Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes

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Introduction

The papers by Jason Antrosio, Steven Black, Bob Muckle, and Alisse Waterston are written versions of presentations delivered for SACC's invited symposium, "Current Issues in Anthropology: Five-Fields Update," at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meetings in Chicago, November 2013. Beverly Bennett's is a written version of her presentation at SACC's invited session on teaching, "I Love It When You… ," from the same AAA conference. Nikki Gorrell, Paul McDowell, and Philip Stein presented their papers at the annual "SACCfest" in Austin, April 2013.

Among the social sciences and humanities, anthropology enrolls fewer students in college and is arguably the least understood by the public. As **Alisse Waterston** informs us, however, the American Anthropological Association has 2,000 fewer members yet over two-and-a-half times the number of publications than the American Sociological Association. She explains the history and rationale of AnthroSource and AAA's robust publishing program, and demonstrates how it is poised to increase anthropology's influence in the public square.

Knowledge of human genetics has increased so rapidly that it's a challenge for us all to keep abreast of the changes. So veteran physical anthropology professor and textbook author **Philip Stein** has been wondering why so many of us are still limiting our introductory survey courses to Mendelian genetics. He suggests some answers to the question and offers his own prescription for what today's courses ought to present.

We in the profession know that anthropology offers much insight into the nature of current problems and issues. But, as **Jason Antrosio** points out, "every anthropological term is up for debate." Not to worry, though. The author introduces us to some recent books and resources by anthropologists who have become publicly acknowledged cultural interpreters. And he argues persuasively that, with the aid of the Internet and the "blogosphere," we can join these colleagues and take the debate beyond our offices and specialized journals and "out of doors" among the lay public.

Beverly Bennett describes role-playing simulations in classrooms as a learning technique. Her own experiences have shown role playing to be an effective way to involve students as active learners, and most students seem to enjoy the simulations. The author presents a wide variety of scenarios and situations that work well and that allow students to experience the world from the culture bearers' perspectives.

Faced with shrinking budgets, over-reliance on adjunct faculty, and (therefore) a paucity of offerings, community colleges are hard-put to provide students with adequate exposure to the variety of cultures that exist in the world. **Paul McDowell** has found one way to address this problem through a course he inherited from it creator, Henry Bagish, titled "Cultures Around the World." He describes both the on-site and online versions of this self-directed course.

Bob Muckle provides us with an up-to-date survey of what's happening in North American and British archaeology in the worlds of scholarship and academe as well as in the commercial sectors. We are taken on a literary tour that includes politics and budget woes in Canada and the US, archaeologists' uses of social media to "crowdsource" (fund-raise), the discovery of the bones of King Richard III and the decline of Stonehenge as a tourist attraction in the UK, 20,000 year-old pottery in China, and much more.

While many anthropologists understand less about anthropological linguistics than about our other sub-disciplines, we all use the subject of its studies—language—to ply our trade. As **Steven Black** reminds us, "language is to human sociality what water is to fish mobility—often invisible and usually unexamined, yet always crucial." He illustrates that beyond studying its symbolic character, viewing language in terms of its success in producing social actions can be a useful ethnographic tool.

Community colleges face some challenges not shared by all institutions of higher education. Our doors are open to anyone with the equivalent of a high school education; we require no additional proof of competence or qualification. This results in a highly diverse student body—socioeconomic status, ethnicity, nationality, age, absence of test scores—all are welcomed. After four years of community college teaching, **Nikki Gorrell** feels that our students can relate much of anthropology to their lives meaningfully by working in groups and taking control of the teaching. Here, she explains how.

[Unless otherwise labeled, photos and graphics are public domain.]

Lloyd Miller

About Contributors

Jason Antrosio is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Hartwick College. He received his PhD from the Johns Hopkins University, based on fieldwork in Túquerres, Colombia. Working in the northern Andean highlands of South America, he has researched topics of consumption and development programs, artisan and peasant economies, and globalization. Since 2005, he has collaborated with Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld on fieldwork in Ecuador, comparing family firms of indigenous and mestizo sweater-producers in the neighboring towns of Otavalo and Atuntaqui. Their forthcoming collaborative book is *Invasive Economies and Artisan Futures: Innovation, Inequality and the Commons*. Antrosio has focused recently on promoting anthropological knowledge and understandings, blogging at "Living Anthropologically" and editing an anthropology blog-update site, "Anthropology Report."

Beverly Bennett is a full-time faculty member in the Social Science Department of Wright College, Chicago. She is working to expand the college's offerings in anthropology and also teaches sociology. Her primary research focus has been the Peruvian Amazon, with a topical emphasis on medical anthropology. Beverly has also done diverse work in applied anthropology. She is chair of the SACC Awards Committee.

Steven P. Black is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Georgia State University. He has conducted ethnographic research on HIV/AIDS, support and activism in Durban, South Africa and has also worked on a project on communication in university jazz ensemble rehearsals in southern California. His other publications include *Stigma and Ideological Constructions of the Foreign: Facing HIV/AIDS in South Africa*, *Language Socialization and Verbal Improvisation* (with Alessandro Duranti), and *Creativity and Learning Jazz: The Practice of ŒListening*.

Nikki Gorrell is program head for the anthropology program at College of Western Idaho. She is the adviser and program coordinator of the CWI Anthropology Club, that is currently engaged in a multi-year petroglyph-recording project at Celebration Park in southwest Idaho. Nikki also serves as cultural anthropology adviser on the Canyon County Historic Preservation Commission. She has done extensive fieldwork in both the Basque Country and the Mayan culture area. Her past times include cycling, hiking, and organic gardening.

Paul V. McDowell is an instructor in anthropology at Santa Barbara City College. He inherited a popular course titled, like the book, *Cultures Around The World,* from its founder SBCC anthropology professor Henry Bagish. Paul obtained his doctorate from the University of British Columbia, Vancouver in 1974, based on the study of Cantel, a factory and peasant community in Guatemala. He also has authored several articles and papers on the integration of Guatemala in a global economy. Currently the Adjunct Faculty Representative on the SBCC Academic Senate, he is a strong advocate of rights for the college's contingent faculty and has written about the increased marginalization of higher education.

Bob Muckle has had his own CRM firm, has worked extensively with Indigenous peoples, and has directed many field projects. Publications include *Introducing Archaeology*, *Reading Archaeology*, and *The Indigenous Peoples of North America*, published by the University of Toronto Press. He also writes a monthly column, "Archaeology in North America," for the AAA's digital newsletter *Anthropology News*. He may be followed on Twitter at @bobmuckle or contacted at bmuckle@capilaou.ca.

Philip L. Stein is Professor of Anthropology Emeritus at Pierce College, Woodland Hills, CA. He is a past-president of SACC and a long-time, active member. He is co-author with Bruce Rowe of *Physical Anthropology*, (11th ed., McGraw Hill), and co-author with his daughter, Rebecca Stein, of *Anthropology of Religion, Magic, and Witchcraft*, (3rd ed., Pearson).

Alisse Waterston is AAA President-elect and editor of *Open Anthropology*. She is Professor of Anthropology, at John Jay College, City University of New York, and author most recently of *My Father's Wars: Migration, Memory and the Violence of a Century* (Routledge). She may be reached at: awaterston@jjay.cuny.edu

The AAA Publishing Program, The Digital Revolution, and Anthropology: Challenges and Opportunities in Scholarly Publishing

Alisse Waterston
John Jay College, CUNY

I was invited to present on the SACC panel, "The Five Fields Update," during the 2013 AAA meetings to represent Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology, which has come to be understood as the fifth field in our amazingly rich discipline. As an applied and an academic anthropologist, my own career attests there are no easy divisions that make practicing and applied anthropology entirely distinct from the other subfields or from academia. As anthropologists, we know that everything has a history and a context. So too, the discipline (Rylko-Bauer et al 2006).

In this current moment—a moment that has been some time coming—the realities that shape how anthropologists perform their profession have brought more and more of us in direct engagement with some combination of practicing, applied and public interest anthropology. In an ever-growing number of cases, this has to do with shifts in the academic marketplace: the reality is there are fewer and fewer full-time, tenure track positions in the academy—more true for fields like anthropology than the STEM fields. The word on the street has it that approximately 60% of PhDs in anthropology now find employment outside the academy, though we're not entirely sure of that number or where those anthropologists are or what they are doing.

According to data collected by the American Anthropological Association's (AAA) Committee on Labor Relations, we do know that

> The number of faculty teaching in the US in non-tenure track, contingent positions—defined as part-time or adjunct faculty, full-time non-tenure track, postdoctoral teachers, or graduate student teaching assistants—has more than doubled since 1970. Today, these colleagues teach more than 75% of classes nationwide…[and are] fully half of all higher education faculty in the United States" (Kasmir).

In all, some full- and part-time academics now take on applied anthropology projects and positions, some are anthropologists applying their anthropological skills or maintaining their anthropological identity in the non-academic workplace, and some are people who have been trained in anthropology who have dropped the discipline from their professional identity as they make their way in other professional capacities.

This circumstance highlights the fact that anthropology operates in the world as it currently exists where the humanities, social sciences, and the arts are relatively under-appreciated and underprivileged, and where financial support for academia continues to decline. Compared to many other disciplines, anthropology is relatively small and often marginalized. I believe anthropology is *large* in terms of what it offers the world—offerings captured in the presentations heard in the SACC session. Anthropology is an extraordinarily robust discipline and has enormous potential to provide essential knowledge and critical insight on the most important issues of our times.

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This brings me to the focus of my paper: the state and future of AAA's publishing program, an issue that affects *all* anthropologists. The factors affecting the discipline also have consequences for the production and dissemination of anthropological knowledge. The AAA publishing program operates in context of an ever changing technological and market environment involving shrinking library budgets, the expansion in the number of new journal titles, new technology, and new reader expectations, including open-access. Taken together, these issues affect all anthropologists regardless of sub-discipline, employment venue (in and outside the academy), or focus (academic, practicing, applied and/or public interest work). In what follows, I briefly review challenges and opportunities for the AAA publishing program in context of the discipline as a whole and describe some specific steps taken by the association that have implications for anthropology's future.

The American Anthropological Association is the largest professional association of anthropologists in the world. AAA supports an enormous number of publications and its publications program is enormously ambitious—much greater than its social science and humanities counterparts. AAA has a membership of 12,000, and it has 27 publications: 21 are published with Wiley-Blackwell and six are self-published (AAA Publications List). In contrast, the American Sociological Association has 14,000 members and 10 publications; the Modern Language Association has 30,000 members and four major publications and one newsletter.

Some observers may think AAA has gotten in over its head with all these publications. Indeed, that large number reflects the surge in new journals that have made their appearance over the past several decades. For anthropologists and anthropology, these publications reflect the diversity of interests and expertise that is a hallmark of the discipline. AAA has supported the emergence and maintenance of these publications because it believes the knowledge, information, and insights disseminated in them have great value. AAA also supports these publications because they contribute to the robust publishing program and its overall mission to

> …further the professional interests of anthropologists; to disseminate anthropological knowledge and its uses to address human problems; to promote the entire field of anthropology in all its diversity; and to represent the discipline nationally and internationally, in the public and private sectors (AAA FAQs).

Of course, this ambitious publishing program does not operate in a vacuum. In fact, it has, and continues to, come up against real world contingencies, not least the enormous financial costs of publishing. The emergence and evolution of AnthroSource, the AAA's digital publishing program, offers a case study in the complexities and context of scholarly publishing.

For some time leading up to the 2002–2003 decision to design and develop AnthroSource, a crisis in scholarly publishing was brewing. Some might say it had exploded. University librarians called it the "serials crisis," which refers to the upsurge in the cost of journal subscriptions and in the number of scholarly journals available for subscription. AAA publications were feeling the pinch.

Starting in the 1990s, libraries began dropping subscriptions to anthropology journals, which were the main revenue source for large AAA journals such as *American Anthropologist* and *American Ethnologist*. It is important to point out that for AAA, of the two

dozen-plus section publications, only a handful was ever supported by subscription revenue. Most were considered member benefits and supported by membership dues contributions. The cost of producing and distributing the publication was borne by the publishing section, plus the in-kind contributions of editors and their institutions.

Coinciding with the "serials crisis" was a brewing "membership crisis" in which membership numbers for some sections saw a decline as the number of new sections began to grow. It was at this juncture the AAA executive leadership and many of the impacted sections recognized that the current publishing model would not be tenable for long. Taking seriously its responsibility to serve the interests of anthropologists, including its role as a key agent in the dissemination of anthropological knowledge, AAA developed AnthroSource. The AnthroSource project was visionary—AAA was the first among the social science and humanities disciplines to take the electronic database publishing plunge.

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The transition to AnthroSource was very painful for most everyone involved. It required enormous financial resources—resources less available to anthropology than to other scientific disciplines, a condition that persists into the present. It required painstaking and labor-intensive technological and communications efforts, including the conversion of titles to a new editorial workflow and dual media (print and electronic) production processes. AAA also had to find ways to clearly explain a complicated situation to members and section leaders without exacerbating tensions between large and small sections.

Despite the challenges in developing AnthroSource, AAA did accomplish its first set of goals: to create a digital package of over 30 anthropology journals and newsletters as an electronic database of AAA publications available to academic users by library subscription or, for individuals, as a benefit of their AAA membership (AnthroSource List of Publications). For the over 50% of anthropologists not affiliated with a university, this meant *finally* gaining access to anthropological knowledge without breaking the household bank.

Thus, AnthroSource emerged in response to competition-driven market forces and an outcome of the crisis in academic publishing. That crisis reveals the ways in which scholars and their affiliate institutions are deeply embedded in and dependent upon *enterprise* for livelihoods, reputations, and the circulation of ideas, whether we like to admit it or not. Under conditions of resource scarcity, AnthroSource emerged as

a distribution tool developed at the intersection of new digital technology and the market economy.

AnthroSource opened up space to envision the AAA publishing program as a collective good. In 2006, AAA developed the "portfolio principle" that affirms commitment to the diverse collective of AAA publications to the smaller, more vulnerable and historically underrepresented sections and their publications and to the contributions and requirements of the larger, more mainstream publications.

The "portfolio principle" meant—and still means—that those publications that drive subscriptions and bring in revenue get their cost needs met (and those publications are *American Anthropologist* and *American Ethnologist*), and at the same time they help sustain and bring in vanguard voices that by virtue of being part of AnthroSource add value to the package. The "portfolio principle" allowed us to think and act collectively to support one another.

And the "portfolio principle" was able to work because AAA managed to forge a financially rewarding revenue sharing arrangement with its publishing partner, Wiley-Blackwell (W-B). For the life of the agreement, W-B guarantees AAA a royalty payment of roughly $500k per year out of the net surplus (subscription proceeds in excess of production and marketing costs), allowing all participating AAA publishing sections to enjoy a share of this revenue, regardless of whether an individual publication takes in less revenue than it costs to produce. Wiley-Blackwell's expansive international reach has also played a major role in steady gains in ISI ratings (impact factor) that several of the journals have enjoyed over the past five-seven years.

That agreement ends in 2017, just three short years from now. The current publishing environment remains fragile. University library budgets continue to shrink, and librarians continue to accommodate their short budgets by dropping some subscriptions and by securing good deals on bundled electronic packages. In the meantime, the cost of producing and distributing anthropological content is on the rise; the financial burdens of printing and snail-mailing journals are enormous. Meanwhile, more readers expect content to be delivered to them free-of-charge.

The AAA Executive Board (EB) is charged with making decisions that try to best represent the interests of AAA's 40+ sections and interest groups and its 12,000 members. In terms of the publishing program, this means facilitating the adaptation of the publishing program to ongoing changes in publication conditions, promoting both sustainability of the publishing program and the broadest possible dissemination of knowledge.

At times, it is difficult to bring these multiple goals into agreement; our ideals don't always match up with the competitive economic environment within which we all operate. AAA decisions involve balancing compromise in the context of those real life contingencies and weighing consequences for the collective good. As we see, the publishing program is complicated, involving multiple stakeholders, publications, and sections of different size that produce and distribute a rich array of anthropological content in a way that does not break the bank of individual member households, sections, and the AAA as a whole. At the same time, editorial control remains in the hands of editors and their sections, the AAA retains copyright, and authors retain liberal rights. Individuals who participate as authors and editors accrue benefits that translate into jobs, prestige, promotion, merit increases, tenure, grant support, and office space—all of which are tangible and intangible gains. Their affiliate institutions (usually but not exclusively universities and colleges) also accrue the important benefits of enhanced reputation and prestige, hugely valuable exposure for these institutions.

> *Over the past several years, … the key AAA publc committees have been working diligently to figure out how to sustain a diverse range of publications and ensure the broadest possible access to those publications.*

This is all great, but it is not enough, especially as we face future negotiations with potential publishing partners in difficult times for the whole field of publishing, including scholarly publishing. Over the past several years, the Committee on the Future of Print and Electronic Publishing (CFPEP) and the EB's Anthropological Communication Committee (ACC), the key AAA publishing committees have been working diligently to figure out how to sustain a diverse range of publications *and* ensure the broadest possible access to those publications. With anthropologist Deb Nichols at the helm, CFPEP has spent the past two+ years evaluating alternative publishing models in a consultative process with multiple stakeholders to develop five- and ten-year plans for AAA publishing, including but not limited to open access models. These discussions and decisions are ongoing and a major topic in panel sessions, and as well as in section and Section Assembly, CFPEP, ACC, and EB meetings during the 2013 annual meeting in Chicago.

In the meantime, pilot projects and experiments are underway. *Open Anthropology*, the new AAA public journal, launched in April 2013, is designed to bring

anthropological knowledge and insight into the public conversation on critical issues of our times (http://www.aaaopenanthro.org/). In 2014, *Cultural Anthropology* will experiment in open-access, devoting a significant portion of the section's savings to that experiment (http://production.culanth.org/#).

There are many unanswered questions about how "Gold" open access publishing might work for the AAA publishing program. After all, "free access" for readers does not mean "free from costs," even with electronic distribution. And "free" for the reader may put an undue burden on an individual author (the "author pays" model), the sponsoring section ("savings" only go so far—what new revenue will sustain the journals?), or Association members who may feel they are disproportionately supporting access to content that others—regardless of their ability to pay—are getting for free. "Free" for the reader may also exacerbate the kind of elitism that already exists in academia in which financially well-endowed private universities can support "open access," leaving public community, city, and state universities and their faculty in the wake.

In subtitling this paper "Challenges and Opportunities in Scholarly Publishing," I realize that my focus has been reviewing some of the challenges and describing some of the AAA responses to them. We are operating in a scary time with a great deal of uncertainty.

We are not entirely sure what the future of scholarly publishing will actually look like, and we are not sure how to support a large number of publications in a way that is most fair to all stakeholders involved. But I do know that for every obstacle AAA has faced to date, new opportunities have emerged, and an ever-growing number of innovative solutions have been designed and implemented by anthropologists who believe—as I do—in the great value of anthropology. After all, anthropological knowledge is a most powerful antidote to the distortions and distractions of ubiquitous misinformation. *TA*

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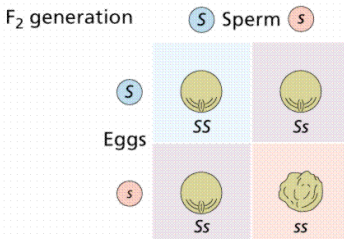## www.saccweb.net

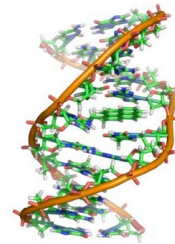Type to enter text   Follow us on Twitter

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Why Do We Continue to Teach Mendelian Genetics in the Age of Genomics?

Philip L. Stein
Los Angeles Pierce College

It means making changes in [instructors'] courses, changes that are not supported by any of the major textbooks.

Physical anthropology is a dynamic field, and we pride ourselves in keeping current with the latest fossil finds and archaeological discoveries. In fact, I tell my students on the first day of class that I'm not really sure what we'll be discussing later in the course when we explore the fossil record. Who knows what new fossils will appear in the literature during the course!

Yet, I believe that most of us do not apply the same diligence in keeping up with changes in the areas of genetics. The field of genetics is undergoing an explosion of knowledge, especially in the relatively new fields of genomics and epigenetics. Yet I would guess that most of us teach a very traditional curriculum beginning with the story of Gregor Mendel puttering among his pea plants; Mendel's principles of segregation and independent assortment; the application of Mendelian genetics to human traits; chromosomes and cell division; and the structure of DNA and protein synthesis.

My background is in biology, and I love genetics. But over the years I have questioned the significance of teaching the details of genetics in a course in physical anthropology. And, over the years, the time that I spend in class on genetics has dropped from several weeks to less than a day.

Needless to say, I have felt very guilty with the evisceration of my genetics unit. However, in the summer of 2012 an opinion piece appeared in *PLoS Biology* by Rosemary J. Redfield of the University of British Columbia. Redfield is a bacterial geneticist and she talks about the lower division major's course in genetics within their Biology Department. She concludes (bold mine):

> …geneticists need to step back from the current curriculum and decide what 21st century students really need to know about genes and inheritance…. At the same time, we should be promoting parallel changes at earlier levels; **the brief time high school and first-year university students devote to genetics shouldn't be wasted on Mendel's laws and Punnett squares.**

Shortly after this article was published, a guest blog appeared in *Scientific American* by Ricki Lewis, the author of *Human Genetics: Concepts and Applica-tions*, a well-known textbook in introductory genetics. She writes:

> And so the story of the monk and the beautiful illustrations of the tall and short pea plants with their wrinkled and round, green and yellow peas that have festooned chapter 4 in my textbook for 10 editions will probably be buried in an appendix in the 11th. For in this post-genomic age, there's simply too much else to discover, in both the obvious and no-so-obvious terrain of our genomes.

Kenneth Weiss of Penn State University wrote in 2002:

> It is important to consider what Mendel might have done to us as well as for us. It's not his fault. He showed that traits could arise in families in a non-blending, law-abiding way. He hypothesized the behavior of the causal factors that might be responsible. It was by no means all luck on Mendel's part that his traits were perfect markers for single genes. He specifically devised experiments in which (we now know) there was one gene with two alleles, each homozygous in one parent, in the strains he studied, with little sensitivity to environmental variation in his monastery garden. He deliberately set up a simplified model of the effects of hybridization. He avoided other traits that behaved less well.

> Natural populations vary considerably and multiple genes, multiple alleles, and multiple environmental effects affect most traits…. Mendel's pure dominance effects were also an artifact of his experimental design. He scored his traits dichotomously, but some of the effects are quantitative in allele-specific ways, or depend on the environment, or are affected by other genes.

So why do we continue to teach classical Mendelian genetics in introductory physical anthropology? One could give many reasons. Here are the ones that I can think of.

• All of the textbooks have material on Mendelian genetics and very little on genomics, epigenetics, etc. (This is not only true with physical anthropology texts, but Redfield makes the same complaint about genetics textbooks for majors.)

• Knowledge of Mendelian genetics, especially medical genetics, is important in our students' lives. (True, but does this mean that we should teach about climate change, sexually transmitted diseases, etc.? In these days of SLOs we should be teaching the core concepts and ideas of our discipline. Anyway only about 2 percent of human diseases with a hereditary component are inherited in a classic Mendelian manner. Even the classic human Mendelian traits, such as earlobe type and tongue rolling, are turning out not to be inherited in a neat, Mendelian manner. Also we are leading our students into thinking of inheritance in general as a simplistic process, dangerous in this age of adoptions and reproductive technologies.)

• My course fulfills the biological science requirement and the biologists will be upset if we don't include a lot of basic biological principles. (I'm reminded of the words of that immortal bard—"To thy own self be true.")

• I would have to rewrite my lecture notes and exams. (Bingo! This is probably the real reason some instructors will not change. This obviously excludes the readers of *SACC Notes*.)

• My Course Outline of Record requires an extensive coverage of Mendelian genetics. (Speaking of course outlines of record, I am very concerned about the real possibility that the current SLO and assessment policies will lead to course standardization and retard changes in a rapidly changing field.)

I have identified five areas of genetics that need to be covered in introductory physical anthropology.

1. Historically, why the discovery of the principles of heredity was necessary for the full acceptance of natural selection within the biological community.

2. The very basic principles necessary to understand population genetics.

3. The structure of DNA and how DNA is used to reconstruct the evolutionary history of species.

4. The use and importance of genome determination using fossil material.

5. The significance of contemporary genome studies in the reconstruction of human evolutionary history.

In my introductory class I now spend about 30 minutes discussing Gregor Mendel in an historical context as a part of my introductory history of the rise of evolutionary theory, expanding my presentation beyond Mendel to the important developments through the Grand Synthesis and the early 1950s.

Around the midpoint of the course, just after completion of the unit of comparative primate anatomy, I do a unit on genomics, including chromosomes, DNA, and comparative genome studies.

I feel that genetics is an extremely important issue that requires a great deal of discussion, but I find that very few instructors are willing to deal with it. It means making changes in their courses, changes that are not supported by any of the major textbooks. I hope that my remarks will stimulate some thoughts and discussion. *TA*

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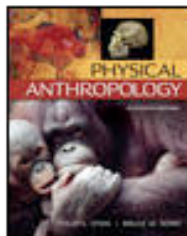
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Cultural Anthropology: Global Transformations, Human Nature, Public Debates
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The year 2013 marked the emergence of Anthropology's big issues in the internet-academic intersection where 128-character Tweets link to 100,000-word books. What is human nature? What is the influence of culture? Is there an ancient heritage of human violence and warfare? The publication of Jared Diamond's *The World Until Yesterday* (2012), drawing upon Napoleon Chagnon's research, and then closely followed by Chagnon's own memoir, *Noble Savages* (2013), hurled these big issues of anthropology back into the public sphere and the Twitter-feed of Steven Pinker, who defended Chagnon and Diamond as validating his own *Better Angels of Our Nature* (2011).

As anthropology professors enter the classroom, every term of cultural anthropology is already up for debate, hashed out in Op-Eds and ever-proliferating blog-posts. At one point in time, the professor could maintain, at least for a short window, the aura of the local expert. Armed with a textbook, an authoritative voice, and the final exam, the professor could probably convince students that culture and cultural relativism were of ultimate importance. While some of that is still possible today—only about five percent of my students say they have heard of Jared Diamond, and I still control the booklist and the exams—the fact is that anyone with a smartphone can be looking up keywords from the lecture, or tweeting out real-time misinformation on the #AAA2013 hashtag. Internet commentary and chatter can lurk behind every lecture.

What do you do when you know anthropology is still the best way to understand the world, but every anthropological term is up for debate?

My approach has been to ease open the classroom door just a bit. I am not ready to open a live-twitter stream in the lecture hall, but I have been previewing a lecture with a blog-post, then asking students to comment via social media. What has been most interesting about this experience is how this tends to crowd-source the lecture. Even though the comments come mostly from other anthropologists and professors, it becomes apparent that I may not have all the truths in the room. I do, of course, worry that the students are not any more engaged, and that they see only more things not to read. Blogging is also a lot of work. However, it seems that if we want to model to students how we engage with the counter-arguments, then we need a bit of exposure to the cacophony of voices.

The other enriching element of this social media experience is tapping into anthropologists who have a public presence, and who have been involved in critiquing some of the worst interpretations about the lives of others. There are a lot of wonderful books out there, and this is a necessarily selective list of what I have been teaching, looking forward to reading, or books I have found from reading those who have columns, blogs, and a public presence.

> *What do you do when you know anthropology is still the best way to understand the world, but every anthropological term is up for debate?*

Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (2013). Abu-Lughod's article "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?" (2002) has been on my must-teach list since it came out, and it speaks to one of the most pressing issues of our time, the need to disaggregate the false images and blanket-statements about Muslims. The original article was written before the invasion of Iraq, and this book is a much-welcomed update.

Paul Stoller, *The Power of the Between: An Anthropological Odyssey* (2008). Stoller is a veteran anthropologist and now writes for the *Huffington Post*. He has a keen sense of the public face of anthropology as well as an eye and ear for good stories and good music. Stoller offers a way to think differently about Africa, portraying not just a tragic frame but the vibrancy of life, creativity, and what anthropology can do in the world.

Rachel Newcomb, *Women of Fes: Ambiguities of Urban Life in Morocco* (2010). I first discovered Newcomb's work from her thoughtful review of Chagnon's memoir in the *Washington Post* (February 22, 2013). Like the previous authors, Newcomb provides a way to disaggregate stereotypes about others with personality and humor. Newcomb has also been writing for the *Huffington Post* and guest blogging at *Savage Minds*.

John Hartigan's edited volume *Anthropology of Race: Genes, Biology, and Culture* (2013) speaks to an opening space of collaboration across biological and

cultural anthropology, re-examining the issue of race, and even offers suggestions about how to re-write the 1998 American Anthropological Association's "Statement on 'Race.'" Recent headlines about race, immigration, and IQ may only be the prelude to arguments that see ethnicity or "cultural traits" as genetically inscribed. In this climate, it is important to keep the researchers Hartigan enlists close at hand.

If we think of anthropology as artisan craft... it may help us realize that anthropology is far from doomed.

Another edited volume, Douglas P. Fry's *War, Peace, and Human Nature: The Convergence of Evolutionary and Cultural Views* (2013), is also timely and important. Fry has assembled a cross-disciplinary selection of experts who can directly challenge what Brian Ferguson calls "Pinker's List" that selectively but mistakenly highlights violence and warfare in prehistory.

Eduardo Kohn, *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human* (2013). Kohn's work offers a way to reconsider how we live in a sentient universe, with crucial implications for the care of our earth. In a cross-over reference, Kohn also was a favorite in Barbara J. King's SACC update for biological anthropology (this volume).

Now, more than ever, anthropologists are doing work that explains the world better than those in other discipline. As Rick Salutin put it in a *Toronto Star* commentary titled "The hour of anthropology may have struck": "I keep encountering anthropologists who help more in understanding how the world works today than other experts do, even in their own fields" (July 26, 2013). Anthropologists explain economics better than the economists, politics better than the political scientists, and have qualitative and quantitative expertise on issues like immigration that is simply unmatched. Certainly there are issues that could use more anthropological attention—gun reform, for example (Gusterson 2013). And as Michel-Rolph Trouillot enjoined, anthropology's "relevance will likely depend on the extent to which the discipline rids itself of some of its shyness and spells out its stakes for a wider audience" (2003:137). But in general, anthropology has been making strides in a positive direction.

Also this year, the Society for Economic Anthropology joined the American Anthropological Association. It is an important step: it demonstrates how the prevalent idea that people or groups or sections are fleeing the AAA is probably the opposite of what is going on. This join-up is particularly important because it integrates a group that focuses on empirical data and is comfortable with quantification, while also being willing to challenge whether certain forms of quantification are the best measures of human well-being.

We continue to have a growing discipline, an increasingly transnational discipline, with anthropologists who are well positioned to confront and explain the changes of our times (Gingrich 2010). Although there have been recent calls to centralize our efforts, or be more public, my contention would be that basically this public anthropology blogosphere is already here, featuring a wide range of writings, a wide range of perspectives, and a way to stay on top of anthropology with simply a list of anthropology blogs or an RSS aggregator.

Anthropology as Artisans

Of course, this is not to say that all is well or that the discipline does not face incredible perils. Having recently completed a manuscript draft with my colleague Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld on artisan economies in the northern Andes, it is interesting to cross this with Tim Ingold's statements that liken anthropology to artisan craft:

> Anthropology is perhaps more akin to craft than art. For it is characteristic of craft that both the practitioner's knowledge *of* things, and what he does *to* them, are grounded in intensive, respectful, and intimate relations *with* the tools and materials of his trade. Indeed, anthropologists have long preferred to see themselves as craftsmen among social scientists, priding themselves on the quality of their handiwork by contrast to the mass-produced goods of industrial data processing turned out by sociologists and others (2011:239).

If we think of anthropology as artisan craft—and that may be difficult when we consider the size and growth of the AAA annual meetings—it may help us realize that anthropology is far from doomed. Like the Andean artisans who were supposed to be eliminated by industrialization but now have inhabited and re-appropriated the post-industrial relics of development and modernization projects—what Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld and I call the "invasive economies" of contemporary artisans—anthropology is poised to face the challenges resulting from the post-industrial face of higher education. Inhabiting the crevices of community colleges, joint departments, and interdisciplinary outposts, combining applied work and non-traditional activities, anthropologists have long been in a must-make-do situation.

But like the Andean artisans we study, we can admire their craft, industriousness, and market acumen. We also must be aware that being an artisan is not—as pundits like Thomas Friedman would have it—a solu-

tion to the problem of stagnant wages and the collapse of stable employment. Rather, there is the constant risk of artisan bid-down, a churning competition that results in meager earnings, no benefits, no security: exactly what we see for current trends in adjunct labor. Artisans can be rapidly displaced and replaced, vulner-

> ***From Ecuadorian belt-weavers to folkloric painters, earnings concentrate in a big pay-out, which somewhat paradoxically encourages a much larger group of artisans to keep on toiling.***

able to the same invasive economies that made their work possible in the first place.

Moreover, we have discovered that these new artisan economies are very much structured by a winner-take-all payout system. Even within small communities of seemingly homogeneous artisan workshops, a few fortunate entrants end up with the bulk of the winnings. From Ecuadorian belt-weavers to folkloric painters, earnings concentrate in a big pay-out, which somewhat paradoxically encourages a much larger group of artisans to keep on toiling. Keeping an at-least part-time artisan operation going is a chance to tap the cash. Or, in academic lingo, the ongoing lure of a tenure-track position perpetuates the adjunct crisis.

This reality becomes all the more salient when we return to the anthropology blogosphere and the Twitter stream. The emergence of the Internet has paralleled the winner-take-all economy, and although there are new entrants and new claimants, it continues to be structured along traffic patterns in which the top sites reap almost all the rewards. Anthropology must be honest that in our move to the blogosphere, we are potentially setting the stage for a new reality of Internet-Twitter stardom.

This, then, takes us back to people like Jared Diamond and Steven Pinker who dominate this academia-and-new-media intersection, leveraging the toehold of position from a scientific field in order to become pop-critics of everything. We step into a space in which the debates about human nature are themselves conducted as winner-take-all payouts.

Nevertheless, as with Andean artisans, such competition and earnings structures need not be cause for despair. Among these artisans, we saw glimpses, sometimes fleeting, sometimes more durable, of ways in which artisans were able to fashion a public economy, or in other cases, an economy with identity. We can similarly be encouraged by a revival of debate and good writing within cultural anthropology, crosscutting with new links to an integrative anthropology.

Tim Ingold has recently enjoined us in an interview with Antonio De Lauri on the future of academic publishing:

> We should spend less time just talking to ourselves. Anthropology is still notably absent from the big public debates surrounding the past, present and future of humanity, the sustainability of life and the environment, and so on. . . . Thus while the internal debate about anthropology's theoretical and intellectual foundations has indeed been revitalized, we now need to take the debate "out of doors," and to engage with much wider interdisciplinary and lay audiences. That's our task for the next decades. (Posted November 5, 2013 to *Allegra: A Virtual Lab of Legal Anthropology*.)

Please join in taking anthropology out-of-doors, taking our teaching out-of-doors, something that the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges accomplishes with engagement and commitment. *TA*

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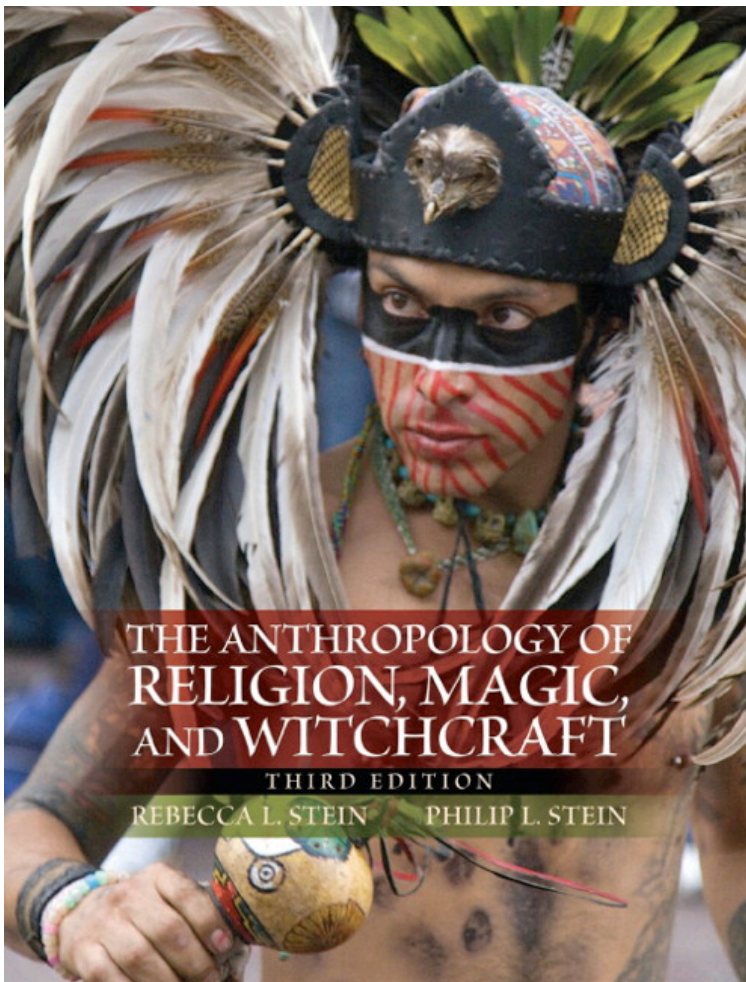
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Experiential Learning:
Getting the Insider's Perspective
through Classroom Simulations
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Introduction

Role-playing simulations can be very effective forms of active learning, as they involve students more directly in the material and at the same time make it more enjoyable for them. Instructors sometimes hesitate to use this type of activity because it seems to require too much preparation, or because it is simply unfamiliar. However, simulations don't have to be overly time-consuming, either to prepare or to carry out. Here I will describe what role-playing simulations are and why they can be valuable teaching tools, and then discuss some of the variety of forms they can take. This will include examples of several different types, some of which can be done with little advance preparation, and some that can even be created and carried out on the spur of the moment. I will end with a list of suggestions for creating and using these effectively. I strongly encourage you to try these activities or to make more use of them.

The Basics

Role-playing scenarios can vary tremendously, but the basic idea is to get students directly engaged with the material they are studying. Students deal with a realistic situation that would have real consequences for the people involved. It may center on an actual situation, a creation of a realistic one, or a composite of real and potential issues. There should be some sort of problem to be solved or conflict to be handled, with different people holding different ideas as to the best course of action. This creates the dynamic basis for the interaction. Students take on the roles of particular individuals following basic assigned identities, but then developing those identities and roles further on their own.

Students enjoy role-playing simulations, and they tend to remember them more vividly than other class events.

The Value of Simulations in the Classroom

Simulations provide experiential learning that can be achieved in the classroom, and that can be shaped to fit your courses and goals. They draw students in to understanding issues more meaningfully, since they are considering real-world situations and trying to work out solutions to realistic problems. Students can become quite engaged in these scenarios, which enhances their learning and also increases their retention of what they have learned (and makes the event more enjoyable). They are called upon to apply their knowledge and skills thoughtfully and creatively. In addition, this kind of activity gives students valuable experience in working together: they collaborate with some individuals and work out how to deal with others who represent differing perspectives and goals.

In cultural anthropology, an important goal is to obtain insiders' perspectives on their own cultures. Classroom simulations can add significantly to this dimension of students' experiences, since they have the opportunity to develop a real sense of what that other person may be feeling and thinking, through taking on that person's role and values and dealing with a situation that could actually occur.

Some Possible Classroom Simulations

There are so many ways to carry out classroom simulations. A role-playing scenario may take a full class period or several, sometimes involving preparation in the previous session. Or it may be even more extensive. But it is also possible to come up with an idea and carry out a meaningful simulation right then. Recently in one class, for instance, feeling the need for a change of pace, I asked for two pairs of volunteers, outlined a situation, and had them demonstrate contrasting responses, thus illustrating those two concepts

in a more memorable way than would otherwise have been the case. (It was certainly a change of pace!)

An Andean Example

Here is a brief outline of a role-playing simulation that I often use in introductory cultural anthropology. It is set in the rural Andes and focuses on people's efforts to return to their home village, which they had been forced to abandon 12 years earlier in the midst of a civil war. This scenario is based on some of my research and centers on a real situation, one that has occurred in numerous villages. In the preceding class I show a film depicting traditional lives in such a village and provide a handout describing the situation in more detail and outlining the plans for our activity. Each student is assigned or selects a particular identity.

In the first phase of the activity two groups meet separately and discuss their priorities for resettling the village. One group is former villagers who have made a special trip to their former home site to consider the possibilities. The other group consists of members of an NGO (non-governmental organization) who will be assisting in this project, although with limited resources. Individual students have roles as villagers or NGO members. Before we begin, I show photos of the actual village site on which this is based. I also draw a basic sketch of the area on the board, showing such features as the nearest water and the local road.

The villagers have individual histories as to where they have passed these 12 years, what they have been doing, and any special interests or concerns they have about returning. This provides the substance for discussion and debate among them. I also group them into families and/or describe their family members who haven't come along on this trip. When the villagers begin their discussion, I usually have them get together first in family groups.

NGO workers each have a special area of expertise, which they will emphasize in debating their priorities. I provide basic aspects for each role ahead of time and then ask the students to envision themselves in their roles and develop more details, possibly even talking with their "family" members before the enactment.

After the two separate discussions, the NGO workers "arrive" in the village. I add details to make it more realistic and interesting. Then the two groups come together, leading to lively interaction and discussion. Simulations have been successful in conveying important lessons in my introductory anthropology classes. For instance:

•Simulations help students gain a sense of what it is like to be a member of a very different culture: their ways of life, values, adaptations to their physical environment, and potential ways of dealing with a disastrous incident and its aftermath.

•As they face a challenging situation, students gain a better understanding of development issues, including what is needed and what is wanted, perceptions by the local people versus those of an outside agency, and the difficulties in their dealings with each other.

•They gain experience in working together with diverse others on a practical issue, including both cooperating and working through disagreements.

•And it gives them better ideas as to how and why cultures change.

Examples of My Other Role-Playing Scenarios

When a class was reading about market women's lives, we staged an impromptu market scenario.

1. After discussing the migration of people from the highlands of Peru to the lowland Amazon region, we acted out a situation in which members of a highland village discussed whether or not that was the best solution to their problems, in comparison with other possibilities.

2. For a section of a freshman seminar that dealt with classical Greece, I created a scenario combining the play *Antigone* with the character of the real-life Greek leader Pericles. Individuals from the play came together with Pericles in the underworld after death, where he questioned them about their actions and their decisions. In this case, each of the roles was worked up by a small group and then represented in the discussion by a single individual, with occasional support from his or her group.

3. Following the reading of a book on an anthropologist's experiences doing fieldwork in Mexico, students enacted a situation in which the anthropologist's son later wishes to continue her work, arrives in the town with her, and is introduced. Discussion involved finding a place for him to live and other practical matters, as well the rest of them getting acquainted, reminiscences, and discussion of who he can meet with to carry out his research.

4. It is possible to have two sides of an issue presented as if in a court, with two sets of people to work up the arguments, then a panel of judges to ask questions and make a decision. A colleague used this quite successfully, for instance, in covering the rights to the Kennewick skeleton in a course we were team-teaching.

5. Laura González recently posted on the SACC website her interesting simulation based on arranging a m a r r i a g e   i n   I n d i a

(http://www.aaanet.org/sections/sacc/?page_id=340). Briefly, students are assigned identities and some specific interests in seeking potential spouses. Then they participate in a "Marriage Meet" where families meet for a few minutes to try to arrange a satisfactory match.

6. I currently use some ethics cases for group work that can be altered for role-playing with students representing different perspectives.

7. In health care scenarios, students representing different viewpoints could argue for competing types of treatment for someone who is ill, as well as differing explanations as to the cause of the illness.

Conclusion

Role-playing scenarios certainly can take many different forms. And they can be very effective educational tools, imparting meaningful lessons as they engage students in direct experiences of practical decision-making and interactions with others. Establishing a clear framework, yet allowing student creativity, encourages participation. Students tend to readily adopt these temporary roles, taking on responsibility as they get a sense of ownership over their own participation. They learn valuable lessons, gain new perspectives, and also enjoy the process. I have found that some students who are usually quiet in class become quite active in this simulation. They enjoy it and tend to remember simulations more vividly than other class events. And these don't have to take a lot of work!

Creating and Using Simulations: Suggested Guidelines

Consider what you would like the simulation to accomplish, whether it's connections to other course material, understanding of specific anthropological concepts, and/or encouraging the students to work effectively together as a team.

Simulations can take one or more class periods depending on the complexity of the assignment and the ultimate goals. I recommend picking a topic you know well. The context for the scenario may be real or imagined, or a combination of both and problem-based with specific issues at stake and no obvious, predictable resolution. Decisions to be made will involve individuals who hold different opinions and have different goals. The scenario, which ought to be realistic, can be based on a class reading and/or connected with a class film.

A handout can be prepared, describing the role-playing situation, issues to be addressed, and what you expect of the students. Students can be assigned a role or allowed to choose from the list. The role description may include the individual's name, background, current situation as related to the scenario (family, occupation, age, experience, etc.), particular concerns, and individual goals and priorities. Students may want to develop the roles more fully themselves. Role-playing may involve such circumstances as the redevelopment of an historic site, two individuals vying for a leadership role, young adults seeking potential spouses, a situation in which jealousy is a major factor, etc. Summaries of individual roles might be printed on laminated cards to hand out.

Plan on how you will organize the activity itself. Make any arrangements for the physical classroom, such as arranging chairs in appropriate groups. You might provide props or encourage students to bring in relevant items. You may want to incorporate music. When possible, you might show a related film or illustrations to help set the scene. Such resources also may help the students delve more deeply into their roles.

Verbally set the scene for your students and perhaps draw a map or sketch the setting on the board. You might throw in an unexpected event or feature that will make the scenario more interesting and perhaps more realistic. For instance, in one of my scenarios I said that the truck has broken down en route to its destination, which required some creative thinking on the students' part. Emphasize to the students that they have no specific script to follow and nothing to memorize. Rather, they are to act as they feel that the person whose role they are playing would behave in the particular situation.

Decide to what, if any, extent you as the educator will be involved in the role-playing. Generally, my students take complete charge of the exercise. However, you will probably want to walk around the room listening to the different group discussions and clarify any mistaken assumptions or provide additional information when called for.

There are various ways to conclude a simulation. Consider, for instance, whether the students have to come to a definitive decision on their issue or have reached a certain point in their interactions that satisfies the goals that you had in mind of the simulation. Also decide whether to allow time at the end of the class period for reflection and discussion about the simulation, or perhaps leave it for the next class meeting.

If this is a graded activity, plan your grading criteria. Depending on the situation, active participation may itself be sufficient. It can be difficult to evaluate individual understanding and performance with a large group. One other possibility for grading would be to include a short quiz at the beginning to test their prepa-

ration for the activity. Or a grade might be applied to a written reflection afterward.

Do praise students for their good work. Simulations offer excellent opportunities to help students draw out their own learning, and they are fun!
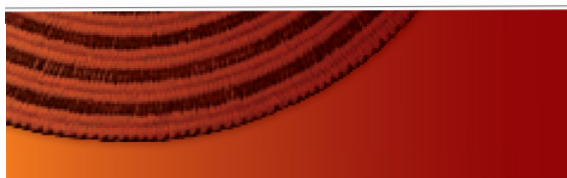
"The book is concise by design. As a core text for anthropology courses focusing on Indigenous Peoples, it provides a basic foundation from which instructors can follow their own interests, be they topical, temporal, or regional. Its concise nature also makes it suitable for use as a supplementary text for introductory courses in anthropology as well as courses in other social sciences and the humanities that focus on Indigenous peoples. The book is also suitable as a basic reference or handbook for those with an interest in the Indigenous Peoples of North America, be they academic, professional, or lay audiences."

Bob Muckle

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF NORTH AMERICA
A CONCISE ANTHROPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

By Robert J. Muckle
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Cultures Around the World: A Self-Directed Series in Ethnographic Studies

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Introduction

A common complaint among students is the shortage of course offerings beyond the four-fields of anthropology. At a relatively well-appointed community college in a major Southern California city, a student asserted to me that there were "so few offerings" on her campus: the four fields plus gender, religion, and a smattering of others. Budgetary cuts are one factor in this man-made scarcity; the current preference for careerist over general educational curricula is another. No wonder that more students sign up for accounting or computer science courses than courses in the humanities, such as English, history, or anthropology.

With such limited curricula in anthropology, are there courses with greater content bang for the educational buck? Santa Barbara City College (SBCC) has offered one such course for decades: a comparative ethnographic course that has drawn high enrollments at minimal cost. Titled Cultures Around The World, this self-directed course offers students the chance to select for study five cultures from dozens of culture areas. The Masai of Kenya, the !Kung/Ju/hoansi of the Kalahari, the Mayan culture area—all are there for the picking. This paper describes the course, its ethnographic offerings, its enrollment history, its transition from an onsite to an online course, and the work that is still in progress. It concludes by summarizing a few courses contained in a companion volume by the same name, *Cultures Around the World*.

San hunters, Namibia

Course Description

Cultures Around the World is a series of courses that comes in two versions, onsite (or face-to-face) and online. The onsite version was begun in 1985 and eventually comprised a series of six courses numbered Anthropology 121-126. They contain 44 culture modules, each of which comprises slides, videotapes, readings, and questions based on these media. The online version began as a single course in 2008 and expanded into a series of three courses with 22 culture modules.

The onsite series comprises six courses of one unit each. The base requirement consists of writing essay-style answers to student-selected questions from a study guide that accompanies each cultural module. In additions to the study guide, each module consists of a slide program produced by the course's original founder, Henry Bagish, a collection of ethnographic videotapes, and supplementary reading. The course requires that the students view and read their selections of the material and answer the questions accordingly. They are required to complete five cultural modules for each unit of college credit if they choose the survey model, or one cultural module for the intensive study. There is a minimum number of points for each unit, based on the number of words for the answers to the questions the student selects. The grade levels are standard percentages: 100-90 for A, 89-80 for a B, 79-70 for a C, and so on. Depending upon the availability of the material and rigor of the requirements, the intensive version may be taken for up to three college units.

The online version, introduced in fall of 2008, currently offers 22 cultural modules in a series of three courses numbered Anthropology 121 through 123. The course requirements are the same: 5 cultural modules per college unit with minimum words required in the answers for each grade level. Financial constraints coupled with technical considerations have limited the online course offerings to 22 as of spring 2014. Student demand has determined the selection of current online courses. Tibet, China, Bali, Mexico, and the Mayan culture area topped the list of student selections. The intensive version is not yet available online.

Enrollment for Cultures Around the World

The fact that these are self-directed courses with no weekly in-class sessions, quizzes, or tests has rendered the series one of the most popular courses on the SBCC campus. Prior to 2009, the mean enrollment varied within the 150-200 ranges, requiring enrollment caps in recent terms. Since 2009, demand has shifted from the onsite to the online series so that in spring 2013, the online courses attracted an initial enrollment of 130 online and 45 onsite. In 2012, the enrollment rate was 141 online and 60 onsite for a total of 201. Since then, there has been concern not of underenrollment but overenrollment. College and state policy in California do not allow enrollment over a specified cap for any course, and the cap for this course series has not exceeded 150 per semester. Students continue to seek admission to the course once the cap has been reached.

Preparing for the Chinese New Year

Cultures Around the World: The Book and the Course

A book titled *Cultures Around the World* is based on the online version of the course and provides a detailed introduction to each of the 20 cultural modules that were available online as of spring 2013. It can be used with advantage in the onsite version of the course

Art engraving, Japan 1911

as well. What follows are sample cultural modules reflected in the book, but they apply to the course modules as well. Represented here are China, the peoples of the Kalahari Desert in southwestern Africa, and Japan.

The case on China represents the model of an ideal, reflecting as it does the cultural precedents of contemporary Chinese society: the Mandarin model of bureaucracy, the extreme centralism of political economy that reaches back to the Qin Dynasty and that has persisted to the corporate state of today, and the innovations that promise to propel the country into global dominance by the 2020s, if not before. The description of Taitou, a peasant community in northeastern China, mirrors locally the changes that occurred in the pre-Communist era, the Communist government period under Mao Zedong, and the current era of corporate state capitalism model by the Deng Xiaoping regime and its successors.

Other cultures are given distinct treatment. For example, the peoples of the Kalahari describe the symbiosis between the Ju'/oansi or ¡Kung and the Herero herders. A standard ethnographical summary is provided for both peoples. How the latter were forced to migrate into the Kalahari by the German colonists of South West Africa between 1903 and 1910 is also de-

scribed, recognizing that what happens in the past impinges on the present. The same colonists developed one prototype of the concentrations camps under Wilhelm II, of Second Reich fame, not to mention World War II. Eugen Fischer, the German eugenicist, was the architect of the camps. These concentration camps were revived and implemented in the Third Reich under Hitler and Heinrich Himmler during the 1930s and 1940s. All aspects are represented in this little known history of the Kalahari and its peoples.

Japan also receives balanced treatment. The miraculous industrialization of Japan after the Meiji Restoration and the equally miraculous reindustrialization after War II, not to mention the miniaturization of home and garden and the principles of Zen, are tempered by such little-known events as Unit 731, the human vivisection experiments conducted during the Pacific War from 1936 to 1945 under the direction of Shiro Ichii in Manchuria. The senior staff, including Ichii, escaped the War Crimes Tribunal through a deal they hatched with Gen. Douglas MacArthur in which

Yucatec Mayan hammock weaver
[photo by Lloyd Miller]

they offered the results of the experiments in return for their release. They pursued various medical careers postwar. The incentive of the developing Cold War prompted MacArthur's decision. Nothing significant is left out in this cultural module.

This book, along with the course that it supports, honors the principles of holism and cross-cultural anthropology that is preached in anthropology textbooks, either in detail or as a tip of the proverbial hat. Students have at least a starting familiarity with the cultures represented, whether 22 in number in the online course or 44 in number in the on-site course. I believe this course offers students a chance to become moderately familiar with some of the world's cultures beyond the offerings that a community college course makes. *TA*

Recent Research and Emerging Interests in Archaeology

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In Canada, the federal government decimated the Parks Canada archaeology program, and an estimated 80% of Parks Canada archaeologists lost their jobs.

Introduction

This paper provides an overview of recent research and emerging interests in archaeology. It is a written version of a presentation of the same name given in the SACC-sponsored "Five Fields Update" session at annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association meetings in November 2013. The paper has a clear bias towards archaeology in North America, although there are some references to archaeology in the UK as well.

Current State of Archaeology

Archaeology is holding its own in the worlds of scholarship, academia, and the commercial sector. Like many scholarly disciplines, archaeology is in the throes of dealing with increasing competition for research money, but has the advantage that many others don't – the willingness of the entertainment industry to fund research. Since television and other forms of entertainment don't usually have the same objectives of pure research, funding from these sources sometimes presents a skewed view of archaeology, but at least it is a way to deal with funding cuts from existing sources. This isn't to suggest that receiving funding from the entertainment industry does not come with its own set of problems, but at least archaeologists have this alternate source of funding that many other disciplines don't. Because of its popular appeal, archaeology also has an added benefit of being able to obtain funds directly from the general public through crowdfunding, discussed a bit more further along in this paper.

Archaeology in colleges and university settings also appears to be relatively stable, although like many disciplines, it is dealing with the realities of corporate models in education and the push for cost efficiencies, including some universities now offering Massive Open On-Line Courses (MOOCs).

Most people making careers in archaeology continue to work within the commercial sector, with

Archaeologists digging in the rain. Archaeology is holding its own in the worlds of scholarship, academia, and the commercial sector. Most archaeologists continue to find employment doing fieldwork in advance of development projects. [photo courtesy of the author]

somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000 people in North America making their careers in this sector. Over the past few years there has been a trend to use "commercial archaeology' instead of 'Cultural Resource Management' or "CRM" although those terms are still widely used. The salary range for North American archaeologists with at least a Masters degree working in commercial archaeology usually falls within the $50,000 - $100,000 range. Although North American commercial archaeology in general is holding its own, there is clearly more work in some areas than others. Commercial archaeology is linked to economies, and in current times it appears that the most work, and the highest paying work in commercial archaeology, at least in North America, tends to be in those areas with considerable gas and oil exploration and extraction. Another trend in archaeology, especially archaeology in the commercial sector, is for companies to expect those wishing to enter the field to take positions as unpaid interns. It used to be that in order to be paid for fieldwork, either in the academic or commercial sectors, workers were expected to have the experience of a single field school. This still exists, but the trend now

appears for students to do volunteer work with companies before being hired on.

Another interesting development in the area of commercial archaeology is open discussions, mostly on listservs, blogs, and conferences, about the potential conflicts of interest of archaeologists assessing the potential impact of disturbance to archaeological sites that their own employers are proposing. Associated with this are discussions of a perceived shift from the preservation of archaeological sites to one of facilitating the destruction of sites.

In a 2007 poll, Stonehenge was voted "most disappointing tourist attraction in the UK" and it was described by some in the tourist industry as an "isolated pile of rocks in a usually muddy field."

Politics has had a significant recent impact on archaeology. In Canada, the federal government decimated the Parks Canada archaeology program, which had been a model of excellence for its research, education, and publishing programs. An estimated 80% of Parks Canada archaeologists lost their jobs. Similarly, the national museum of Canada has recently shifted its focus from one of prehistory and archaeology to recent history. Research archaeologists have been replaced with historians. Although official explanations for the reductions of archaeological research and archaeologist positions often invoke economic efficiencies, it is clear to many that the so-called efficiencies are not real, and the real plan is a

Stonhenge

deliberate re-branding and re-invention of Canada through recent history. The federal government in Canada has also recently changed environmental protection regulations making many areas planned for development free from archaeological impact assessments.

Politics has also been important in U.S. archaeology. There have been many recent accounts of US politicians suggesting archaeology is a waste of taxpayers' money. In a recent opinion piece in *USA Today,* for example, two Congressman (Eric Cantor and Lamar Smith) suggested that the NSF funding for social sciences in general, and archaeology in particular, have little value.

Archaeology continues to significantly increase its presence in social media. Many archaeological organizations now have Facebook pages. There are some very good archaeological blogs, and Twitter is being used widely both by individual archaeologists and ar-

chaeological organizations. The Society for Historical Archaeology (@SHA.org), for example, has more than 7,000 followers. Interestingly, it appears that Twitter has taken more of a hold in the UK than North America. I sense the most active archaeology users of Twitter tend to be graduate students and early career professionals, especially those in academia. In the world of archaeology, Twitter and Facebook have largely, but not totally, replaced listservs for sharing information and discussing things of common interest.

Another interesting development in archaeology is the use of social networks to fundraise, in a process known as crowdfunding or crowdsourcing. There is a recent article on this in the September 2013 issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record*. Crowdfunding has recently been used to fund archaeological fieldwork, conserve archaeological sites, and in at least a few cases, fund students in their Ph.D programs.

Recent   Research   with Popular Appeal

The one story that has likely had the most interest from popular media in North America and the UK in recent years is the late 2012 discovery of the bones of King Richard III. Basically, at the request of the King Richard III society in Leicester, UK, archaeologists at the University of Leicester searched for and discovered the bones of the king. Confirmation came in early 2013 from physical deformities in the skeleton correlating with historical records as well as DNA compatibility with known descendants. While the discovery caught popular imagination, what went on behind the scenes was interesting as well. Unknown to most, the discovery created significant debates within the archaeological community. Criticisms of the research by archaeologists, largely via social media, targeted reporting by press conference, lack of peer review prior to reporting, being complicit in television hype, the ethics of excavating and displaying human remains, and questioning the historical and archaeological value of the work. In a nutshell, many believe the hype around the discover does more to ingrain the notion of archaeology as treasure hunting and focussing on elites, than it does to make significant contributions to our understanding of the past. To their

credit, however, those involved in the research did quickly come out with a scholarly article published in a recent issue of *Antiquity*.

Stonehenge has also been the subject of considerable recent popular media interest. Ongoing research has continued in an around Stonehenge for the past few years but there also has been interest in how Stonehenge is being presented. A new visitor center opened in December 2013 and includes the display of human skeletal remains found at the site. There has been considerable discussion among archaeologists about the ethics of displaying human remains at the center. Plans are also underway for the creation of a new living museum depicting life in Neolithic times in the area around Stonehenge. The recent research, the new visitor center, and the planned Neolithic village all contribute to a new re-imaging or re-branding of Stonehenge. In a 2007 poll, Stonehenge was voted "most disappointing tourist attraction in the UK," and it was described by some in the tourist industry as an "isolated pile of rocks in a usually muddy field." Presumably, the recent attention to Stonehenge will contribute to an increased public sense of the significance of the site as well as contribute to the economy.

Archaeology is much more than points, bones, and pots these days. Archaeologists are still interested in these items, but material remains of interest also now include such things as orbital debris, camps of homeless people, and resting places of undocumented migrants. [Photo courtesy of the author.]

Pottery and seafood have both been in archaeonews recently. There was a report earlier in 2013 that archaeologists have recovered pottery dating to about 20,000 years ago in China. Assuming the dating is accurate, this would be the oldest pottery discovered. Another news report from earlier this year indicates that pottery has been found in Japan dating to 15,000 years ago. Assuming the date is also good, this too is among the earliest reports of pottery anywhere. It is significant that this Japanese pottery is associated with foragers (who don't normally have pottery), and residue analysis indicates that the pots contained seafood. There has been some suggestion that the pottery may have a ritualistic function.

Another topic that has received considerable recent attention in mainstream and popular media is beer. Although certainly not a new idea, the notion that mak-

ing beer may have been the driving force for the domestication of plants has re-emerged as a one of the top hypotheses, at least among the popular media. One scholarly report published in the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* was the basis for many other media reports. Adding fuel to the fire was a subsequent article in *Scientific American* also suggesting that the origins of plant domestication is linked to beermaking. Basically, some archaeologists are now saying that the origins of plant domestication was for making beer that in turn may have been used as a luxury food in the context of feasting. Others argue that rather than for feasting, beer was produced because it enhanced the nutritional value of wheat and barley, had medicinal value insofar as it kills pathogens, and, well, it made people feel good.

Another story that has received considerable recent attention is that archaeologists received an Ig Nobel award, a parody of the Nobel prizes. The story here is that in order to assess the effects of human digestion on the bones of small animals, two archaeologists conducted an experiment. One ate a shrew and then the two of them looked through the feces of the one who ate it to see the recovery rate of the skeletal elements. It was clear that all that went in did not come out. This particular Ig Nobel award was presented in 2013, although the article in which the study was initially reported was published in the *Journal of Archaeological Science* in 1995). The Ig Noble prizes are awarded every fall at Harvard University, sponsored by the *Annals of Improbable Research Magazine* and some groups at Harvard. As described by the creators of the awards, they are "intended to celebrate the unusual, honor the imaginative" and "honor the achievements that first make you laugh, then make you think." Picking through the feces of an archaeologist fits the bill. For those interested in the analysis of animal remains in archaeological sites, the study is important. For others, it is just disgusting.

Archaeology in North America

A recent article in *The SAA Archaeological Record* described a survey of archaeologists involved in the study of the early period in North American archaeology. It revealed that more than 50% of those surveyed believe people have been in North America for more than 15,000 years, and Paisley Caves in Oregon is the most well-accepted pre-Clovis site in North America. When it comes to entry routes, 86% believe early entry routes included the coastal route (ie. from Asia via the coastal route from Beringia, and southward down the coasts of Alaska and British Columbia); 65% believe entry routes included the Ice-Free Corridor; and only 14% believe entry routes included the north Atlantic.

A fairly new kind of archaeology, commonly known as "Ice Patch Archaeology," has emerged in North America in recent years. Rapid melting snow and ice due to global warming is exposing previously covered remains, including well-preserved organic artifacts. This kind of archaeology is mostly restricted to the high altitude locations in the western United States as well as in the northern regions of the continent. A 10,000 year-old atlatl dart was recently found in a melting ice patch in Colorado, for example, and darts, arrows, and even moccasins have been recovered in melting patches to the north.

DNA research in archaeology has recently had some interesting applications. In the coastal areas of Alaska and British Columbia, DNA has been used to support long-standing archaeological interpretations of cultural continuity based on physical evidence. Research indicates that a 10,300 year old skeleton and a 6,000 year-old skeleton in the area are linked; and a 5,500 year-old, a 2,500 year-old, and a living descendant are all linked as well. Tracing a 5,500 year-old skeleton to a living person is significant, especially among indigenous peoples of North America where claims to territory, resources, and skeletal remains are made.

Sexual Harrassment

One of the most shocking stories in all of anthropology came out in early 2013 with preliminary reports on a study of sexual harassment and abuse in anthropological field locations. The study was undertaken by four biological anthropologists (Kate Clancy, Katie Hinde, Robin Nelson, and Julienne Rutherford) and was described by Kate Clancy in her "Context and Variation" blog for *Scientific American*. The study was based on a survey of anthropologists that work in field

atlatl (spear thrower)

locations, including archaeologists. The final report is yet to be written, but the preliminary results are quite disturbing. According to the researchers, 59% of the respondents to the survey reported experiencing sexual harassment or assault; and the perpetrators were usually those superior in the hierarchy, such as supervisors.

Sustainability in Archaeology

Many archaeologists continue to work towards having a minimal impact on the environment. Many projects, for example, have been going entirely paperless. Laptop computers are increasingly replacing field notebooks and paper forms. In some cases, even artifact tags are being replaced by bar codes. For my own archaeology field project in 2013, which I run as a field school with 15 students, I had one of my students conduct a waste audit of the project. Two major categories included "Project Trash" and "Personal Trash." The idea is to provide a baseline for reducing waste in future projects and to provide comparable data for other projects. For the 2013 project, it is clear that the largest category of Project Waste, by weight, was broken tools, followed by used first aid supplies, duct tape, used safety equipment (empty canisters of bear spray), and hard plastic (packaging). Other categories with measurable remains included flagging tape, paper packaging, string, plastic bags, and rope. Regarding personal trash, it is clear that the 2013 group were big fruit eaters – with the most dominant kinds of remains including remnants of bananas, apples, oranges, grapefruit, avocados, strawberries, and beans. This may become useful information should I or other archaeologists excavate at this particular site again and find evidence of these foods. I would hate to draw inferences about the diet of the original sites occupants based on refuse from student's lunches in 2013.

Archaeology of the Contemporary World

The archaeology of the contemporary world is not new, but it is becoming more common. There are many examples of such studies, but here I choose to briefly focus on four – space archaeology, the archae-

According to a 2013 survey of anthropologists in the field, 59% of the respondents reported experiencing sexual harassment or assault, mostly by supervisors.

ology of homelessness, the archaeology of undocumented migrants, and the archaeology of campus trash.

The archaeology of the human impact on outer space continues to hold interest for many. Those interested give presentations at archaeology conferences; author scholarly papers, chapters, and books; and are active in social media. One of the most prominent archaeologists involved with space archaeology, Alice Gorman, recently gave a Ted talk on the subject. Prominent areas of interest include space junk (also known as "orbital debris") and the protection of tons of material left on the moon. Research is contextualized in many ways, including the archaeology of exploration and the archaeology of the cold war.

Archaeology of the contemporary world, including examining campus trash, is becoming more common. [photo courtesy of the author]

The archaeology of homelessness is a relatively recent area of interest to emerge, both in the UK and North America. The most prominent archaeologist involved is Larry Zimmerman, who has been studying camps of homeless people in St. Paul and Indianapolis, and has several recent publications on this, including a recent article in "*Historical Archaeology*." The research is a form of activist archaeology and challenges basic assumptions about homeless people and their culture. In addition to providing insight into homelessness, his research also can serve as a means of evaluating the effectiveness of programs affecting homelessness.

The archaeology of undocumented migrants is associated with Jason De Leon, who has been conducting both ethnographic and archaeological research into undocumented migrants crossing the border from Mexico into Arizona. Publications on this work have recently appeared in *American Anthropologist* and the *Journal of Material Culture*. The project also maintains a web site (http://undocumentedmigrationproject/). The

work is fascinating, providing insight into how migrants are influenced by folk logic, economic constraints, enforcement practices, and the smuggling industry. It is interesting to see how common techniques in archaeology, such as use-wear, typically applied to ceramics and lithics, can be usefully applied to the material remains left behind by migrants crossing the desert.

Another kind of archaeology of the contemporary world involves academic archaeologists and archaeology students studying trash generated on their own campuses. There are several archaeologists undertaking such activities, including me. Some of my students and I have been involved with three recent waste audits and will continue to do so in the future. There are three primary objectives. One is to give students practice in applying archaeological method, and another is to illustrate how archaeologists can reconstruct human behavior from material remains, mostly trash. Another objective is to provide data to effectively manage the waste stream. People are astonished at what goes into trash on campus, and as a result of our audits, the amounts of recyclables, plastics, and food waste have all been significantly reduced.

Final Comments

It is an interesting time in archaeology. The discipline tends to be holding its own in scholarly work, the academic world, and in the commercial sectors. There have been some disturbing studies, such as those reporting sexual abuse in archaeological field locations, but it is also nice to see archaeology, in North America especially, drop some of its conventional conservatism and embrace new areas of research, such as the archaeology of the contemporary world. *TA*

The Success of Linguistic Anthropology
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I sometimes think that linguistic anthropology has a bit of an inferiority complex. Perhaps this is the case not because we are the smallest of the four traditional subfields—though we are—but rather because we study something that scholars in other subfields often take for granted.

Contemporary linguistic anthropology scholarship is peppered with admonitions and pleadings about the significance of language. For instance, Gal (2012) asserts, "Whatever counts as a 'site', ethnographers must engage people in talk about and in it; they must decipher semiotic/linguistic materials. Communicative action remains the major source of ethnographic evidence" (p. 38). This statement reminds us that language is to human sociality what water is to fish mobility—often invisible and usually unexamined, yet always crucial. Similarly, Ochs (2012) explains, "Along with its symbolic capacity, language also has the potentiality to be indexical, performative, and phenomenological… Yet it is the symbolic character of language—its arbitrariness and seeming separateness from concrete and abstract entities in the world—that has dominated scholarship across many disciplines, including anthropology" (p. 143). In other words, when anthropologists and other scholars *do* examine talk, we often emphasize a small but ideologically salient characteristic of language—its referential function (see Jakobson 1960).

Underlying these reminders is a shared theoretical standpoint that has become emblematic of linguistic anthropology. This theoretical standpoint is captured by the phrase, "language as social action." Whereas many ideas about language hinge on whether or not an utterance is *correct*, the "language as social action" standpoint is rooted in an assessment of whether or not an utterance is *successful* (cf. Austin 1975; Wittgenstein 1960 [1958]). With this in mind, the title of this paper, "The Success of Linguistic Anthropology," has two meanings. First, it refers to the concept of success, by which one can analyze whether or not speakers are successful at constituting social actions through linguistic practices. Second, the title indicates that linguistic anthropology has been successful as a subdiscipline in theorizing language and culture (precisely with the concept of language as social action). In this paper, I explore this theoretical standpoint in three interrelated strands of current scholarship on materiality, scale, and engagement. In doing so, I hope to pro-vide some insight into the *success* that many view as a central contribution of the sub-discipline to four-fields anthropology.

1. Materiality

Language is embedded in the material world. It is embodied and experiential, and it is interwoven with artifacts that are themselves imbued with semiotic properties. The meaning of words is dependent on their use within a larger field of semiotic resources—a field that includes gesture, body orientation, tone, facial expression, objects (or artifacts), and the socially meaningful environment (eg. Goodwin 1981; Hanks 1996). This fact provides a springboard for a number of current investigations. Embodied interaction has nearly become a specialty in its own right, rooted in visual transcription of moments of face-to-face conversation. Technological advances in computer programming have made it possible for those with a stylus, some artistic skill, and computer know-how to create detailed descriptions of the role of the body in language use. For instance, a volume titled *Embodied Interaction: Language and Body in the Material World*, edited by Streeck, Goodwin, and LeBaron (2012), features a wealth of illustrations and frame grabs taken from video recordings of face-to-face encounters. Figure 1 is taken, with the author's permission, from Haviland's chapter in the edited volume.

Figure 1: Embodiment during Music-Making

This tracing was created by taking a framegrab (making a still image from a video recording) of inter-action during a university jazz rehearsal, then using an electronic pad and pen to trace the outlines of partici-pants' bodies and instruments. Haviland (2012) uses this and other framegrabs alongside transcripts of communicative actions to demonstrate how jazz stu-dents synchronize music making with multiple semi-otic resources such as gesture and facial expression (p. 296). In this and other related research, artifacts and the physical environment are inscribed with value, sometimes literally so. They are constructs of human semiotic processes. At the same time, objects and spaces are raw materials utilized in the ongoing con-struction of meaning (eg. Agha 2011; Manning 2012; Murphy 2012).

A second example of embodiment taken from some of my own previous research (discussed in Black 2008) comes from a video recording made as part of a project, "Socialization into Jazz Aesthetics," on which I worked with Alessandro Duranti. The project focused on how university students were socialized into jazz aes-thetics in small ensemble rehearsals and big bands at the university. Often, the in-structors were well-known jazz musicians. In the re-cording from which example 2 is taken, a small jazz ensemble was rehearsing under the tutelage of re-nowned guitarist Kenny Burrell. The students were attempting to interactively coordinate the ending of a song, and doing a so-so job. The professional musician instructors like Kenny Burrell who led these groups valued coordinating an ending in the moment, through interaction, rather than through planning or written music. In the video, after not ending a song precisely together, the jazz students stopped playing their in-struments. At that point, Kenny Burrell interjected, "That was ok. You'll just have to listen to each other on that ending." The trumpet player suggested that they might want to have a planned ending rather than a spontaneous ending to the song. Burrell, in line with the values of the other instructors and the values of jazz musicians in general, waved his hand in negation. He responded, "Just give them a little nod." In past work I analyze this moment of interaction as being about socialization into a culturally specific, embodied and interactive understanding of "listening" to one another.

It is difficult to determine whether a musician's glance and head nod is *correct* in the grammatical sense of the word. However, one can usually determine whether or not a bodily movement is *successful* in pro-

To the criticism that 'microlevel' language and cultural studies scholars cannot see the forest for the trees, linguistic anthropology responds that the forest is the trees.

ducing the social action of beginning or ending a jazz song. Though both the above examples were taken from musical interactions, such analyses have parallels to areas traditionally covered by linguistics grammar. In linguistic theory, relationships between signs and referents are sometimes termed arbitrary (Saussure 1959 [1916]).

In *socio*linguistic theory, on the other hand, the word "arbitrary" masks the fact that language is un-avoidably a non-neutral medium (Duranti 2011). In the second jazz example, Kenny Burrell was advocating a particular kind of subtle body movement ("a little nod") and an interactive strategy for coordinating mu-sic making. That embodied communicative style was the historical outcome of generations of African-American musicians dealing with the exigencies of making music together amid structural inequality. In ideological contrast with the "square" planned-out na-ture of European classical music, jazz musicians en-joyed improvising. This also was part of a larger cul-tural pattern of being "cool," a necessary personality trait for African-Americans who were forced to deal with micro-aggression and overtly racist power structures. Bur-rell, an older African-American musician who learned to play music this way within a multi-generational community of (primarily) black artists, struggled to communicate this embodied cultural preference to a younger generation of pre-dominantly white, middle-class suburban musicians, who learned to play jazz exclusively in educational settings. Eitan Wilf discusses similar phenomena in a recent work, *Rituals of Creativity*.

As the above discussion demonstrates, contempo-rary research synthesizes the non-neutrality of lan-guage with its materiality. In an *Annual Review of An-thropology* piece, Shankar and Cavanaugh (2012) explore how "our social media-saturated world pro-ceeds amid neoliberal ideologies that commodify lin-guistic forms, which in turn circulate in political economies far from their originary contexts" (p. 365). Language, materialized, travels far and wide. To ex-emplify this, Shankar and Cavanaugh discuss the signs, banners, social media sites, email, and mobile tech-nologies of the Egyptian revolution, as well as the "human megaphone" of announcements repeated throughout large crowds of the Occupy Wall Street movement (ibid, p. 364).

In this and other similar research, the term materi-ality not only indicates the physiology and physicality of language (including embodiment), it also points to Marxist-type theorizations of the objective conditions

of production. Far from being intangible or *only* ideological, language is integral in the constitution of these material lived conditions. In a take on *dis*-embodiment, materiality, and ideology, Swinehart and Graber (2012) edit a special issue of *Language and Communication* titled, "Tongue-Tied Territories: Languages and Publics in Stateless Nations." In this issue, several authors explore how the mediatization of indigenous languages contributes to the constitution of publics, specifically "indigenous, colonized, stateless nations." With media, especially new media, disembodiment and the radical speed of circulation lead scholars to reevaluate their conceptualizations of the material properties of language.

2. Scale

Work on materiality, embodiment and ideology also reveals linguistic anthropology's interest in matters of scale. A trend toward utilizing the concept of scale is exemplified by panels at this year's AAAs, including, "Pragmatics of Scale," and "Scaling Linguistic Diversity." For many years, linguistic anthropologists have worked to overcome critiques such as the so-called interactionalist fallacy that Bourdieu (1991) articulated in his work on language. With the interactionalist fallacy, Bourdieu asserts that linguistic constructivism is misguided, that linguistic practices do not in fact play an important role in social reproduction and social transformation. He suggests, for instance, that while a working-class individual might work to change the way she speaks, underlying class dynamics eliminate the possibility that this change will precipitate meaningful social change. In essence, Bourdieu argues that while linguistic practices may change, underlying relationships of inequality remain and manifest in new aesthetic preferences. This critique and others like it are rooted in the erroneous notion that scholars of language and culture focus exclusively on so-called "micro-level" phenomena that are not relevant to the "macro-level" reproduction of social inequality. In other words, the worry is that we cannot see the forest for the trees.

With the concept of scale, linguistic anthropology responds that the forest *is* the trees. Theorization of materiality and embodiment (alongside other facets of communication) in global perspective replaces the traditional distinction between micro- and macro-levels of analysis. Rather, contemporary models of language and culture state that language circulates from spoken phrases to social media to printed word and back to

One thing that unites linguistic anthropologists in our diverse research efforts is that language must be understood as greater than the denotational or symbolic value of words and phrases.

spoken form, re-constituting socioeconomic patterns or transforming them at each turn. For instance, in his work in Tibetan monasteries in India, Michael Lempert (2012) summarizes, "Rather than assume the relevance of a priori scalar distinctions (micro-, macro-, meso-), this article examines scale as an emergent dimension of sociospatial practice" (p. 138). Language and other semiotic resources are saturated with scalar values that are linked to, and in fact reconstitute, socioeconomic distinctions; and success in challenging these distinctions depends, in part, on one's ability to draw from and creatively modify socially valued signs in circulation.

3. Engagement

Interrelated with these topics of materiality and scale is an emerging focus on engagement. This is evidenced by a panel at this year's AAA annual meeting titled, "Engaging Language: Linguistic Anthropologists as Agents of Social Change." This and other discussions explore the role that scholars play (across scales) in constituting social actions that challenge entrenched socioeconomic distinctions. Here, engagement usually also indicates dialogue or unequal collaboration with speakers of marginalized language varieties. The *Society for Linguistic Anthropology's* Committee on Language and Social Justice has been working on a number of issues in this regard, including a partially successful attempt to get journalists to stop using the word *illegal* when discussing migration, for example, "illegal immigrants" and especially the nominalized slur "illegals."

While there are a growing number of linguistic anthropologists that are doing engaged anthropological research, in some ways this is just a reframing of scholarship that has long been engaged on topics including but not limited to multilingualism, language endangerment, and language and education. An example of the continuation of such work is Kroskrity's (2012) edited volume, *Telling Stories in the Face of Danger*, on storytelling and language revitalization efforts in Native American communities. Jaffe (2012) also contributes a linguistic anthropological lens to contemporary understandings of researcher engagement with researchee communities in her discussion of the mediation between researcher and practitioner discourses. Here, insofar as we have adopted the term, "engagement" could be seen as yet another attempt by linguistic anthropologists to reach out to those in other subfields, especially those in cultural anthropology,

who are currently discussing the drawbacks and benefits of engaged research (Low 2010).

Current research on materiality and engagement demonstrates the value of taking a step back and questioning long-held attitudes, embodied feelings and assumptions about the nature of language. Unfortunately, common-sense ideologies about language overlap with some linguistic theories that focus on the arbitrary (in other words, conventional) nature of the sign. Such synergies make linguistic anthropology's outreach to other subfields more difficult. While language *is* conventional, it is also so much more than that. Based on the imploring texts of contemporary scholarship, if there is one thing that linguistic anthropologists would like to impress on scholars in other subfields—and one thing that unites us in our diverse research efforts—it is that language must be understood as greater than the denotational or symbolic value of words and phrases. There is a way to move beyond common-sense language ideologies that might stifle awareness of this fact. Scholars could focus on how *successful* a given utterance is in producing a particular social action, analyzing the reasons why a social actor is successful or unsuccessful in her use of language.

To demonstrate this, I would like to end with a brief discussion of Rachel Jeantel's testimony during the trial of George Zimmerman, the man charged and later acquitted of murdering Trayvon Martin in Florida. In a recent blog post on the University of Pennsylvania website *Language Log*, John Rickford writes about the media aftermath of Jeantel's testimony:

> On talk shows and social media sites, people castigated [Jeantel's] 'slurred speech,' bad grammar and Ebonics usage, or complained that, 'Nobody can understand what she's saying.' As was true in the wake of the 1996 Oakland Ebonics controversy… a torrent of invidious commentary was quickly unleashed masquerading under the cover of wit and presumably-shared linguistic prejudice. Some of it was *translation humor:* "Love to hear her give a Shakespeare recital. 'To beez or nots to beez, dats wat I'zz bee saying, jack'." But a lot more involved grotesquely racist, misogynistic and dehumanizing attacks on this young woman (Rickford 2013).

In reality, Jeantel was speaking a different language variety than mainstream or "standard" American English, a variety often referred to as African-American English or AAE. Her testimony was *correct* within AAE's well-documented relatively stable grammatical patterns. Despite this, Jeantel's testimony was not *successful* in constituting the social action of testifying in a court of law. It is doubtless that some overhearers reacted with vitriol due to an overtly racist denigration of the color of her skin. For many, however, the relationship between race and negative judg-

ments of Jeantel's speech was indirect. To these commentators whose language ideologies were *implicitly* upholding a legal system of structural racism, the phonological and syntactic patterns of AAE pointed to (a.k.a. indexed) a lack of education, a lack of intelligence, or a lack of sophistication, among other things.

Such ideologies were embodied—many people have negative, partially unexplainable feelings of disgust and even anger towards the use of AAE; yet the association with race was *deniable* because it was indirect (see Hill 2008). Anyone *can*, in theory, learn Mainstream American English, though socioeconomic background is in reality a limiting factor. Middle class white youth are those whose "native" language most approximates this imagined standard. However, no one questioned why one grammatically complete language variety, AAE, with roots as deep as any other American English should be rejected as valid in court while other language varieties, equally endowed with grammaticality and history, are accepted. In other words, no one asked why Jeantel's use of AAE was unsuccessful at producing the social action of testifying in a court of law. To ask these questions means to do engaged linguistic anthropological research. And to answer them means one must look beyond the symbolic content of language to its material and scalar dynamics. Here, one will find the "success" of contemporary linguistic anthropology.

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How Can Our Students Help Us Teach Anthropology?
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[Note; A Summary of the Presentation Given at the SACC annual meeting in Austin, Texas 2013. What follows is based on personal observations teaching community college students of diverse ages and backgrounds over the past four years.]

One of the challenges that we face as instructors teaching introductory cultural anthropology classes is encouraging our students to connect with the material. Many of them have little or no understanding of what the field comprises and how understanding anthropological theories and methods might benefit them. So the question becomes, how can we create an environment that encourages those connections to be made? By integrating students into the teaching process, instruction becomes more than a one-way street. It becomes an interactive, cooperative learning space where students feel they are valued, dynamic participants in their own educational experience. This essay will provide a rationale for using this approach. It will also provide a few examples of topics covered in cultural anthropology that are an easy fit with the cooperative learning model.

By "flipping the classroom" and giving students a voice, we make them participants in their own education.

One of our strengths as instructors are the students sitting right in front of us. Student diversity in areas of ethnicity, age, background, and gender identity can be effective tools to connect students with anthropology in meaningful ways. We can apply cultural anthropology terminology and material with concepts students can relate to, we can stimulate small-group discussion and increase the confidence and public speaking skills of our students, we can practice backwards design pedagogy and create positive, impactful lessons, and we can increase student success and retention, all while connecting students to cultural anthropology.

A diverse student demographic is a strength in the community college context. Refugees, immigrants, veterans, and first-generation students form a significant portion of community college student bodies. Each of these groups has its own set of unique challenges that include initially high motivation coupled with high attrition rates among first-generation students. Due to matters of language and self-confidence, as well as post-traumatic stress and disabilities, many refugee and immigrant students are shy to engage and participate with classmates. How can cultural anthropology increase student success by turning these weaknesses into strengths? How can our students help us teach anthropology?

A couple of anecdotal examples from my own experience illustrate the effectiveness of this student-integrated approach. While discussing the American Anthropological Association's Code of Ethics during our chapter on fieldwork, I have students sit in small groups and debate the controversy over anthropologists working in the Human Terrain Teams in the Middle East. Once, one of my students expressed he had served six tours in Afghanistan and Iraq and that HTT anthropologists had been imbedded in his units. I asked if he would like to come back to the next class and share his experience and offer his perspective on the topic. This student, a first-semester veteran who had always sat quietly in the back, gave a lecture that was informative, evocative, and grounded. By engaging with his classmates on an issue he was intimately familiar with, he gained confidence in his new role as a student all while providing a perspective on a topic beyond my understanding. From that point on he was engaged and motivated to contribute to class discussions and became an excellent student.

Another example of encouraging students to educate each other through their own experience came about as we explored the topic of subsistence patterns and sustainable agricultural methods. One of my students majoring in horticulture came to me after class and shared that she had volunteered in Cambodia on a sustainability project in the rice paddies and would I like her to share that experience with the class? Of course, I emphatically said yes! Students learning from their fellow students is optimal for both the vitality of the class and the confidence-building of those students who find themselves connecting their life experiences to concepts we discuss in our text and lectures. That connection is infectious. Once students realize that in my classroom, they are *a part* of the educational process and not simply passive recipients, they ask more questions, offer to share their experience, help their

classmates, and get involved in the wider campus community.

By "flipping the classroom" and giving students a voice, we not only make them participants in their own education, we help them become responsible for managing their own educational process. They also inspire each other to ask questions, engage with the material, and broaden their perspective, all while teaching cultural anthropology. What follows are some examples of terminology and topics typically taught in an introductory cultural anthropology course. These topics are a natural fit for utilizing this backwards design approach where the students' own experiences connect to anthropology:

Culture Shock: Themes of identity and judgment. This is a good topic to incorporate refugee and immigrant students into the discussion; they can share their own experience upon arrival in the United States. Commonly expressed themes such as encountering highly processed foods and car-culture can connect to subtopics covered later in the semester.

Ethnocentrism: Sharing personal experiences. At the beginning of the semester I have students share in a group an experience where they have been either on the giving or receiving end of ethnocentrism. This leads to discussions about the "Golden Rule" and sets the stage for a safe, supportive classroom environment as we proceed.

Economic Stratification: Class and caste considerations. The largest segment of all societies, including the United States, are peasants. Are the streets really "paved with gold?" I have students discuss perceptions of wealth in the US and how those perceptions conflict with the experiences they encounter upon integration into society.

Gender Roles: Division of labor, issues of status, private authority versus public authority; the role of women.

Generational Issues and Age: Division of labor, the elderly as low status in the United States, assisted living and isolation.

Rites of Passage: Puberty rituals, kinship and communal acceptance. Issues of status and identity.

Body Modification: Ideals of Beauty, often linked to rites of passage.

Core Values and Modal Personality Traits: The idea of "personal space" and autonomy versus identity via one's kin group and community. I have students

Many refugee students can speak to the abstraction of being an ethnicity that is not included or protected by the governments of their homelands.

make a list of those character traits our society values most. This stimulates discussion about generational and cultural differences.

Independence vs. Dependence Training: How important is independence and self-reliance versus communal relations and collective responsibility? This is a good opportunity for older, non-traditional students to share their parenting approaches. How are they enculturating their children?

Materialism and Conspicuous Consumption: Issues of economics, propaganda, and status.

Mythology and Tradition: Belief systems, rituals and communal identity.

Subsistence: Hunting, gathering, fishing, foraging, and pastoralism compared to industrial and post-industrial economies. Disconnection from food sources and our environment. I use the example of Global Gardens, a series of community garden plots that refugees manage in Boise, Idaho. This connects students to the fact that many indigenous peoples subsist on horticulture and their own labor. It inspires students to take an interest in their own food sources and the environmental impact of globalization.

Political Systems: Voting and representation (real or presumed). What makes a citizen? The mechanics of being an insider as opposed to an outsider. What is the role of the military? Nation versus nation-state agendas. Many refugee students connect to this topic from their experience fleeing genocide and ethnocide. They can speak to the abstraction of being an ethnicity that is not included or protected by the governments of their homelands.

Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis: How can our language influence our perception of reality? What does it mean to learn English in terms of kin, peer, and social networks? What is lost in translation? How do our personalities evolve and adapt if we are multi-lingual? This is a great topic to connect to refugees, immigrants, or first-generation students. They have an intimate knowledge of how different they feel speaking English rather than their native language. For most of them, this is the first topic we discuss in cultural anthropology that they truly feel passionate about. When given an opportunity, multilingual students can offer personal perspectives on how the language they speak influences their identity in ways that English-only students struggle to comprehend.

So how can we engage and motivate students to share their personal reflections with classmates on topics such as these? In my experience, small group dynamics are best. I try to use open-ended questions that connect students to the text and lecture material in a non-biased way. I provide 15-20 minutes after lecture for students to engage, interact, and extrapolate on a topic previously given, and let them chose a new speaker each session to report back to the greater class body on what they learned.

The benefits of this cooperative learning model are impressive. Student engagement soars, students are connected with the material in meaningful ways, camaraderie and confidence increases, and students feel they have some ownership in their own education. Inverting the classroom by encouraging students to be instructors also gives a voice to refugees, immigrants, veterans, and first-generation students by providing a supportive environment for self-expression. I seek opportunities for students to connect with cultural anthropology by sharing their personal experiences and try to foster open-minded and empathetic responses from classmates. My intention is to provide students a voice and encourage them to connect to the materials in ways relevant to their own lives.

By integrating our students into our teaching, we make them aware of diversity within their peer group

Student discussion group

so that they can connect with one another in ways that encourage retention, such as spontaneously creating their own study groups outside of class. Students are able to process their own personal and cultural integration within a safe, communal group setting. They learn terminology that puts a name and shared experience to topics and issues covered in class. They can then connect to text materials in relevant ways that are both prescient and affecting. Everyone benefits; new relationships are established and student retention increases with engagement and participation. Student feedback with this approach is consistently positive. By integrating students into the teaching process, cultural anthropology comes alive and so do they. *TA*