvwolf@aol.com).



Paul TW Baxter, 89, was a British social anthropologist who made substantial contributions to our knowledge and understanding of the Oromo peoples of northern Kenya and Ethiopia. Born in 1925 in Leamington Spa, at Downing College Cambridge he switched from

English to anthropology in his final year. In 1949, he moved to Oxford to do a BLitt and DPhil in the Institute of Social Anthropology then under EE Evans-Pritchard.

In 1951, he took up a Colonial Office appointment to study the Borana of northern Kenya. This first fieldwork experience established the two principal themes of Paul's professional activities: the culture and social organization of the Oromo and the patterns and processes of pastoral societies generally.

Paul was by this time married with one son and the need for gainful employment was pressing. In 1956, he took a post at the then University College of the Gold Coast where he stayed for five years. Returning to the UK in 1961, Paul took a one-year post at the University of Manchester, standing in for VW Turner. He then spent two years lecturing at University College Swansea before returning to Manchester.

Paul's engagement with pastoral societies was driven by his respect for their resilience under extreme conditions. He frequently disagreed with development economists and government officials who tended to see pastoralism as a problem, not as a legitimate technique for exploiting a harsh environment. He once astounded a meeting of development worthies saying that what was needed was fewer economists and more poets in development studies. Paul edited two significant contributions to pastoral studies: *Poverty, Property and People* (1990) and *When the Grass is Gone* (1991).

Paul published a constant flow of papers on many aspects of Oromo culture, ranging from their complex generation-grading system, Gada, to aspects of their poetry, and produced a rich seam of information for students. Fieldwork among the Arssi Oromo aroused another passion in Paul: the exploitation and denigration of the Oromo in Ethiopia by the ruling Amhara elite. In 1978 he published a paper detailing systematic discrimination. This became a rallying point for Oromo nationalists. Paul was not always happy with the adulation he received but felt that on the grounds

of common humanity and justice the Oromo cause had to be supported.

Paul described himself as a camp-fire ethnographer, rather than a great theoretician. His interest in others' ethnography led him to convene seminars which resulted in publications which have contributed significantly to our knowledge. To the two pastoral volumes should be added *Age Generation and Time* (1978) and *Being and Becoming Oromo* (1996). He was also an outstanding teacher, going to extraordinary lengths to help his many graduate students, as evidenced in the contributions to his *Festschrift*, *A River of Blessings* (1994).

Paul married Patricia in 1944. She accompanied him on all his field trips first with their son Timothy, who sadly died in 2005, and then Adam born in 1964. Paul is survived by Patricia, Adam, four grandchildren and three great grandchildren. (*Hector Blackhurst*)



Paul S Breidenbach, 75, passed from this life on July 29, 2014 in Evanston, IL. He was born in 1939 in Webster Groves, Missouri, a St Louis suburb. Paul is remembered as a brilliant and creative teacher, symbolic anthropologist, Africanist, dobro musician and associate professor of

anthropology at Loyola University Chicago.

Following high school Paul joined the Christian Brothers, a Catholic religious order devoted to the poor and education. After earning his BA at St Mary's College, he began his career by teaching history in Chicago high schools. In 1969 he left the Christian Brothers to study anthropology at Northwestern University earning his Master's degree (1969) and his Doctorate (1973) under the mentorship of Johannes Fabian, Paul Bohannon and Oswald Werner.

In 1972 Paul joined the faculty of Loyola University Chicago, where he remained until his retirement in 2009. Paul's fieldwork was among a Christian Healing Movement in Ghana, where he later returned to make an ethnographic film. He published in various journals including, *The Journal of the International African Institute*; *Journal of Religion in Africa*; *Listening: Journal of Religion and Culture*; *African Arts*; and *International Journal of African Historical Studies*. His work also appears in a special issue of *Journal of Social Research on Religious Movements as Discourse* (edited by Johannes Fabian) and in *The New Religions of Africa* (edited by Benetta Jules-Rosette). Paul subsequently

developed interests in media and culture, and turned his ethnographic expertise to video games, publishing with colleagues Talmadge Wright and Eric Boria in *Game Studies: The International Journal of Computer Game Research*.

Paul was a charismatic teacher and inspiring mentor: he entranced generations of students with his dramatic, creative lectures and his enthusiasm for anthropology. Especially memorable were his first sessions of Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: he violated cultural norms by entering class wearing his shoe on his head and ending class by inviting students to lunch at the local "Kentucky Fried Dog." He also taught graduate and upper division classes on specialized topics, including visual representations of culture and history of anthropological thought (where he captivated students with energetic impersonations of Franz Boas as anthropology's "gladiator" against scientific racism). Through his classes he recruited majors and left indelible marks on many lives.

Paul was also a gifted musician and avid international traveler, making yearly pilgrimages to Europe for concerts and frequent trips to Asia. In his youth he played dobro in the band Ozark Mountain Boys, with Doug Dillard and other celebrated bluegrass musicians. He also recorded albums with noted folk and bluegrass performers including Anne Hills and John Hartford. He was well-known in the Chicago music scene, playing in Chicago clubs with local bands, such as Hot Tamales and Brushfire. (See him singing and playing dobro here: www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6igRZ-q_Ic). Paul's additional passions included Baroque music (especially Handel's operas), pre-Raphaelite painting, auctions, and his Roger's Park neighborhood coffee house.

Paul is survived by his partner, Sharon Pierson, her children, John and Alisa, and, two brothers, Walter and Bob. (*Kathleen M Adams and Christine Fry*)



Peter B Hammond, 86, died in Los Angeles, CA on October 4, 2014. His warmth, humor and inquisitive spirit will be forever cherished by the family, friends and UCLA students whom he inspired. Born in Glendale, California, Peter completed his PhD in cultural anthropology at Northwestern University in 1962. After teaching at the

University of Pittsburgh (1957–62) and Indiana University (1962–65), he moved with his wife, Fatmeh (Azar) Isfahani-Zadeh, an Iranian nurse anesthetist, and their daughter, Alexandra Aryana, to Washington, DC, where he was a successful consultant for numerous high-profile federal agencies. Quitting his position at the National Academy of Sciences at the onset of the Vietnam War, Peter became a full-time writer, whereupon his *Introduction to Cultural and Social Anthropology* (1971) was adopted as a key text in undergraduate courses nation-wide. In 1981, Peter was recruited by UCLA, where he thrived as a beloved member of the campus community for 33 years, cofounding international development studies, chairing the Chancellor's Task Force on Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Studies, which led to the establishment of UCLA's LGBT Studies Program, and

receiving UCLA's prestigious "Luckman Award for Distinguished Teaching" in 1996.

Peter was raised by his courageous mother, Ruth Hammond, a seamstress and Woolworth's clerk. Notwithstanding physical disability, she was his tireless advocate, celebrating his accomplishments and visiting him during his field research days in West Africa. His father, the Pulitzer Prize-winning economist, Bray Hammond, remained absent from Peter's life, a painful circumstance which ignited his dedication to nurturing countless undergraduate, graduate and junior faculty mentees, many of whom name him as a life-changing father figure and identify his Haines Hall office as a refuge.

Peter earned a hefty CIA file for his collaboration with the NAACP in the 1950s, lit the fire of students' awareness about interconnected forms of racial, socioeconomic and gender exclusion, and became vegetarian in 1960. Alzheimer's did not diminish the core of Peter's intelligence and sense of fun. Dapper and charming until the end, he adopted an ethnographic stance toward his disease, regaling his caregivers and dear friend, Carlos A Brown, with quips in English, Spanish and French and observing the absurdity of his condition until he ultimately passed away in his daughters' arms. Asked near the end what was important in life, Peter's reply was "Falling in love, love in general, figuring it out...and dogs." He joins Azar, Ruth and his half-siblings, Edwina, Poppitt (Brenda) and Bennett. In lieu of flowers, memorial donations may be made to Compassion and Choices at www.compassionandchoices.org. (Alexandra Isfahani-Hammond)



William Francis "Bill" Kelleher, Jr., 63, died of melanoma on September 18, 2013 in Syracuse, NY. Bill is survived by his wife, Jo Thomas, and daughters, Susan and Kathleen. A native of West Roxbury (Boston), Massachusetts, Bill earned a BA in cultural anthropology from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and a PhD in anthropology in 1990 from the University of Michigan, where he studied with Aram A Yengoyan.

Bill joined the faculty at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) in 1990 as a post-doctoral teaching fellow in the Unit for Criticism and Interpretive Theory, then joined the faculty as a member of the department of anthropology, where he earned tenure and promotion and taught until 2005. In 2005 Bill joined the department of anthropology in the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University as an associate professor, and he taught there until January 2013. On April 24, 2014 Bill was posthumously awarded the 2014 Excellence in Graduate Education Faculty Recognition Award from Syracuse University. This award honors faculty members whose dedication to graduate students and commitment to excellence in graduate teaching and mentoring have made a significant contribution to graduate education at Syracuse University.

Bill's primary research and teaching interests were in labor and class relations, the anthropology of work,

the effects of long term political violence on everyday life, the work of historical memory in reproducing such violent conflict (eg, Northern Ireland), and the ethnography of race in institutions of American higher education. Bill carried out several years of ethnographic research in Northern Ireland where he studied a factory shop floor, the historical narratives of opposed communities, the boundary making processes of those neighborhoods, the networks that result, and the sectarian practices that mobilize them. Bill published this work in his 2003 book, *The Troubles in Ballybogoin: Memory and Identity in Northern Ireland* (University of Michigan Press), and in a series of journal articles and book chapters. Bill's second book, *A Death on the Irish Border: A Critical Event and Transforming Subjects in War and Peace*, was under contract with the University of California Press. The project examined peacemaking and healing among Irish nationalists in the borderlands of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Bill's study took account of the suffering that past political violence engendered and the processes by which both victims and perpetrators of violence attempt to heal, reestablish themselves as citizens, and construct civil society.

Bill was widely beloved by students at both UIUC and Syracuse, where he taught undergraduate and graduate courses on anthropological theory; work, class, and culture; anthropology of neoliberalism; colonialism/postcolonialism; anthropological perspectives on ethnicity; race and racism; critical issues for the US; modern Europe; anthropology of Ireland; anthropology of violence; culture, ethnicity, and conflict; ethnography of the university; and others. At UIUC Bill co-founded the Ethnography of the University Project, which involved undergraduate students in researching the institutions that surround them with a focus on dynamics of racial discrimination. (Sarah Phillips)

Lucile Newman died peacefully surrounded by family and friends on October 11, 2013 of complications from Alzheimer's disease. A wide network of colleagues, friends and family mourn the death of this eminent medical anthropologist, mother, grandmother and mentor. As a feminist and political activist she was involved in the 1960s civil rights and antiwar struggles, and the 1970s women's movement. As an academic and applied anthropologist she undertook groundbreaking research on female reproductive health and early childhood education, and she helped create mental health programs for the World Health Organization and other endeavors devoted to promoting global health and wellbeing.

Lucile was born in 1930 in Manhattan and received her bachelor's degree from Brown University in 1951. She received a master's in English Literature from Columbia University in 1956 and a PhD in cultural anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley in 1965. She taught at Mills College, University of California, San Francisco, University of California, Berkeley, and finally at Brown University for 30 years, eventually as emeritus. Generations of scholars claim her as an important mentor and advisor.

Lucile was a charismatic teacher with an inclusive and engaging style. Her classes reached a wide

audience of anthropologists, psychologists, doctors, nurses, and community and mental health workers through her interdisciplinary appointments at Brown and with the establishment of the joint medical anthropology program at UC San Francisco and Berkeley.

She was as generous in her service as she was with students and colleagues. Lucile was elected president of the Society for Medical Anthropology and was a Senior Fellow at Brown University's Wayland Collegium. She served as consultant to WHO, UNESCO, US Department of Education, NIMH, March of Dimes, and the Ford Foundation, among others and in leadership positions for the World Federation for Mental Health and the World Heritage Studies in India.

Lucile's seminal work on pregnancy and childbirth were at the core of the emerging field of the anthropology of reproduction, today medical anthropology's most dynamic scholarly domain. At UC Berkeley in the 1960s, when anthropological studies of women's lives were scorned and Native peoples the only legitimate realm of domestic research, Lucile boldly stuck out with dissertation research on the culture of human reproduction in one US region. Following this, she conducted comparative studies of birth cultures in Stockholm, Tokyo, and Uttar Pradesh, India. Her stand-alone Addison-Wiley module, "Birth Control: An Anthropological View" (1972) remains a teaching staple to this day.

Lucile also pioneered cross-cultural studies of indigenous fertility regulation, human parenting behavior, and the consequences of hospital and other early experiences on premature infants. She wrote or edited a number of important books and led key anthropological studies that had wide-reaching impact in the discipline, especially in the areas of population anthropology, reproductive technologies, and nutritional anthropology. Perhaps most importantly from a policy perspective, some of her earliest publications were written to help make the case for the legalization of abortion in the US.

She is survived by her three sons and their partners and two grandsons. (Carole Browner and Setha Low)



Mary Ware Goodrich Scrimshaw, 94 (November 23, 1919–June 18, 2014), was a nutritional anthropologist and founding member of this subdiscipline in the American Anthropological Association. Trained originally in biology and genetics, she made the transition to nutritional

anthropology as a graduate student in Brandeis University's anthropology department and after 12 years in Guatemala, where her husband, Nevin S Scrimshaw, was founding director of the Institute of Nutrition for Central America and Panama (INCAP).

Her ethnographic fieldwork contributed to an "Ecological Assessment of Nutritional Status on a Guatemalan Plantation" carried out by an interdisciplinary team of anthropologists, physicians, and nutritionists. Thereafter, she continued her research on household nutrition and livelihood strategies,

focusing on health and gender roles. This research developed the concept of “maternal management strategies” to examine factors influencing positive differences (positive deviance) in nutritional outcomes, which impacts far beyond her publications.

Among her professional service activities, Mary served as a liaison officer in the Council on Nutritional Anthropology (now Society for Anthropology of Food and Nutrition) and commissioner for the Western Hemisphere of the ICAES International Commission on Anthropology and Food (ICAF). In this capacity she compiled (with Gretel Pelto) a *Directory of Anthropologists and Sociologists Concerned with Food and Nutrition* (1985). On her extensive international travels, Mary carefully connected US with international anthropologists, and anthropologists to nutritionists and dieticians, and in doing so, helped construct personal and professional bridges facilitating work together.

Mary was also instrumental in organizing the “Short Course on Nutritional Methods for Anthropologists” workshops, which were held at MIT for several years. Many current practicing nutritional anthropologists participated in these workshops which had an important influence in their work.

With her quiet but confident demeanor, and intercultural and intergenerational sensitivity, Mary was an excellent fieldworker, who developed a close rapport with everyone she worked with—on the plantation and in the research community at INCAP, based in Guatemala City, where her husband Nevin Scrimshaw was director. She was very supportive of younger scholars, mentoring and enabling them to do research in Guatemala, both through INCAP and on the plantation.

Sheila Cosminsky, whom Mary invited to be a co-investigator with her on the plantation, found Mary’s cultural awareness, intellectual stimulation and friendship were invaluable to their doing fieldwork, data analysis and writing together. She is grateful for Mary’s introduction to the people on the finca, who fondly remember Mary and were still inquiring about her this year.

Ellen Messer fondly recalls Mary’s constant and joyful support of her and her work, her kindness, wisdom and hospitality for all of us breaking into this new anthropological field. Around the world, nutritionists remember Mary as a wonderfully intelligent, inspirational, kind and hospitable host and guest, a presence whose contributions go well beyond her publications.

Mary’s beloved husband of 72 years predeceased her by 15 months. She is survived by her daughter, anthropologist Susan C Scrimshaw, four sons, 12 grandchildren and step-grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren.

Contributions in her name may be made to the Nevin S Scrimshaw International Nutrition Foundation (www.inffoundation.org/index.htm). (Ellen Messer and Sheila Cosminsky)

E Leslie Williams, Jr, 48, died unexpectedly on July 10, 2014, in Greenville, SC, following complications from a hernia operation.

Leslie was a native Floridian, born in Tallahassee on November 18, 1965. He earned a double degree in Asian Studies and International Affairs (Phi Beta



Kappa) from Florida State University in 1988; an MA in anthropology from Florida State in 1990 and a PhD in cultural anthropology from the University of Pittsburgh in 1997. From 1991 to 1993, he served as a Monbushō Graduate Research Scholar through the Japanese Ministry of Education at Kyushu University in Fukuoka, Japan. He also conducted graduate fieldwork at the Hako-zaki Shrine in Fukuoka, Japan; was a visiting professor at Nagoya University in Nagoya, Japan; and served his church for two years as a full-time missionary in Taiwan. He spoke six languages.

For the past 15 years, Leslie served in the department of languages at Clemson University, rising to the rank of associate professor, where he taught both Japanese and anthropology courses. He also served for the past three years as director of the university’s Language and International Trade Program. His academic research focused on Japanese pedagogy, Shintō rituals, pre-Meiji Japanese history, Taoist cosmology and health maximization practices. In 2007, he published *Spirit Tree: Origins of Cosmology in Shintō Ritual at Hakozaki*. He also published articles in the *Journal of Ritual Studies* and the *Journal of Daoist Studies*. At the time of his death, he was finalizing two other books for publication and preparing his application to become a full professor at Clemson. Leslie also led highly successful study abroad trips to Kyoto, Japan; in fact, he had just returned from a trip in late June when he entered the hospital in mid-July for his operation. Before moving to Clemson, Leslie held faculty positions at Brigham Young University and Washington and Lee University.

In each of his academic endeavors, Leslie made treasured, life-long friends of his students and colleagues. On two occasions Leslie was named an Outstanding Clemson Professor by the University’s Student Government, and he was especially proud of his students in the Japanese language and culture courses he enjoyed so much at Clemson. On Leslie’s Facebook memorial page, one of his former students summarized the typical comments about him: “I can’t even adequately express how much of an influence Dr Williams has had on my life ... As a teacher he had a way of inspiring the best in his students. ... He was passionate and patient and kind every day. I’ve never had a better teacher The world is a little dimmer now without him here.”

Leslie is survived by his languages and anthropology departmental colleagues at Clemson, his current and former students, his strong faith community, and his family: Michelle (his wife of 25 years) and their three children: Emmy (21), Bethany (17) and Ethan (13). (Information provided from the family obituary, edited by Mike Coggeshall).

Virginia Heyer Young, 88, anthropologist and emerita lecturer at the University of Virginia, died quietly at her home in Albemarle County, VA on August 11, 2014.

Born April 28, 1926 in Vancouver, BC, Virginia Young grew up in Tarrytown, NY. Virginia received



her BA from Sarah Lawrence College in 1946 and her PhD in anthropology from Columbia University in 1953. She taught anthropology at Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey and Finch College in New York City, before coming to the University of Virginia where she was

a beloved member of the department of anthropology from 1978 to 1995.

At Columbia, Virginia was one of Ruth Benedict’s last students, participating in Benedict’s and Margaret Mead’s Research in Contemporary Cultures project. For the next 30 years, Virginia carried out research among the Chinese of New York’s Chinatown, African Americans in the American south and in Harlem, and Afro-Caribbean people on the island of St Vincent in the post-colonial British Caribbean.

Virginia published many articles as well as a book, *Becoming West Indian: Culture, Self, and Nation in St. Vincent* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), which was a widely respected work among Caribbean anthropologists. At the end of her career, and as a labor of love, she wrote *Ruth Benedict: Beyond Relativity, Beyond Pattern* (University of Nebraska Press, 2005). In addition to an insightful interpretation of Benedict’s theory of culture, Virginia’s book contains a unique historical account of anthropology at Columbia at mid-century.

Virginia brought her knowledge of the history of American anthropology, US minority groups, and the Caribbean to many graduate students at the University of Virginia, where she also taught important undergraduate courses on race and ethnicity in the United States. The faculty cherished her many unique contributions as a scholar, friend and colleague.

A scientist and ethnographer by nature, Virginia was a keen observer. During her retirement, Virginia wrote a manuscript based on observations of her beloved cats entitled “Conversations with Cats.” She was as interested in observing the natural world at her farm near Advance Mills, VA as she was in observing the layers of relationships and organization of care in the hospital during her last days, conducting what she cheerfully admitted to be her last ethnography.

Virginia was predeceased by her husband, James Sterling Young, professor emeritus at the University of Virginia. She is survived by her niece Virginia Meldahl; her two nephews Malcolm and Keith Meldahl; her first daughter and mother of her grandchildren Eleanor Young Houston of Washington DC; her granddaughter Kate Young Crowder of Richmond; her grandson Jackson Young Crowder of Pittsburgh; and her second daughter Millicent Adah Young of Advance Mills, sculptor and life-long friend.

Virginia Young will be remembered for her enduring interest in other’s wellbeing; her dedication to democratic, humanitarian, and conservation causes; her compassionate heart; her graciousness and generosity; and her contemplative probing mind. (Jerome Handler, Richard Handler, Susan McKinnon)



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www.aaanet.org/publications/guidelines.cfm

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