An SfAA Oral History Interview with Stanley E. Hyland

Regional Commitments and an Engaged Academic Program

The work of Stan Hyland and his colleagues at the University of Memphis has served as a model across the discipline for effective application and practice. His work models effective engaged anthropology for us all. This entailed long-term and highly effective research and service involvement in his region, which is Memphis and the Delta. This work effectively incorporated students, benefitted the communities with which he worked, strengthened the relationship between his University and the region while it served as an important aspect of his home Department's graduate program. This interview was conducted on behalf of the American Anthropological Association's Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology and is now part of the Society for Applied Anthropology's Oral History Project Collection at the Nunn Center for Oral History at the University of Kentucky. Prof. Hyland, in 2012, was awarded the Solon T. Kimball Award of the American Anthropological Association and has been selected as the 2016 winner of the Sol Tax Distinguished Service Award of the Society. The interview was done by Barbara Rylko-Bauer and edited by John van Willigen.

Rylko-Bauer: I am interviewing Professor Stanley E. Hyland on Friday, November 20, 2015 in Denver, Colorado during the annual American Anthropological Association meeting. The focus of the interview is Professor Hyland's work in applied anthropology and public policy, which was recognized by the AAA when he received the Solon T. Kimball Award. Welcome, Stan.

Hyland: Thank you, Barbara.

Rylko-Bauer: It's a real pleasure to get a chance to talk with you. I appreciate that you're willing to do this. I think just to begin, you know, it was 2012 when you received the [Kimball] Award. Just for the record, the award honors exemplary anthropologists for their outstanding recent achievements that have contributed to anthropology as an applied science, and that have had important impacts on public policy. The first question that I want to ask you is: Did Solon T. Kimball have an important influence on your work and your vision of anthropology's role in social change in public policy? If so, could you elaborate a little bit on that?

Hyland: At that time when I began my career in 1976 to '77 in anthropology, I came out of the University of Illinois which was very much a siloed approach; that is, you had specialists in a particular area. Solon T. Kimball, in [Elizabeth] Eddy [and William

Partridge's] book, had a wonderful quote that I'd like to use as a beginning point, because you can deconstruct that quote and map a lot of my thinking and how it influenced me. Again, it was the chapter ["Anthropology as a Policy Science"] that he wrote in the *Applied Anthropology in America* book, that stated that anthropologists needed to expand their research emphasis on contemporary and complex societies and develop a rigorous applied anthropology so that data may be provided for the better understanding of the consequences of strategies used to achieve programmatic goals, and to test theories of change [Columbia University Press, 1987, p. 383].

Well, at that time the book was very influential as I began my career at the University of Memphis. First, I had followed Kimball and [Conrad] Arensberg's work on communities, how in fact one goes about looking at communities as a unit as opposed to culture. And then second, and perhaps most importantly, that community was a *process* that linked time and space together; hence, you were looking at a change situation at the local level. It became to me an important framework.

One of the first courses that I introduced at the University of Memphis, because we were viewed as largely archeology, was a course on American communities. Partly, that was influenced by Demitri Shimkin's work in Illinois, but then also the fact that Arensberg and Kimball had pioneered that and gave us the framework to say to students, "Anthropologists have a real say and a real interest in looking at the nature of American communities and how in fact they change."

Rylko-Bauer: Did Marion Pearsall also fit into that?

Hyland: Yes, in fact, I had read both her work and Eddy's work in the rural area of Appalachia. That was actually part of my master's degree at the University of Cincinnati where I was looking at Appalachian studies and migration from Eastern Kentucky to Cincinnati and what happened in that process. Yes, that was really a framework that went beyond, you know, Shimkin's critical work, but then what's the broader context of this? How can we link it to get out of the silo that this is just what we do here and link it to a much larger scale? And so, that sense of community as a process through time was really critical.
The second part of that was Kimball's work on saying that we need to focus on the American South. At a community level what that meant is that homogenous notion of the American South was falling apart – was breaking apart – by anthropologists doing these studies. It was part of what the University of North Carolina was doing and part of what the University of Kentucky was doing in building a different type of knowledge base. And then part of that was the Recognition that a lot of the work was

largely not in the Mississippi Delta in Memphis where I was. The issue that Kimball was raising is how can we connect these pieces together in a larger framework through the [Southern Anthropological Society].

Rylko-Bauer: So, it's like a regional community?

Hyland: Right, and then the region has different components. You're looking at it not as a static concept, but as a dynamic concept where there are migration patterns and this fits into anthropology, so that at the University of Memphis we were no longer the anthropology of the *exotic*.

And then the third component that I think is often overlooked is when Kimball was talking about complex societies and the specificity of complex societies. He worked and he supported Elizabeth Eddy in creating an urban center at the University of Florida. That was my first role [at the University of Memphis] in that I was hired as an urban anthropologist. They asked me, for whatever reason, to coordinate the urban studies program. I was looking for well, who else in anthropology is doing this? So, then the fact that it was being done and pushed by Kimball and Eddy and [at the University of] Florida that gave me sort of a *legitimacy* in anthropology in a time period where there were very few people looking at cities from a community or a neighborhood point of view. Those are sort of the factors that I thought were critical.

And then the last component was that we needed better data, you know? That was part of that quote where he said that we need to collect data more rigorously to provide for a better understanding of the consequences of social change. This sort of leads into your next question which I will anticipate. [Discuss highlights of your long-term research and engagement with public policy related to issues of poverty and social inequalities in Memphis and the Mid-South Region, with a focus on housing and neighborhood revitalization].

I got to the University of Memphis — urban anthropologist, head of urban studies. There was no database. I asked my colleagues in history, "Well, tell me about Memphis neighborhoods as a beginning point." "Well, we don't have neighborhoods in Memphis. We just have a black Memphis and a white Memphis." I went downtown to the Office of Planning. "No, we don't have neighborhoods. We just have geographic districts." I went over to the Chamber. "No, we just have a great vision of Memphis as a progressive city."

I taught my first course. This was a lesson that I think is absolutely critical that turned my career in a certain direction. I taught my first course on *culture change*. I started working with students. They said, "Oh, I live in the Orange Mound

neighborhood, oh, I live in Boxtown, oh, I live in Central Gardens." I said, "Well, take me around and educate me."
It was the students coming from the regions. This was just *not* the urban areas but the rural areas that began to say, "Yes, the reason we have Orange Mound is connected to Frog Jump, you know, where there is a migration pattern." You could have in a neighborhood – again, going back to the community notion of being dynamic, in Orange Mound planners were saying, "Well, I don't understand why there is so much *divisiveness* there."

Well, if you trace the migration routes, there were different migration routes and the different extended families that set up different churches. They weren't on the same page. Well, this was a whole new interpretation of where Memphis is and how we go about understanding it, and so that the students through these mini-ethnographies, et cetera, began to provide the kind of better data that challenged all of the traditional and conventional interpretations of what was happening and why in fact neighborhoods or areas of cities were so problematic.

Rylko-Bauer: That's really fascinating. The students were your teachers!

Hyland: The students became my best allies.

Rylko-Bauer: Informants, yes.

Hyland: And then the interesting part of that is they came back and said, "Okay, we've got this data. We're building this new database rigorously through these ethnographies." The second component was well, what do we do now that we're building these databases? What became apparent again going back to Kimball and Arensberg's work is again, these neighborhoods were constantly being smashed by the traditional agencies and organizations, so that it was all top-down planning from the utility company to the school system to the planning department to local government.
The students and I were faced with this dilemma; that is that we're collecting this data. It's about struggles in the neighborhood and getting constantly creamed by the land use board, by OP (Office of Planning and Development), by the utility company, and so how can we break into this niche? How can we use this data and hence, the applied part of it? You had to have good data.

Rylko-Bauer: Before you could use it.

Hyland: Before you could use it, and then the good data leads you to a different set of questions than was coming out of the literature. It wasn't "I'm going to describe this." It's "hey, I'm at the grassroots. I'm damn mad about this." So, then we began to see the link between the neighborhood activist who had been involved in union activity and civil rights activity. There was this tremendous, almost what Dillard talked about earlier, an *energy* at the grassroots that had training and social organizing skills, et cetera, that was located in neighborhoods and that was linked to again, the civil rights in the '60s.

The union has always been a struggle in a right-to-work state like Tennessee. They were actually very much interrelated. We began to say that that's interesting, too, because this is giving us a whole new picture. The struggle is how can we ever change things?

This then led to what Kimball had been talking about at that time. Again, anthropologists weren't studying policy. It was like "I'm going to study my little community." So, then I began with well, how do I get a handle on policy? Where is this philosophy? Instead I went back to the history literature and at that time Blaine Brownell and David Goldfield were publishing some new work about Southern progressivism that was rooted in the turn of the century, 1900s Teddy Roosevelt progressivism. Well, it turns out in Memphis and in the Delta and in most of the South, like New Orleans and Birmingham and Atlanta, that the variant of that was Southern progressivism which was a few enlightened whites will take care of the poor blacks and the poor whites – that is a charity approach. "Trust me, I'll take care of it for you."

That is where policy was rooted. We began to build a knowledge base about "gee, do you understand that your policy at the utility company or at the school board is that these people out there are poor and stupid, and they need a new program to help them?" We were saying, "You've got it wrong. The people out there are very bright; they're energetic, they're innovative and they want to *not* have a program dumped on them, but they want to say what is that program going to be."
And then the other part of it is that students began to write proposals about how to do change to work with the neighborhood groups, grassroots groups to change. And then as a result—you had in your question asked about housing, and so we had one student; there was an internship and we convinced them that here is a very bright student. We didn't say that here is a very bright anthropology student, because most of them thought that was archeology. "Here is a very bright urban student, and they would like to work in your research office and write proposals." They'd be writing a proposal to create a new program and the fact that they were successful and got money totally confused upper administration, but they liked the money part of it and so they had to innovate the program. We began to

make that link that students had to create jobs and the vehicle was internships that would involve coming up with new proposals and getting the resources and doing it in a different way. That was absolutely fascinating.

And then we got a call. We were highly critical at that time of the utility company and weatherization that in neighborhoods you had – this was the energy crisis back in the early 1980s. The TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority] major change agent [said], "we want to help low-to-moderate income people and cut their utility bill by weatherization." We looked at it and found that the only people using weatherization were educated middle-income people; that whom it was designed for was not working.

Rylko-Bauer: Why was that?

Hyland: There was this tremendous distrust between the utility company and the neighborhoods. The grassroots people viewed the utility company as ripping them off and so they had no relationship. There actually was a song, "Memphis Light, Gas and Robbers," that was played and circulated. We challenged the utility company to come up with a different approach. We actually think that we can innovate a program of weatherization in one of your inner-city neighborhoods – in this case it was Binghampton – and increase your weatherization rate which will make you look much better, too. Of course, they were highly skeptical, [but said] "well, okay, we'll give you a six-month research contract to do that."

The interesting part about that is that sure, we'd do it, and we began with the mini ethnographies about the perceptions of the utility companies. And then we also got former students, who were now practicing anthropologists—who were the head of the housing program, the Head Start program, and one from the Community Foundation – and we said let's look at this as a collaborative effort.

We went out and did these mini ethnographies. Boy, there were all sorts of myths. There were beliefs in Binghampton about the utility company – all very negative. We presented that back and the utility company's response was, "Well, none of these are true. We're going to educate them." We said, "That's the wrong thing to do in light of what we know. The right thing to do is to acknowledge that they have beliefs out there and to change your behavior so that you can work with them as opposed to trying to change them. The neighborhood people were interested in local school issues; they were interested in social services, and utilities happens to be one of the things.

In order to deal with change like Kimball was talking about, we had to come up with a different strategy for change. We said that you need to get a couple of employees out in the community center and work on the issues that aren't just related

to weatherization, but neighborhood problem solving. They gave us another six months and we did that. All of a sudden, the weatherization rate in Binghamton exceeded the mean. It went from like very low to above the mean. They said, "Wow, that really is neat."

Subsequently, a different part of the story, but they ended up working with us over time and hired a full-time graduate of our program. We still have a full-time practicing anthropologist in the utility company. That was a major success that gosh, the utility company of engineers now recognizes that neighborhoods are important and you can work with them but *not* on them. Anyhow, that sort of got into your second question.

What we were then doing was putting together three things in our strategy that I think are still there today in what we do. First, building solid knowledge bases on the grassroots and their struggles; second is to look at how you can change the utility company's policy or United Way's policy and move it from a charity approach to a community building approach which then fits back into Kimball's second point; and then third, well, what do you do about it, how do you engage, and how do you develop a different strategy.

That began when we started actively saying that we can create a different type of program, but you've got to change your policy in order to deal with it. That set the stage that it wasn't just the study of housing or neighborhoods. It was the issue of understanding the database. It's the understanding of policy and studying that policy, and then let's come up with something that will result in change that the neighborhood people embrace and want to champion, rather than change that we think is important or the utility company thinks is important.

Rylko-Bauer: It sounds to me also like a really great example of this whole notion of studying up and also studying out, and then studying back down. It's very dynamic, yes.

Hyland: That goes back to, part of the thinking in Kimball was that it's a dynamic system. It's a process. Let's not keep calling it that we've now got this and that there is this constant change. There are people moving in and out and stakeholders are changing. Maybe you capture something for six months and then it changes again, and then you've got to go back in and treat it that way.
The idea was dominant in Memphis that: "Oh, we just look at the data." The data to me is the worst. Statistical static data is meaningless to me. I totally think that tells you nothing about how you go about change, et cetera. Now every project, we move from project to project depending on where the opportunities were. We got involved in Orange Mound.

Rylko-Bauer: And that's an urban neighborhood?
Hyland: Yes, it was the oldest African-American neighborhood where African-Americans could own their own houses in the U.S., and so you had Harlem and then you had Orange Mound.

Rylko-Bauer: Isn't that interesting, because I had never heard of Orange Mound.

Hyland: In that area we got a HUD grant. Again, the city's division of housing and community development is very top-down. We met with residents and what they wanted was good data and maps. I went back to the University and said, "Oh, yeah, we can provide maps, et cetera." That's how we began. We then went back to the neighborhood and they said, "No, we want maps that we can make. After a long discussion it ended up that we said that we'll work with the local high school and get kids to learn how to do GIS mapping. We got our engineering department to train these kids at a summer program. While the maps they produced would not be the same as planners would produce, the people in the neighborhoods absolutely loved them. They thought that this was great, you know, that Billy did this map and it emphasized what we think is an important asset in the neighborhood. We can build around that. And here is where Billy thinks it's not so safe.

Rylko-Bauer: And the planners would never know that. That's not their knowledge, right.

Hyland: That's exactly right. We got the best practice award from HUD, which again part of it wasn't that oh, we get an award. It was the fact that our approach to change was an alternative approach and it seemed to work better. It had greater credibility and so you were beginning to bridge, which again—I think, in retrospect, Kimball is what I would call a *bridger*. Like you said, he was bridging the bottom to the top. He was bridging outward, et cetera. Well, that became part of how we were operating in Memphis. Our students were an integral part of that and then they became practitioners, and then became agents of change that was more sustainable than if it was just simply located in the University.

Rylko-Bauer: Also, this maybe can segue into the third question because it's clear that you're not only studying and gathering information, but then that information is being put to use not only by yourselves, but also by the community. It's a collaborative effort with the community, and you can see the dynamics between theory and practice. That's really, I think the third question that I'd like to ask

you: How has this long-term work informed that dynamic relationship? I think that people still don't understand that there is this dialogue between theory and practice within applications.

Hyland: Yes, in fact, one of my weaknesses that I've never really published as much as I should, but what Jean Schensul was writing about and Marietta Baba was writing about in terms of theory building in practice provided again, the framework that I could build upon. What was happening is that we were realizing that practitioners were often in better positions to work with the grassroots constituents on what is the Real issue, Rather than us in academics. The practitioners would then bring issues back and say, "Can you and your students help us on this?"
We became not the primary drivers—which in academia, we think that we are the primary drivers—but we became or our role became how can we be value-added to this so that questions and issues were being generated out of the grassroots. Then the theory part of it is that we would bring it back. We would put it into a conceptual framework and the conceptual framework could be ecological. It could be political/economic, that here are the global trends, and here is how this plan is fitting into that.

We then worked as a department to link our theory to what questions were being raised at the grassroots, mediated by the practitioners. Again, going back to Kimball in order to understand change, it wasn't simply us going in and discovering what it was, but we now realized that we had a different role to be value-added, and to link what was happening there to theoretical constructs like ecology that Jean Schensul was talking about – political ecology, political economy, et cetera. And then that became where our students became more engaged. [Where they could say,] "Yes, I see how that fits into Paulo Freire's work on transformational change or how it fits into what Marietta Baba was talking about on theory building. I think again, where we're evolving or what we've tried to pull together in that SAR volume was theory of community building.

Rylko-Bauer: The SAR volume that you're referring to is *Community Building in the Twenty-First Century* (School for American Research, 2005).

Hyland: Right. Again, what we were framing in that from different perspectives was that we're now looking at an engaged scholarship where it is very interactive. There are certain best practices that we now understand – Tony Oliver Smith talking about inventorying stakeholders and how you get them engaged on linkages to rituals and Marietta Baba's framework about virtual communities and how YouTube and other things could be part of the community-based, and Jean Schensul 's work on art in

grassroots. We were beginning – your mentor John van Willigen—linking it to McKnight and Kretzmann's community assets and mapping. The book to me was a really serious effort to provide that theory and praxis framework that was evolving, and you were trying to pool elders to get our collective wisdom at that point in time.

Rylko-Bauer: I see the work and I've heard you give talks at different sessions, and also some of your colleagues – Linda Bennett and so forth. What do we need to do within the disciple and the profession to move this kind of model forward? I think that what you've been doing at the University of Memphis is a great model; this partnership of academic and community and praxis.

Hyland: One of the things that we or I realized in talking to Linda Bennett and a good colleague, Dave Cox, in public administration, whom I've worked with over the years, is that the academy needed to change; that we could do the interesting projects we described, but our University *behavior* had to change.

We framed engaged scholarship and I forget exactly, but back in 1989-'90 or something like that, Ernest Lynton was a leader in higher education and talking about engaged scholarship. What appealed to Dave Cox and I was the notion that it's not just anthropology that needs to change. We've got to be putting together and working with engineers. We need to be working with nurses in the nursing college, and we need to be working with architecture, et cetera.
Setha Low and Sally Merry wrote that article in *Current Anthropology* about engaged anthropology, which was very broad and inclusive ("Engaged Anthropology: Diversity and Dilemmas," v. 51, p. S203-S226, 2010). My response to that is that's good for us to begin to talk about it internally, but we've got to have a conversation with the larger academy at every University.

And then I saw, because I was involved in being a dean, Michigan State had a president [Lou Anna Simon] that said that seventy percent (70%) of the faculty at Michigan State are doing engaged scholarship and it's multi-tiered. It's focusing on food inequities at a global level and involving the city of Detroit. I'm going oh, wow, she's right. If we can at Memphis or Kentucky or wherever else we're doing applied anthropology begin to say how can we be more collaborative – and then focus on important community problems like food inequality at a higher level that bring expertise – in Memphis that led us to work with public housing, which was, like in Baltimore, an absolute disaster. The housing authority was corrupt and was going to be taken over by HUD.

We put together using that model of engaged scholarship, we got anthropology involved, but we got architecture, we got planning and we got social work, the bureau of business and public administration. We looked and gee, this is

really a complex issue. The policy part of it is HUD and Congress, like it or not, was going to wipe out public housing that was deplorable.
Now, I do think that yes, it's too bad that people are going to be displaced, but I don't have the power to stop it. What I have the power to do is to say, "Can we make this situation better for the residents involved?" And then I would listen to the economists and whatever and they would have different angles. We became actively engaged in the transformation of public housing in Memphis and working with residents to set up wraparound social services that were community-oriented. The women's foundation then got involved, etcetera.

My point being that what anthropology has to do is not just talk internally about this, but it has to talk to these other disciples, and then it also has to look at institutional reward systems. This is where Linda Bennett did this incredible work on changing how we go about tenure and promotion and rewards. So then based upon this I said, "Well, how can we encourage this when the University just wants to get NSF and NIH overhead grants to make money?"

I went to the Community Foundation and United Way and I said, "Can't we set up a grant fund that would fund engaged scholarship programs that would be collaborative between the community, a faculty member, and that would involve students?" We now award, for the past six years, grants up to $18K at about four a year to do this; so that nursing now has a grant and the law school has a grant. Engineering has two grants and architecture has three grants. Of course, anthropology has grants, too, but it becomes a social movement as opposed to gee, I've just got this little thing I'll publish about that. You're trying to transform the University to say that this is where we need to be going. While STEM [science, technology, engineering and math] is important and biogenetics is important, for a University like us, we've got to be working with the community and making a difference in everyday life. I guess that part of the answer to your question is that I'm really a proponent that anthropology . . . and Linda Whiteford and Linda Bennett put together a NAPA Bulletin about how different programs are moving to do this (*Anthropology and the Engaged University: New Vision for the Discipline within Higher Education*, *Annals of Anthropological Practice*, v. 37, nr. 1, 2014).

Rylko-Bauer: The engaged University—?

Hyland: The engaged University of which anthropology can be a leader, but we've got to have some really strong partners.

Rylko-Bauer: Well, anthropology, I mean, one of our hallmarks is the ability to see how different aspects of a social system link together and influence each other. That's kind of what you're talking about.

Hyland: So, when the economist says, "Well, here's the bottom line," we're saying, "no, that ain't the bottom line. What you're doing is you're just helping developers, but you're not helping people." When social workers say, "Well, we've got to take all of these resources and do wraparound social services," we say, "yes, you're right, but we also have to think about how to fund and sustain that, and then how does this relate to education and how we work with the school system and the counselors." All of a sudden it becomes a far more interesting discussion. To me that's where we need to go in the future.

Rylko-Bauer: In CoPAPIA [AAA's Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology] we've been doing some work in talking about anthropological training and what students need. That's kind of, part of our mission is to assess what it is that students need so that they're prepared to really be successful in whatever career paths that they take. And then even if your initial career path is academic, these days very few people have one career path. That's predicted to be even more so in the future. How do we improve that? What do students need to know? If you were to give a message to anthropology departments across the spectrum, what minimum kinds of knowledge and training should students have so that they have actually a lot of different alternatives?

Hyland: I thought about that. I think that there are probably at least six dimensions to that. At one of these conferences that I went to, Nancy Zimpher, the Chancellor of the [State University of] New York system who is a big proponent of engaged scholarship, invited the vice president of Boeing to talk about employability. I just found this fascinating, but Boeing just completed a 30-yeaR study. The basic hypothesis is that Boeing hires the cream of the crop coming out of the best engineering and math schools. They looked at a 30-year period of performance.
It turns out the hypothesis [was not confirmed] – that the best and brightest coming out with the highest scores from elite engineering performed in the bottom third of their workforce, and so they had to go back and redo it. They looked at what contributed to the top third. What they found is a common variable which was that all of the employees in the top third had been involved in programs that were multidisciplinary in problem solving. I thought well, isn't that just what we've found in anthropology? Our best students aren't necessarily the ones that perform best on essays, nor are they the best grade point average. They're the ones that have been

involved in a project with Keri Brondo or Katherine Lambert-Pennington or myself in problem solving on a significant issue that has many dimensions to it.
When we looked at our students, we found that that was true. To me that problem solving focus, we need to have as a discipline more of our students engaged with faculty in working on change issues. Now, how that happens it seems to me that we have to then really go back to your article and Schensul's article on looking at participatory action research as our strength; that we do ethnographies and then we come up and reframe themes. Our methodology is that we can't stay with just that we're going to teach ethnography and study the community, I mean, because those times are gone and so it's got to be more participatory action research (PAR).
This last year I had two students that had gone through boot camp in entrepreneurship training. They had worked on a methodology that the business world uses coming out of Stanford called Design Thinking, but it begins with ethnographic interviewing as opposed to a marketing survey on a product. And then it does brainstorming through a thematic analysis. There is the creation of a product, and then after the product there is a presentation to all the stakeholders to get feedback on the product. And then they redo the product in order to come up with a final product. Well, that's a variant of ethnography and PAR. The fact that the business world, you know, accepts this, gives us an entry into how we as anthropologists can be involved.

The two lead students that led this, they actually trained the class. I didn't train in this Design Thinking. They ended up getting jobs at St. Jude's Hospital which is the most traditional hospital in the U.S. in terms of data and science. Not only did they get jobs, but they demonstrated how this Design Thinking ethnography leads to alternative solutions. Keri Brondo followed up and now St. Jude has created a fellowship for a graduate anthropology student to do that.
I'm thinking that this is where we need to go as a field, and that is to constantly be doing more problem solving with innovative methodologies that have to be based in participatory action research – the variants of that – and then to produce results or products that show that change is better this way than a traditional approach of marketing or focus groups, or traditional stuff.

And then the third part of it, or the fourth part of what we have to do with our students in the discipline is to come up with a better understanding of social movements and how this project here is linked to a bigger social movement and sustainability so that students need to be looking at not just themselves in isolation, but is there a *trend* that's occurring that you can map things together. This is sort of what we were talking about so that this becomes not just isolated and marginalized, but that multiple stakeholders become interested and sort of change.

I think that the whole idea of risk-taking and entrepreneurship in anthropology through problem solving in the real world, we should be rethinking the curriculum of what supports that and what doesn't support that. I was talking to Margaret Buckner yesterday, you know, as a linguist. She's got a number of projects from a linguistic perspective that do that. You can do it from physical anthropology. It's a movement against the overspecialization that we're getting in the disciple to more of here's the core of what we need for the employability of our students through case studies that this works. They begin to think more entrepreneurially about change, which again maps back to Kimball's thing about where we really are about change in a world that is stacked against the grassroots.

Rylko-Bauer: Well, I know that all of this different work you've been talking about, one of its goals is to find ways of addressing poverty and social suffering and inequities in ways that are *not* only sustainable, but then also in ways that honor, as you said, the lives of the people who really know what the problem is really at its core.

Hyland: Now, my latest as I descend into—

Rylko-Bauer: Yes, what are you working on now, as kind of a way of winding up [the interview]?

Hyland: I'm on a number of boards. I always like to frame this as maybe an overstatement, but I became very *anti*-program. I keep saying that our approaches to poverty and health disparities have to be based upon relational programs or activities. In Memphis we've been involved with poverty for some time; for example, we're working and are actually on the board of the Urban Child Institute. Zero to three is so critical for child development, I mean, and the whole brain wiring. The Urban Child Institute with the traditional medical model, they said that all we need to do is to educate parents about the importance of touch and play, and so they put in a gazillion dollars towards education programs and work with community-based groups to get people trained.

Cynthia Sadler and I said, "Well, you know, is it really making a difference?" We went and again, anthropologically did ten families that had gone through training. We found out that boy, they really knew everything, but their behavior hadn't changed one bit. In the neighborhood transportation issues, personal crisis issues, domestic violence issues and all of this they just said that yeah, I know that I should be dealing with my child, but I've got to survive. Cynthia actually became what I call a personal trainer/investigator. We took this back to the Urban Child Institute and they didn't want to hear it.

Now I'm working on how in fact we can support approaches that identify neighborhood navigators – people that live in the neighborhood – that you can link with to expand their knowledge and network so that they are at the core of approaches to job creation, to youth development, to schools, etcetera. We've got two groups now that have embraced that philosophy so that any poverty initiative we're now going to counter by saying, "How is that supporting it? How is that building capacity? Community building from the neighborhood navigator point of view?" That is if you can't embed it there, it's not going to be sustainable and it's not going to be credible.

That is my passion now is to keep working with former students who are now in positions to look at how we embellish relational approaches that are embedded in the neighborhood with navigators and build that as our beginning point. And then it's to broker and get resources around that, rather than simply oh, we're going to invade with another program of 25 social workers that are going to treat them as clients. It's an empowerment model. I mean, it truly goes back to changing southern progressivism from charity to empowerment. And then it's how do we fund empowerment without destroying the fabric of the neighborhood, and so it's got to be done sensitively and with understanding the context.

Rylko-Bauer: Well, this has been really fascinating. I have enjoyed talking with you and have really learned a lot. I can see number one, I mean, it's very neat. The focus or the beginning or the incentive for this [interview] was because you got this very well-deserved Kimball Award; yet, I can see how Kimball kind of is a thread throughout all of this. Yes, that's really neat.

Hyland: Again, I think what we do, or what Kimball did as a bridge builder was to create a platform that we could weave Shimkin and we could weave Schensul and the John van Willigen stuff. He helped to change the platform that anthropologists like me could come along and build upon, and that to me is a vision issue that anthropologists were looking at. In a changing world we had to have an alternative vision of who we are and what we're doing, and I think that he provided that. It's not exclusively, but it helped to create a platform, and then other people could relate to that platform and build upon it where today it's now a given as opposed to a novelty. I no longer feel like I'm the weirdo in the field.

Rylko-Bauer: Well, I think that's really great.