

Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes



THE SOCIETY FOR
ANTHROPOLOGY
IN COMMUNITY
COLLEGES

Volume 19, Numbers 1 & 2 Spring & Fall 2013

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Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes is the official publication of the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges (SACC), a section of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). It is published semi-annually by SACC and AAA as a benefit of membership and is available to the public on SACC's website, <http://saccweb.net>.

Lloyd Miller, Editor; Ann Kaupp, Assistant Editor

SACC's mission is to encourage dialogue and collaboration among teachers of anthropology across sub-disciplines and institutional settings, and to promote excellence in the teaching of anthropology. *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes* advances this mission by providing members with news of SACC activities, including annual meetings, and publishing articles and commentaries on teaching, research, and of general anthropological interest.

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ISSN: 1537-1751

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Introduction

Due to circumstances beyond editorial control, our spring 2013 issue was delayed. Therefore, in order to put us back on schedule, we are combining spring and fall issues into this double issue. The first three papers and that of Ann Kingsolver's were presented as part of SACC's annual Current Issues in Anthropology: Five-Fields Update symposium at the AAA November 2012 meetings in San Francisco. The remaining two papers were presented at the April 2013 annual SACC meetings (SACCFest) in Austin, Texas.

Daniel Suslak examines how communities distinguish between "bad" and "good" language, and what happens when speakers ignore the distinctions. With numerous examples from current world events, he explores ways of desensitizing his students to the myths and mysteries of bad word usage and convincing them that indeed such usage is both a fascinating and important topic of study.

Wayne Babchuk and **Robert Hitchcock** present a comprehensive case for teaching applied anthropology in community colleges. They explain in detail the nature of the applied wing of our discipline and argue that it offers skills commensurate with and complementary to many of the community colleges that offer vocationally oriented programs.

Acknowledging that the need to preserve the planet's non-renewable resources is increasingly urgent, **Christian Wells** demonstrates that the proven methods, practical skills and anthropological perspective of archaeology can contribute to global sustainability. Armed with both historical and contemporary examples, he argues that archaeology (and of course

anthropology in general) belong in school curriculums along with the other "STEM" courses.

With the help of anthropological perspectives from the studies of both aging and sports, **Sarah Cowles** and **Dona Davis** present ethnographic profiles and analyses of women in their 60s who raise and ride horses. The authors' use of traditional, "grand-tour"-style questions (e.g., "Tell me about your life as a rider") provides the rich-text, descriptive detail for which ethnography is known.

Through a combination of scholarly research and ethnographic interviews in Mumbai in the state of Maharashtra, **Laura González** presents a descriptive survey of contemporary marriage among middle-class Indian women. In it, she explores such topics as modern influences on the caste system and changes in the practice of arranged marriages. She also analyzes the syncretism between these traditional practices and Western-inspired ideas of romantic love.

Having reviewed the journals in cultural anthropology from the preceding year, **Ann Kingsolver** argues that its writers could and should speak out more on matters of current sociopolitical and global problems and events. Her examples range from racism and immigration to war and genocide, from corporate abuse of food and health issues to matters of social class. She also critiques some excesses of the "new" Internet education and advocates a more equal role at the table of learning for community college students.

Lloyd Miller

"Educate
and inform the whole mass of the
people... They are the only sure reliance
for the preservation of our liberty."

~ Thomas Jefferson

In the News

[The following two items written by veteran SACCEr Bill Fairbanks, faculty emeritus at Cuesta College, are edited and reprinted with permission from the South-western Community College Anthropology Association Newsletter, Vol. 54 No. 2, June 2013.]

Cuesta College's Outstanding Alumni

For two years running, 2012 and 2013, Cuesta College's Outstanding Alumni have included anthropology students. Marin Pilloud, a forensic anthropologist, who is working on POW/MIAs in Vietnam and Laos, was a 2012 Outstanding Cuesta alumnus.

This year, Abdulla Al Thani from the U.A.E. was recognized. After Cuesta, he earned a Bachelors degree in Anthropology at U.C.S.D. When he was a Cuesta student in the late 1970s, he was interested in the diversity of tribes on the Arabian Peninsula whose traditional cultures were disappearing before his eyes. He seems to have settled into a career of investments. (Is this applied anthropology?)

Two outstanding alumni from a one-person anthropology department in two years! I am somewhat amazed.

REPORT on the California Community College Anthropology Teachers Conference (CCCATC), La Quinta Inn, Paso Robles, January 18-19, 2013

Community college anthropology faculty members organize CCCATC annually. It is informal and has no dues, officers or by-laws. Various participants take the responsibility for organizing these conferences that have been held since the 1980s. The need for a network was felt since many community colleges have only one full-time anthropologist who is responsible for several preparations.

Friday afternoon the meeting started with a reception, with hors d'oeuvres as well as local wine and beer, and a hospitable setting for renewing acquaintances and making new ones. The banquet was followed by a presentation by Amanda Paskey and Shannon Mills (Cosumnes River College) titled "C-ID, TMC and COR'S Untangled." They explained these concepts and some of the common problems that faculty encountered when attempting to implement them. For instance, many biological anthropology courses didn't mention the scientific method when writing their

C-IDs (Course Identifications). Although one member of the audience had been told s/he should be almost plagiarized, attendees were warned not to plagiarize the course descriptors.

When I taught at Cuesta, I always appreciated hearing a colleague in anthropology deal with state mandates such as these. It often seemed that college administrators played the "gossip game," (commonly played by elementary school students). Administrators hear about a mandate at the state level, but don't necessarily get a complete grasp of it and pass it on to a VP, who passes it on to a dean, then to the department chair, and finally, in a mangled form, it reached the faculty who have to implement it. At CCCATCs, anthropology colleagues focus on information that is anthropological, and you learn who to call if you have a question.

Saturday morning breakfast was provided for those staying at La Quinta, and the meeting began with introductions by all present. Barbara Lass (San Francisco City College) presented the results of a study she had done with her students, "Why Students Don't Come to Class (or Do the Reading or Participate in Class Discussions): Results of a Student Survey." Her sample size was 98. She asked students who were taking an anthropology course for the first time what they thought anthropology was. She lumped their responses into various categories such as culture, defined by 14% of the students as anthropology. Dinosaurs got five percent. At the end of the course students were asked about the amount of required reading: too much, 28%; about right, 72%; too little, 0%. Thirty-three percent said they missed one or two days of class, 22% said they missed three to five class days, two percent said they missed more than five days.

Barbara believes students under-reported missed classes. Why did they miss? In order of frequency: illness or injury, work, too tired, too much to do in other classes, family, other. Other responses included police, death, hung over, appointment, had to move and dog ran away. Eleven percent didn't participate in class discussions. Why? In order: worried they would be wrong, didn't know enough, other. Barbara concluded that not fulfilling class expectations wasn't about her; it was about the students and what is going on in their lives.

Phil Stein (Pierce College) spoke on “Why Do We Continue to Teach Mendelian Genetics in the Age of Genomics?” He questioned the relevance of teaching Mendelian genetics, Punnett squares, the Hardy-Weinburg formula, meiosis, mitosis and protein synthesis in introductory biological anthropology courses when DNA and genomes are more relevant. He went on to point out that textbooks are conservative, as are course outlines.

Theresa Murray (Las Positas College & Ohlone College) spoke on “Ethnographic Assignments through Collaboration with ESL Instructors,” and Paul McDowell (Santa Barbara City College) spoke on ‘A Self-Directed Series in Ethnographic Studies.’ All presentations were followed by ample time for discussion, all presenters were available at lunch, where there took place discussions on a variety of topics. Informality and interaction characterize CCCATCs.

This year’s conference cost was \$50, which covered the reception, including wine and beer, the banquet and Saturday lunch. Darcy Wiewall (Antelope Valley College) organized the program, Jo Rainey-Rogers (Ohlone College) secured the food and Lauren Taylor (Sacramento City College) handled the registrations. The 2014 conference is planned for the Martin

Luther King weekend at the La Quinta Inn in Paso Robles.

After attending the beginning of the semester faculty meeting at his college to listen to doom and gloom, Richard Osborne (Porterville) summed up the psychological significance by saying that it is nice to attend a CCCATC and once more get excited about teaching anthropology. When I taught, my thoughts echoed Richard's.

Dorothy Davis receives UNC-G Distinguished Alumni Award for 2013

The Department of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro announces the creation of the Anthropology Distinguished Alumni Award. This award will be presented annually to an individual who graduated from UNCG with a major in Anthropology. Successful awardees will be recognized for their leadership through citizenship, career accomplishments and their commitment to community, and nation in our ever changing world.

Dorothy Davis is an anthropology professor at UNC-G. (Reported by Dianne Chidester, Assistant Professor, Greenville Technical College, SC and a former student of Professor Davis.) 74

The poor suffer, the rich are slightly inconvenienced. [Nelson DeMille, Up Country]

from www.wisdomquotes.com

Study as if you were going to live forever; live as if you were going to die tomorrow. [Maria Mitchell]

Establishing lasting peace is the work of education; all politics can do is keep us out of war. [Maria Montessori]

Education is when you read the fine print. Experience is what you get if you don't. [Dete Seeger]

from Ann Kaupp

The problem is people know so many things - that just aren't so. [Mark Twain, The Week]

The Best way to be boring is to leave nothing out. [Voltaire, The Week]

The late Robert L. Humphrey, anthropologist and cartoonist for Smithsonian's *AnthroNotes* publication for teachers. Reprinted with permission.



Notes on Contributors

Wayne A. Babchuk is lecturer and graduate faculty associate in the Department of Anthropology at the, University of Nebraska-Lincoln and has teaching appointments in the Departments of Educational Psychology and Sociology at UNL. For over five years he has also taught anthropology and sociology courses at a community college. He is currently involved in several diverse research tracks including the history and use of qualitative research methods across disciplines, and issues pertaining to San land rights and resource use in southern Africa.

Sarah Cowles recently graduated with a B.A. in anthropology and Spanish from the University of South Dakota. In addition to multi-species ethnography, she has many interests within cultural anthropology, including psychological and medical anthropology.

Dona Davis is Professor of Anthropology at the University of South Dakota. Her areas of research, publication and teaching include medical and psychological anthropology, gender and sexuality, identical twins and North Atlantic fishing people. With Sarah Cowles and Anita Maurstad, her interests in human-horse relationships and multi-species ethnography continue to develop.

Robert K. Hitchcock is an anthropologist working with the Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF) that provides assistance to the peoples of southern Africa. He is also an adjunct Professor of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico and has taught anthropology and geography at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and Michigan State University. Since the 1970s he has been involved in research, development and human rights work in Africa, the Middle East and North and South America. His most recent book, with Megan Biesele, is *The Ju'hoan San of Nyae Nyae and Namibian Independence: Development, Democracy, and Indigenous Voices in Southern Africa* (Berghahn Books, 2013).

Ann Kingsolver is Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Appalachian Center and Appalachian Studies Program at the University of Kentucky. She is past president of the Society for the Anthropology of Work and past editor of the *Anthropology of Work Review*. She taught anthropology at Lawrence University, the University of California, Santa Cruz, and the University of South Carolina. She wrote *NAFTA Stories: Fears and Hopes in Mexico and the United States* (2001), *Tobacco Town Futures: Global Encounters in Rural Kentucky* (2011), edited *More than Class: Studying Power in U.S. Workplaces* (1998), and coedited, with Nandini Gunewardena, *The Gender of Globalization: Women Navigating Cultural and Economic Marginalities* (2007).

Daniel Suslak is an associate professor of anthropology at Indiana University, Bloomington. His specialty is linguistic anthropology and for the last 22 years he has been doing field research in Southern Mexico on Mixe-Zoquean languages. Most recently he has been working on a community video-documentation project in the Sierra Mixe.

Laura Tubelle de González is Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, San Diego Miramar College, where she is also chair of the college's Environmental Stewardship Taskforce. Laura is SACC Past-President and Regional Vice-President for Southern CA as well as listserv co-administrator.

Christian Wells is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of South Florida, where he has served as the founding Director of the Office of Sustainability and as Deputy Director of the Patel College of Global Sustainability. A recent recipient of the Sierra Club's Black Bear Award "in recognition of outstanding dedication to sustainability and the environment," he currently serves as Co-Principal Investigator on a five-year NSF-funded study of the relationship between sustainable tourism and coastal health throughout the Caribbean. His latest book, *Global Tourism* (edited with Sarah Lyon, AltaMira Press 2012), explores the ways in which touristic encounters enable and constrain sustainable development.

Using Bad Language in the Classroom

Daniel F. Suslak

In the winter of 2012 several band members of the Russian band Pussy Riot were tried and convicted of “premeditated hooliganism” in the wake of their controversial “punk prayer” performance at the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. Were they committing an act of “religious hatred,” as the prosecution successfully argued? Or were they being punished for criticizing Vladimir Putin, as their advocates and various international human rights organizations continue to assert? At the same time, half a world away, a group of state senators in Arizona were drafting a bill that would prohibit public school teachers and professors at public universities from using offensive language in the classroom (see Wolfgang 2012). The first offense would be punished by a week’s suspension. A third offense would result in firing. The bill’s sponsors explained that their aim was to foster a more civil environment in the classroom. Free speech advocates saw this as an egregious infringement on the rights of students and teachers. Could both sides be making valid points?

Some of the most important and innovative research happening in linguistic anthropology today investigates how communities erect borders between what they construe as “good” and “bad” language and what happens when speakers cross those lines. Bad language is a rubric that can encompass a range of phenomena—not just taboo words and obscenity, but any talk that is considered non-standard or deviant in a given social context: teenage slang, criminal argot, hybrid codes such as Spanglish, to name but a few. We might also include malicious speech (insults and slurs), blasphemy, and other linguistic practices that societies feel the need to criminalize or regulate (e.g., graffiti writing, libel, shouting “fire” in a crowded theater).

A technical issue here, one that has bedeviled censors, reformers and policy makers alike, has to do with a distinction that linguists make between *use* and *mention*—employing a word versus having a conversation *about* that word. Under the proposed Arizona law mentioned above, would a linguistics professor be suspended for discussing the etymology of an obscene word? Could a psychology instructor in be fired for assigning a textbook that covers Tourette’s Syndrome and other neurological disorders that cause the compulsive use of taboo language? For that matter, would

students and teachers who suffer from *coprolalia*, the technical term for this condition, be banned from attending school if such a law ever went into effect? This brings us to one of the core questions that animate bad language research: is a word’s badness a function of its referent (e.g., some bodily function), the speaker’s intentions (e.g., to hurt someone’s feelings), context (e.g., a historical legacy of racial discrimination), or something more complex?



Current Bad Language Research

The bad language research being conducted by psychologists and neuroscientists has largely sidestepped the question of where verbal taboos come from. Nevertheless, their work offers intriguing hints about the nature of human cognition. They have demonstrated that taboo language can produce measurable physiological effects on listeners.

In one experiment, using a procedure called the Stroop test, subjects were shown a series of words written in colored letters and asked to call out the color of each word as quickly as they could. When randomly inserted obscene words appeared on the screen, it took subjects significantly longer to call out their color. However, in subsequent memory quizzes, the subjects recalled the obscene words and their colors much more accurately than the neutral words they saw (Angier 2005). While hearing obscene words induces stress responses in listeners, uttering obscenities seems to help speakers to relieve stress, vent anger, and even increase their tolerance for pain (Stephens, et al. 2009). With humans, as with other primates, grunting and gesturing expresses hostility but does not imply that an attack is imminent. The individuals who are too enraged to make a sound are the ones that you really need to be afraid of (Angier 2005).

Linguistic anthropological research emphasizes the multiplicity of functions that bad language can perform as well as the larger cultural and political contexts in which certain linguistic forms come to be seen as undesirable or even dangerous. A special issue of *Anthropological Quarterly* titled “The Unmentionable:

Verbal Taboo and the Moral Life of Language” provides an excellent sampling of the range and depth of work being done in this area (Fleming & Lempert, eds. 2011). The collection includes everything from work on presidential politics in the United States to naming taboos in New Guinea. One of the contributors, Susan Seizer, examines how strategic uses of profanity in performances at the Midwest comedy clubs serve to intensify the experience and open up new areas of dialog. Another, John Haviland, explains how street vendors in Mexico City use obscene language and insults to drive up sales.

One of the landmark works in the anthropology of bad language is Jane Hill’s (2008) monograph titled *The Everyday Language of White Racism*. Hill argues that while Americans are very aware of the power of overt racial slurs and keen to take a strong stand for or against their use, they remain largely unaware of all the covert racist discourse in their midst. Over the years she amassed an enormous collection of what she labels “Mock Spanish” utterances—playful, light-hearted (mis)uses of Spanish lexical material that subtly denigrate the language and, by extension, its speakers. “No problema,” for instance... or a furniture advertisement that promises dining room sets on sale “for pesos.” When confronted with the proposition that such utterances are racist because their humor relies on and reinforces old negative stereotypes, English speakers vigorously object (Hill 2008:156-57). After all, they are meant to be fun, and the speakers who use them do not intend to put anybody down.

This brings us to one of the most fascinating paradoxes of bad language. Using a taboo expression in a social situation can provoke anger and outrage. It can damage relationships and generate conflict. However, under the right circumstances those very same taboo expressions can provoke laughter, reinforce group identity, and build relationships.

In some ways, this is an old insight that harkens back to Radcliffe-Brown’s observations about joking relationships. He noted that certain kinship relations are highly asymmetrical and demand deference and formality, but other kinship relations are symmetrical and characterized by teasing and mocking. Some relationships are defined by avoidance and taboo, while others are defined by flagrant violations of those same norms. If, for instance, a culture has an elaborate set of rules about avoiding certain words in the presence of women, then using those words in the exclusive company of men can be a strategy for asserting one’s masculinity. Similarly, in a moving article titled “‘Spread

your ass cheeks’: And other things that should not be said in indigenous languages,” Shaylih Muehlmann (2008) shows how Cucupa youth use obscene language to distinguish insiders from interlopers and confound expectations about what indigenous identity is or ought to be. Forms that are seen as vulgar to the mainstream can become valuable symbolic resources in and among groups at the margins of society (see Labov 2006 for the related idea of “covert prestige”).

Sometimes, of course, crossing linguistic boundaries is exactly what speakers set out to do. Laura Miller’s (2004) piece on Japanese Kogals provides one classic example. In a society with some of the most elaborate norms regarding appropriate and inappropriate language use, groups of teenage Japanese girls are busily transgressing norms of speech and style—using stereotypically masculine verbal forms, mixing Japanese with English and speaking bluntly about sexuality.

Another striking example is found in Robin Shoaps’ (2009) article on the “Testament of Judas” in a Mayan community in Guatemala. Under normal circumstances publicly accusing someone of a moral failing is a completely unthinkable breach of civility. But

each year on Good Friday, a man dressed as the ritual figure of Barabbas the Thief arrives during the evening festivities and hands out copies of a mysterious letter purportedly composed

by Judas Iscariot himself. The letter calls out various townspeople in the most over-the-top, graphic, explicit language that one can imagine, eliciting mirth, shame and horror in equal amounts, mixed with relief for those who managed to evade Judas’ wrath that year. Shoaps does not analyze Judas’s letter as an act of ritual inversion that provides relief from an oppressive moral order. Rather, it allows morally upstanding townspeople to avoid the dangers of public confrontation and does what no one else in the community can.

Teaching the Anthropological Perspectives on Bad Language

My own interest in bad language grew out of research I had done on teenage slang and on political scandals in Mexico (Suslak 2007, 2009). When I presented some of my findings at a conference on obscenity at the University of Iowa’s Obermann Center for Advanced Studies I was dismayed by how dry and tedious a lot of the presentations were. Perhaps the speakers were over-compensating? As I began developing a college-level anthropology course on this topic I vowed to avoid this problem. I tried to walk that fine line between readings and assignments that would put

I wanted to convince [my students] that serious attention to ugly language was worth the discomfort it might cause...

students to sleep and materials that could be deemed too offensive.

My fear was that some words are so toxic that

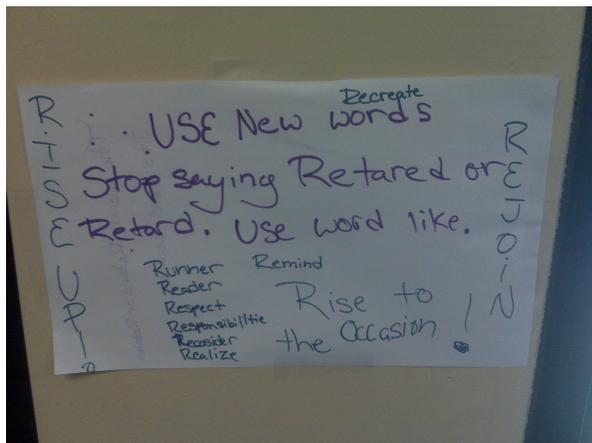


Figure 1. "Stop saying Retard (sic) or Retard."
Photo by Kristin Myers.

even surrounding them by quotation marks and prefacing them with extensive disclaimers is not enough to insulate every listener from offense or to protect the speaker from charges of insensitivity. When it comes to taboo words, the neat division between use and mention flies right out the window (Hill 2008:51). I warned my students to treat the most difficult cases the same way that chemistry students might deal with radioactive substances: handle them with care and respect... but don't be afraid to examine them closely. I wanted to convince them that serious attention to ugly language was worth the discomfort it might cause because it could lead to a better and more complete understanding of how language and society operate.

Happily, no one ran screaming from the classroom or filled my end-of-semester course evaluations with obscene language. There was a second bad language paradox at work here. The greater the prohibition against using a particular linguistic form, the more powerful that form becomes. However, the converse is also true. This meant that at first everyone in the class did indeed feel very awkward discussing obscenities. But as the semester wore on and we grew more comfortable with each other and the material, it became easy to forget what the big deal was in the first place. The more we discussed taboo language the harder it became to perceive its power.

The course also has provided an excellent excuse to spend a significant amount of time investigating the larger institutional frameworks in which standards for pronunciation, word choice, spelling, speaking and writing are established and enforced as well as addressing the question of how and why they sometimes get

contested or resisted. Rather than, for instance, insisting to my students that "plagiarism is bad, don't do it!" and leaving things at that, we examine it as a sociocultural phenomenon, using the tools of ethnographic observation and semiotic analysis. We read several notable pieces of scholarship in this area, including a definitional piece by Ron Scollon (2001) and an essay by Alessandro Duranti (1993) in which he reflects on the discovery that some of his own writing had been plagiarized and published as two chapters in a French linguistics textbook. An especially rich and nuanced anthropological treatment of this phenomenon is Susan Blum's (2009) book-length study of plagiarism in contemporary collegiate culture. Blum draws on her extensive research on cheating in imperial and contemporary China to put our own culture of cheating in perspective. Like Duranti and Scollon, she analyzes plagiarism as a particular form of inter-textuality in which the linkages between one text and another have been erased or falsified. Right now we are living through a series of technological revolutions that are straining old conventions about authorship and originality. It has never been easier to copy other people's words, but it has also never been easier to spot forgeries and track down original sources.

Often, the very best material I found for the class was ripped from the daily headlines. Someone somewhere was always saying the wrong thing at the wrong time and generating new front-page fodder. In spring 2010, a student who volunteered regularly at a local elementary school in Indiana brought a photo of this poster, which hung on the wall outside of the classroom where she worked (Figure 1).

Rahm Emanuel—President Obama's chief of staff at that time (Emanuel is currently the mayor of Chicago)—was reported to have called a group of liberal health care reform advocates "a bunch of fucking retards." Sarah Palin, former half-term governor of Alaska and celebrity conservative rogue, fanned the flames of this scandal, explaining that since she was the mother of a "special needs" child, she found Emanuel's word choice especially offensive. In an extensive Facebook post and subsequent series of television interviews, she called on the President to fire his chief of staff. Less cynically, various non-profit organizations that advocate for people with Down syndrome and other disabilities seized this opportunity to create a teachable moment (Figure 2).

An argument that began inside the Washington, DC Beltway had sent ripples through the American mediascape and in short order found its way into elementary school conversations about the power of words to hurt people.

To talk about the word “retarded” without actually uttering it, activists, journalists and others began referring to it as “the r-word.” This relatively new formulation was modeled after the euphemism “the n-word,” which was coined so that speakers could discuss that particular racial slur without being penalized for doing so. “The n-word” has had many detractors, who view it as fundamentally dishonest or argue that avoiding the word it is supposed to represent imbues that term with even more potency. Use of “the r-word” has spread quickly and it seems to have avoided strong critique. Linguists refer to this process in which words acquire increasingly negative connotations as *pejoration* (Allan & Burridge 2006).

Sometimes when terms become too negatively charged, they get replaced by euphemisms (nicer ways of saying the same thing), but then the replacements themselves become pejorized and replaced in what linguists label a *euphemistic chain*. For example, the word *toilet* was borrowed from French as a delicate way to refer to a place where people defecate. But *toilet* eventually lost its sheen and was replaced by *bathroom* or *water closet*, which in turn are now often replaced by *restroom* and *W.C.* (and powder room, ladies room, etc.). Every once in a while, change moves in the opposite direction. Linguists call this process *amelioration*. The most relevant example of this is the term *queer*, an insult that activists successfully reclaimed as a means of self-identification and source of pride.

One useful set of ideas that we employed to analyze this case comes from Deborah Cameron and her monograph titled *Verbal Hygiene* (1995). For Cameron, verbal hygiene is a catch-all term that describes any effort to clean up or improve language. Such projects can range from elementary school campaigns to



Figure 2. Source: <http://www.r-word.org/>.

promote tolerance and letters to the editor complaining about misplaced apostrophes, to much more far-reaching programs such as Atatürk’s campaign to cleanse Turkish of loanwords from e.g., languages like Arabic and Farsi in order to mold it into the ideal vehicle for a modern Turkish nation.

Cameron observes that verbal hygiene projects in the Anglophone world tend to rely on one of two powerful, but conflicting ideologies. The first is that language is a natural phenomenon, beyond the ability of individuals to influence it; hence any efforts to fix or improve English are doomed to failure. The second is that language has the power to shape our attitudes. Thus identifying and repairing biases in our vocabulary and grammar can help alleviate conflict and inequality. Adherents of the first position argue that language merely reflects society and as long as people continue to harbor prejudices, they will find novel ways to express those attitudes. Adherents of the second position argue that all societies develop standards of politeness and civility and there is no reason why those standards cannot evolve and adapt to meet new challenges.

Another important resource for making sense of such phenomena comes to us from the Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin. Bakhtin pointed out that as words move through different social contexts they become linked to those contexts via a form of literary guilt-by-association, or what contemporary linguistic anthropologists label *indexicality*. Every time you utter a word you potentially evoke its previous appearances and alter its future trajectory. One consequence is that an author’s words can betray him and undermine his credibility or express something quite distinct from what was intended. Bakhtin labels this phenomena *double voicing*. In a very poignant discussion of language shift in Central Mexico, Jane Hill (1996) points out that in situations of Colonial domination speakers



Figure 3. A still from the satirical Comedy Central program, The Colbert Report. Source: <http://ccinsider.comedycentral.com/2010/05/10/colberts-best-f-moments>.

are sometimes forced to employ the words of the their oppressors' language in order to be heard. This, too, is an example of the double-voiced word. More hopeful examples of double-voicing can be found in satirical performances and comedy routines (Figure 3).

By reframing someone's words, satirists call attention to the outrageousness of their remarks or hypocrisy. In the fall of 2012 this question of whether or not to retire the word "retarded" and its more pejorative nominal form "retard" surfaced again after conservative pundit Anne Coulter tweeted "I highly approve of Romney's decision to be kind and gentle to the retard" (Figure 4).

Coulter was referring to Mitt Romney's performance in the third of three debates with President Barack Obama. Note that she was milking the already existing connection between Obama's cabinet and his own chief of staff's put-down for dramatic effect. She was



Figure 4. "be kind and gentle."

also using "retard" in order to frame her tweet as "not politically correct" and therefore voicing some uncomfortable truth. But by employing this tactic, she also opened herself to angry responses from a public that had grown much more sensitized over the past two years. One of the most interesting and powerful rebuttals was written by a Special Olympics medalist and activist named John Franklin Stephens (2012), who took this opportunity to share his own experiences being on the receiving end of this insult.

This superficial glimpse is no substitute for a detailed and ethnographically grounded investigation of how words such as "retarded" acquire new meanings as they circulate and both reflect and reshape our political discourses and our understandings of human bodies and disabilities. Still, I hope it conveys a sense of the rich possibilities for discussion, debate, and follow-up research that a course focusing on bad language can offer.

Conclusion

Our view of what human language is and how it functions will remain distorted unless we are willing to explore the dark underbelly of language—those words

and phrases that uttered in just the right social context have the power to offend, ruin reputations and even spark wars. For students, the anthropological lessons here are simple but important.

First, a close look at bad language helps facilitate the development of critical cross-cultural perspectives through comparisons of students' own notions of what counts as bad language with what other speech communities consider rude, vulgar, and even dangerous. It is always eye opening for my students to discover that American taboos about discussing peoples' physical appearance are non-existent in other societies, while their own penchant for speculating openly about the feelings and emotional states of others can provoke embarrassment and dismay. There are in fact a few intriguing universals in what sort of talk gets branded as offensive in different societies, but we also find a tremendous amount of variation.

Second, weekly headlines about scandalous utterances illustrate the effects of language ideologies and provide my students with endless fodder for lively debates and regular reminders that this is not just a silly or trivial topic for a course. Bad language serves a variety of human needs, and its use sheds important light on culture and society. Tracking the circulation and shifting meanings of controversial words gives them a useful tool for exploring how social norms spread and change over time.

Third, and finally, the exploration of bad language use provides an especially vivid demonstration of how contexts and meanings are always co-constructed, never wholly pre-determined. For as it happens, the very same words and phrases that can anger, upset, and hurt other people can also produce and reinforce feelings of intimacy, trust, and even love. 74

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Daily Life in Arthurian Britain

Deborah J. Shepherd

This book surveys current archaeological and historical thinking about the dimly understood characteristics of daily life in Great Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries.

King Arthur and his knights of the round table are more myth than reality, but like all myths, the Arthurian legend grew from seeds of actual events. The popularity of the Arthurian stories among the remaining British after the Germanic influx was likely because of the cultural vindication these stories offered to a people who had been marginalized.

Arthurian legends are immensely popular and well known despite the lack of reliable documentation about this time period in Britain. As a result, historians depend upon archaeologists to accurately describe life during these two centuries of turmoil when Britons suffered displacement by Germanic immigrants.

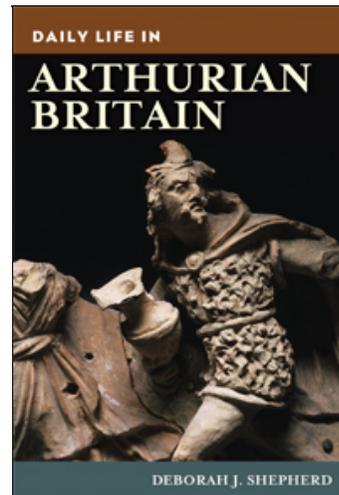
Daily Life in Arthurian Britain examines cultural change in Britain through the fifth and sixth centuries—anachronistically known as The Dark Ages—with a focus on the fate of Romano-British culture, demographic change in the northern and western border lands, and the impact of the Germanic immigrants later known as the Anglo-Saxons. The book coalesces many threads of current knowledge and opinion from leading historians and archaeologists, describing household composition, rural and urban organization, food production, architecture, fashion, trades and occupations, social classes, education, political organization, warfare, and religion in Arthurian times. The few available documentary sources are analyzed for the cultural and historical value of their information.

Features

- Presents maps and illustrations of Britain during the relevant time periods
- Includes a bibliography of major print and quality internet resources accessible to the public
- Provides an index of key concepts, sites, historic persons, events, and materials
- Contains an appendix on the nature of archaeological evidence

Highlights

- Covers two centuries of British history for which only fragments of historical documentation exist
- Demonstrates how archaeological finds reveal the realities of past lives
- Describes the times of strife between Britons and Anglo-Saxons that serve as the foundation of Arthurian legend
- Interprets and makes accessible to the general public the major archaeological discoveries of this ancient time period
- Serves as a perfect complement to medieval literature courses



Imprint: Greenwood

Publication Date: 08/2013

Pages: 314

Volumes: 1

Size: 6 1/8x9 1/4

Format Price ISBN-13

Hardcover \$58.00 978-0-313-33295-1

eBook Call 978-0-313-03852-5

Teaching Applied Anthropology and International Development in Community Colleges



Wayne A Babchuk and Robert K Hitchcock

Introduction

According to the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges (SACC), a relatively small percentage of community colleges have courses devoted directly to applied anthropology. In many cases, the courses that are offered in community colleges are general four-field anthropology courses, cultural anthropology or archaeology courses. We believe that it would be useful for community college anthropology courses to have a component devoted to the fifth sub-field of anthropology: applied anthropology.

Community colleges are found widely throughout the US and Canada and are considered by many to be accessible, affordable and flexible in terms of hours and course offerings. Forty-four percent of all undergraduates in the United States today are enrolled in community colleges (Miner 2012:1409). Community colleges also cater to a highly diverse student population. Many community colleges have a high percentage of students of color, older students, and veterans (Miner 2012:1409; Murphy 2012:1504).

Community colleges are advantageous in that most if not all of them offer broad-based curricula. These colleges have flexible schedules that are geared toward students who have jobs or who are caring for family members. In addition, community colleges generally are relatively affordable financially for students. The credits that students receive can be transferred to four-year colleges relatively easily. Students in community colleges are interested in learning skills that can be used in the workplace as well as in academia, and, therefore, they are generally open to classes that have practical value.

According to the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and the Society of Applied Anthropology (SFAA), of the approximately 12,000 anthropologists in the U.S., nearly 70 percent today are in fields that can be classified as applied. The fields in which they work range from government (for example, working in the U.S. Agency for International Development

and the Millennium Challenge Corporation) to state planning agencies and private companies.

Sizable numbers of archaeologists work for cultural resource management (CRM) firms, while both archaeologists and biological anthropologists work in forensics and assist in human rights-related and legal cases. Cultural anthropologists and linguists are much in demand from governments, international organizations, private companies, non-government organizations, and community-based institutions for their abilities to speak and understand local languages and to work in areas involving social and cultural systems. Cultural anthropologists advise indigenous peoples on cases relating to land and resource rights, inheritance, and cultural heritage management. As we will demonstrate in this paper, anthropologists have been involved extensively in particular areas of international development, including monitoring, evaluating, and critiquing development projects that result in resettlement and changes in the livelihoods of local people.

By taking a problem-oriented approach—looking at topics such as globalization, climate change and changes in health and well-being of local peoples—community colleges can provide undergraduate students with real-world examples of processes and issues. These examples can help enhance their students' understanding of the ways that the world works, and at the same time can give them career-oriented skills and knowledge.

Applied and Development Anthropology

Applied anthropology is the application of anthropological theory and method to practical concerns of human population (Kedia and van Willigen 2005). Applied anthropology is sometimes called development anthropology because of its focus on the study of development problems such as poverty, hunger, disease and environmental degradation (Little 2005). An important focus of applied and/or development anthropology is to use anthropological methods (such as participant observation, qualitative interviews, behavioral

Contemporary applied anthropologists tend to be part of larger teams that include an array of specialists, from agronomists and medical doctors to economists and ecologists.

observation, time/motion studies, quantitative methods and life history studies) to obtain information that can then be used to help people or nation-states solve the various problems facing them.

Some applied and development anthropology is policy-oriented and aimed at assessing social, economic, environmental, political, gender or class effects of policies (for example, in agriculture, education, technology, health, population and nutrition). Applied and development anthropologists, like cultural anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists, examine the knowledge, attitudes and practices of individuals, communities and societies.

Some applied anthropologists see development as the process through which states, agencies, organizations and communities attempt to improve the lives of their members. Some applied anthropology work has focused on the costs and benefits of development. For example, it examines the impacts of the planning and construction of large-scale infrastructure projects on societies and habitats, as well as the issues surrounding development-forced resettlement (DFR), explored in more detail below.

Contemporary applied anthropology takes both an *emic* (actor-oriented) and *etic* (action-oriented, behavioral) perspective. Examples of applied anthropology range from work with transnational corporations, globalization and immigration issues to field studies in rural agricultural, pastoral or foraging communities where they do needs assessments and advise on development strategies. Applied anthropologists have examined the effects of the Internet, social networking sites, conflict management, bioeconomy, nanotechnology and the impacts of the introduction of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs).

Medical anthropologists have played significant roles in health-related areas such as those relating to the assessment, prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis (Farmer 1992, 1999, 2003; Green 1996, 2003). Applied and development anthropologists conduct social impact assessments (SIAs), environmental impact assessments (EIAs), gender impact analyses (GIAs) and institutional analyses (IAs). Applied and development anthropologists are engaged at all levels of the development process, from carrying out needs assessments through project identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and the designing of new projects (Green 1986; Kedia and van Willigen 2005).

While many who do applied and development work are sociocultural anthropologists, linguists, biological anthropologists and archaeologists also engage in applied work. Linguists may work on language preservation, education and curriculum development programs for indigenous and other peoples. Biological anthropologists may work with health and medical issues, looking, for example, at traditional and biomedical systems of healing, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS and nutrition. Some nutritional anthropologists assess drought, famine-relief and humanitarian assistance programs. Some applied anthropologists also serve on Panels of Environmental Experts (POEs) and teams assessing large-scale infrastructure and development projects (Downing 2002; Scudder 2005).

Archaeologists and biological anthropologists have worked on issues ranging from cultural heritage management and tourism promotion to forensic human rights cases, such as obtaining data from mass graves for purposes of identification of victims and getting information on the perpetrators of human rights violations that can be used in legal contexts. Some advantages of having anthropologists as part of development programs are (1) they tend to have empathy for the people with whom they are working; (2) they generally speak the language(s) of the local population; (3) they prefer to live and work with local people, often on a long-term basis, thus gaining their trust; (4) their holistic approach to studying a culture can help enhance the well-being of the population; and (5) they sometimes go out of their way to help solve immediate problems facing people. These include getting funds for local water development projects, taking individuals to town to see doctors, dentists or optometrists, helping people with medical problems by applying first aid, obtaining seeds and tools for people, and lobbying governments and other institutions for better treatment of individuals and groups.

Applied anthropologists, like other anthropologists, have a holistic, systemic perspective that is crucial in understanding the interrelationships among societies, environments, economies, institutions and belief systems and practices. Whereas in the past, anthropologists tended to operate on their own, contemporary applied anthropologists tend to be part of larger teams that include an array of specialists, from agronomists and medical doctors to economists and ecologists. Anthropologists who work in the area of applications of geographic positioning systems (GPS) and geographic information systems (GIS) have skills that are broadly useful in the workplace.

Some people in the field believe that anthropologists should not engage in what they see as social engineering or purposeful promotion of cultural change.

Applied anthropologists in the past tended to use qualitative ethnographic methods, which many of them still use, but today there is greater emphasis on a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and careful measurement of development impacts and detailed reporting. The training of students in methods and techniques in anthropology and related fields will go a long way towards enhancing their practical skills that can be used in the workplace and in advanced education.

Community College Course in Cultural Anthropology

One of us (Babchuk) was asked to plan and develop the first *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* class in the community college where he teaches. He also teaches anthropology at a large research institution where there is an instructor of a similar course—also titled *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*—that served initially as the model for the design of the community college offering. Courses at both institutions have an applied focus that encourages students to better understand and reflect upon links between applied anthropology and the four traditional sub-fields in real world contexts.

Characteristically, community colleges have socially and economically diverse student populations, including many students from other countries. Among higher education's most rapidly growing institutions, community colleges serve student demands for practical courses and programs relevant to getting jobs in the current marketplace. They also provide a background that aids transfer to four-year colleges and universities.

While community colleges originally offered teachers ample opportunities to innovate and develop curriculum, in recent years they have become less flexible. Increasing reliance on adjunct instructors (occasionally hired at the last minute) relative to full-time contracted faculty, has contributed to administrators issuing standardized syllabi, texts and sets of examinations. Compared to four-year institutions, community colleges tend to undervalue research and scholarship, considered detractions from the central task of instruction. Consequently, community college teaching loads are typically higher than those of four-year institutions, especially universities.

In some community colleges, a lack of higher-level courses (beyond the first two years, 100 and 200 level) offered means that courses in applied and development anthropology generally do not exist. The lack

of higher-level courses also makes it difficult if not impossible to develop a major. For example, in the community college where one of us teaches (Babchuk), there are only two anthropology courses offered, including the *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* course already mentioned. It is important to note in this context, however, that the administration has been very supportive of his efforts to both design and teach this course that includes a heavy applied component.

Applied anthropology is not without controversy. Some people in the field believe that anthropologists should not engage in what they see as social engineering or purposeful promotion of cultural change. Many applied anthropologists, for their part, see their work as necessary in order to alleviate problems facing various peoples and communities and to respond to the requests of people who prefer to have direct benefits from the work done by social scientists.

The cultural anthropology course was arranged in such a way that the central third of the course is a comparison of the Ju/'hoansi and Yanomamo, two of the best-known ethnographic cases in anthropology and cultures well-known not just to students but to

members of the public as well. These ethnographic cases are great for comparative purposes: South America vs. Africa, harmless vs. fierce, band vs. tribe, foragers vs. foraging horticulturalists. Both have dealt with development issues, from

health concerns (malaria, measles, HIV/AIDS) to settlements and the impacts of missionization and colonization and the threat of exploitation by transnational corporations. These are the two most studied groups and best documented in anthropology, both in writing and in film. The course traces the development of the Ju/'hoansi and Yanomamo over the past fifty to sixty years, driving home concepts of cultural and applied anthropology. To do so, the focus is on three applied case studies:

1. Changes among the Ju/'hoansi San of Nyae Nyae, Namibia, as documented by the Marshall family (e.g. Marshall 1976) and the films of John Marshall and more recent perspectives offered by works such as those of Wiessner (2004) and Biesele and Hitchcock (2011).

2. Land use issues using The Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana as an example of various Kalahari San and Bakgalagadi groups' struggles with the government and a comparison to other cases where there is conservation-related resettlement (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau 2006; Hitchcock, Sapignoli, and Babchuk 2011; Sapignoli 2012).

Anthropology met grocery-store tabloids head-on in Tierney's heavily embellished, largely inaccurate, contrived and sensationalized attack on Chagnon and geneticist-colleague James Neel.

3. The Yanomamo and Darkness in El Dorado. The course discusses the changes over time among the Yanomamo of Brazil and Venezuela and the issues raised in the Darkness controversy to discuss larger issues of indigenous fieldwork, research methodology, ethics and politics. This introduces the science vs. humanism debate raging in anthropology (cf. Tierney 2000; Chagnon 2013).

One of the reasons that students are attracted to anthropology is because they have the chance to study and learn about peoples very different from themselves. They can find out about societies that have different livelihood systems, such as hunting and gathering or horticulture, and ones that emphasize peaceful relations. This is arguably the case with some southern African San, as documented in anthropological classics like Elizabeth Marshall Thomas' books, *The Harmless People* (1958) and *The Old Way* (2006), and Richard Lee's *The Dobe Ju/'hoansi* (Lee 2013).

The Ju/'hoansi stand out in part because of excellent ethnographic, demographic, historic, archaeological, ethnoarchaeological, audiovisual and development-related work that has been carried out. They are also known because of their attempts to maintain their land, resources and cultural identity, and to promote what they hope is sustainable social and economic development.

The Ju/'hoansi and other San occupy our first environment of evolutionary adaptation (i.e., the savanna) in Africa. This kind of environment is characterized by a pronounced wet/dry seasonal cycle, relatively low and variable inputs of rainfall and periodic fire affecting their habitats. The various San groups identify themselves as indigenous peoples, which means, for them, that they were the "First Peoples" of southern Africa, having resided in the region for millennia.

The Ju/'hoansi have a history of hunting and gathering (or foraging) viewed as an important part of their identity that differs from the majority population and from most other minorities in Botswana and Namibia as well. It should be stressed, however, that the Ju/'hoansi today, like other San in southern Africa, have mixed production systems in which foraging makes up but a relatively small portion.

The Ju/'hoansi may not be the only model of our hunting and gathering past or present to examine, but in many ways they may be some of the most informative. for several reasons: (1) they have been studied intensively and over a long period, from the early 1950s to the present; (2) many Ju/'hoansi retain their

language, culture, and some of their traditions; (3) the Ju/'hoansi have been able to obtain a degree of security over their land and resources, in part through the use of government policies to their advantage. They have had extensive experience with a variety of development programs ranging from small-scale agriculture to livestock production, and from community-based natural resource management to culturally relevant education (Gordon and Douglas 2000; Hitchcock et al 2006; Biesele and Hitchcock 2011).

The Yanomamo also provide a very informative case study both because of their adaptations and cultural practices and also because they have been the subject of extensive public debate, some of which has raised issues revolving around anthropological ethics and the practice of anthropology (Chagnon 1992, 2013; Tierney 2000; Dreger 2011a, 2011b). As mentioned above, the Yanomamo are one of the most studied groups in the history of anthropological research. The work of Napoleon Chagnon and colleagues—including a very instructive series of films made with Tim Asch—directed worldwide attention to this tribe and located them front and center in discussions of the human rights of indigenous peoples and the way in which many indigenous groups are positioned within the larger political and socioeconomic borders of state-level societies.

"(Re)settlement involves not only physical movement but also a psychic domain: angst and other anxieties must be allayed for (re)settlers to be settled."

man rights of indigenous peoples and the way in which many indigenous groups are positioned within the larger political and socioeconomic borders of state-level societies.

With the anthropological world still quaking from the events of the Brazilian Gold Rush of the 1980s and its aftermath, self-proclaimed investigative journalist Patrick Tierney's (2000) publication of *Darkness in El Dorado* drew attention away from the civil rights violations of the *garimpos* (gold miners) and leveled a new set of allegations at the anthropologists themselves. Here, anthropology met grocery-store tabloids head-on in Tierney's heavily embellished, largely inaccurate, contrived and sensationalized attack on Chagnon and geneticist-colleague James Neel.

Drawing pre- and post-publication support from well-known cultural anthropologists who appeared to have a personal interest in discrediting these researchers, the American Anthropological Association and other professional organizations launched formal investigations into Tierney's charges. These charges included a host of research improprieties and ethics violations ranging from how the Yanomamo were portrayed to the media and the public by Chagnon to those of a much more serious nature, such as purposefully spreading the measles virus among the Yanomamo by use of the Edmonston-B vaccination, an early and outdated form of measles vaccine (see Cantor 2000; Dreger, 2011a, 2011b; Fluehr-Lobban 2003; Gregor and

Gross 2004; Lancaster and Hames 2011 for a more detailed discussions of these events).

Tierney's assault, which could be aligned with the debate that had been brewing for the past several decades involving a more generic attack on anthropology and how "The Other" had been historically portrayed and victimized by ethnographic research. It was a readily accessible and convenient document that some members of the anthropological community could view as additional evidence discrediting scientifically-based approaches to anthropological research for which Chagnon is known. Although most anthropologists view the bulk of Tierney's charges as greatly exaggerated or simply false, some anthropologists who promote a humanistic, militantly activist and/or postmodern agenda have used this controversy to add fuel to the science-versus-humanism debate that continues to brew at the national level.

In terms of teaching applied concepts, *The Darkness in El Dorado* controversy provides a springboard to discuss a wide range of issues germane to the ethics and responsible conduct of anthropological research. Here, mini-ethnographies provided in Bates' (2004) *Human Adaptive Strategies*, and Peters-Golden's (2011) *Culture Sketches: Case Studies in Anthropology* offer students concise and informative overviews of key aspects of the Ju/'hoansi and Yanomamo (and other groups). Moreover, Bates (2004) and Peters-Golden's (2011) works directly address salient aspects of the *Darkness* controversy in a way that is very accessible to introductory students. These chapters serve as assigned readings for the *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* courses in both the university and community college settings.

Anthropologists and Development-Forced Displacement and Resettlement

An example of where anthropologists have played significant roles in international development and policy formulation and evaluation, is known as Development-forced Displacement and Resettlement (DFDR). This is process in which people are forced to leave an area because of development or because the area was set aside for conservation and protection purposes. The resettlement is almost always permanent and it has wide-ranging effects, many of them negative, on the population(s) involved. As Anthony Oliver-Smith points out:

People facing DFDR must often cope with great uncertainty and a lack of information concerning their future, resulting in situations of considerable stress, disorientation and trauma. People who are involuntarily displaced by development projects often suffer from severe alteration of their physical and social landscapes (2009a:12).

It is important to keep in mind that displacement is not only a physical transfer to a new location, but a series of changes and events that fundamentally affect the ways of life of individuals, families and communities. To paraphrase Robert Gordon (2009:41), "(Re)settlement involves not only physical movement but also a psychic domain: angst and other anxieties must be allayed for (re)settlers to be settled." Given the complexity of resettlement, it is useful to take a human rights-based approach to the issue of resettlement (Oliver-Smith 2005, 2009a-c; 2012; Clark 2009).

There are two major theoretical frameworks dealing with the involuntary resettlement and relocation process. The first of these is one developed by Thayer Scudder and Elizabeth Colson (1982, 2002; see also Scudder 2005, 2009). Scudder and Colson see four general stages relating to projects involving resettlement:

Stage 1. Planning for resettlement (and mitigation) before removal;

Stage 2. Coping with the initial drop in living standards that tends to follow removal;

Stage 3. Initiating economic development and community-formation activities; and

Stage 4. Handing over a sustainable resettlement process to the second generation of resettlers and to non-project authority institutions.

With project implementation involving resettlement, it is likely that local incomes and living standards for the majority of directly impacted people will decline. For some people, over time, livelihoods and well-being may improve. We know from international experience with large-scale infrastructure projects that compensation alone is insufficient (World Commission on Dams 2000; Scudder 2005). Resettlement agencies must not only provide people with the means to resettle, but also must provide alternative land and post-resettlement development support and economic opportunities. The development activities must be multifaceted and culturally relevant. Gender, age, class, and vulnerability issues also need to be addressed in the course of coming up with sustainable development strategies.

A second major theoretical model dealing with resettlement and risk is that of sociologist Michael Cernea (1995, 1997, 2009) who developed the impoverishment, risks, and reconstruction (IRR) framework. The eight risks of the model are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property asset, and social disarticulation.

In order to offset these risks and prevent impoverishment from occurring among resettled peoples, efforts

must be made to (1) consult fully with the people being relocated, (2) ensure their full participation in all decisions, (3) work out ways to make people direct beneficiaries, (4) monitor the process carefully, and (5) evaluate the resettlement efforts in light of best international practices.

Some of the ways to do this include benefit-sharing programs, setting up and running development funds, ensuring exploitation of natural resources in a sustainable manner, and the reconstruction of project-affected people's livelihoods at levels that are either equivalent to or better than they were prior to relocation (best practice would argue for the latter). International best practice in the area of development-related and conservation-related resettlement calls for improvement on the livelihoods and well-being of project-affected peoples.

If one is to get around issues of marginalization, significant efforts need to be made. One must try to improve the ability of local people to engage in development, provide training, and participate in local-level governance systems. Bottom-up participatory and human rights-based approaches are useful in this regard. Strategies need to be worked out to ensure the sustainable utilization and management of common property resources. People have to be consulted effectively ahead of time and, given detailed information on the plans of the agencies. Once they have had the chance to discuss the projects, these people must either give their informed consent or say that they do not want to be involved. The process of resettlement can avoid social disarticulation by allowing families and communities to move to resettlement areas together and to establish themselves in places that they have chosen ahead of time. The resettlement process will benefit greatly from transparency, openness, accountability, and flexibility.

The basic legal principles involve constitutional protections of people from being deprived of their property without compensation. These come under the expropriation principle and just compensation (compensation at fair market value). Efforts need to be made to improve livelihoods and provide land for land. In the assessment of 50 dam-related resettlement cases done by Ted Scudder and John Gay (see Scudder 2005:56-86, Chapter 3), very few of the projects fulfilled the requirement that resettlement people have their lives improved.

One of the ways in which rivers have been treated is that they have been dammed, and in a number of cases, large-scale water transfer schemes have been created (World Commission on Dams 2000). The construction of the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi in the mid-1950s led to a massive resettlement effort, with

some 57,000 Tonga and others being moved out of the basin, many of them into the plateau region of Zambia (Scudder 1993; Scudder and Colson 1982, 2002). As was shown by the Tonga resettlement, people who are relocated by dams experienced serious problems. The same is true for conservation-related resettlement as occurred, for example, in the case of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana in the 1990s and early part of the new millennium (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau 2006; Hitchcock, Sapignoli, and Babchuk 2011; Sapignoli 2012). In many cases, the people who are relocated are put in a position where they have to become at least partially dependent on food relief and other livelihood supports provided by governments and international relief agencies.

Significant progress has been made in the rules and procedures relating to involuntary relocation or resettlement resulting from the establishment of large-scale water infrastructure projects, as seen, for example, in the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (Devitt and Hitchcock 2010). Some countries have observed international standards such as those of the World Bank and the International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD). These standards stipulate that people who are resettled must not only have their living standards restored to the level that existed before resettlement, but those living standards must be improved. This is the case for all kinds of resettlement-affected people, including those affected by the establishment of protected areas and conservation zones.

Resettlement and compensation are complicated processes, ones that are often extremely hard on the people who are relocated. A major problem with conservation-related and development-related resettlement projects is that government officials generally tend to focus attention on the loss of residences (i.e. homes), other buildings (for example, latrines), corrals (livestock pens), and assets such as fruit trees. They focus less on loss of access to the means of production, especially land, gardens, fields, grazing, and wild resources on which people depend for subsistence and income.

A major issue dealing with resettlement is whether resettled people's livelihoods should be restored to where they were at the point of first disturbance (which is the primary standard), or whether people who are resettled should have their livelihoods improved. The World Bank originally had a policy of restoration. Over time, non-government organizations, development personnel, and researchers argued that resettled peoples should have their lives improved after resettlement.

Although the issue of displacement of peoples has been a major subject of discussion internationally for the past several decades, there are relatively few com-

prehensive legal instruments that deal directly with resettlement. The United Nations has a set of guiding principles (*United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*) that have been helpful in providing a set of standards for organizations working with Internally Displaced Persons (Oliver-Smith 2012). Other organizations have also developed resettlement guidelines, including the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and various non-government organizations (e.g. Conservation International). Private mining and oil companies, among others, have guidelines on corporate social responsibility which devote some attention to issues of resettlement (Downing 2002). Issues surrounding corporate social responsibility of transnational corporations and agencies have become significant areas of debate in recent years.

Anthropologists have been central to the discussions about improving international resettlement policies and programs. They also have been strong critics of the ways in which development-related, dam-related, and conservation-related resettlement have been handled. Drawing from the lessons of resettlement projects, anthropologists have provided useful insights into ways to apply their discipline to policies that affect tens of millions of people around the world. These lessons also can improve policies that affect the well-being of millions of people around the world.

Conclusions

Community colleges and their students can benefit from discussions of the ways in which anthropology as a discipline can be applied to real-world problems. Drawing on examples as diverse as the Ju/'hoansi of Botswana and Namibia, the Yanomamo of Venezuela and Brazil, and the Tonga of Zimbabwe and Zambia and on the activities of such international institutions as the World Bank and the United Nations, community college teachers can facilitate greater understanding of social, economic, and cultural diversity among students. At the same time, they can prepare their students for further education at the college level and increase their knowledge about processes of globalization. This knowledge and understanding should improve their chances in the contemporary job market.

As anthropology has moved from a historical focus on primarily academic pursuits to those of a more pragmatic nature over the past several decades, the teaching of applied anthropology at all levels of the curriculum extends anthropological knowledge in new and exciting ways. The lessons learned are accessible

to both students and members of the public and as well as those with whom anthropologists have traditionally worked. 74

Acknowledgments

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 111th annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, California, November 14-18, 2012 in a Five-Fields Update session organized by Melvin Johnson and the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges. We would like to thank the SACC, the participants in our symposium, and Melvin Johnson for a stimulating set of discussions. We would also like to acknowledge the contributions of Melvin Johnson, Barbara Rose Johnston, Maria Sapijnoli, Jumanda Gakelebene, Job Morris, the late Kxao Moses =Oma, Alice Mogwe, Richard Lee, Ida Susser, Ted Scudder, Megan Biesele, Barry Brenton, Ray Hames, Jane Lancaster, Mike Mentis, John Ledger, Amusaa Inambao, Keketso Sefanyane, Paul Devitt, and Mary Brown.

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Great
minds discuss ideas.
Average minds discuss events.
Small minds discuss people.

Eleanor Roosevelt



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HOMEGOINGS



Through the eyes of funeral director Isaiah Owens, the beauty and grace of African American funerals are brought to life. Filmed at the Owens Funeral Home in Harlem and the rural South, director Christine Turner's **Homecomings** takes an up-close look at the rarely seen world of undertaking in the black community, where funeral rites draw on a rich palette of tradition, history and celebration. It reveals the special status of undertakers in the community; borne out of their permanence, their economic stability, and the necessities of the segregation period. Combining cinéma vérité with intimate interviews and archival photographs, featuring an evocative score by Daniel Roumain, the film paints a portrait of the dearly departed, their grieving families and a man who sends loved ones "home."

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Society, Economy, and Environment: Archaeology as Sustainability Science

E. Christian Wells

“We [archaeologists] should know better than others about the long-term civilizational consequences of conspicuous consumption and overreliance on non-renewable resources.”

Archaeology, which provides long-term perspectives on the intersection of societies and economies with local environments, is making great strides in contributing to scientific understandings of global problems with historical data from pre-modern civilizations. In this annual archaeology update, I discuss some specific ways that archaeologists are contributing to sustainability science, focusing on archaeology’s role in helping us understand what is and what is not sustainable. I do so, however, with the caveat that my remarks certainly do not represent all of archaeology. Rather, they represent what I see as a growing trend in archaeological studies and archaeological discourse: the issue of sustainability, which takes a holistic approach emphasizing systems thinking—how everything and everyone are interconnected over space and time—and how these links are both cause and consequence of cultural and natural change. On a personal note, I believe that this perspective (which I see as clearly an *anthropological* one) is very much needed in environmental science, engineering and all those STEM fields that so often give short shrift to “culture” for explaining change and the nature of change around the world.

Here, I discuss three interrelated advances in archaeology: 1) modeling the complex relationships among population growth, resource capacity and the political and economic systems that societies invent to manage these dynamics; 2) understanding the ways in which governmental institutions of ancient urban populations were flexible and resilient, and the degree to which they were self-equipped to anticipate and manage environmental change; and 3) helping humanity realize and appreciate the value of human biological and cultural diversity through research on heritage, human rights, identity and the preservation and management of cultural patrimony.

In a recent issue of *Anthropology News*, I posed a question to the readers of the column I edit for the Archaeology Division. I asked, “How can archaeologists improve the prospects for a sustainable world?” (Wells 2011). I didn’t ask, “and why should we care?” believing that our motives should be obvious. So I followed

up the *AN* piece with an article in the *SAA Archaeological Record* (Wells and Coughlin 2012). In that article, I argued that, “as we enter a new era of global grand challenges for the biosphere, it is important for archaeologists to serve as role models for responsible consumerism. After all, we should know better than others about the long-term civilizational consequences of conspicuous consumption and overreliance on non-renewable resources.” Moreover, I explained that “the fundamental concept is that if the Earth’s resources are depleted faster than they can be replenished, then we will end up with resource challenges that we will not be able to resolve. In sustainability parlance, it means meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987).”

The question I posed in *Anthropology News* is one we archaeologists are hearing more and more lately, especially as global budgets tighten and disciplines like archaeology are being asked to show how their work is relevant, and why it deserves funding and a place in the academy. In a recent book called *Archaeology Matters*, Jerry Sabloff takes a fresh and insightful look at this question, examining how archaeologists are increasingly addressing contemporary global problems with archaeological data from past civilizations. This is a terrific reader, by the way, for undergraduate students and non-specialists; plus, it’s thin, paperback and inexpensive (the perfect combination for a textbook!). For those interested in exploring environmental themes, I recommend Chuck Redman’s classic book, *Human Impact on Ancient Environments* (2001). And for those interested in exploring heritage management issues, I recommend Sonya Atalay’s new book called *Community-based Archaeology* (2012).

Here I would like to review what I wrote in that *Anthropology News* op-ed piece, expanding it by clarifying a few points and highlighting specific publications that readers might find interesting (note: some of this material also draws from a manuscript in preparation, Wells n.d.). In short, I will argue that many of the contributions to the archaeological literature over the

past year or two might be characterized as various forms of outcome-driven, or applied, sustainability science research, where the goal is to understand better changes in the human trajectory (Hornborg and Crumley 2007; Redman et al. 2004). “For archaeologists, this means applying the insights that we uncover from our shared past to engage the large questions of the human condition. And, importantly, this also means finding new and effective ways of communicating how our research is relevant to these global grand challenges” (Wells 2011:28).

But let me start with a short diversion. In his essay, “Four Challenges of Sustainability,” Oberlin College Professor of Environmental Studies David Orr writes, “the overall challenge of sustainability is to avoid crossing irreversible thresholds that damage the life systems of Earth while creating long-term economic, political, and moral arrangements that secure the wellbeing of present and future generations” (2002:1458). He argues that we face four main tasks to improve the prospects for a sustainable world: 1) creating more accurate models and measures to describe the human enterprise relative to the biosphere; 2) developing more effective institutions of governance and a well-informed, democratically engaged citizenry; 3) informing “the discretion of the public” by improving higher education; and 4) transcending divergent problems formed out of the tensions of competing world-views. It may not seem obvious on the surface, but anthropological archaeology—through both research and teaching—is uniquely situated to make significant contributions to all of these domains.

First, archaeological research that examines long-term records of coupled social and ecological phenomena can provide empirical models to help us understand the nexus of population growth, resource capacity and the political and economic systems that societies create to manage these dynamics (Hardesty 2007; Kirch 2005). In his essay, Orr observes, “from the perspective of systems ecology, the efflorescence of humanity in the 20th century is evidence of a natural pulsing. But having exhausted much of the material basis for expansion, like other systems, we are entering a down cycle...before another upward pulse” (2002:1458). Recent work, such as that documented in the edited volume, *The Archaeology of Environmental Change* (Fisher et al. 2009), exemplifies the kinds of contributions archaeologists can make toward understanding the cycling of human ecosystems. A recent review article by Dan Sandweiss and Alice Kelley in the *Annual Review of Anthropology* (2012) shows how

archaeologists are making direct impacts to climate change research through the global archaeological record.

Second, archaeologists studying how cooperation and conflict are materialized in the designed and built environments can address the characteristics of resilient cities (Redman and Kinzig 2003). Resilience, Orr writes, “means dispersed, not concentrated, assets, control, and capacity” (2002:1459). Archaeological work carried out over the past few decades in the Mediterranean, Southeast and Southwest Asia, Mesoamerica and Andean South America show how and to what extent the governmental institutions of ancient urban populations were flexible and the degree to which they were self-equipped to anticipate and manage unintended consequences. Much of the evidence is covered in two recent review papers—one by Guy Middleton on environmental discourse on collapse of past societies in the *Journal of Archaeological Research* (2012), and the other by John Marston on agricultural risk management in the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* (2011).

Third, archaeologists working in higher education can (and should) take a more prominent role in shaping the academic curriculum and providing intellectual leadership to reinforce holistic perspectives on humanity so that students can better appreciate where they stand relative to larger cycles and trends (Davis-Salazar and Wells 2011; Smith et al. 2012). Orr follows others in suggesting a curriculum “organized around the study of relationships between energy, environment, and economics and how these apply across various scales of knowledge” (2002:1459). In the cases with which I am familiar, archaeologists and archaeological perspectives have been influential in the creation of Arizona State University’s School of Sustainability and the University of South Florida’s College of Global Sustainability. In a recent contribution to the journal *World Archaeology*, Erika Guttmann-Bond (2010) discusses these issues in depth, ranging from land degradation and agriculture to hunger and poverty. And, in a particularly fun article in the same issue, Stacey Camp discusses how she and her students are studying sustainable waste management practices at her school using archaeology and simultaneously teaching students the basic principles and practices of the discipline!

Fourth, archaeologists engaged in the broad field of heritage studies can help address human problems that are not solvable by “rational” or technological means (Skeates et al. 2012; Stottman 2010). Orr writes

Archaeologists...can help address human problems that are not solvable by “rational” or technological means...including cultural conflicts fueled by fundamentalism that threaten global citizenship.

that a graceful transition to sustainability “will require learning how to recognize and resolve divergent problems,” including cultural conflicts fueled by fundamentalism that threaten global citizenship (2002:1459). A wide range of recent archaeological work examines cultural heritage and human rights, identity and representation, and the preservation and management of visual and material expressions of past events and lifeways. These works convincingly demonstrate the powerful role that archaeology has in helping humanity realize and appreciate the value of human biological and cultural diversity. For example, Patricia McAnany and Shoshaunna Parks (2012) discuss their Maya Project designed to work with indigenous Maya communities in western Honduras to give them a voice in the creation of new knowledge about their ancestors. And Sonya Atalay (2010) discusses another community-based participatory project at Çatalhöyük, Turkey.

In sum, by tracking shifts in coupled social and ecological phenomena over long periods and broad spaces, archaeologists can help extend the historical records that environmental scientists use to model resource flows alongside population dynamics. This approach provides a more complete picture of ecological inheritance (Liu et al. 2007). An important outcome of this kind of work will be identifying systemic vulnerabilities, intrinsic resource problems, and the boundary (or “threshold”) conditions that would result in collapse or reorganization of the system (Barnosky et al. 2012). In this way, archaeologists can contribute to improving forecasting methods to detect early warning signs of critical transitions in certain ecosystems (van der Leeuw and Redman 2002). Moreover, by integrating cultural analyses of power and positionality into sustainability narratives, archaeologists can bring attention to the profound significance of structural inequalities in human societies and what role they play in shaping both governmental- and community-level responses and adaptations to environmental change (Ostrom 2009).

Given recent global dialogues on carbon neutrality, climate change, national security and energy independence, it may be a strategic time to leverage archaeology’s strengths in holism, materialism and diachronic perspectives. These efforts may influence the nature of higher education and simultaneously secure our place within it (Steffen et al. 2011; Wells 2010).

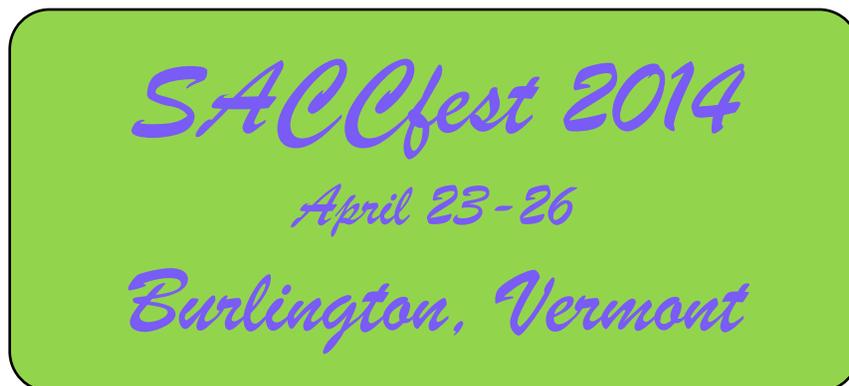
I have argued—I hope convincingly—that archaeologists are well positioned to address these critical issues and to propel debates and discussion on sustainability in several strategic directions. In short, recent years have seen a growing awareness of archaeology’s potential not just to describe the world around us but

also to change it. Educators, please share this urgent message with your students and colleagues. *74*

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Krusty and Other Sexagenarians: Heroic Self-Stylings of Aging among Equestrienne Time Rebels

Sarah Cowles and Dona Davis

HotShoeSue: For me, it [riding] keeps me active. I don't know that it keeps me any younger, but it keeps me busy enough that I think that it helps me keep myself feeling younger, not necessarily looking so...

Black Bear: I take HotShoeSue's perspective on life that you can either wear out or rust out and I think we're both gonna wear out.

Skye: I'm 62—give me a break. But endurance goes on for a long time and I like doing things that go on.

Krusty: When I moved up to Minnesota, we moved into the woods in a tent with no electricity. A man taught me how to work horses in harness and skip the wood.

The quotations above illustrate pieces of a lifetime storyline that emerge from interviews we conducted during the summers of 2011 and 2012 with a sample of women equestrians (Davis, Maurstad, and Cowles 2013; Maurstad, Davis and Cowles, in press). The sample consists of over 50 equestriennes, 21 of whom are in the over-50 age category.¹ Although we did not set out to interview older women, our sample is not unusual, since older women dominate a number of equestrian sports at the lower levels. These include dressage and endurance, which are represented by the riders in the quotations above, introducing the four women whose narratives are presented here. They exemplify self-stylings that express a revisionist rebellion against cultural constructions of growing old voiced by other women in our sample, in their 60s and 70s, who continue to participate in these sports. We show how women reflect on their lives as equestrians in ways reminiscent of Landau's (1991) tropes of the humble hero tale, but with one important difference: these riders situate their self-stylings as aging equestrians in

narratives where they become co-heroes with their horse partners.

Perspectives from the anthropologies of aging and sports, combined with multispecies ethnography, inform and situate the analysis that follows. The anthropology of aging is a well-established and productive subdiscipline within contemporary anthropology. It not only works to give voice to elders whose needs and capacities may be overlooked in society, but it also shows how the nature of being old and the meanings that accompany it are culturally constructed in light of other features of society (Singer and Baer 2013). The nascent anthropology of sport (Dyck 2004) occupies a more tenuous position within anthropology, yet also offers opportunities to explore representations of identities within particular sports communities (McGarry 2010). The emergent field of multispecies ethnography (Haraway 2008) questions traditional anthropocentric notions of a species divide and seeks innovative ways to explore species meeting as forms of co-being, where crossing species boundaries does not threaten identity but can define it (Davis and Davis 2010; Pálsson 2009).

In order to learn more about how horses are “good to live with” (Haraway 2008), we conducted long-ranging, open-ended, qualitative interviews asking riders about their relationships and life histories with horses.² Black Bear, HotShoeSue and Skye come from the sport of endurance riding. Sarah interviewed these three women at an endurance event in Nebraska, while Dona interviewed dressage rider Krusty at a dressage venue. Within each of these interviews, riders' self-



¹ This is part of a study also conducted with Anita Maurstad in Norway. Age ranges of our combined subjects span from 20-70-plus years of age. The sample comprises over 60 interviews. Seven informants are male.

² Anticipating that our data would bubble from the ground up and reflect culture in talk (Quinn 2005), we have all asked the same general questions. They are: 1) Why do you ride? 2) Tell me about your life as a rider. 3) How does this relate to the kind of person you are? 4) How does riding relate to other aspects of your life? And 5) How is your experience the same or different from the experiences of other people? Transcribed interviews are from five to twenty pages long, single-spaced. Interviewees chose pseudonyms. Informants' horses are given numbers, because associating a series of named horses with our pseudonymed informants would compromise their anonymity.

stylings, as they narrate their experiences of being and becoming horsewomen from childhood to old age, not only offer self portraits as time rebels that break the rules and go against more traditional constructs of aging (in its association with declining physical health and decrepitude), but also reflect and reproduce the four-stage trope described by Landau (1991) as the humble hero tale. Using the narrative data from our interviews, we examine older women riders' narratives to compare and contrast their origin stories and pathways that ultimately lead to adventures in aging.

Humble Heroes³

According to Quinn (2005:2), "discourse is duplex; it both enacts and produces culture." The following quotations not only reveal "culture in talk" when it comes to content analysis, but they also uncover culture in the very structure of tale telling. Landau analyzes tales of human evolution, identifying common themes within each of the major theorist's renderings. Although the elements vary in each anecdote, they are all present, and contain four essential components (Laundau 1991:x):

- A humble hero departs on a journey.
- The hero receives essential equipment from a helper, prime mover or donor figure.
- The hero goes through tests and transformations.
- The hero finally arrives at a higher state.

Similar to the humble hero of evolutionary narratives, riders' histories share a similar storyline construction: she departs on a path to riderhood, with horses acting as prime movers, she and her horse partner undergo various tests, and she reaches a higher state, as a self-described "Krusty old broad"—or still-accomplished equestrian—challenging traditional stereotypes of aging.

Although not strictly following the order of Landau's schema of the humble hero tale, the overall narratives of Krusty, Black Bear, HotShoeSue, and Skye encode all four elements of it. Integral to each tale with its four component elements is the existence of a co-hero, a horse without which these heroines would not have become the riders they are today. The presentation of narratives that follows describes how our informants voice the storyline.

First, Our Humble Heroes Depart on a Journey

The equestrienne's journey takes the form of a departure from an earlier stage where she did not have

a horse to one where she did. This early stage may be characterized by an intense interest in or a desire to have a horse. Hot Shoe Sue grew up with horses, and Black Bear had contact with horses, but Skye and Krusty did not. Krusty, our inspiration for the title of this paper, has an origin story that features her departure on life's equestrian journey that includes two parts. First, as a child:

My life as a rider developed in a family of four. I was the only one who liked horses. It's like something I caught when I was young— like a lifetime disease. Nobody else in the family caught it... I remember getting the Arabian Horse World magazine. It was like looking at Playboy magazine is for some men. I got my first horse when I graduated from high school.

Then, she places herself in humble beginnings with horses, both poor and tied to nature.

When I moved up to Minnesota, we moved into the woods in a tent with no electricity. [A man] taught me how to work them [horses] in harness and skip the wood and everything.

Endurance rider Skye says:

I always wanted to have a horse, but I was not raised in a family that had enough money to have a horse, and I lived in the suburbs of the city, so I didn't get my first horse until I was nearly thirty. I just took to it like a duck to water, but I didn't grow up with horses.

Other riders also relate an early fascination with horses, but their histories include access to horses from the start of their interest. Black Bear ends the first part of her origin story with a humorous jab at her riding career:

I started riding when I was five. My father and the family was stationed in Cairo, Egypt, and all you have to ride there are Arabians, and every weekend we would go out and rent horses and ride around the pyramids.

And then after that I guess I was in high school. I would go to my aunt's farm...she raised Arabians for jumpers and I would work for her in the summers, for two or three years in a row. I'd never lived any place where I could have horses of my own until about thirty years ago. That's when I started with my first gelding and it's all downhill from there.

70+-year-old HotShoeSue grew up with horses.

I grew up on a big farm in the Ozarks and my father farmed with teams of horses so we had horses everywhere. We used them for riding, we used them for pleasure, and we used them for work. So it was kind of natural that I was always around horses.

³ Since our informants did not tell their tales as gendered, we continue to refer to heroes instead of heroines in order to keep the spirit of the interviews.

Krusty and Black Bear refer to their partnerships with horses in negative ways, veiled by humor. Wanting to be around horses for Krusty was a sickness, and looking at horse magazines was almost taboo. Becoming a rider, to Black Bear, was going “downhill.” Skye and HotShoeSue describe the attraction to horses as “natural,” explicitly (HSS) and implicitly (Skye). Like the evolutionary narratives a prime mover, offering aid of some kind, allows the hero to continue on her journey.

Second, Prime Movers and Donors Enter the Narrative

The prime movers in our horse-riding hero tales vary. As in Landau’s (1991) evolutionary schemas, the horse becomes a key component or donor figure in the humble hero tale. Horses as prime movers are intricately woven into the self-stylings of all four informants’ accounts of their first horses. Horses offer opportunities for character development in the human. Black Bear and Skye each refer to ambivalent relationships with one of their horses, expressed as an admiration for the toughness of the beast and its own hardness. Black Bear mentions a couple of horses that are the prime movers; in particular, she mentions her relationship with a horse with whom she shared a mutual dislike.

She was given to me because the owner had given up on her in everything that she could possibly do. We dubbed her the “hell bitch” after the mare from Lonesome Dove. She was a mare who I cannot say I liked. I never had an enjoyable ride, but she was the toughest creature I have ever known in my life. I basically despised her. Every day I rode her was a competition to see who could make whom more miserable. She was such a tough character.

Skye relates how a particular horse drew her to the sport, and the “high” she felt after her first endurance race.

I had a horse who was extremely high energy and I had to ride her and ride her and ride her because she was so hyper and somebody said to me as a joke, “you should go on [an] endurance ride,” and I didn’t even know what that was. I went to my first endurance ride thirty years ago and it was just a 30-mile ride, but I got such a high out of doing it that I jumped off the horse, and I wasn’t conditioned. My horse was. But I jumped down and I collapsed on the ground in a pile because my legs wouldn’t hold me up; they were just jelly. But I enjoyed it so much that I didn’t show anymore; that was it. I only wanted to do endurance.

Black Bear speaks with appreciation for the “hell bitch’s” toughness, a trait that Black Bear also possesses as an endurance rider. Skye’s horse, although not as difficult as Black Bear’s, was “hyper,” an ener-

getic trait that led to Skye’s discovery of the sport and an appreciation of stamina it calls for.

HotShoeSue and Krusty describe the prime movers—horses that were less oppositional than those previously mentioned. But both of these women portray their horses, like themselves, as both tough and coming out of nowhere. According to HotShoeSue,

I never got on a horse until my children were grown and I got back into it, and I wanted to be involved with being with other horse people. That’s a very important part for me—being involved with other people and other horses. [My first horse] was one that I bought in a sale barn, he was sold to a canner buyer and I bought him for \$320 dollars. He was a three year old and I rode him until he was 13 or 14. So that was, I guess, the first horse as far as being a memorable horse. He’s a pretty high mileage horse.

Krusty continues to situate her journey in the landscapes of rural Minnesota where she brings her first horse into the narrative (which she still has at age 31), who she humbly describes as a “little grade Morgan.”

He did everything. I used to longe the horses out on the lake in the wintertime. I lived in the woods and it was the only kind of open space we had. We had an icehouse. We cut ice blocks and [horse three] would haul them up the hill and we would put the blocks in the icehouse. I came back to riding to take dressage lessons. I’m really glad I came back [to riding]. I was 30 years old. I had three horses. [Horse one] was too fast. [Horse two] was too slow. And [horse three] was just great. Just like the three little bears.

Each rider speaks of different situations, yet the horse or horses that helped bring them to where they are now links them all together. The horse-human pair advances together. As is the case in the journey of the humble hero, the heroes endure various challenges along the way.

Third, the Heroes Face a Series of Challenges and Tests

For each of these women, there was a barrier at some point in their rider life cycle. In the case of HotShoeSue and Krusty, maturity put a temporary end to riding. Skye and Black Bear did not have the means or the space for horses in their lives until they were older.

HotShoeSue faced a gap with no horses as she was raising her family. “I was never on a horse or around a horse until after my children were grown, 30 some years after being out of high school and college, of not being around horses,” she stated. According to Black Bear, her renewed interest in horses started with horse breeding.

I had no contact with horses until I moved in 1984, and I probably got my first horse in 1987. Then I

started breeding my own horses...and I've been breeding the horses I ride since then. I did my first [endurance] ride in '94 and I've been doing it ever since.

Krusty's narrative introduces the challenge of learning a new discipline and finding the horse that fit her.

Somewhere along the line, I found the dressage or form of it, and realized that there was in a different way of learning, in the learning of keeping the horse over a period of years and developing him over a period of years. Then I bought a fancy mare... I tried to show her. I was getting 50s (low score) or something, so we got her pregnant. You know, if you can't ride them, breed them. The next show I took [horse three] and he got a high point in the 70s (very good score).

Similarly, Skye reports a history of participation in different types of equestrian sports.

I became a very elite rider and I rode on the Canadian equestrian team. When I turned 50, I was in Dubai at the world [endurance] championships. As I said, I must be such a driven person because I took that on and by the time I was 50 I was representing my country in the championships.

Growing up, having children and taking on the responsibility that inevitably accompanies motherhood, and overcoming the challenges of improving both horse and rider for competitions, are some of the obstacles equestrienne heroes mention.

Fourth, Our Heroes Arrive at a Higher Stage

On their journey to horsemanship, after having received essential aid from horses as donor figures, and going through various tests and transformations, equestriennes arrive at a higher state of successful, active aging. Aging, however, does not come without its challenges, as Black Bear and HotShoeSue discuss.

Black Bear: I take HotShoeSue's perspective on life that you can either wear out or rust out and I think we're both gonna wear out. I guess, as I have gotten older and more injured, the objects that have become more important to me are the objects that keep my body able to go again, like good drugs. I have a 500-dollar pair of riding boots, without which I could not ride because my ankles are in such bad shape. Um, the saddle is absolutely critical with whether I could ride or not, what with my body decomposing... My job supports the horses, because they are of course a large hole into which you pour money, but it gives me balance. I don't think at all of the stresses of my job when I'm on the trail, and when I'm doing my job I'm not lifting bales and loading trailers and wrangling horses.

HotShoeSue: For me, it keeps me active, I don't know that it keeps me any younger but it keeps me busy enough that I think that it helps me keep myself *feeling* younger, not necessarily looking so, but, um, it keeps me outside doing things I need to

be doing, and hard work is good for everyone, and taking care of horses and riding can be hard work...and I think that the activity is good for you mentally and physically.

Skye describes the joy she finds in riding. But instead of competing in 100-mile races, she is now fine with 25 miles.

So it has come almost full circle now because now I'm getting too old to compete at that level and have to back off... So I just have to learn how to back off and not be so competitive and not win every race, and to finish is to win, and in endurance it's a personal thing, it's not who won the race, it's how you did compared to the last one. So you have to get back to those grassroots of doing it for the sense of accomplishment against yourself, against the trail and about the bond with their horse, instead of being an elite rider. But I don't think I want to quit, no... I'm 62—give me a break.

Krusty, who is an accomplished dressage rider, finds life's meaning in her continued ability to go to her farm and trail-ride through the countryside. Not only is a life with horses significant for Krusty in terms of the physical body, but it also has a mindful, emotional or spiritual aspect.

I still love to ride out. I can get on my horse and ride out now. I like being in the natural environment riding across country. It's in my heart. When I don't ride, I sometimes wonder what the meaning of life is. Riding, I understand the philosophy of the meaning of life. It's all that you know—kindness and all that. It feeds me, you know, it really feeds me.

Staying busy and healthy and adjusting to the older body, these riders demonstrate positive aging in different ways, whether it be physical, emotional or spiritual. Like the hero in Landau's analysis, these equestrians reach a higher stage. They are skilled, older horsewomen. Aging presents challenges, but, like the case of HotShoeSue, who returned to horses when the requirements of motherhood diminished, it can also open up prospects for pursuing life-long interests. It may include a balance of two worlds, as Black Bear notes: the bodily world, and the intellectual or professional world. What aging and the results of the rider journey have culminated in is accomplished, interesting equestriennes.

Conclusion: Humble Heroes and Aging Rebels

This study draws on and contributes to anthropology literatures on aging, sport, and multispecies ethnography. Focusing on the analysis of culture through talk (Quinn 2005) and an exploration of the tropes of humble hero tales, the presentation of narratives collected from sexagenarian and septuagenarian participants shows how our informants draw on their life ex-

periences as riders within different sports, in which they become co-heroes with their horse partners to construct alternative and rebellious schemas of aging. Like the athletes mentioned by Kottak (Kottak 2008:65), in his analysis of sports, the informants in this study are embodied illustrations of what Kottak describes as “examples of individual and team accomplishments, self-definition through activity and achievement, and, presumably, payoffs from hard work—all of which are highly valued by our culture.”

When voice is given to these older riders, however, their radicalism comes not from their portrayal of heroic individualism, but from their association of it with sixty-plus old age. Additionally, in contrast to sports that involve only human-to-human contact, endurance and dressage include the nonhuman animal variable—the horse. As Pálsson (2009) and Haraway (2008) note, relationships with animals can become resources for self-construction and are indispensable to who we are. It is the field of multispecies ethnography that challenges us to look for the “contact zones” between human and nonhuman animals, in this case, between horse and rider. Krusty, Black Bear, HotShoeSue and Skye offer some interesting insights into how lifetimes lived in the contact zones between horse and rider in a variety of equestrian sports reshape notions of aging. In the life-tale narratives, we have shown how the horse as co-hero is a necessary and interactive agent, integral to riders’ stylings of self. The horse becomes a partner that offers riders the means to pursue a lifelong interest and to “wear out, not rust out.” *TA*

Acknowledgements

Sarah Cowles received a 2011 University Discover Student Research Grant from the University of South Dakota for her part of this research project.

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Art washes away from the soul
the dust of everyday life.

Pablo Picasso

Modern Arranged Marriage in Mumbai

Laura Tubelle de González

While arranged marriage is still widely accepted... most [girls] would prefer to find their own husbands in “self-initiated” matches that are fully sanctioned by the family.

Introduction

A bite of fish nearly ended Sofia's¹ relationship. When her boyfriend, a Bengali pilot, and his family served her the fish, she reminded them she was a strict vegetarian. Bengalis eat fish on auspicious days, his mother answered. Her boyfriend was to take an important pilot's exam in the morning. Couldn't she see how important this was? Sofia refused. She and the pilot fought; he broke up with her that night. Three months later, they were trying to make it work again. But I'll never eat fish, she says. She's considering meeting up with a nice young doctor with whom her mother has wanted to set her up. He's not as spontaneous as the pilot, but he's kind. He would never make her do something she didn't want to do.

Priyanka entered the event hall where the South Indian Marriage Meet was being held, and unfortunately didn't see anyone she knew. She summoned her courage and spoke to a few people, participating in the games as scheduled. When the dance started, she felt shyer than ever and hid herself behind a column. She looked to her side and saw a young man hiding behind an adjacent column. They smiled and looked away. His friends noticed, and before the dance was over, brought the two together to talk. It turned out they had more in common than just shyness and were married within six months.

Vidya argued with her parents about marrying within her community. The men drink too much, she said, and I won't be involved in that. So her mother registered Vidya at a local marriage bureau. One family from another town looked promising, and her mother called. It turned out that the parents had friends in common. Vidya and the boy met and liked each other. Preparations began and they were married in eight months. Within a year of the wedding, Vidya learned that her husband's family had misrepresented itself, claiming to run a successful factory that in fact was failing. Although her family felt cheated, Vidya knew that her responsibility was to remain with her new family. She would help provide for them until they got

back on their feet, if that was her fate.

These are the stories of three young Indian women I interviewed in January and February 2013 as part of a study on arranged marriage in Mumbai, Maharashtra. As the most populous city in India, Mumbai is a good setting to learn about changes in marriage practices. I am especially interested in how marriages are arranged today among the educated middle class, as this status often correlates to social change for women.

Within the broad goal of understanding how young, urban middle-class women seek their marriage partners, I focused on these three questions:

Is the practice of arranged marriage still valued?

Does caste still play a role in young women's minds regarding marriage?

If changes are taking place in arranged marriage practices, to what might we attribute the changes?

This essay aims to shed light on these topics as experienced by young women in Mumbai today. With this information, I hope to create a more updated and accurate picture of marriage practices in urban India to share with my students and teaching colleagues.

Quickly, I realized that research in India is a life-time pursuit due to the diversity of the country. India has more than two thousand ethnic groups, four major language families with thirty-six official regional languages, and every major religion (80% Hindu, 13% Muslim, 2% Christianity). Within Hinduism alone, there are over three thousand subcastes within the four major castes and Dalits, or “scheduled” castes. Narrowing my study to the experiences of one sex, one socio-economic level, in one city was a manageable piece for a brief period of ethnographic fieldwork.

Until the mid-twentieth century—the generation of these girls' parents—nearly all Indian marriages were arranged by extended family connections. This includes marriages made by educated, middle class fami-



¹ Names of study participants have been changed.

lies such as those in my study. In the most common practice, a matchmaker, who may be a family friend or relative, solicits possible matches on behalf of the family. After photos and background information are exchanged, a potential match is identified. The boy's family is invited to the girl's house for a "bride viewing." While parents talk, the girl enters dressed in a sari and serves tea, then sits with her eyes cast downward. She speaks only when addressed and normally does not make eye contact with the boy. After this meeting, the girl and boy may or may not see each other again before the wedding day, depending on what the parents allow. (Note: Indians refer to unmarried people as "girls" and "boys" independent of age. I follow the convention here; in addition, I use the term "women" for married study participants, and the general term "participants" for the entire sample.)

While arranged marriage is still widely accepted, girls largely reject the traditional bride-viewing process, hoping to know the boy first. Most would prefer to find their own husbands in "self-initiated" matches that are fully sanctioned by the family. Ideally, they would like to develop attraction and feelings of love for the boy prior to the wedding, no matter how it came to be.

Of course, there have always been marriages for love. In India, self-initiated marriages, especially those not sanctioned by the family, are referred to as "love matches." Love matches are thought of as distinct from, and in opposition to, arranged matches. Love matches can cause consternation and alarm among older generations, since the arranged marriage process is seen as a way to protect the daughter when she marries into another family. Nonetheless, self-initiated matches are more widely accepted today than they were in the girls' parents' generation.

The girls and women in my study are actively negotiating the values of traditional Indian family life alongside the demands and expectations of growing up in a cosmopolitan urban environment. Hybrid forms of matchmaking have resulted from this constant social tension. Several types of arranged marriages are commonly practiced today that are quite modern in style and provide the girl with more decision-making power. Furthermore, the lines are often blurred between arranged and self-initiated matches. Certainly, the girls I spoke to are critical of the bride-viewing model. Yet most will still accept a number of modern forms of arranged marriage as a viable option in a society where being unmarried is rare, arouses suspicion, and in Hindu households, leaves an unfulfilled religious responsibility.

Fieldwork

My field stay in Mumbai came about as a combination of interest and serendipity. I had recently reconnected with an old friend, Karen, who now lived in Mumbai. She founded and directs the Aasha Foundation, supporting a shelter home for abandoned girls in the Dharavi slum. Around the same time, I had become eligible for a research sabbatical at my college. With a contact in Mumbai, I jumped at the opportunity to conduct a brief ethnographic study, updating my knowledge about Indian-arranged marriage to pass on to teaching colleagues in anthropology and to my students.

In order to arrive in India with as much cultural context as possible, I immersed myself in research literature from anthropology and sociology, fictional novels and short stories and Bollywood films on the subject of marriage in India. I subscribed to Indian news channels on the Internet and consistently read Indian social media. In addition, I began weekly Hindi language tutoring and joined a Bollywood/Bharatanatyam dance troupe.

Karen was instrumental in my fieldwork success, providing connections to her contacts in Mumbai before I arrived. During a brief three-week stay, I was able to interview twenty-one young girls and women face-to-face, and survey twenty of them, using a snowball method in which participants introduced me to others. I loosely conducted formal interviews; that is, I used the same set of questions for all unmarried girls and another set for married women, and then allowed the conversation to flow naturally. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. In addition, all participants answered the same basic set of written survey questions, with an additional unique set of questions for married and unmarried respondents.



Five study participants from St. Xavier's College

Marriage in India

It is important to begin by locating Mumbai within the Indian cultural context. The state of Maharashtra is most closely associated with what Indian scholars call the "Northern Indian" cultural zone, even though it is on the central west coast. Traditional practices of this cultural zone include: patrilocal residency (in which the bride leaves her home of origin and moves to the groom's home of origin); extended or "joint" families (in which multiple generations reside together in the same household or in economically-linked residences); dowry (in which the family of the bride is expected—or required—to provide large gifts of cash and/or movable goods to the groom's family; and hypergamy (in which brides seek a husband of the same or higher caste or class). Indian marriage practices serve as an excellent example of endogamy, in which families seek marriage partners from other families with similar backgrounds including caste, region and religion.

One of the most salient questions today for Indian social scientists revolves around change in the expectations of family, marriage and kinship. Half a century ago, Goode (1963) predicted that the Indian family would experience drastic changes due to modernization, including an increase in self-initiated marriages and the erosion of the joint family. The joint family is closely tied to the institution of arranged marriage since the son's bride is traditionally expected to live with his family of origin. Arranging a marriage between families helps ensure that the families have similar enough values to facilitate the bride's adjustment to her new household. If the joint family structure disappears, it should have repercussions in all aspects of the Indian family, including the persistence of arranged marriages.

Sociologist Patricia Uberoi (1993) from the University of Delhi follows up on Goode's predictions by asking, "Is the 'joint family' now in decline as a result of the processes of modernization, individualization, industrialization and urbanization?" (p 382). Recent studies indicate the trends stated by Goode did not occur as predicted. More to the point, the decline of the joint family was not an inevitable consequence of development. In a review of recent literature, Uberoi affirms that "Contrary to received understandings about the modern decline of the traditional Indian joint family, all of [the studies cited] suggest...that the prevalence of joint families may in fact be increasing rather than declining" (1993, p 387).

In light of this unexpected increase in joint families, one wonders how the traditional practice of ar-

ranged marriage is being affected. Are arranged marriage practices persisting and developing in new ways with the demands of the modern joint family? Or are romantic ideals and self-initiated marriages becoming more valued than before by young urban middle class girls, as we might expect with the consequences of modernization and Western influences?

Social media surveys can shed some light on the trends, if only with statistics. According to recent studies, approximately 75% of Indians prefer arranged marriage (Taj Hotels Group 2013), with high estimates at 90% (Ahloowalia 2009). To an outsider, these seem to be exceedingly high numbers for a modern Indian population, especially including urban areas. However, girls today are generally not rushing into arranged marriages of the "bride-viewing" type. How, then, is arranged marriage changing to fit the needs of modern society? Modern, hybrid forms of matchmaking, and the girls' interpretations of them, will be explored below.

If arranged marriage is still a desired option, is there current evidence to say that the joint family is as well? A 2011 survey was developed by the successful on-line matrimonial site *shaadi.com* to "to try and understand the psyche of an average marriage hopeful and the way matchmaking trends are changing and evolving" (Shades of Shaadi survey). 150,000 Internet-savvy users (of a total two million users) of the site responded, with over half in the twenty-six to thirty-five year old age group. Since respondents are all users of the site, we can assume that 100% of this sample would accept some form of an arranged marriage. The survey found that 54% of women prefer living in a joint family after marriage (up from 40% in 2004). This suggests that both partners may be working, and the extended family may be needed for childcare. Therefore, recent survey results seem to support the sociological research on both the persistence of arranged marriage and the joint family.

Current Forms of Arranged Marriage

Surveys, such as the ones mentioned above, report that arranged marriage is still the most popular way to find a spouse in India today. However, today's arranged marriages are unlike those of their parents' generation. In fact, matchmaking takes many forms. It is important to note that the term arranged marriage does not imply child marriage (in which brides are under the legal marrying age of 18) or forced marriage (in which girls and boys have no power of refusal regarding the

Middle class marriages today in Mumbai are most often arranged with full consent of the bride and groom, who may choose from a wide range of potential matches and have the power of refusal.

match). In fact, middle class marriages today in Mumbai are most often arranged with full consent of the bride and groom, who may choose from a wide range of potential matches and have the power of refusal.

In today's urban matchmaking, a potential spouse may be met initially through external means, such as through a community marriage event or registration in a marriage bureau. However, it is also likely that a potential spouse may be found by the boy or girl initially then introduced to the family. Either of these methods allows the families to participate in the important social rituals of engagement and marriage with the outward appearance of a traditional arrangement. This satisfies the family's desire to carry on Indian social traditions while not providing any grist for the social rumor mill.

The most timeless matchmaking method is community-based. When a girl is ready for marriage, her parents will let relatives, friends, religious leaders and community members know. Prior to meeting a boy and his family, the girls' family will attempt to find out as much background information about the family as they can. Because this is a close circle of people, potential matches that come from the community are often the most trusted. In the Indian context, "community" is a term that signifies important aspects of identity, such as caste, religion, and a family's ancestral region.

If there are no eligible matches in the community, parents may register their daughter in a marriage bureau. The bureau is a physical location where parents sign up eligible sons and daughters to announce their readiness for marriage. A bureau may cater to a particular caste, region, and/or religious affiliation, providing access to potential matches with similar backgrounds, values, and expectations. In addition, if a girl chooses to look outside her community, a marriage bureau with a wider range is one way she can seek matches from other communities. Essential information must be provided in written form such as native place, caste/community, religion, language(s) spoken, profession of father and appearance. Birth dates may also be required, as Hindu belief relies on astrological data to ascertain the strength of the match and make decisions about auspicious days for wedding events.

Another way to meet potential partners from the larger community is for the girl or boy to attend a "Marriage Meet." Held at a community center, church or temple, the meet is a social event for people to get to know one another face-to-face. A meet for a particular community or region may be held four or five times a year. Shorter socials that last only a few hours may include the entire family. In all-day socials, boys and girls will partake in icebreaker games, eat lunch to-



Times of India Sunday Matrimonials page

gether, and sometimes have a dance party. There are opportunities to meet everyone who attends, thereby giving the girl a chance to see if she is personally interested in someone. Boys and girls can exchange information in person and their families can follow up afterwards.

Using public media sources such as advertisements is generally not a family's first choice. Nonetheless, if they don't have a suitable matchmaker or their child lives abroad, they may place an ad in the newspaper, such as the popular *Times of India* Sunday Matrimonials page. Ads are highly abbreviated, with basic information, such as the girl or boy's bio data (height, possibly weight), religion, educational degrees, father's or boy's income and often "complexion" ("fair" is the most sought after skin tone, especially in girls, followed by "wheatish," then "dusky"). Caste and/or sub-caste are also likely to be stated. However, it is common today to see "Caste no bar," meaning a person of any caste is invited to submit their information.

For families with few options or for older boys and girls who are seeking their own spouse, another method is to register for an online matchmaking web site. My study participants considered these to be more "risky" since people can misrepresent themselves, and it is difficult to undertake satisfactory background research. Divorcées, widows and those seeking interna-

tional matches may opt to use a web site. As mentioned above, the most popular online matrimonial site in India is *shaadi.com*, which claims “1.5 million success stories.” (*shaadi.com*) Dozens if not hundreds of other matrimonial sites cater to certain castes, religions, states/regions or statuses such as second marriages. In



Shaadi.com Online Matrimonial Site

practice, the online matrimonial sites are like worldwide marriage bureaus. However, a girl can have complete control over her online account, whereas it is more common for parents or relatives to take the lead in a search in the local marriage bureau.

My Research Data

To find out what young middle-class women in Mumbai say about the process of finding a marriage match today, I interviewed twenty-one women (twenty interviews and one participant who completed a survey only). All but two participants have lived in Mumbai for ten years or more, most for their entire lives, with ages ranging from eighteen to thirty-three. They are of middle to upper-middle class, with most families making between one and fifty lakhs a year (1 lakh = Rs. 100,000 = \$20,000 USD). (Note: Four girls didn't know their family income and one declined to state.)

In terms of religion, my sample doesn't reflect the ratio in Mumbai, which is predominantly Hindu (67%), with many Muslims (18%), Buddhists (5%) and a smaller Christian minority (4%) (Government of India 2011). In contrast, my study has nearly half Hindu (43%) and half Catholic or Christian (33%), due to a key contact at a Catholic girls' school. I also spoke to one Sikh, and one daughter of Parsi/Catholic parents who identifies as “Hindu by marriage.”

Fifteen study participants are unmarried; six are married. Only one of six married women had a self-

described arranged marriage (from a bureau). Several others met at socials arranged by their communities, yet these women do not classify their marriages as “arranged.” The initial meeting was through external means, but they developed feelings of attraction and love for their matches prior to their wedding. Therefore they do not consider their marriage arranged, but for love. Their feelings exist independently of the process, and of whether their families had traditional-type “meetings” prior to the wedding to fulfill traditional social norms.

Caste, of course, underlies much of what we teach about Indian society. However, the question “What is your caste/community?” received an astonishing range of answers (See Figure 1). Only one of twenty-one people responded with the name of a caste: Brahmin. The others used their own self-identifiers to respond under the umbrella term of “community,” including

ETHNIC GROUP

- Sindhi community
- Sindhi Hindu
- Mangalorean

RELIGION

- Hindu Vaishnav
- Hindu/Buddhist
- Hindu by marriage (Parsi/Christian family)
- Roman Catholic (2)
- Christian
- Sardar (Sikh)

CASTE

- Koknastha Brahmin

RELIGION + REGION

- Hindu-Gujarati-Vaishnav
- Hindu-Balasinor
- Christian-Catholic from Kerala
- Hindu-caste; Kutchi-community

REGION

- Goan
- Maharashtrian
- “East Indian, Kulbi community, the highest class of East Indians”
- “None” (3 - 2 Roman Catholics, 1 Hindu)

Figure 1, responses to “what is your caste/community?”

state or region of family origin and religion. This flexible term takes the place of and can include caste. One interviewee, Gabrielle, explains, “When we say community, it's a whole package: religion, friends from the church, this particular church, that reflects your region, and the language you speak at home.”

Caste is, of course, a Hindu term, so non-Hindu may not identify with it. But even for Hindu participants, caste is a complex self-identifier today: the young women do not either readily identify with it or want to seem as if they do. Several told me that caste is an “old way” from the past; one that no longer has much meaning for them.

The unmarried girls had surprisingly similar responses in terms of qualities they would look for in a husband, none of which emphasized community identity. This was true whether they hoped to find a match on their own, had a current boyfriend (several girls were dating) or expected their parents to find a match for them. The majority of girls hoped to find their own

partner, but recognized that their parents would help them if they asked. None of the girls seemed anxious about finding a partner knowing that they would be married eventually one way or another. Only one of the fifteen girls expected her parents would go through more traditional means to find her match. She was accepting of that plan and showed no apparent resistance to it.

In seeking a life partner, girls are looking primarily for “respect.” They are surrounded by stories of women being treated poorly (or worse) by husbands and their families. Therefore, most girls seek respect first, hoping to stand their ground in their new households rather than expecting to subsume their personalities to any unrealistic demands of her new mother-in-law or husband’s family. Many girls also seek “humility” and “modesty” in their partners. They say these traits decrease the risk that their husband will make poor decisions based on egocentrism. He should be “loving” and “adjusting” to her needs. The girls believe that rather than the wife being absorbed into the husband’s family, the “husband and wife should be a team,” and “should be best friends.” They should share responsibilities and decision-making.

In contrast, the girls believe their parents would place the community identity of their future husband first on the list of qualities. Interviewee Sabrina says, even though “I am born and brought up in Mumbai, they see me as Sabrina, this one’s daughter, from Kerala.” In other words, parents are most interested in promoting their family values and expectations based on their natal place or family’s ancestral region. Mumbai is not considered the “community” for families who have not lived there for many, many generations. Only one of the girls can claim her community locally, since she is a Maharashtrian by descent, the historical inhabitants of the state of Maharashtra where Mumbai is located.

Sabrina explains that even though her mom would like her to meet someone from within the community, she would prefer her daughter to know the boy first in whatever way that comes about:

My mom says I should marry someone from the community, ‘but you have to be in love with that guy. If you can’t find someone from that community, then we will help you.’ I think 6 months should be good [to know if he’s the right one], maybe a year to spend time with them. Arranged marriage or not, he has to be from the community.

But the girls do not share their parents’ focus on boys from the community, and, in fact, several stated openly they looked for or would look for a match from outside their community. They may assume that they will eventually find someone from their community, but they say it is not foremost in their minds, as they believe it to be in their parents’ minds.

The girls are also thinking towards the future, as their parents are, in wanting a partner who is “financially stable” and has “ambition.” They wish to maintain their current lifestyles after marriage and will rely on their husbands to help satisfy those desires. All the girls mentioned “education” as the foundation for a solid partner: education leads to tolerance and humility, as well as respect for others, and lays the foundation for a successful career and financial stability.

Nevertheless, the girls’ own financial independence is also important to them. All girls said the best time to marry is in the mid- to late- twenties,² after completing higher education (graduate degrees). They also would like to have started their own careers before marriage. The girls agreed with their parents that having their own financial assets before marriage is crucial so they do not depend on their husband entirely. Several mentioned that it is important to be independent because husbands and their families have the power to “throw you out.” Two sisters I interviewed already have their own flats, purchased by their parents in case they ever need somewhere to go after marriage. In the meantime, they will rent the flats as investment properties.

All these potential difficulties notwithstanding, the girls agree that *not* getting married is not an option. The girls say that society classifies unmarried older women as problematic, suspicious and/or clearly dysfunctional. One girl says people may go so far as to see you as an “evil witch” who “can’t be trusted.” Indeed, India’s marriage statistics appear to confirm the very high rate of marriage implied here. One set of statistics shows 93% of Indian women aged 30-34 were married in 2005. (Compare this percentage with 61% of women of the same age in the U.S. in the year 2000; FindThe-Data) No accepted category exists in middle class Indian society for an unmarried woman.

It is also a given that they will have children after marriage. In exploring feelings about their future children’s marriages, they are quite liberal in response. When asked, nearly all participants assert that their

While [these young women] say they are open to more liberal ideas, in practice, they chose spouses along the same lines as their parents’ might have chosen for them.

² Note: The average age of marriage has risen considerably in India, with girls at twenty-two and boys at twenty-six. Source: WHO India http://www.medindia.net/health_statistics/general/marriageage.asp.

children would be allowed to marry almost anyone: an Indian of a different religion, caste/community, or region, even a foreigner. This shows an openness in ideals that is not yet a mainstream practice in the realities of Indian society.

Interestingly, they are divided almost evenly on one category: whether their children could marry a divorcee or widower, even of the same religion and community. Of all potential marriage partners, this category created the most hesitation. Seeking insight, I contacted anthropologist Serena Nanda, author of the classic article, "Arranging a Marriage in India" (2000). She believes this strongly divided response has to do with the unavoidable fact of prior sexual activity and the fear that one may not feel the same love for the spouse's children from a previous marriage (Nanda, personal communication).

All participants report openness in their views of their future children's marriages. Yet my study participants largely come from traditional family backgrounds. Looking at the marriages of all participants' parents, all but one of the parents married someone of their same religion. In addition, over half married someone from the same community (including the same major three areas: religion, caste, and region).

Does this endogamous pattern reflect the marriages of my six married study participants? In the group of six women, in fact, five share *all* aspects of their husbands' communities (religion, caste and region). Only one of six married into another religion; however, her story is unique, with a Spanish Catholic mother and Indian Parsi father. Even more interesting is that four out of five self-initiated marriages resulted in similar backgrounds across the board, as would have been the case in a traditionally arranged match. In practice, there was very little change overall in this one recently-wed generation in terms of community.

Although these young women chose their own husbands, they did so with the expectations and ideals instilled by their parents and communities. While they say they are open to more liberal ideas, in practice, they chose spouses along the same lines as their parents' might have chosen for them. It would be instructive to follow the paths of the unmarried girls to see how their matches will be arranged, how similar their identities will match those of their husbands', and what change, if any, will result for their children.

Conclusions

Returning to the three questions posed at the beginning of this essay, it is very clear from the literature and my field research that arranged marriage is still valued and practiced, with a range of forms it can take. The bride-viewing model is not popular among middle-class urban families today, since all parties hope the girl will develop feelings of love for the boy prior to the wedding. Most of my study participants have a hard time understanding the traditional bride-viewing process their parents went through. Eighteen-year-old Sabrina, related a heated discussion she had with her mother over her own eventual marriage. She has a hard time accepting the traditional model as her mother did when she married Sabrina's father. "You met him once?!" she yelled. "And you decided to spend the rest of your life together? How does that happen, mom?"

Rejection of the bride-viewing model does not mean these girls reject the matchmaking process altogether. Matchmaking persists in modern forms. There is much overlap between the categories of "arranged," "self-initiated," and "love" matches. Among the middle class, it is less likely for a marriage to be strictly self-initiated and self-managed until the wedding and beyond, as well as less likely for a marriage today to be strictly arranged with no sense of individual needs being met.

Girls interested in a self-initiated match would be happiest if their families agreed to the match wholeheartedly. Several told me that they keep a set of ideals in their heads, even when meeting boys for the first time, as if their parents were there with them. Would my parents accept this person? Should I allow myself to become interested? So while love clearly is desired in arranged matches, the values of traditional arrangement also play into self-initiated matches. This is seen in the matches of my six married participants, five of whom share all aspects of their husband's community.

On the other hand, some of my married participants initially met their spouses through external means such as friends, relatives or another external method, but do not consider their marriage to be arranged. One interesting conundrum highlights this crossover between arranged and self-initiated matches today. Two young married participants met their husbands at a marriage meet. One reported her marriage to me as "arranged" and the other as "self-initiated." The arranged bride only saw her husband a few times before the wedding and did not have time to develop feel-

Indeed, the many hybrid forms of arranging a marriage today...are uniquely Indian. What scholars saw as the inevitable "Westernization" of marriage in India does not appear to be occurring.

ings of attraction for him. The self-initiated bride developed love feelings for the boy prior to marriage.

This correlates with the research of Puri (2007) in Mumbai. In her sample of 54 middle-class urban women, Puri relates that her interviewees use “companionate” and “romanticized” language to talk about meeting and getting to know their husbands before marriage. The romantic language of love is not generally one we—on the outside—associate with arranged marriages (when we teach it as merely a social, political and economic exchange). Perhaps this is where the Bollywood influence is best seen: in the desire for romance surrounding the arranged marriage process. When romance exists, or is cultivated, the knowledge that others set up the couple becomes less salient than the feelings of love and attraction between the couple before the wedding.

Indeed, the many hybrid forms of arranging a marriage today, and the many ways the girls participate in finding a match are uniquely Indian. What scholars saw as the inevitable “Westernization” of marriage in India does not appear to be occurring. Even though the Bollywood film scene and popular magazines focus on romance and the needs of the conjugal couple, Mumbai middle-class society seems to be firmly rooted in traditional Indian family values with modern influences that provide more support and power to girls.

Although caste is fundamental to Indian tradition, it is a complex social issue today, even for the girls themselves who understand it in a myriad of ways. My study data correlate with that of Beteille (1991) in that most people are unwilling to disclose caste, defend it, or use it openly as a factor in marriage negotiations. We might understand their reticence to provide their larger caste category, either as something that is irrelevant to their experience, or, as asserting that they do not defend caste as an institution. The 2011 shaadi.com survey reports that 54% of men and 46% of women said that “caste is not a factor” in evaluating their partners. This is an increase from 2001, when it was true for only 39% of men and 37% of women. The survey concludes “modern urban Indians are ignoring or at least seriously downplaying caste as a factor when they seek partners” (Shades of Shaadi survey).

Nonetheless, the experience of caste can be understood from an individual perspective as simply the personal experience of family values: what is important to the family and how does that set of shared understandings get passed down? What are the ascribed roles of family members? While the girls themselves don’t use the term or relate to it easily, we can understand caste among these young women loosely defined as the social and cultural experience of family. Sociologist Shah (1973/4) understands caste values to be

firmly based in the family. Therefore, a person’s network of family relations—as the core of their social world—is the most concrete representation of caste. Since marriages are still most commonly arranged by kin, caste norms are passed down during the process. This makes the parents’ insistence on marriage within the community more understandable as the way to preserve community values and practices.

Factors of Social Change

To what might we attribute the changes in women’s experience of marriage from their parents’ generation? Some of these changes include rejection of the bride-viewing model, later age of marriage, desire to complete higher education first, financial security before marriage, and a more engaged role in the process. Several factors in the literature stand out as contributing to social change for Indian women: the first is educational opportunities.

Education seems to provide women with a basis by which to defer marriage, to set her own goals and pursue her own interests, more often with the support of her family. Indeed, in a 40-year longitudinal study, Seymour (1999) found that profound changes in values and practices regarding marriage and family occurred after girls had begun to pursue higher education. Their opportunities coincided with a move from a small village to a professional neighborhood, in which their fathers worked white-collar jobs. In my study, fifteen of twenty-one participants had completed post-graduate studies or Masters degrees, and the rest were still in school, hoping to complete advanced degrees as well. Education for middle-class women in Mumbai is a given, with families seeking to provide their daughters with degrees and skills necessary to succeed in the modern workforce and world.

In addition to higher education, there appears to be a correlation between English-language schooling and changes in marriage expectations (Seymour 1999). Rowena Robinson (2007) of the Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay found some clear changes among participants in a study in Mumbai in the 1990s. Her research focused on white collar, middle class families. In this study group, similar to mine, she discovered trends related to more symmetrical and equitable marital relationships. These trends also correlated with women’s education level and English-medium schooling. They were especially apparent in marriages that participants identified as self-initiated.

In my study, all but one participant attended an English-language school, and three-fourths of them speak English as one of the languages used in the home. All girls cite English, even over Hindi or an-

other regional language, as the language they prefer to use with friends. Therefore, my study participants are primarily English speakers. It merits more study whether the social change for girls initiates in the English-medium schooling itself, or if it is simply a characteristic of middle-class India.

Some social scientists have argued that the process of modernization or urbanization in itself creates social change for women as they become more independent and individualistic. However, there are a number of exceptions that seem to invalidate this proposition. One is the existence of “collectivist” modern cultures like Japan (Seymour 1999) that remain family and community-oriented, even as urbanites in Japanese cities. Rather than becoming more individualistic, as we might expect with a Westernization model, their social change is based on a non-Western model rooted in Japanese culture.

Another exception is that social change appears to be occurring most rapidly in the middle class over other classes. For example, Uberoi (1993) finds change occurring in middle class families, but no related social changes in the lower economic classes in Indian cities. Therefore, neither modernization nor urbanization alone can be the driver of change, since the Mumbai lower class is also living with exposure to and working in these same urban conditions.

Thus, some research looks to the rise of the mobile, salaried worker as representative of the Indian middle class. The rise and maintenance of a professional, salaried, urban work force may be the catalyst for change in marriage and family expectations (Robinson 2007; Seymour 1999; Uberoi 1993; Vatuk 1982). Certainly, this description fits the lifestyles of my study participants. Robinson suggests that the urban middle class may be “too close” for social scientists to embrace as a subculture worthy of studying. Nonetheless, research strongly supports the urban professional class in cosmopolitan cities like Mumbai as an area of social change. Again, this is especially true for girls educated in English-medium schools who complete higher education. Robinson also suggests that we should examine certain physical sites as locations of change, especially the university and modern urban workplace, to understand how young women are negotiating social expectations (2007).

Urban middle class girls in Mumbai today must negotiate two worlds: the traditional social expectations of Indian joint families and arranged matches, and the modern tensions of urban life with its focus on Bollywood romance, self-fulfillment, and female empowerment. They do so in hybrid ways that draw upon aspects of both worlds, without rejecting family and community expectations nor neglecting their desire for



Girl on train, Mumbai

romantic attachment. However, changes in family expectations support their desire for higher education, starting their own career before marriage and a degree of financial independence. While they no longer must participate in the bride-viewing process over which girls had little control, they have a new line to walk between traditional Indian society and modern urban life. This line is being drawn as they go forward. 74

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to Miramar College for funding my sabbatical research; my Hindi language and Indian culture tutor, Ruma Saxena; social scientists Rowena Robinson and Serena Nanda; my generous interviewees; facilitators Eva and Karen T. Patricia Hamlen and Sheryl Gobble who read paper drafts, my wonderful family who supported the trip, and my good friend and India interpreter, Karen Doff. All photographs are my own.

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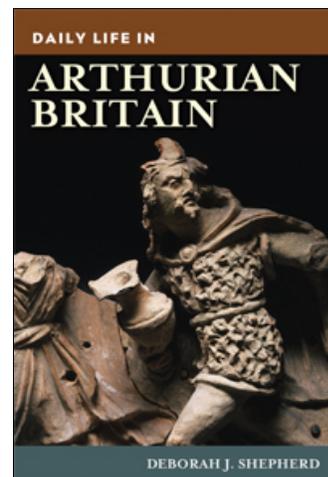
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A Year in the Life of Cultural Anthropology

Ann Kingsolver

I write with gratitude to SACC, the organizers of the annual session on the Five-field Update, the other presenters and those in attendance for the discussion we had at the AAA meetings in San Francisco in November 2012. When Mel Johnson invited me to speak about current trends in cultural anthropology, I nearly declined, because in 2011 I left chairing an anthropology department in South Carolina to direct an Appalachian Center in my home region of Kentucky. I have been teaching and working in very interdisciplinary contexts, inside and outside the university, and have not been teaching cultural anthropology recently.

Any number of people could give a much more cogent update on conversations in cultural anthropology, I imagine, but I appreciated this opportunity to read my colleagues' work published in journals during the past year and to think about some of the current rhythms in this subfield of our discipline. Given what I read, I think these remarks could as easily have been titled "What do cultural anthropologists bring to the table, who is *not* at the table and what is not on it, and where are the *other* tables?"

In the past year, much has happened in the world that has offered cultural anthropologists the potential to contribute insights drawing on the discipline's listening skills across boundaries and contexts, and its tendency to view as useful what some might see as surprising or disruptive juxtapositions. These include mixing temporal and spatial scales and mixing media, disciplinary lenses and logics inside and outside academic frameworks.

In 2011, cultural anthropologists continued to focus attention both on what was called the Arab Spring and on the movement to "Occupy" the world. (The use of the term Arab Spring is, in itself, an exercise in Orientalism. I suggest that students could ask what participants called the various social movements that get glossed as the Arab Spring.)

The various relationships between democracy, secularism, liberalism, neoliberalism, materialism and sovereignty have been explored at length. Many cultural anthropologists have taken up Agamben's (1998) theorization of those excluded from the state, or condemned to "bare life." In the wake of Hurricane Sandy, I suggest that cultural anthropology's attention to state-

less, detained, precarious and excluded populations is relevant to looking at those who fall off the FEMA maps and are thus ineligible for federal services: undocumented, homeless and those living in what João Biehl (2005) would call zones of social abandonment.

As Brackette Williams (1995) pointed out years ago, and as we can see all around the hotels in which the AAA meetings are held, anthropologists tend to theorize about homelessness and walk right past it on the way to give talks about it to each other. In the wake of Hurricane Sandy, cultural anthropologists can bring to this situation knowledge of what happened in Haiti, in the Indian Ocean, and in New Orleans.

The Society for the Anthropology of North America met in New Orleans not long after Hurricane Katrina and learned from residents of New Orleans East—especially the members of the Mary Queen of Vietnam Church—that FEMA funded the rebuilding of what officially existed before, even if it meant rebuilding faulty engineering, rather than allowing people to reconceptualize reconstruction to imagine more communal space. In the case of New Orleans East, if you did not officially exist according to FEMA, you had little voice or access within the state-led process.

Cultural anthropologists have documented state manipulation of contracts and the use of disasters—like war—to redirect capital back toward the same capitalists, in the name of public assistance. (This is like the post-Katrina clean-up contracts being endlessly subcontracted along the Gulf Coast, with resources removed each time they were parsed, until those actually doing toxic waste removal ended up being underpaid and under-protected.)

Cultural anthropologists can bear witness to those other contexts and anticipate similar abandonment and exclusion by the state on the U.S.'s northeast coast after Hurricane Sandy. It is interesting that Occupy Wall Street (also much discussed by cultural anthropologists along with "Occupy" other places, including Slavoj Žižek's hometown), once criticized for being too amorphous in its concerns, has used its divergent networks and diverse skill areas to respond to those affected by Hurricane Sandy. One Occupy Sandy worker in the Brooklyn headquarters told a BBC reporter that the

We should write more about... climate change, cultural citizenship in the political process, concentration of wealth and destructive, extractive industries on a scale beyond belief...

Red Cross and FEMA were supplementing Occupy Sandy's assistance, rather than the other way around, because Occupy Sandy will go *everywhere*, not just to people and areas authorized by the state and visible on the FEMA maps. (See this website to learn more about Occupy Sandy: <http://interoccupy.net/occupysandy/>.)

In the past year, we have seen intense polarizations. Across the Middle East, for example, there have been responses to an offensive and sophomoric video that an equal and opposite population could not be found to stand behind, but which stood in for oppression, fear and exclusion of Muslims across Europe and the U.S. We have seen hate crimes in Norway and increased bombing in Gaza. And, in the U.S., the electoral rhetoric made some wonder what fate Republicans and Democrats would like to see befall members of the other party beyond the loss of an election.

Andrew Brooks (2012) made the point that anthropologists often publish in mainstream media just in the immediate aftermath of a disaster like the one at the Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant. Then they disappear. He urged cultural anthropologists to write more persistently in mainstream media about the underlying causes of disasters. I would add that we should write more about issues either symbolically emphasized or excluded from public discussion in electoral battles. Climate change, cultural citizenship in the political process, concentration of wealth and destructive, extractive industries on a scale beyond belief, are some of those issues. Faye Harrison (2012a), in a review of *Anthropology Off the Shelf: Anthropologists on Writing*, cites a journalist asking anthropology programs to teach *writing* and to write in a way that a broad readership could understand (something I noted appreciatively on the SACC journal's own website).

There are many ways in which cultural anthropologists could participate with relevance in broader conversations. For example, our studies of genocide are relevant to current hate speech and crimes, to the writing off of one group or another and to entrenchment rather than engaged listening. In that listening, we may not necessarily hear agreement within communities, but we may hear *some* attention to others' positions as community members figure out how to move forward.

Monica Chují, a leader of CONAIE (the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), recounted at the international Global Mountain Regions gathering of scholars, activists and artists in Kentucky in the fall of 2012, that after a protest in which they had held aloft spears and boas (the snakes, not the

scarves), indigenous activists had been charged by the government of Ecuador with carrying weapons of mass destruction. Who among us will be labeled a terrorist next, and who will speak up countering that? CONAIE had defended collective land ownership rights in the Amazon against a major oil company to the consternation of many in the Ecuadorian government.

Historical attention to such conflicts over resources, to the roots of genocide and to cultural moments like the McCarthy era and the Cold War—well beyond the ken of most of our students in the U.S., like the Vietnam War—is useful for analysis of current moments of intransigence.

A multi-subfield perspective is helpful for this too. In looking through anthropology journals for the past year, for example, I found David Gadsby's (2012) review in *American Anthropologist* of the Colorado Coalfield War Project, a website for a public archaeology project on the Ludlow Tent Massacre of 1914. The website really helps interpret for students a moment in which the U.S. was polarized between capital and labor, and the state was killing citizens over it. As Gadsby (2012: 356) noted, "the current public dis-

course about class in the United States is incoherent at best." Historical attention to coalfield wars in the past can help us understand what current politicians called, in heated political ads across central Appalachia in the 2012 electoral season, the Coal Wars.

Class analysis has come and gone from fashion several times in cultural anthropology, and we have seen in the U.S. another wave of administrative purges in universities of individuals and disciplines in which Marx might be assigned (as happened with sociology in the late sixties and early seventies). The class tool in cultural anthropology's toolbox is an important one today.

Jane Collins wrote in *American Ethnologist* (2012) about the 100,000 protestors in the Wisconsin state capitol in the spring of 2011, and the dispossession felt by state workers there and by so many workers in the U.S. and also in Europe, where we see increasing austerity measures and protests against these measures. Many anthropologists were not at the 2012 AAA meetings at the San Francisco Hilton, a fairly "one per cent" environment in itself, because of their own sense of dispossession in the sector of anthropology labor. Who was not in those empty seats, and why? Those who cannot afford to attend the AAA meetings are important voices to shift from the *periphery* of the discipline to its *core*.

Cultural anthropologists could bring much to discussions of the marginalization and racialization of transnational migrant workers in the U.S. by adding examples from contexts other than the U.S.

Within the American Anthropological Association, some people talk about how they lived on the borders of unemployment, underemployment and employment, as well as the visibility or invisibility of labor, relate to jobs for which anthropological training is important or useful. They also discuss the pros and cons of remaining associated with academic anthropology, or with the academy at all. Who is not at the table in the AAA meetings, and what other tables should we be around instead? Here are some other ways to address this question that cultural anthropologists have written about in the past year.

More persistently, questioning the way talk of borders gets naturalized in public discussions would be useful, drawing on cultural anthropology to push North American border news to be not only about the U.S.-Mexican border, but the U.S.-Canadian border or the Mexican-Guatemalan border. Cultural anthropologists could bring much to discussions of the marginalization and racialization of transnational migrant workers in the U.S. by adding examples from contexts other than the U.S., e.g., the experiences of Nicaraguan undocumented immigrants in Costa Rica.

The American Anthropological Association itself continues to critique its U.S.-centric perspective and find ways, as Tom Boellstorff (2012), Erin Moran (2012) and Virginia Dominguez (2012) note in print, to participate in a more transnational conversation (a global effort U.S. anthropologists are catching up to, rather than leading). Virginia Dominguez (2012) urges anthropologists to move out of our comfort zones, and to think critically about how those comfort zones—and departments—are constructed and reproduced within the discipline.

Karen Brodtkin, Sandra Morgen and Janis Hutchinson (2011), in their article called “Anthropology as White Public Space?,” look closely at the responses to the online survey sent out by the AAA Commission on Race and Racism in Anthropology and warn, “Perhaps the biggest attitudinal barrier to ethnic diversification is a belief that being an anthropologist inoculates one against racism (as well as other varieties of social stereotyping)” (Brodtkin, Morgen, and Hutchinson 2011:554). They call for increased power of minority voices in anthropology, and in the AAA.

Anthropologists—for all our professional attention to minority perspectives, witnessing, engaged listening, the politics of exclusion and biopower—sometimes create spaces in our professional associations and departments that either silence or fetishize minority voices. Instead of members of racialized minorities on the faculties of anthropology departments being predictably asked to teach the race and ethnicity courses, are they being asked with equal regularity to teach the

core theory courses? As many have pointed out before me, it is *everyone's* responsibility to critique inequities, not only those most marginalized and silenced by them. As Faye Harrison (2012b) argues, anthropologists can usefully unite antiracist and human rights conversations as one project of challenging many forms of exclusion from full citizenship in a variety of locations (including academic conversations).

The combination of white smugness, fear and poor listening skills was discussed over the last year by cultural anthropologists in relation to the discipline of anthropology, exemplified by the argument made by Dominguez (2012) and Brodtkin, Morgen and Hutchinson (2012), and also in relation to the U.S. presidential elections. Aimee Cox and Dana-Ain Davis (2012), in their editorial “Reading Race Now,” point to the sky-is-falling rhetoric of a default white U.S. public about the “minority” majority in the U.S. (with whites now being a minority in U.S. residents under a year of age) and coverage of who voted for President Obama.

Micaela di Leonardo (2012) wonders why there are not more cultural analyses in U.S. anthropology of media like radio stations that provide majority/minority perspectives. Pem Davidson Buck (2012: 105) pointed out that when George W. Bush became president in 2000 under very questionable electoral conditions, “his definition as White and Christian and born in what has come to be called the homeland meant that few seriously questioned his right to rule.” But when a clear majority elected President Obama, the birthers questioned his legitimacy to occupy the office.

The sense of siege for white America has been studied by cultural anthropologists looking at anti-immigrant legislation, ICE raids, impossibly high incarceration rates and the denial of Muslim religious freedom and cultural citizenship. As Cox and Davis (2012: 104) said:

Bodies believed to be out of place, in the wrong place, or grossly illegible face punitive consequences that may very well include their violent eradication.

In returning to the Census and the neat classifications that infuse the data with political meaning, we are compelled to recognize the complicated and courageous ways real, live, critical, defiant human beings... overflow boxes, puncture leaks in social containers, permeate ostensibly rigid borders, and make and remake race.

I believe that a space where this is happening, to which all anthropologists should take note, is in community colleges. Between 1990 and 2010, according to Mullin (2011: 7), there was a 383% increase in Associate degrees earned by Latino students, a 204% increase among African American students, a 230% increase among Asian/Pacific Islander students and a 182%

increase among American Indian/Alaskan Native students. There was a 52% increase for white students. One could argue that counting is problematic, that white students were off dominating four-year institutions and that without the DREAM Act, community colleges are the portals undocumented students often must use to enter four-year institutions that will not e-verify them. But it is also possible to see this as a space in which cultural anthropology has some exciting possibilities far from white hegemony.

Smadar Lavie (2012: 784) writes, “World anthropologies call for engagement with local categories of knowledge, not as data to be presented ethnographically in English language metropolises but as theory that refuses to adhere to the U.S.-U.K. ‘pretense of coherence’.”

I always tell my students the emperor has no clothes. Instead of squeezing their work into the latest theoretical fashions in cultural anthropology,—impoverishing the discussion,—the interesting possibilities of cultural anthropology are in listening to the ways in which everyone is a theory maker. In seeing theory-making as powerful, rather than adhering to the hierarchies that have, sadly, become ingrained in our discipline, community college students have a real opportunity to Occupy Anthropology.

Christopher Dole, in his summary of cultural anthropology’s concerns, said that difference challenges liberalism’s notions of tolerance and inclusion. He wrote of the revolutionary movements across several nations in 2011 called the Arab Spring:

How are those who ushered in these new social worlds going to live together, differently? And, perhaps more challenging, how are those who either opposed or remained indifferent to revolution going to live together with the former? (2012: 229)

I suggest that this is where cultural anthropology’s penchant for comparison across space and time can be useful. A good example is Richard Wilson’s 2001 take on the cultural missteps of Christian logic, underpinning truth and reconciliation commissions, or the many who have written of families and communities going forward after having been torturers and the tortured during the long war in Guatemala. With a similar look toward the political changes taking place in the U.S., as Marzullo and Herdt (2011) point out, it will be interesting to follow the experiences of a generation of LGBTQ citizens growing up in states without discriminatory marriage legislation.

Restructuring is occurring not just from above, as anthropology departments are asked by administrations to produce more majors or perish and states shift money from research universities to community and technical colleges and investment in online learning,

restructuring also is demanded from below. That includes rejecting the label of below and of the structure completely. Many cultural anthropologists have written in the past year about social movements’ attention to reimagining the world. Richard Robbins, in his review of David Graeber’s *Direct Action: An Ethnography*, wrote, “Direct action most threatens power,” he says, “when it evidences a sense of imagination...” (Robbins 2012: 204). David Nugent, commenting on Occupy movements, writes:

Occupiers thus seek to distance themselves from what has been, from what is. The temporal horizon toward which this process of distancing compels participants is the future, which is seen as offering hope, promise, possibility....The sense of rupture that pervades these movements is not just temporal, social, structural, and moral-ethical. It is also profoundly economic and political (2012: 281).

Students in community college classrooms could usefully discuss the question: who is able to Occupy? Is it the privileged and those who are completely disenfranchised? One of the interesting analyses of Occupy that cultural anthropologists published was by Maple Razsa and Andrej Kurnik (2012). They wrote on Occupy protestors in the Slovenian hometown of theorist Slavoj Žižek, who has not been sanguine about “political resistance to capitalism” through direct action. Participants in the Slovenian Occupy movement included the Association of the Erased and the Invisible Workers of the World movements—people who had been removed from the state registers of residents because of their citizenship in other nations. The political power of Occupy, the authors point out, is the forum for the silenced to speak. There was an Occupy Psychiatry in Slovenia, for example, in which individuals who had been institutionalized spoke out in front of a clinic against violent practices against patients. Razsa and Kurnik (2012: 248) pointed to the politics of *becoming* in the Occupy movements.

In so many ways, we could look at 2012 as a year of becoming.... In addition to the ongoing attention to displacement, disaffection and disenfranchisement, there was new attention to affect as well as to Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s writing on the political power of love (2011). We were also treated to Barbara Rose Johnston’s vital topics forum in the *American Anthropologist* (2012), and there was an awakening to the imaginings of a future beyond the belabored neoliberal, post-capitalist oppressive regime by the one per cent. What if we were not looking for a majority position, the possibility posed in democratic elections, but a fuller kind of engagement? What if we rejected the biopolitics of individual blame, Peter Benson (2012) pointed out, and collectively turned our rage on the food and beverage industries that are not nurturing but

killing us? Occupy and other social and independence movements around the world empowered voices rejecting received notions of what is good for us, and opened a space for imagining what might be.

This affected cultural anthropology, as well. Kim Fortun, reflecting on the 25th anniversary of *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986), wrote this about ethnography: “The goal is to come together—to literally collaborate, performing the labor of difference, to articulate something that could not be said, could not be brought together before” (Fortun 2012: 453).

Of course, there is occupy-washing by corporations just as there is green-washing. Educational executives are excited about new forms of online learning that, they gloat, would replace most faculty instructors, especially the tenure-track ones who can speak without fear in discussions of downsizing. The stories of professors with enrollments of 300,000 students look great to university corporation managers, but (as with other neoliberal strategies) this means fewer people are owning and controlling access to that content.

Some of the online university projects even claim the legacy of Freirian and Civil Rights-era literacy or citizen circles, but do they actually lead to the kind of democratization and empowerment that those terms imply? Giving mass access to peer “badging” is not necessarily the same as either liberatory face-to-face organizing or a college education. (One could easily imagine a creationist biology badge, for example. Would that serve as a teaching credential in public schools?)

As with anything else, online learning can be used to enhance or stifle access. Leaving education to the market is something that cultural anthropologists should be speaking up about, using all of the tools in our toolkit. As open-source anthropology sites demonstrate, content can be made more accessible, more focused and more inclusive without abandoning peer review. The current language about higher education can sometimes sound like occupy-washing while actually drawing tighter lines around power and class elites. The “one per cent” will still be sending their children to private universities with in-person conversations and peer review as others are expected to take a seat in the 300,000-person classroom.

The Internet does have some interesting possibilities for connecting community college anthropology students who may have neither the time nor money to study abroad with students in other nations. It can enable them to do collaborative projects via wikis and other free electronic portals. Students are able to figure out how to communicate with each other. I have seen people using Google translator to overcome language

barriers because their state or institution does not fund language instruction.

The topic of water has a lot of potential for such collaborations across national contexts. Everybody has theories and analyses to share about water, especially in the current moment of extreme privatization. Young people are really ready to talk, not only about the critiques we have tended to emphasize in cultural anthropology, but about the future, about what community well-being would look like and how to make that happen.

After going through what I saw as my charge here—looking at the past year in some cultural anthropology journals and summarizing some trends—I would like to end with Smadar Lavie’s (2012: 781) call for “multiple genres of testimony” and liberation from the “limitations of the U.S.-U.K. anthropological journal article formulae.” As they are from peer-reviewed publications, I would also suggest to community college students that they consider themselves part of a conversation in cultural anthropology as equal participants with those they read and read about, exploring their own stories and ethnographic genres. *7A*

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