

Newsletter

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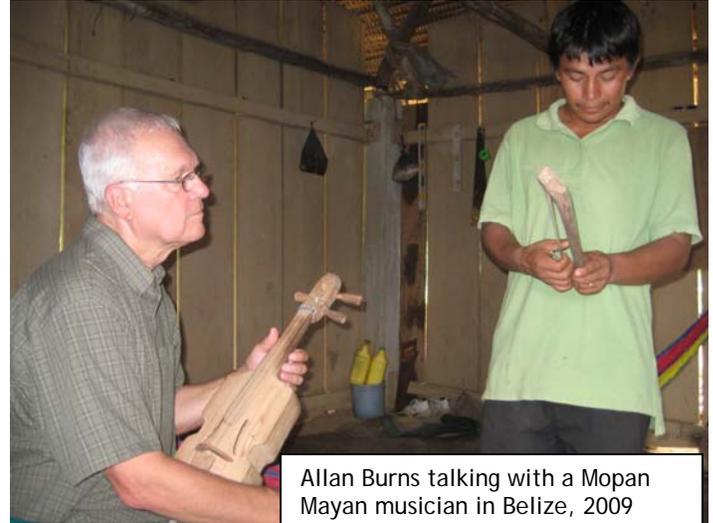
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SfAA President's Column

Talking about Doing Applied Work

By Allan F. Burns [afburns@ufl.edu]
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A few years ago I was helping develop local museums with officials on Native American reservations and the Smithsonian Institution. A Lakota tribal official told me that he had a degree in anthropology, but he said in a somewhat aggressive way that I probably didn't think he was an anthropologist because he didn't publish anything. "What I do," he said, "is to talk to people. I participate in different things like dances or songs. I try to put a lot of Lakota words into conversations so people get used to hearing them. I hunt when I can. But you probably don't think that is anthropology." I told him at the time that he was an applied anthropologist. I was reminded of this a few weeks ago when I heard that Hank Dobyns had passed away (see obituary in this issue). Hank had spent a year at the University of Florida when I first was hired to work here. At the end of the year he told me, "Allan, you've kept applied anthropology alive here." I asked him what he meant: "You talk to people. You organized a "brown bag lunch" where students and faculty meet once a month." I never thought that doing such everyday things like talking in the hallways or inviting someone to lunch would somehow be important to applied work. Hank's life was imbued with the same kind of "doing applied work," whether he was writing, teaching, or talking about applied anthropology. The premium put on publishing among university-based applied social scientists often overshadows the importance of the everyday world of applied interventions that the Lakota official challenged me to consider. But like James Scott's notion of everyday culture, unrelated to funded projects, even Mike Whiteford, (center)



Allan Burns talking with a Mopan Mayan musician in Belize, 2009



A Yucatec Maya tour guide talks about the rain ceremony for Chaac at Uxmal, Yucatan.

Talking about applied work, taking the time to organize an informal lunch or other meeting are things that form a base for more formal investigations or interventions. When I was an undergraduate student at Iowa State, where SfAA fellow Mike Whiteford is now Dean (<http://www.anthr.iastate.edu/Photos/Astaisas%20&%20MBW.jpg>), I met Dorothy Lee who was teaching a course in what was then called "Home Economics." She was happy to be teaching and lecturing outside of anthropology departments, because, as she said, the goal for bringing anthropology to non-anthropologists was foremost in her definition of what anthropologists should do. Like the Lakota colleague whose applied anthropology included doing Lakota things, Dorothy Lee understood that a real part of our work, a part that

pays rich dividends for all of us, is the simple activity of talking to others about our work. In the core Maya book, the *Popol Vuh*, the universe is created through conversation.

Talking about the society leads me to the continuing discussion of our annual meetings. We already have a tremendously enthusiastic set of proposals for sessions and panels from colleagues in Mexico and Latin America. Several indigenous groups in Guatemala are also planning on participating in the program. In Central and Latin America, a key concept that has emerged through grass roots organizations is "intercultural action" (a phrase that

sounds better in Spanish, *interculturalidad*). At the core of this concept is that development, education, medicine, and a host of issues that are confronted in marginalized communities are best understood as they occur across communities rather than simply between a national or international institution and a single community. I think we can learn from this Latin American concept: as members of SfAA, we can use the Merida meetings to talk across the major areas of applied work: medical anthropology, educational, human rights, the environment, and others are, as the Program Chairs have signaled, under threats of vulnerabilities and exclusion in a global world.

I am pleasantly surprised at the number of students, colleagues here in the United States, and others who are planning on going to the Merida meetings. I know it will be a sacrifice for many who do not have access to travel funds to attend; but I am certain that the chance for all of us to talk applied work can only help and expand the goals of the Society. Of course the food is very, very good in Merida as well! Let's have lunch and maybe a wonderful dessert!



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ARTICLES and COMMENTARIES

Public Archaeology Update: Afghanistan's Archaeology on the International Stage

By Barbara J. Little (blittle@umd.edu)

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The traveling exhibit, "Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul," is currently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the last stop in its U.S. tour, closing on September 20 before it travels to Canada. The exhibit features the kinds of beautifully crafted gold, ivory, and gemstone artifacts you'd expect to see in a show curated by the National Geographic Society traveling to major art museums. It also includes unexpected messages about careful excavation, archaeological provenience, and the courageous protection of a country's patrimony. The overarching message, however, is not only about archaeology, but also about connections between pasts and the international worthiness of Afghanistan and its people.

Through this high-profile exhibit, Afghanistan's current government in cooperation with National Geographic is actively presenting a multicultural integrated past as a clear counter argument against a mono-cultural, violently intolerant, iconoclastic alternative. The archaeological heritage of the country is one of the components in the contested identities of the many ethnic and language groups living in Afghanistan, any single national identity, and the presentation of the country within the international arena.

For the exhibit, over 200 objects were selected to represent 4000 years of history and demonstrate the importance of Afghanistan's central location on the Silk Road, the trade route between east and west. The exhibit - and the current discourse about Afghanistan's heritage - emphasizes past influences from many cultures including those of China, India, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, and Mesopotamia. It also carries the message that Afghanistan is more than a land of endless war and poverty. Omar Sultan, the country's Deputy Minister of Information and Culture, writes in the exhibit catalog, "By organizing this exhibition, we want to affirm our commitment to the international community that Afghanistan is changing from a culture of war to a culture of peace."



The exhibit displays material from the northern part of what is now Afghanistan. Four sites represent a time range from the Bronze Age to the 2nd Century A.D., ending well before the Islamic period. Interestingly enough, the country map on National Geographic's thorough and engaging website on the exhibit shows only the central and northern parts of the country. The whole southern region, which happens to continue to be considered a Taliban stronghold, is effectively invisible.

Stories of Afghanistan's cultural heritage have been in the news, particularly since the Taliban's perversely dramatic dynamiting of the giant Bhuddhas of Bamiyan in March 2001. [See, for example, the *New York Times*, March 3, 2001.] Tales of destruction, concealment, and survival against the odds have been told in the press many times. In a now familiar story, the curators of the museum in Kabul secretly hid many items. The museum director Omar Khan Massoudi and his staff hid selected artifacts in crates and in 1988 stored them in a safe under the Presidential Palace. Not until 2003, when the Afghan government confirmed the existence of the crates, was the safe reopened and the contents inventoried, revealing that many items feared lost or stolen were intact.

After a selection of the artifacts went on a European tour in Paris, Turin, and Amsterdam, the U.S. traveling exhibit opened at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC in May 2008, with quite a bit of press. Several officials from Afghanistan attended the opening, including the Minister of Culture and the Director of the National Museum. (<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/mission/afghanistan-treasures/index.html>)

One of the interesting things about a traveling exhibit is that it changes with venue even though the objects and text are the same. I attended the press openings and some additional events for the first two venues in the United States: Washington and San Francisco. Houston then enjoyed the exhibit before it traveled to New York, where it is getting a new wave of media coverage. The *New York Times* art review (Smith 2009) compares the Washington and New York venues, giving the artistic advantage to the Met. However, it's more than the lighting and room size that changes from museum to museum. It's the setting of the show in context of the city.

An opening at the National Gallery of Art in the US capital provided the kind of political statement of international respect and appreciation desired by both countries. An opening in Washington connects with American power and the world stage. Afghanistan's Minister of Information and Culture took the opportunity to appeal for international care for Afghanistan's heritage in addition to praising multiculturalism and the heroic protection of the displayed artifacts. I excerpted the following from the written statement by Minister Abdul Karim Khuram (NGA 2008):

"I am proud to present this gift (the exhibition) to the freedom loving nation of America from the independent nation of Afghanistan. These artifacts that we are gathered today for its exhibition witnesses upon the thousands years of history of Afghanistan and the long and productive human relations between our people and other nations of the world. In Afghanistan, the imposed wars could have easily destroyed these artifacts, but the patriotic citizens and lovers of these proud historical items were able to stand in the face of fire and terror from looting and protect these treasures from being damaged or lost; of which a small part will be kept here for the exhibition. . . ."

"Allow me, on this very occasion of the opening of the exhibition, to extend another important message on behalf of the Afghan people to the honorable ladies and gentlemen over here. Afghanistan has been the cradle of human civilization for thousands of years. In our country, there might be very few places where historic artifacts can't be found. Therefore, we hope that when our friends from the international community are involved with any reconstruction work in our troubled and war-torn country, they will take great care in preserving this historical civilization; and they will not take such actions that put at risk these historical heritage."



"We need your assistance in the restoration of historical monuments and construction and equipping of the museums."

The exhibit catalog includes a copy of the country's antiquities law to emphasize the message that Afghanistan requests and requires assistance from the international community - collectors and museums included - to regain control over plundered antiquities that have been taken out of country.

In contrast to the more formal and politically charged context in Washington, the Asian Art Museum venue in San Francisco appeared to me to be more about re-connecting with expatriate community, as the region has the largest number of expatriates from Afghanistan in the US. The core messages, however, remained the same: heroism of individuals in saving their cultural heritage, the implied but rarely stated respect due by the international community to honor that heroism and assist in repatriating (and to stop looting and antiquities trading), and the central importance of Afghanistan in silk road trade routes.

In his remarks at the October 22 media preview at the Asian Art Museum, Exhibit Curator and National Geographic Archaeology Fellow Fredrik Hiebert invited the media to "be surprised and leave with a completely different understanding of Afghanistan." As I walked through the exhibit immediately afterward, I overheard some reporters touring the exhibit, as one exclaimed to the other, pointing to one of the displays, "they were really multicultural!"

Most of the newspaper coverage that I've seen picks up this multiculturalism in some way, and also on some of the predictable contrasts, especially the gold (lots of gold is on display) revealing previous riches of a poor land. Although there is plenty of reporting of the heroic and honorable protection of these artifacts in the face of decades of threats, I've seen very little mainstream media coverage that connects that story to anti-looting messages. The Radio Free Europe (Krastev 2009) coverage of the show at the Met in New York is the exception. Even though the exhibit design and text make it clear that most of the displayed material has reasonably good archaeological provenience that is essential for interpreting the finds, the "treasure" message generally wins out; the exhibits are, after all, in major art museums.



Here I want to lament a little that that worldwide exhibit of these elite objects, especially the spectacular golden crown and jewelry, might be considered the key to Afghanistan's heritage. I want to suggest that archaeology

could frame questions about heritage in such a way that moves us from elite art to something more akin to people's artifacts and a broadly relevant and useable history. Framing archaeology in this way would require confronting the art history-rooted archaeology that has characterized most of the excavations done in Afghanistan and offer instead an archaeology rooted in anthropology without, however, insisting on the Americanist perspective that such a suggestion implies. Such an archaeology would require sustained engagement with local, national and international communities with ties to Afghanistan. Archaeology could be integrated into the vision that Omar Sultan (2008:30) expresses for his country:

"The safeguarding of all aspects of cultural heritage in my country, both tangible and intangible, including museums, monuments, archaeological sites, music, arts, and traditional crafts, is of particular significance in terms of strengthening cultural identity and preserving a sense of national integrity. Cultural heritage can become a point of mutual interest for former adversaries, enabling them to rebuild ties, to engage in dialogue, and to work together in shaping a common future."

Afghanistan faces many urgent problems. While the preservation and uses of heritage might be overlooked in favor of more immediately pressing needs, to do so would be a mistake in the long term.

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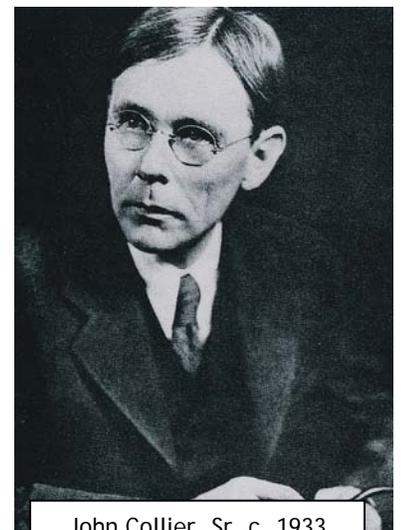
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In Search of John Collier

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John Collier (1864-1968) was born and raised in Atlanta, Georgia as an Anglo Saxon Protestant who became the champion of many who struggled to make their way through the challenges of the 20th Century. His early efforts in this regard led him to New York City before 1920, where he joined a group of community development workers helping to organize the poor to improve their own lot. A leader in this crusade was Mabel Dodge, a wealthy socialite from Buffalo, NY, who was to exert an especially strong influence on John Collier. It was she who enticed him and his family to come to the Pueblo Indian community of Taos, NM in 1920, which they did by stagecoach "in a blinding snowstorm." She was there to greet them with her husband Antonio Lujan, a native of Taos Pueblo. Collier was to remain engaged with the Pueblo for the rest of his life.

A few years ago, when I was personally asked what made John Collier an outstanding figure, I replied that he was "a terrific moral force." This quality was exemplified in many ways across his life. John Collier served as US Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, during the entire administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In this capacity he became a tenacious advocate for Indian rights and for protection of their property, presiding over a historic shift of federal government policy toward the Indians. He argued not only that Indian rights and lands should be protected but that their cooperative way of life and careful treatment of the environment had much to teach the modern world. These views were spelled out in detail through his writings after leaving the government service, especially in his widely read book, *Indians of the Americas*, which was reprinted 14 times.



John Collier, Sr. c. 1933

Oscar and Miriam Alers



After he had completed his tour of duty in the federal government, John Collier was appointed Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the City College of New York, where he quickly became a beloved teacher until his retirement in 1954. A slight, soft-spoken - even saintly - figure in his manner, he practiced the "intensity within tranquillity" that he had discovered in some of the Indian peoples of the American Southwest. As one of his many students, I recall the hushed - almost reverent - atmosphere that pervaded his classes. Another of his appreciative students was one who two years later was to become my life-long companion as my wife.

In 1985, the annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, of which I was a member, was held in Albuquerque, NM. This

presented me with my first realistic opportunity to visit Taos Pueblo, two hour's drive to the north. Arriving at the Pueblo, I was struck by the quiet serenity of its adobe buildings, which had provided shelter and community to the Indians for more than 1,000 years, making it one of the oldest continuously inhabited settlements in the US. Indeed, the special qualities of Taos Pueblo have been widely recognized by its selection to the National Register of Historic Places and its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

I returned to Albuquerque toward dusk, convinced that this would not be my last encounter with a mecca that I had waited 30 years to engage while I pursued my career elsewhere - mostly in Massachusetts, Peru, Thailand and New York. In fact, the next opportunity occurred the very next day as I learned that a few of my colleagues were also planning a trip to the Pueblo, and I eagerly joined them. Actually, these two trips turned out to be but a prelude.

John Collier's love for Taos, which he frequently expressed, was most strongly indicated by his wish to be buried there upon his death, so on the next excursion, in 1994, I made it my goal - now shared by my wife, Miriam - to find his gravesite. We viewed our efforts to find his grave as a respectful homage to his exemplary life and we began our quest by simply asking a member of the Pueblo whether Collier was buried there. He was unfamiliar with the name but suggested that I consult one of the community elders who, in turn, assured me that nobody by that name had been buried or cremated in the Pueblo.

I continued the search by spending a few hours poring through newspaper obituary records held by the library in the town of Taos immediately to the south of the Pueblo, but nothing turned up. Accompanied by Miriam, I then visited the mansion constructed in the town by Mabel Dodge, in which she had lived with her husband. Neither of them was still alive, and the employees of the inn into which it had been converted knew nothing of Collier, although we spotted his youthful image in an old home movie made available for viewing by the guests.

The search gained a major impetus when a woman we met in town informed us that she had an acquaintance who knew John Collier and telephoned her on our behalf. We were directed to her house on the outskirts of Taos where she offered to take us personally to Collier's grave, a short walk away!! Elated, we were led to a small cemetery where we found an urn containing the cremated remains of John Collier, Jr. (an accomplished photographer whose identity was known to us). Crestfallen but still encouraged, we explained that the grave we were seeking was that of his *father!*

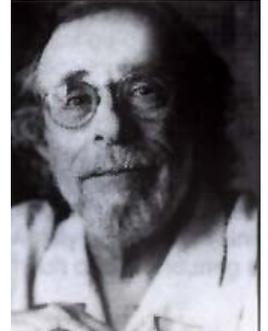
Our contact then escorted us to a house across the street that soon gave evidence of being the residence of a Collier family member. We were greeted by a female acquaintance of the family who had free access to the house and invited us to enter. We explained what we sought but she could not be of any further assistance, saying that the man of the house was away for an undetermined period. It was clear from copies of books authored by Collier, Sr. and Jr., to be seen in the house that Senior himself may have lived there, Junior almost certainly had and perhaps a grandson did at that time.

I called the house the next morning, but there was no answer, so we decided to try a different approach by enlisting the help of a local church, but which one? We knew Collier had been a Protestant, so we reached out to the largest Protestant church, located in Ranchos de Taos, immediately south of the town of Taos. The doors were locked on our first visit, but the following day we encountered the new pastor of the congregation. He was not familiar with the Collier name but enlisted the help of one of his congregants, who happened to be present. She suggested we try a nearby cemetery affiliated with the church and spelled out the necessary directions.

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It took us just a few minutes to drive to the cemetery but the gate was locked and an ominous sign warned us to beware of the dogs. But we were not about to be deterred and climbed over a short adobe wall guarding the sides of the gate. About 20 yards straight ahead on the grass, Miriam spotted a gravestone bearing the name and dates of John Collier, together with an engraved quotation from the poet Walt Whitman. We bowed in reverent silence, deeply moved by the occasion, and took a few photographs. Spending perhaps 20 minutes at the site, I then picked up several stones from the ground and handed a few to my wife, who tacitly understood that they were to be placed atop the headstone as a gesture of respect, in accordance with the custom I had learned from my Jewish in-laws. We drove away with a deep sense of fulfillment and devotion, but this did not conclude our engagement with Collier and Taos. We came back briefly to the Pueblo in 1995, incidental to what became an annual visit to our eldest son, who had moved to Santa Fe. Then, during the Christmas season of 1996, we returned to witness the Deer Dance, the highlight of the annual ceremonial activities in the community. We thought the dance would constitute our final connection with Taos, but we were destined for a reprise.

In 2004, I accompanied Miriam at the 50th reunion of the Class of 1954 at the City College of New York (I had graduated from CCNY one year later than she). As one of the scheduled activities, the graduates were asked to share any written reminiscences of their college years for distribution to their fellow alumnae. Miriam chose to mention how much she had appreciated her classes with John Collier. Within a few hours she was approached by an unfamiliar fellow alumnus who informed us that he owed his entire career to John Collier. He had unexpectedly and belatedly been inspired by Collier's classes to pursue graduate studies in anthropology and Collier had personally put him in touch with the academic program that led to his doctoral degree. We mentioned in passing that we had found Collier's grave and placed some stones on the marker. He was overwhelmed and asked for directions to the site, since he was scheduled to attend a conference in Santa Fe in 2005. We were pleased to help with all the necessary details, including a hand-drawn map I prepared for him on the spot.



Gilbert Kushner

The reason for our fellow alumnus' trip to Santa Fe was to attend a conference of a professional anthropological association that was presenting him an award. Several months later he sent us an e-mail message saying he had turned his acceptance speech into a tribute to John Collier, after having found his gravesite, wept profusely and placed several more stones on the upright. It was only after several more years went by that I realized he was Professor Gilbert Kushner and that he had gone to Santa Fe to receive the Sol Tax Distinguished Service Award of the Society for Applied Anthropology!

Witnessing Change in a Small-Scale Society: A Personal Account

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Prologue

This essay was motivated by a meeting I attended in the Chiriqui mountains of Panama in the summer of 1997. It is a brief tale of some, but not all, of the changes and their consequences that I have witnessed during more than 40 years of working, off and on, with the indigenous Ngöbe of western Panama. It is likely to have a familiar ring for others who began their research, as I did, in a minority society with beliefs and practices (and language) - in a word, a culture which, while certainly displaying obvious introductions mediated by the surrounding national culture, had retained its integrity and distinctiveness. Over the years since I began my research, the Ngöbe have become increasingly affected by the multifarious processes of what scholars referred to as modernization until two decades ago when the preferred descriptor became globalization. The Ngöbe, of course, do not distinguish between modernization and globalization, regardless of the potential utility this analytic distinction may have for scholars.



All that is here recounted is based on my own observations and experiences. Space does not permit comparisons with other small-scale traditional societies - what my linguist friend, Tom Givón, labels "societies of intimates" - that have been and are being impacted by the inexorable march of processes that, collectively, we now

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term globalization, but examples are numerous in the literature.

1964: The Big Butoba

Nineteen sixty-four, the year I began my doctoral research with the Ngöbe, marked the beginning of a long-term, albeit sporadic, collaboration that has permitted me to observe as well as hear about many changes over the years and to achieve some understanding of the views of my collaborators regarding many of these changes. At that time, they were called Guaymí and they identified themselves as Guaymí in speaking with outsiders. Guaymí is also the term used to refer to the Ngöbe in all of the earlier literature, including my own writings, until the 1990s. Among themselves they have always been Ngöbe - people.

In 1960 the Panamanian census bureau estimated the Ngöbe population to be 36,000. My estimate for 1965 (based on population growth rates since 1930) was 40,000, with most residing within the rugged mountainous terrain that the Ngöbe considered their homeland, about 2,500 square miles in parts of the

three westernmost provinces of the Republic of Panama: Bocas del Toro, Chiriqui, and Veraguas. They were then, and remain today, the largest indigenous group in Panama. In 1964 the Ngöbe were still a subsistence-based people heavily dependent on slash-and-burn agriculture, supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering. Some had a few cattle; most households had chickens, raised and cared for by women and children. Reciprocity among kin was still the predominant mode of exchange. Short-term temporary wage labor on western Panama's banana plantations and coffee farms was fairly common and the main source of cash for purchasing what they could not grow or make.



Map 1. Republic of Panama, showing indigenous comarcas and provinces. (Adapted from a map by EoN Systems, S.A. and used with permission.)



Ngöbe extended family in January 2007

was sporadic, as was student attendance. Few men could read or write; women who were literate were nonexistent in the small hamlets of San Felix District where I conducted most of my initial research. Perhaps there were a few but, if so, I never met them. In fact, it was the rare woman who even spoke Spanish with a modicum of fluency. At the time fathers did not believe that schooling served any useful purpose for their daughters. Many older men also did not speak Spanish. Some had never been outside Ngöbe territory.

As a part of my field equipment in 1964, I lugged into the mountainous land of the Ngöbe an open-reel tape recorder - The Big Butoba - state of the art at the time. It was literally the size of a breadbox. Although some of the Ngöbe at the time had transistor radios, purchased with wages earned through day labor, none of Ngöbe I came to

know had ever before seen a tape recorder. Most people were afraid or suspicious of the Butoba. In addition, it was too bulky and heavy to lug around from one small Ngöbe hamlet to another, widely dispersed as they were. Throughout the year I used it almost exclusively in my home hamlet to record language data.

Cameras were virtually unknown as well and there was no word in the Ngöbe language for 'picture.' Those who asked me or permitted me to take their pictures used their word for soul or spirit to refer to the picture.

Unbeknownst to me when I plunked myself and my small mountain of supplies down amongst them, the Ngöbe were in the midst of a religious revitalistic movement that began in late 1961 and was led, until her untimely death in late 1964, by a young woman who came to be known as Mama Chi. I came to understand this social movement as at once a reaction to what the Ngöbe perceived as an increasingly uncomfortable relationship with the outside world as well as a reaction to certain elements of their traditional culture, elements with which the women in particular were uncomfortable.

By 1970, an incipient political movement that (at least partially) emerged within the ranks of the followers of Mama Chi during 1964-5 had become a separate social movement. By 1972 the religious movement was on the wane, although it has not completely disappeared despite my rash prediction in 1974 of its imminent demise.

Fast Forward to 1997: The Meeting

On March 10, 1997, after a decades-long struggle, the government of Panama finally granted the Ngöbe legal title to their territory as the *Comarca Ngöbe-Buglé*, although not to all of it as many of them are quick to point out. (The Buglé are a small neighboring group, some of whom have intermarried with Ngöbe but who claim cultural distinctiveness.) The constitution (*carta orgánica*) of the *comarca* (similar to an Indian reservation in the U.S.), formulated by the Ngöbe leadership with some outside help from Jesuits and others, was approved by Presidential Executive Order 194 of August 25, 1999.

The first road to penetrate Ngöbe territory in Chiriqui in 1978 was a dirt track that washed out in several places during the first rainy season. By 1997 there were several roads extending into communities within the *comarca*, some with gravel surfaces and a few partially paved. Limited passenger service was provided by 4-wheel drive high bed pickups.

There was a noticeable increase in schools within the Ngöbe territory. There was also widespread recognition that formal schooling was needed to cope with increasing contact with and dependence on the outside world. Some girls were now attending primary school, clearly a change in attitude among at least some fathers from the earlier view that educating girls could serve no practical purpose. A few women had completed some secondary education and several were attending the Jesuit secondary boarding school in San Felix.



Phil Young in house in Valle del Rey, January 2008

Transistor radios were abundant. A few Ngöbe had point-and-shoot cameras. Some Ngöbe women had been trained in basic agronomy and agroforestry by the GTZ's Ngöbe Agroforestry Project and were serving as community facilitators. They were literate in Spanish and bilingual in Ngöbere and Spanish. Although limited to three districts in Chiriqui Province, the GTZ project remains to date the most successful of several large development projects intended to benefit the Ngöbe.

In July of 1997, I returned to Ngöbe country after a six-year absence to spend several weeks visiting my friends. About three weeks after my arrival at Cerro Mamita, the small hamlet that has served as my base camp over the years, a Salvadoran Jesuit from the priory in San Felix arranged a meeting of the community organizers (*promotores sociales*) for whom he had been providing guidance. Padre Miguel had been working with the Ngöbe for several years. He told me that the *promotores* wanted to talk with me and explain what they were doing.

The meeting was held in the community meeting house at Cerro Mamita, itself an innovation since the 1960s and now present in many communities. Padre Miguel and I sat at a small table facing several rows of benches filled

with men and a few women. Everyone introduced themselves and named their communities. Then, one by one, some stood up and told of the work they were doing. After a couple of hours, there seemed to be no more willing speakers. Then a man stood up (predesignated by Padre Miguel, I suspect) and politely asked if I would talk about changes I had witnessed in the 33 years that had passed since I had first come to live in Cerro Mamita. Many of those present had not yet been born in 1964.

At this distance I do not remember all of what I said (and, hopefully, I'm not including here anything that I didn't say). Briefly, I mentioned the big changes. I spoke of the greatly increased population, the larger size of many communities, and the increasingly severe land shortage. I observed that there were now many more schools. I noted the new leadership structure of the *comarca*. I spoke of roads and health clinics, both nonexistent in the 1960s. I noted that in the mid-1960s there were no development programs and now there were many, funded and implemented by government ministries, international agencies, and NGOs. In response to a specific question, I addressed the problem of mining exploration at Cerro Colorado, the huge mountain of copper ore in the heart of Ngöbe territory, and the threat it posed if plans for an open-pit mine were to proceed. Exploration had begun in 1970 and by 1997 the fourth in a series of multinational mining companies was engaged in exploratory drilling. Those present were in general against the mine, but asked for my advice. In response I said I could not make their decisions for them, but I counseled them that it was important, if they were to have any negotiating power, to arrive at a single position as a community.

Over the years I had witnessed many small changes which, in the interests of time, I did not mention to my Ngöbe audience: the use of clotheslines instead of draping clothes over bushes to dry, an innovation I cannot help but wonder if I introduced; the replacement of calabashes and gourds and the occasional metal plate and spoon for food and drink with plastic substitutes (made in China); from no cameras and some fear of them to use of them by several Ngöbe; from a few radios to a great many; and a shift from bar laundry soap to the powdered variety, unfortunately with phosphorous content.

But as I looked out at my attentive audience, I was surprised, indeed astounded, at what I saw (but also did not mention). When I was first living with the Ngöbe and learning from them, I was the only one who took notes, and the only one with a tape recorder, the big Butoba, which consumed those large D batteries at an enormous rate, was difficult to lug around, and in any case was nearly useless for recording interviews because most people had never seen a tape recorder and were either suspicious or afraid of it. Now, as I stood before the assembled *promotores* and others in the communal meeting house and spoke of changes I had

witnessed, I saw numerous Ngöbe diligently taking notes on what I said while some others held up small tape recorders to capture my thoughts, presumably to share them later with members of their communities, and maybe to compare my memories with those of their parents and grandparents.



Solar-powered computers in the school at Soloy, Jan 2007

Changes, Problems, and Prospects

During my most recent visit in December 2007 and January 2008, I noted that there are now many more roads linking numerous Ngöbe communities with the Pan American Highway and some are paved, at least part-way. Commercial transportation is now more frequent and more regular. There are many more primary schools and some of the larger Ngöbe communities now have secondary schools.

By 2007 cell phones and computer use, especially for e-mail, had been added to the note taking, picture taking, and tape recording evident in 1997. The number of Ngöbe who know how to use computers is, of course, still very small, and I know of only one community within the *comarca* that has a schoolroom equipped with several solar powered computers. Likewise, only a few individuals have cell phones. Importantly, it is not just men, but women as well, who are using computers and cell phones. At a Sunday community gathering in December 2007, two young ladies, mistaking my digital camera for the coveted communication device, asked me, in good Spanish, if they might borrow my cell phone!

Many women now speak Spanish. A few have attended secondary school. Polygyny, prevalent in the 1960s, is clearly on the wane as girls have been indoctrinated with Latino mores in schools, and as men find it increasingly difficult to support more than one wife. Marriages seem to be more brittle now, but this is only an impression, and possibly wrong. Many marriages were not very stable in 1964-5, especially those of young women married to older men, usually not as first wives.



Mother, daughter and puppy at Cerro Mamita, Jan 2007

The interrelated problems of the 1960s of population increase and growing land shortage have today become much more severe. The Ngöbe now number over 170,000, more than four times my 1965 estimate. About 100,000 are living within the *comarca*. The rest are living permanently outside the *comarca*, most of them in the cities and towns of Chiriqui, Bocas del Toro, and Veraguas provinces. (Not included in the total are several thousand who have immigrated to Costa Rica - an exodus that began slowly in the 1950s due to localized land shortage). Forced by increasingly severe land shortage and declining crop yields to leave the *comarca*, most have exchanged rural poverty for an arguably more precarious urban

poverty. Yet the lands of the *comarca* are still woefully inadequate to support those who have remained.

Today the Ngöbe face major challenges to their way of life that did not exist in the 1960s. The two most ominous challenges are mining exploration and plans for several hydroelectric dams. The government has now granted mining exploration leases to multinational mining corporations in several extensive locations within the *comarca* in addition to Cerro Colorado. So far only exploratory drilling has taken place but nonetheless there has been significant environmental damage in some places. Were open-pit mines to become a reality in any of these locations, irreversible environmental damage would be extensive and the social, economic and health impacts for many Ngöbe communities would be near catastrophic. Ngöbe communities in the vicinity of all of the mining exploration activities are currently protesting. They want the mining companies out of the *comarca*.

The government has plans for construction of several hydroelectric dams that will affect Ngöbe communities within and outside of the *comarca*, as Panama strives to become the energy hub for Central America. One dam is currently under construction on the Changuinola river in Bocas del Toro Province. It involves the involuntary displacement—without consent or appropriate prior consultation—of four Ngöbe communities and will affect many more, as well as detrimentally altering riverine ecology. The indigenous rights and basic human rights of the residents of these communities have clearly been violated. Yet, in the latest development the government of Panama has refused to comply with a directive from the Inter American Council on Human rights that construction be halted until appropriate negotiation takes place and an agreement is reached with the Ngöbe communities.

Literacy and technology are changing the way the Ngöbe interact with the outside world and with each other. Although computer usage and cell phones are still very limited, they are being put to good use as a rapid means of communication and coordination among Ngöbe leaders (and some others) in distant locales of the *comarca*, as well as to exchange information with non-Ngöbe individuals and organizations in Panama, other countries in Latin America, the United States, and Europe that sympathize with and provide support for the Ngöbe in their political and human rights struggles with the government and multinational corporations.

Finally, the Ngöbe of the 21st century have developed a strong sense of ethnic pride and solidarity that, in my view, had its origins in the religious revitalization movement of the 1960s. Although there have been profound changes, material, behavioral, and ideological, and they have incorporated much from the outside world, the Ngöbe today identify themselves and their ways as Ngöbe. This is true even of those who have left the *comarca* and now reside permanently in the towns and cities of greater Panama. In the past they would have become culturally mestizo; now they continue to identify as Ngöbe. In the community of Las Lomas on the outskirts of David, the capital of Chiriqui Province, there are entire neighborhoods composed of Ngöbe families where the women continue to wear the traditional *nagua* (a colorful long dress that covers the body from neck to ankles) as a deliberate and very visible cultural marker and where Ngöbere continues to be spoken in the household.

Much greater literacy among both women and men and the utilization of modern technology, coupled with vibrant ethnic solidarity, has provided the Ngöbe with greater political savvy and leverage in a rapidly changing world full of difficult challenges. What I described in the 1960s as Ngöbe traditional culture would barely be recognizable to a newbie observer today; yet in terms of a sense of collective ethnic identity and pride in that identity the Ngöbe are

more Ngöbe today than they were 45 years ago.

NOTE: References to my writings about the Ngöbe can be found on my web site at http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~pyoung/Ngobe_Pubs.html A table showing the distribution of Panama's indigenous populations, based on data I extracted from the Censos Nacionales de Panama, 1990 can be found at <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~pyoung/PmaIndPopDemog.html>

Tales from the Office: An Anthropologist Navigates the "Real World"

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This month I celebrate my first year as a Historic Preservation Planner in the City of Houston's Planning and Development Department. I began my new career on August 11, 2008, fresh out of graduate school with a Master's degree in Anthropology from the University of South Florida (USF). Reflecting on the previous twelve months, I can still honestly say that I have my dream job.

During my graduate studies at USF I was involved with heritage research and preservation activities in Tampa Bay communities. I conducted extensive archival research to support the designation of local landmarks and historic districts; I interviewed residents to understand their position on controversial preservation activities proposed for their communities; and I assisted communities in planning their many and varied preservation projects.

In the previous twelve months in my position as Historic Preservation Planner, the projects and programs I have been involved with bear a striking resemblance to the heritage preservation research I conducted in graduate school. On a daily basis I am responsible for administering the historic designation portion of the City's Historic Preservation Ordinance. A large part of my time is spent conducting archival research at the many archives around town and writing historical narratives to support the designation of City Landmarks, Protected Landmarks, and Historic Districts. The narratives are then turned into reports which are distributed to members of the Houston Archaeological and Historical Commission (HAHC). At the monthly meetings of the HAHC I present the significance of each landmark or historic district and the commissioners vote whether to designate.

Additionally, I have also been given numerous opportunities to collaborate with active and committed representatives of the community and other civic and municipal organizations on their preservation projects and programs. One such program is the Project Leadership Institute (PLI), sponsored yearly by the Planning Department. The theme of PLI changes yearly, this year it was City of Houston historic district designation. I was involved in the coordination and development of the curriculum, which was designed to build organizational and project management skills for residents wishing to become active in establishing their neighborhood as a historic district. The seven weekly sessions consisted of a basic introduction to historic preservation, review of the City's Historic Preservation Ordinance, discussion of the benefits of a historic district, taking inventory of the neighborhood, outreach strategies, project visioning, project work plan and project implementation. The residents who participated in PLI are right on forging ahead in their efforts and are scheduled to submit their historic district application in November. In addition, this month they will be recognized at City Council for their hard work and their councilmember will present each resident who participated in the program with a certificate of achievement. It was amazing to work with such passionate, committed community members.

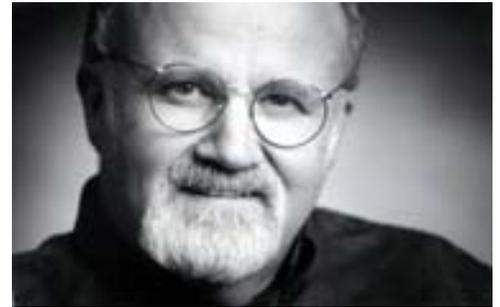
Reflecting on both my undergraduate and graduate anthropology training, the skills that I have attained over the years that are crucial to my job include: acknowledging the perspectives of all people involved; focusing on challenges and opportunities presented by cultural diversity, ethnicity, gender, poverty and class; and addressing imbalances in resources, rights, and power. General techniques gained from anthropology graduate studies that are beneficial for any job include reading, writing, public speaking, analytical skills, decision making skills, and teamwork.

How fast one year flies right by! Reflecting on the previous twelve months I have experienced intense feelings of gratitude, pride, excitement, and fear. My first day on the job was terrifying; I was fearful of making the transition from graduate school to a practicing anthropologist working in a non-anthropology environment. It was difficult to transition from an academic, “under-the-wing” atmosphere to a professional, non-anthropologically based career, but I feel confident that I have made that transition smoothly. I feel immensely grateful to have a job that is so similar to the work I did in graduate school, work that I was (and still am!) passionate about; I feel proud that I am a successful anthropologist working outside of academia to solve human problems; The Society for Applied Anthropology says that the occupation of “Anthropologist” should be promoted as a satisfying, rewarding and important professional role and I am proud to report that my new job is all of these things.

How I Got Started in Social Marketing in Public Health: An Excerpt of an SfAA Oral History Project Interview with Carol A. Bryant

By John van Willigen [John.vanWilligen@uky.edu]
Chair, SfAA Oral History Project Committee

Carol A. Bryant is Distinguished Health Professor in the Department of Community and Family Health in the College of Public Health at the University of South Florida. She also is the co-director of the CDC funded, Florida Prevention Research Center. Prior to going to USF she worked at the Lexington-Fayette County Health Department. Trained in applied anthropology at the University of Kentucky, Bryant has directed social marketing projects on a wide variety of public health issues, including breast feeding, breast and cervical cancer screening, prenatal care, immunizations, and early childhood intervention services. This included the widely used Best Start model for breast feeding promotion. She is a founding editor of *Social Marketing Quarterly* and is currently developing and testing the Community Based Prevention Marketing strategy, which she developed, at various sites across the United States.



Edited Transcript Excerpt Follows:

VAN WILLIGEN: You did a practicum in Miami with Hazel Weidman.

BRYANT: Weidman, right. I'd forgotten all about that, yes, I was a culture broker.

VAN WILLIGEN: Do you recall how that got set up?

BRYANT: Sure. The first job that I took after my masters degree was to work with heroin addicts. I had worked for year out at Narco [U.S. Public Health Hospital at Lexington focused on Narcotics] in Lexington getting ready for that. When I arrived [in Miami the] job turned out not to be with heroin addicts and instead with a lot of very crazy people who worked in the office and I decided, after about nine months of getting nowhere that I had to get out of there. So I quit and Hazel hired me.

VAN WILLIGEN: She was an acquaintance of Art Gallaher's, [your advisor at UK]?

BRYANT: Yes, and as a result she hired me right away.

VAN WILLIGEN: Oh I see.

BRYANT: So that's when I realized what networks mean in academia.

VAN WILLIGEN: Right.

BRYANT: I don't even know that he had to write a letter but she said, "Oh!, well Art said I should hire you so I'm going to."

VAN WILLIGEN: Okay.

BRYANT: And it was for a temporary position, partly because I was going to go back to get my doctorate after awhile, but I purposely wanted some experience before I went back because I was going back to the same institution to study with many of the same people.

VAN WILLIGEN: Right.

BRYANT: I really needed something under my belt. So I was glad to have a second chance, because that first job hadn't taught me much



Carol A. Bryant

except things that had to do with my own personality, and the types of people to avoid working with. The job with Hazel was as the culture broker between the Psychiatric Institute [at the University of Miami] and the Puerto Rican community [of Dade County], and she wanted a temporary person while we looked for someone who was Puerto Rican.

VAN WILLIGEN: Yes.

BRYANT: And that was a fabulous job. I loved doing that. I learned a lot from her, really enjoyed the work.

VAN WILLIGEN: What was Hazel Weidman like?

BRYANT: Oh! Dynamite, I mean she was hard working. Making lots of waves in the Psychiatric Institute, fighting with the chair a lot. All for good causes and doing great work, and, I mean she supervised a huge project there with five different communities. She had to be a culture broker with each one and each one brought her plenty of problems so I really respected what she did. She published a lot about the project, at least in technical reports, and so it was a pleasure to work for her. I probably would have stayed longer but I got a call from Art, and he said, don't you think it's time you come back [chuckle] and so, I said, well, maybe so. I've learned a lot and we have found somebody who could replace me.

VAN WILLIGEN: I'm trying to get some idea of this early strategy that you're following.

BRYANT: I never, I never sat down and said here is where I want to end up and have it course out. I was more following a passion for ideas and things I liked doing.

VAN WILLIGEN: Right.

BRYANT: I don't even remember [the strategy], I certainly never planned early on to go into an academic position. I did at one point later make a plan to work in applied settings outside of the academy until I was about fifty, and then go back and teach. I, part of it was I felt I really can't teach until I've done it, and I want to get a lot of experience and then I want to teach. To [teach], I needed some experience. So I had planned to stay outside of an academic setting until I was about fifty. And then when I worked in Miami and loved it, I went well that's probably where I belong anyway.

VAN WILLIGEN: I see.

BRYANT: When I was writing my dissertation, I was very interested in nutrition. I did take some courses both before I went to Miami to do the dissertation in seventy-six and seventy-seven. And then I kept taking [courses] because I loved nutrition, I just loved it, and thought gosh, I wish I had discovered this first, I probably would have done a degree first in nutrition and a little cultural sprinklings on top. This is great!

VAN WILLIGEN: Yes.

BRYANT: And I decided I just could not live on a graduate assistantship anymore. Art had been loyal to me. He'd let me come back and gave me back my assistantship, but I felt, I just need to get a job.

BRYANT: That was in nineteen seventy-seven or seventy-eight. And I think I had already turned in drafts [of my dissertation] and it was pretty much getting close to the end.

VAN WILLIGEN: Oh I see.

BRYANT: But I wasn't totally finished, and I thought I'm not going to take [the assistantship] next semester; I'm going to find a job. And I looked around, I couldn't find much and I saw there was an opening as a health educator at the [Lexington - Fayette County] health department. So, and this is what's really ironic, I thought, okay, I know some about behavior change, but how else do you get people to change their health behavior? So I went to the marketing department of all places.

VAN WILLIGEN: This is more or less accidental.

BRYANT: Yes! Exactly! I just thought who changes people's health behavior, well, that's a commercial enterprise so I went to the college of business library and I remember sitting in there and reading lots of books on how you use marketing to change behavior, and Xeroxing some articles. At any rate, I prepared for my interview and had a mix of what I could bring as an anthropologist and behavior change and some ideas from marketing and interviewed with the head of health education at the health department and I got the job. So I never even knew public health was there as a career, I just needed a job. Well, I loved it, I loved working with nutritionists. They're wonderful people. I loved working with the health educators, I learned a lot, I was applying, plus I found my skills were effective and valued. So I quickly got promoted to director of health education when my boss left. This promotion was very controversial because everybody called me an archaeologist. The health educators went to the board of health and the mayor and tried to prevent me from being selected on a permanent basis, because they wanted a certified formal health educator in that position. And they had somebody in mind and they were furious that I got the job. But I loved it, I loved public health. The organizational culture is one of great comfort for me, I share their values of making a difference, of kindness, of being considerate and love of team work, the excitement of designing programs, all of that! I have found myself! Well, they also had a program that would pay for a course per semester and I, in fact the whole time I was here for all twelve years, I took a course every semester at the University of Kentucky. But I figured why not go ahead and get a degree in nutrition, what the heck. So I did! It took me until 1985 to get it but [chuckle] but I did.

BRYANT: But oh my God we did so many fun projects, the creativity over there was great. We had so much fun.

VAN WILLIGEN: Because you were, had this interest in it before, but of course I, of all of your work, the project that I'm most familiar with is 'Best Start.'

BRYANT: Right.

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VAN WILLIGEN: And, how does that link up to all this training and background you had, and your involvement with the Lexington health department.

BRYANT: Pretty early in my career there, probably within a year or so, starting, working in, at the health department [in Lexington]. I got a call from Dana Raphael, an anthropologist who wrote a book about *doulas* [Editor: Greek word meaning “women who help women.”]. And she had gotten my name somewhere. I guess she’d read, you know, I published my dissertation results and it included an interesting piece in showing that women needed social support to be able to breastfeed. It not only influenced the decision but it influenced their ability [to] act on your intention. And she read that and that was consistent with her theory so she called me and asked me to be part of this international scale grant project. And that got me into the national arena; I met a lot people in breastfeeding. And Ross Laboratories and Judy Gussler who is an anthropologist, who worked there, and others, and as a result of getting to know them and continuing to read in this field, I got the idea to first try a counseling program which we called Community Advisors for Breastfeeding Mothers.

VAN WILLIGEN: It was theoretically informed by this network viewpoint.

BRYANT: Exactly. So I thought if they’re lacking social networks [that support breast feeding]. How do we manipulate that? Well, we find a few people in a, this is largely in an African-American community here.

VAN WILLIGEN: Right.

BRYANT: We found a few women who have breastfed and we funded them and helped them be network support or *doulas* for others. And that was a success, and took off. And then they got me in touch with other gurus in the field, including somebody at Maternal Child Health Bureau in, at the Department of Health and Human Services. So I got kind of plugged in to the national scene that way and got access to funding for Lexington.

VAN WILLIGEN: Uh-huh. This would have been in the mid eighties.

BRYANT: Right. And then, of all things, Jim [Lindenberger] and I went to Ecuador on an unrelated project [on dental health]. While we were there, we rented a truck and drove around and we heard all these ads on the radio about breastfeeding promotion and some other medical things. And when we left the country, we went to the Ministry of Health to say goodbye, I had introduced myself when I came in, went to say goodbye and asked a lot of questions about these ads I heard, and I was introduced to Marcia Griffiths, the head of the Manoff Group which is a big social marketing firm. [Editor: Griffiths is currently the president of the Manoff Group.]

VAN WILLIGEN: Oh!

BRYANT: So that’s how I discovered social marketing.

VAN WILLIGEN: So, to recapitulate, you had the insight about commercial marketing and it’s relationship with health in the public sector prior to this, more or less independently, it was just part of your trying to extend your anthropology a little bit.

BRYANT: Mm-mm, it was just a fluke. I had not followed up on it, I hadn’t really thought systematically about it.

VAN WILLIGEN: Right.

BRYANT: And then found out somebody had been a lot brighter than I and had done that very thing, gone with it.

VAN WILLIGEN: And so it [was] this woman from the Manoff Group that did you, you actually met her.

BRYANT: Yes!

VAN WILLIGEN: In Ecuador.

BRYANT: And flew back, we were on the same plane and talked the whole way home about how social marketing works. She was a nutritionist with an anthropology minor or anthropology undergraduate with a nutrition masters, I can’t remember but she had the same combination.

VAN WILLIGEN: She immediately identified with the situation that you were in.

BRYANT: Right, I mean it was like we were, we’d had similar career tracks, we were the same age, she was working an international setting in public health.

VAN WILLIGEN: Right.

BRYANT: And so we just yak-yak-yakked the whole way, so I hired her, by then I was deputy commissioner for nutrition and health ed. and had some control of my budget, had discretionary funds so I hired her and said let’s, use social marketing to promote breastfeeding. If it can work in Ecuador, surely it can work in Kentucky. So the first step was to try to get funds. I wrote forty-one letters of intent and got forty-one no’s. They said: Are you kidding? Marketing? Or, are you kidding? Breastfeeding? Nobody wanted to fund it. So finally I said, we’re just going to do this anyway, it’s a good idea, and I’ve got this position open, I’m gonna take those funds and I’m going to do the research myself, I’ll pay all of my out-of-pocket costs with that discretionary funds, and I got my little [car] and drove around to six states and did the research, the focus groups and the in-depth interviews and key informant interviews and hired Marcia to help me translate that formative research and also to help look over my shoulder. I did it, then translated [it] into a marketing plan.

VAN WILLIGEN: Uh-huh, was this called ‘Best Start?’

BRYANT: No, at that point it was just a social marketing and a breast feeding idea. And that was the last year I was in Lexington. So, just as we finished developing the marketing plan, Jim [Lindenberger] and I moved to Tampa, and I shared the results of our research and our marketing plan at a national conference and four states in the southeast and said we’ll give you money to help create the materials to go with this plan. And that the first thing on our plan, which

was critical in this story, was policy change. You know a lot of people think marketing is all messages and media materials, but the number one thing we wanted to do was get money siphoned into WIC [Editor: Women, Infants, Children Program] to train the staff in WIC and to change the rules and regulations about how they promoted breastfeeding from giving out formula and all that to a heavier emphasis.

VAN WILLIGEN: I see!

BRYANT: And a colleague in Tennessee, Minda Lazarov, did all the hard, hard lobbying work in Washington; but we were successful. I left my job here [in Lexington], go off to Tampa and get the news that the bill is in conference between the Senate and the House and they just need data to show that the factors that keep women from breastfeeding can be changed and that women are interested in it. So I write something up, fax it to Washington, it passes, and people all over are furious in WIC because they don't want to be told by Congress they have to do this, but 8 million dollars is set aside for this and all have ten rules they have to follow and one of them is to have appropriate materials, so this creates this huge demand for appropriate materials and at the same time four states give me about a hundred-forty-thousand dollars to create those materials. But now I am in academic setting, so this was lousy timing. If I had been here at the health department, it would have been great. So that became 'Best Start.' We hired an ad agency; they came up with a name for the campaign called 'Best Start for All the Right Reasons.'

The entire transcript of the Bryant interview will be posted on the SfAA web pages soon. Suggestions for persons to be interviewed and volunteers to do interviews are welcome and can be made to John van Willigen (ant101@uky.edu) or other members of the committee. Often times members of the committee do the interviews. We also request that a potential interviewee suggest persons to do the interview. This works well. We are always looking for suggestions. The SfAA Oral History Committee can provide guidance for the content of the interview and recording.

For Further Reading:

- Bryant, C. A., McCormack Brown, K., McDermott, R. J., Debate, R. D., Alfonso, M.A., Baldwin, J. L., Monaghan, P., & Phillips, L. M., (in press). Community-Based Prevention Marketing: A New Planning Framework for Designing and Tailoring Health Promotion Interventions. In DiClemente, R., Crosby, R.A., Kegler, M.C. (eds). *Emerging Theories in Health Promotion Practice and Research: Strategies for Improving Public Health*. 2nd edition. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Bryant, C.A., McCormack Brown, K., McDermott, R. J., Forthofer, M.S., Bumpus, E. C., Calkins, S., & Zapata, L.B. (2007) Community-based prevention marketing: a framework for facilitating health behavior change. *Health Promotion Practice* 8: 154- 163.
- Bryant, C.A., Forthofer, M., McCormack Brown, K., Landis, D. McDermott, R. J. (2000) Community-based Prevention Marketing: The Next Steps in Disseminating Behavior Change. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 24 (1): 61-68.

Pigs for the Ancestors, American Style: Ritual Human Sacrifice in the Swine Flu Pandemic

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The swine flu pandemic can be plenty good for business says investor Brian Orelli. In his April 27 article, "A Capitalist Pig's View of Swine Flu," Orelli said that "there is nothing wrong with drug companies and investors making money" from the crisis. "If we do reach pandemic stage," he said, "the big winners would be companies developing ways to quickly produce vaccines." Orelli noted that "Both Baxter and Novavax are developing vaccines that are produced in cell culture and therefore can produce a vaccine in 12 weeks (Orelli 2009)."

It's now late August and we are in the early stages of a full blown pandemic. As of August 6th the World Health Organization confirms 177,457 infections in over 170 countries with 1,462 deaths. This greatly underestimates the actual number of cases. In fact the chances may be as high as 1 in 3 that you will get infected. That's what WHO chief Keiji Fukuda suggested at a press conference on May 7th. One big winner from all this misery is Novavax. If you had taken Orelli's advice you would have done very well. On April 27, Novavax was selling at \$2.55 a share. As of August 24th it is up to \$5.21. Its stock price has nearly tripled this year.



In reality Big Pharma gets rich coming or going. They already make millions supplying antibiotics (like penicillin, tetracycline and erythromycin) for corporate meat production in "normal" times, including industrial hog

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farms like Smithfield (where the current H1N1 strain is suspected to have developed in North Carolina in 1998). In so doing they actually helped to create the swine flu pandemic by making it possible for millions of hogs to live in hellish conditions where they trade germs relentlessly.

From an anthropological view - not a capitalist's view - is there a deeper reality to the current pandemic as yet poorly unaddressed?

Pigs for the Ancestors

Like the stock market, pigs can be a barometer for how things are going in the larger culture. In Roy Rappaport's classic 1968 ethnography, *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People*, for example, Rappaport argues that warfare among the Tsembaga Maring tribe was actually regulated by a ritual pig feast that came along every decade or so.

Here's how it worked. When the pig herd - which ran wild in the village - increased to a big enough size where it was uprooting yams and sweet potatoes in tribal gardens, quarrels would ensue. Eventually the Tsembaga reached a consensus to hold a *kaiko*, a festival that culminated in a magnificent pig feast in which most of the pigs would be sacrificed. . .and eaten (Townsend 2009). The feast was dedicated to tribal spirits and ancestors who, in turn, would assist the Tsembaga in their challenges ahead. The ritual gatherings were a time when tribal members would also make important decisions about crop needs, labor needs and other problems. Befitting a feast, sexual unions were formed and social bonds strengthened. Importantly, Rappaport argued that warfare followed the feast. In other words war was regulated by the feast - no fighting until the kaiko is done. He said the *timing* of the ritual cycle "is itself a function of the speed of growth of the pig population (Rappaport 1970:76)."

Rappaport's perspective had theoretical faults, but he conveyed a very important message: there was an invisible linkage between ritual, environmental management, and war.

Should we view the current pandemic as a ritual occasion, like that of the Tsembaga's pig ritual? Think about it. The explosive "Livestock Revolution" over the past thirty years has greatly enhanced the *speed of growth of the hog population* while exponentially facilitating the speed of growth of infectious disease. Can the hog hells called CAFOs (concentrated animal feeding operations)(see Stull and Broadway 2004) - and the associated pork BBQ feasts to which many of us have become accustomed - be seen as part of a ritual cycle in which pandemic upon future pandemic is predictable? And are these resulting pandemics - like Tsembaga warfare - attributable, then, to the actions of pork producers?

Yes we are. In my opinion, we might say that in New Guinea, pigs are sacrificed for humans while under corporate hog capitalism, humans get sacrificed for the, er, pigs.

Capitalist Medicine



A typical concentrated animal feeding operation facility.
By permission, Compassionate Action for Animals (ca4a.org)

Seventy percent of all antibiotics in the U.S. do not go to humans but to healthy livestock, according to the Union of Concerned Scientists. You might have been denied an antibiotic at your last doctor's visit, but your chances would have improved had you been a pig. The practice of injecting huge quantities of hogs with antibiotics seems to be having the consequence of nurturing a host of antibiotic resistance related diseases like MRSA. Unlike antibiotics, the pharmaceutical industry typically does not get much involved in vaccines because there is so little money in it. During the 1976 swine flu epidemic they would not produce vaccines unless the federal government assumed the risk for bad vaccine outcomes - a form of socialized medicine for capital.

In Michigan government flu seminars I attended two years ago, I was informed that officials expect at least 70,000 to die from the next pandemic flu when it eventually hits the state. The chief mode of medical action? Besides antivirals and vaccinations it's a hefty dose of "social distancing." In other words, close the factories, close the schools, stop taking busses and just stay away from people. The poor and working class will have the most difficulty doing this as anthropologist Paul Farmer eloquently makes clear in his

"Infections and Inequalities (1999)." The Third World will suffer immeasurably, lacking easy access to antivirals and vaccinations.

No one has ever suggested at these Michigan meetings that we should close the CAFOs right now. Few are doing so now. But it could be very good medicine.

A Prolonged Ritual Performance

The media is spotlighting changes in traditional church rituals brought on by the swine flu. In the Catholic Church communion rituals will change (no more drinking out of the same wine cup), and for many there will be no more Kiss of Peace.



By permission, Compassionate Action for Animals (ca4a.org)

But the media miss the deeper and more profound aspects of ritual to which we are all obligated to partake in a biopolitics of fear. These are the rituals of school closings, vaccine shots, surgical masks, social distancing, clinic visits, and funerals. Then there are the rituals of blame. Death certificates will list pneumonia, heart failure or H1N1 as the causes of death . . . the surface causes. But none will say, "Cause of Death: capitalist engendered pandemic." In this manner, amnesia is institutionally built into the culture.

And then there is the social amnesia embodied in the ritual of forgetting. America has already had a swine-vector pandemic, or two. There is increasing evidence that the 1918 Spanish flu had swine elements. But it is the other pandemic, an invisible one, and *also a Spanish one* that deserves full review.

Spanish Conquistador Hernando de Soto (1469-1542) introduced pigs to North America when he laid waste to native peoples in a pillaging march through what is present day Alabama and Georgia. Those pigs likely carried flu and a number of other European diseases to which the natives were unprotected. It was likely a massive pig-vector epidemic that killed hundreds of tens of thousands, perhaps millions of Indians before the French and British ever laid eyes on inland sights like Cahokia, the largest (abandoned) Indian city North of Mexico. In other words, the great swath of alleged emptiness that served as justification for American manifest destiny, was actually a consequence of European contact! This ocean of suffering peoples is mostly forgotten in what was a virtual bubonic plague in America.

Will links be made to these earlier American hog pandemics and lessons learned? Will a countermovement of *ritual protest* take shape? Like the AIDS Quilt project, the names of swine flu victims need to be placed on a quilt and paraded down Wall Street, over at Smithfield Farms and at your local CAFO.

But what is the best course of pig policy?

Environmental Anthropology: From Pigs to Policy

In 2009 anthropologist Patricia Townsend seemed to suggest an answer in her book *Environmental Anthropology: From Pigs to Policy*. Her title referenced Roy Rappaport but, surprisingly, no where did she discuss current pig policy!^[1] Missing were two leading anthropological critics of agribusiness and swine: Don Stull and Kendall Thu.

Stull, a former President of the Society for Applied Anthropology (2005-07), has studied the meatpacking industry for decades. His ethnography "Slaughterhouse Blues: The Meat and Poultry Industry in North America" (co-written with Michael Broadway) is a magnificent contribution to the growing work on U.S. agribusiness. His work details anthropological advocacy, community action and policy formation.

Thu, the author of *Pigs, Profits and Rural Communities* (1998) is currently the editor of *Culture and Agriculture*. In a recent interview he was asked "Why has America accepted the industrial approach to farming?" He said simply, "It is a consequence of unfettered capitalism and greed." Thu then responded to a comment on the idea that CAFOs seem to be not that much different to feudalism and sharecropping. Thu said that "The only difference is that European feudalism, in part, led to immigration to this country. There's no place for farmers to go now unless we ship them to another planet. They can go to urban areas and find jobs, but there is no escape now (Comely 2007)."

Is there an escape from corporate capitalism? Are the real issues being addressed in the current crisis?

Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle": Socialism Censored from Text

Over a century ago investigative journalist Upton Sinclair exposed the cruelties of the livestock industry in his magnum opus "The Jungle," which detailed how the owners "took everything but the squeal." It wasn't merely investigative journalism. Don Stull describes Sinclair as "conducting what anthropologists would today call participant observation among packinghouse workers and their families (Stull and Broadway 2004:66)." Sinclair wanted to spur a socialist revolution, instead he got the FDA. Rather than focus on worker exploitation, the powers that be - including Teddy Roosevelt - focused instead on making pigs safe to eat. In his book he had to cut through large swaths of discussion on the politics of meat.



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Sinclair's writing about pigs and socialism is still very relevant. "So long as we have wage slavery. . .it matters not in the least how debasing and repulsive a task may be, it is easy to find people to perform it. . .but as soon as labor is set free . . .then the price of such work will begin to rise. . .the old, dingy, and unsanitary factories will come down. . .until eventually those who want to eat meat will have to do their own killing (Sinclair 1906:410)". Until then, "preventable diseases [will] kill off half our population (Sinclair 1906:410)."

How much has truly changed since Sinclair penned these words?

The book that comes closest to Sinclair in discussing the coming flu pandemic is written by Mike Davis and is called "The Monster at Our Door: The Global Threat of Avian Flu (2005)." He eloquently covers the avian flu threat of four years ago but most of what Davis says is pertinent to the current crisis.

Another Kind of Pig Feast

If this pandemic goes really bad, millions will perish. If we dodge a bullet we can all celebrate. But we must be vigilant. Epidemiologists expect a worldwide conflagration anytime in the decades ahead. In the fall as the cold descends and children return to school we will need access to the best of available treatment and preventive measures. Third World peoples need them equally. But how do we avert future pandemics in the meantime?

Required is a ritual sacrifice of "capitalist pigs." Close the CAFOs, build sustainable agriculture and establish an ecological socialist world to prevent future pandemics. There's much work to do.

Our ancestors - and our children - will be honored by the sacrifice.

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NOTE:

1. To be fair to Patricia Townsend above, she does a good job of describing agribusiness and meat in her classic work *Medical Anthropology in Ecological Perspective* (now 5th edition). This coming academic year I shall order this book for my Environmental Anthropology course.

OBITUARIES

Henry Farmer Dobyns, 1925-2009 An Anthropological Life

By Paul L. Doughty [p_doughty@bellsouth.net]

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and

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Henry Farmer (Hank) Dobyns died quietly at the age of 84 on June 21, 2009 at his second home in Edmond, Oklahoma, bringing to conclusion one of the most passionate, extraordinarily productive and varied careers in American anthropology: ethnohistorian, applied anthropologist, pioneering historical demographer, bibliographer, major expert on southwestern history and cultures. Dobyns was born July 3, 1925 in Tucson, Arizona to Susie Kell (Comstock) and Henry F. Dobyns, a much decorated army captain in WWI. His father took a position with a newspaper in nearby Casa Grande, Arizona when Henry was three years old and he grew up there, close to the impressive Hohokum ruin of Casa Grande. Widowed at a young age, Susie confronted the Great Depression as an excellent cook catering and making Sunday dinners that people would come to eat. She also grew lovely flowers for sale in wedding and funerals. As a young boy Henry often hunted, commenting later that they consumed a lot of "Arizona rabbit" in his youth.



Hank Dobyns still lecturing at Casa Grande, 2007

His interest in things anthropological emerged when at age 14 he was invited to give talks to local community groups about the Casa Grande ruins for which he was paid modest honoraria. That launched him on a seventy-year long career in anthropology. Hank attended Casa Grande Union High School where he graduated in 1942 and began working for the Casa Grande Dispatch as a news reporter and editor. In 1943 at 18, he was drafted into the Army during World War II, but was discharged a year later suffering from rheumatic fever that damaged his heart.

Dobyns entered the University of Arizona to major in Anthropology and paid his way by working summers as a truck farmer with a relative in California. His scholarly ability was quickly evident and Hank was elected to Phi Kappa Phi and Phi Beta Kappa, graduating with a B.A. degree with High Distinction in 1949. He had already published his first refereed article the previous year in *Applied Anthropology*. Hank immediately began graduate studies at the University of Arizona. There he was greatly influenced by the late Edward Spicer in further developing his research on both current and historic American

Indian issues and applied anthropology, interests that motivated him until his death.

As a graduate student he was selected as an instructor with the Cornell University's Arizona-based Field Laboratory in Applied Anthropology from 1949 to 1952 (see *First Look at Strangers*, 1959). His Arizona M.A. thesis (1956), a massive 702 page-long analysis of Pai ceramics entitled *Prehistoric Indian Occupation Within the Eastern Area of the Yuman Complex: A study in Applied Archaeology*, was completed after he had entered Cornell's doctoral program in 1953, largely because he was busy with other research, publishing seven refereed articles and seven applied contract reports, all of which dealt with the southwest and particularly the Hualapai and Tohono O'odham tribes for whom he undertook applied research.

From the very beginning of his professional career, Dobyns proved a tireless, meticulous researcher, exploring and documenting his work with exhaustive footnotes and citations to complement field research. A voracious reader, he also began building an extensive and focused professional research library that ultimately had well in excess of 30,000 volumes, dedicated particularly, but not exclusively, to the southwest borderlands and indigenous groups. He was committed to publishing his work from the start of his long career. Dobyns had issued a self-published monograph on the Tohono O'odham (*Papago in the Cotton Fields*, as they were then known) in 1951, and, it is still for sale by internet booksellers. Subsequently, he often put forth research findings in similar fashion, sending them colleagues and libraries to make them available. His M.A. thesis focused on issues of special interest to the tribe itself - in this case it was used in the Hualapai *Society for Applied Anthropology*

Indian Claims Commission hearings to argue for their aboriginal land claims. Dobyns pursued this advocacy-oriented research on behalf of Native American interests, frequently serving as an expert witness and providing extensive documentation in legal claims cases, things he did until his final few years.

He entered Cornell University in 1953 as a graduate student supported by the Olmstead Fellowship and in 1957 received a National Science Foundation dissertation research grant enabling him to return to the regional festival of St. Francis Xavier at Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico, which he had first observed in early October of 1949. That grant also enabled Dobyns to study the festival committee system on the San Xavier Indian Reservation a dozen miles south of Tucson. Dobyns utilized data about these religious festivals in his Cornell University doctoral dissertation entitled *A Religious Festival, a* portion of which was later discussed in a chapter entitled "Do It Yourself Religion" in the book, *Pilgrimage in Latin America* (1991). The original draft of his dissertation presented to his committee covered over 1200 pages leading the committee to make him edit out over half before reading it. Hank returned to his typewriter where, at 120 words a minute, he finished the task in about a week and PhD degree was awarded in 1960 by Cornell with minors in History and Sociology.

In 1960, Dobyns was appointed Research Coordinator of the Cornell Peru Project by his mentor and Project director, Allan Holmberg and moved to Lima with his second wife, anthropologist Cara Richards. Holmberg had received a large grant to bring the pioneering land reform and Indigenous development program at Vicos to a successful conclusion and sponsor other Andean research. In Peru, Dobyns worked closely with his Peruvian counterpart, anthropologist Mario Vazquez and the Vicos community to bring about the sale of the hacienda lands to Vicos in 1962, concluding one of the most famous programs in applied anthropology (See the website, www.cornell.vicos).

In Peru Hank immersed himself in other Andean scholarly and applied issues, conducting the first significant survey of the 1500 *Comunidades de Indígenas* in 1962 and publishing the results as *The Social Matrix of Peruvian Indigenous Communities* (1964) with a much enlarged version in Spanish, *Comunidades Campesinas del Peru* (1970). With Mario Vazquez, Dobyns organized the first major conference about Peru's population changes, resulting in their co-edited, *Migración e Integración en el Perú* (1963). His work with the Vicos project led to other important publications including *Peasants, Power and Applied Social Change: Vicos as a Model* (with Paul Doughty and Harold Lasswell in 1971).

He returned to Cornell to participate in training Peace Corps volunteers for work in Peru and with Holmberg, received a Peace Corps contract to undertake a 2-year evaluation of Peace Corps work in Peru and volunteer impact on communities. In that capacity Dobyns acted as the Coordinator of the Comparative Studies of Cultural Change program (1963-6) covering the Cornell Anthropology Department's far flung research programs in India and Thailand as well as Peru. The Peace Corps Peru Evaluation project (*Measurement of Peace Corps Program Impact in the Peruvian Andes* (U.S. Peace Corps, 1965, with Paul Doughty and Allan Holmberg) he carried out remains one of the most extensive studies undertaken of that program. was reported. Dobyns' field notes on Peru, publications and manuscripts are housed in the Cornell Library as part of the Cornell-Peru Project collection in Cornell University Library's Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

Subsequently, Dobyns taught and conducted research in various academic institutions. From 1966-70 he led the institution of the doctoral and applied programs as Chair of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky. He worked with the Arizona State Museum, taught at Cornell, the University of Florida, Prescott College, the University of Wisconsin-Parkside, the University of Oklahoma, and the University of Arizona. He was a NEH research fellow at the Newberry Library in Chicago and director of its Native American Historic Demography Project, and, a lifetime member of and frequent contributor of research to the Arizona Historical Society. From 1971 to 1976 Dobyns directed and edited the forty-volume Indian Tribal Series, that provided, with tribal approval, the succinct overviews of the history and culture of 40 tribes, six of which he authored.

Throughout his career, Dobyns delved into the local research context in which he found himself, a practice reflected in his many publications on the American southwest, Peru, Kentucky, Florida, Wisconsin and back to Arizona. He sought to work with students and colleagues, sharing ideas and authorship and over the years counted among them, Robert Euler, Allan Holmberg, Paul Ezell, Mario Vazquez and the authors. His many students and colleagues attest to the quality of his teaching and his remarkable willingness to share ideas, materials and time with them on topics of mutual interest. It was not unusual to receive unexpected multi-paged drafts with lengthy lists of references or material and suggestions to assist in one's further exploration of a subject. His devotion to his students and colleagues' development was only exceeded by his commitment to research accuracy and quality. Hank's strategy was to develop the background of his topic and proceed to build a thoroughly documented analysis of facts in support of his arguments. He detested work that did not meet the highest standards and often made that known in reviews and critiques.

Dobyns maintained active research interests in several areas of cultural anthropology, ethnohistory, and archaeology, publishing extensively on American Indians and Hispanic peoples in Latin and North America. He is most *Society for Applied Anthropology*

famous perhaps for his groundbreaking historical demographic research, stemming from his longstanding interest in the ethnohistorical context of Native American life and his involvement in Indian land and water rights research and his sojourn in Peru with the Cornell Peru Project. His seminal article, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate" in *Current Anthropology* (1966) and a series of books including *Native American Historic Demography* (1976) and *Their Number Become Thinned* in 1983, greatly increased the estimates of the number of American Indian peoples living in the New World before 1492. These publications provoked and stimulated an extensive amount of research in various disciplines. Researchers sometimes aimed at condemning his research, but now, largely support his findings that lead to new conclusions about the pre-Colombian Americas.

Despite its apparent esoteric character, Dobyns considered his ethno-historical work as an applied anthropological endeavor. Population estimates are debated because they are closely related to social complexity, population distribution and the legal rights of Native Americans to uphold territories and water rights as established under European conquest law in the 15th Century and later. His findings called into question the legality of the taking of the New World by Europeans with implications for present day Native American legal claims.

Most recently, Hank was a senior researcher at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, at the University of Arizona. There, his work on the Old Spanish Trail study, funded by the Trails Division of the National Park Service, yielded a totally original assessment of the location of the 1829 Armijo Expedition Route - which was the first Spanish trip between Santa Fe, New Mexico and Los Angeles, California. Dobyns subsequently contributed to another NPS-funded study of the culture and values of the people from northern Mexico who settled San Francisco Bay in 1776 under the direction of Juan Batista de Anza. These recent studies built on a lifelong interest in Southwestern studies highlighted by his many books on the region, including among others, *The Ghost Dance of 1889 Among the Pai Indians of Northwestern Arizona* in 1967, *Wauba Yuma's People: the Comparative Socio-political Structure of the Pai Indians of Arizona* in 1970, *The Papago People* in 1972, *Spanish Colonial Tucson* in 1976, *Indians of the Southwest: a Critical Bibliography* in 1980, *From Fire to Flood: Historic Human Destruction of Sonoran Desert Riverine Oases* in 1981, and *The Pima-Maricopa* in 1989 among numerous other books, monographs and articles.

His professional achievements were first recognized as a second-year graduate student when he received the first Malinowski Award from Society for Applied Anthropology in 1951, for the *Human Organization* article, "Blunders with Bolsas." Thereafter he was a National Science Foundation fellow, 1956-57; Social Science Research Council fellow, 1959; co-winner of Anisfield-Wolf award of Saturday Review, 1968, for "The American Indian Today"; and the Stoner Award, Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society, 1990.

Henry Dobyns was married three times: Zippora Pottenger (1948), Cara Richards (1958), and Mary Faith Patterson (1968). Four children were born in the first marriage and one in the second. He is survived by Cara, Mary Faith, and all five of his children: Rique Pottenger, Bill Pottenger, Maritha Pottenger, Mark Pottenger, and York Dobyns. He is missed by many others.

Notes:

1. Paul Doughty was a colleague of Dobyns with the Cornell Peru Project and later at the University of Florida. Richard Stoffle was a graduate student with Dobyns at the University of Kentucky and later a colleague and collaborator on various research endeavors.

Rhoda Halperin, 63, an influential economic anthropologist, known for her ethnography and applied work in Appalachia, died suddenly of acute leukemia on April 9, 2009. She was the author/co-author of nine books and many papers, a former president of the Society for Economic Anthropology (SEA), a member of the New York Academy of Sciences (NYAS) Anthropology Advisory Committee, and a supportive colleague to numerous students and colleagues. An obituary is forthcoming in *Human Organization* (submitted by William Mitchell, Monmouth University [Mitchell@monmouth.edu]).

Edward Twitchell Hall, 95, who pioneered the study of nonverbal communications in cultural anthropology, died in his home town of Santa Fe, NM. He received his PhD in Anthropology from Columbia University in 1942. Among other places, he taught at the University of Denver, Bennington College, Vermont and Northwestern from which he retired. His first "anthropological" experiences arose out of his New Deal era jobs in the 1930's working on the Navajo and Hopi reservations. (See Hall's Book, *West of the 30's: Discoveries Among the Navajo and Hopi*, for more details about this phase of his life.) Insights he acquired in the course of this work stood him in good stead for his later seminal work in what he called proxemics, *The Silent Language* (1959). His discussion of monochromic and polychromic cultures elaborated in such books as *The Hidden Dimension* (1966), and *The Dance of Life: the Other Dimension of Time* (1983) proved to be very influential for the intercultural training of corporate managers and others wishing to work in an international business setting. His books, written with his wife, Mildred

Reed Hall, *Hidden Differences: How to Communicate with Germans* (1983), *Hidden Differences: Doing Business with the Japanese* (1987), and *Understanding Cultural Differences: Germans, French and Americans* (1990). He wrote a memoir, *An Anthropology of Everyday Life*, in 1992. (Submitted by Tim Wallace, *SfAA Newsletter* Editor [tmwallace@mindspring.com]).

From the SfAA Human Rights and Social Justice Committee...

Haiti's Elections: 'Beat the Dog too Hard...'

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(Port-au-Prince) Today was the final round of elections for a third of the Senate in Haiti. I woke up with a start as several UN helicopters zoomed to and from downtown from uphill. Given this week's events, I feared the worst. As it turns out, it was nothing.

I went out this morning around 9:30, when some church services like the brand-new Spanish-language "United Pentecostal Church of Latin America" were just getting out. I walked 12 minutes to the site of a polling place and I didn't see anyone. I couldn't even see where the polling place was. I knew it had to be there because of the police truck where 2 officers stood guard and 2 others rested in the cab.



On my way back I perused the neighborhood market, quieter than usual for Sundays after church. Even compared to this past January when last I was in Haiti, the global financial crisis is particularly noticeable for the *timachann*, the street merchants. Some have stopped *chèche lavi* (literally, "looking for life" - making a living) in the neighborhood. On my street, one family has packed up and left for a *bidonvil* (shantytown) far away in the Pòtoprens (Kreyòl for Port-au-Prince) metro area. The stands where I usually get cans of juice or tomato paste are always almost completely empty. One didn't even have a dime bag of bread to sell.

The streets were almost completely *blanch* - empty, very little traffic. The National Police issued a curfew against motorcycles in effect until a half hour ago, in an effort to bring security to the electoral process. Most everyone I know simply stayed home. If they went out at all, it was to their local market or to church. I called a friend who is a high-ranking member of the government. He was the only one I spoke with (more than 30!) who voted today. When he voted, around 12:30, his was the fifth ballot of several hundred eligible voters for his neighborhood of some 20,000 people. True, it was a kilometer or more to the polls, which is a long way in crowded Pòtoprens.

I went down to his polling place, on Channmas (French: Champs-de-Mars), the national plaza containing the National Palace and most of the central government bureaucracies. I took Lalue - the normally very busy thoroughfare connecting downtown to the suburb of Petyonvil. As I crossed the street not a single car was in sight. Channmas itself was emptier than I had ever remembered seeing it. There were a couple of places where small crowds huddled.

Thinking a crowd would be the polling place, I went to one. As I arrived, the crowd of 20 or so men cheered. Apparently Brazil had just scored a goal. It was a soccer match. Hungry, I went to a *timachann* selling a lukewarm plate of rice. Today was not good business for her. I asked her what the score was: Brazil 3, Italy 0. I asked where the polling place was. She laughed and said she didn't know. I retorted, but you know it's election day, right? She said a variant of what many friends I've known since 2003 or earlier said: "these elections don't concern me." To some, they didn't vote because their party was excluded. Others said "elections do nothing for us *pep la* (poor majority)." Still others said that they had to work to make a living.

As it turned out, the polling place was some 30 meters away, across from the UN truck (incidentally staffed by the victorious Brazilians). I sat in the plaza for almost an hour - until just before polls closed at 4, and the only people I saw coming or going were the police officers standing guard. And this was the polling place for several precincts, not just my friend's.

According to friends who were here for the first round of elections on April 19, it was the same, except for road blocks and all traffic being stopped. Fanmi Lavalas, the party of deposed president Aristide, was excluded from the first round in April, so they continued to be excluded in today's runoff elections.

It's now 5:45 and the clouds are beginning to cover Pötoprens while the sun still shines over the bay. The first rumblings of thunder from the east, from beyond the mountains, are just now barely audible. Today is the first day in almost two weeks that it hasn't rained (it just did, at 6:40, for a short time). A couple of days ago, the UN troops (MINUSTAH) gave a press conference about the upcoming elections, promising that they would be secure and devoid of violence. The only thing that worried the UN was the weather.

Why is the UN so interested in these elections, especially since it seems clear that many people here aren't?

At this same press conference, the MINUSTAH spokesperson was questioned by several journalists about their increasing aggression against the Haitian population. On Thursday, UN troops roughed up a partisan of deposed president Aristide at a funeral and following demonstration for Father Jean-Juste, a leader within Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas party. This triggered a reaction from the crowd, and according to the spokesperson, MINUSTAH fired seven shots in the air. At least nine were audible in footage by Tele Ginen. One person died at the protest, found lying in a large pool of blood. The UN denied it was by their bullets (they ignored the question of whether they were metal or rubber), suggesting he died from someone throwing a rock. To date, if there has been an autopsy, the results have not been published.

For the better part of the month of June, college students have been staging almost daily protests, that began with a localized concern about taking away labs and shortening classes in the State University of Haiti's School of Medicine but have broadened to support the movement to raise Haiti's minimum wage. At many of these protests the UN has responded by firing teargas. It has been the cause of concern for many neighboring residents and doctors at the State Hospital, adjacent to the School of Medicine where many canisters of teargas have been shot.

The UN evaded all questions about the severity of the response, instead asking journalists a rhetorical question if they didn't have a duty to respond when public property was destroyed. In a case last Wednesday, the only provocation was a tire was burned on a street corner and a burned-out minivan was blocking traffic in front of campus.

Right or wrong, many Haitian people are increasingly fed up with the UN occupation, which according to many sources spent \$600 million last year. For the first time since I've been coming here since 2002, I have begun to hear people to tell me to f*** off and go home. Other *blan* (foreigner / white people) are noticing the same.

Many people are speculating about the timing of the UN's escalation of violence. Some have theorized that it represents the UN's putting in place a new order, a new stage in the country's development. On Wednesday, the day before the UN allegedly shot the Lavalas member, Haitian president René Préval officially announced his objection to the law raising Haiti's minimum wage from 70 goud (\$1.75) to 200 goud (\$5). The day before this, former U.S. President Bill Clinton officially accepted his post as UN Special Emissary, in which he promised to bring together a range of donors, including the private sector, to bring jobs to Haiti. In his presentation with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, Clinton cited the Collier Report more and in greater detail than a plan ostensibly coming from the Haitian government.

The Collier Report - and ostensibly the Haitian government's strategic plan, UNLIKE its first strategic plan published in November 2007 - argue that Haiti's future lies in low-wage manufacturing work, exploiting Haiti's dual "comparative advantage" of proximity to the U.S. and very low wages. Granted a unique opportunity in the HOPE Act, a nine-year tax relief that according to industry sources is \$1.50 per pair of pants, Haiti needs to act quickly to privatize two of the remaining four public utilities (the port and electricity - a third, telecommunications, is already on its way to being privatized) to capitalize on this momentum and create jobs, says the Collier report (and according to Clinton, who said he read both, the Haitian government's plan). Of two dozen grassroots activists who are actively engaged in civic life and debate world events such as Iran's elections and Israel's settlement policy, none have heard of the Collier Report or its author, Oxford economist Paul Collier (and all I've heard from since Bill Clinton's speech haven't heard about the government's plan either).

The manufacturing lobby, just granted a unique opportunity not given any other country in this \$1.50 customs exemption, have made it their top priority to stop the passage of the minimum wage law while refusing to testify and submit to Parliament's questioning until the previous weekend, more than a month after the Senate unanimously passed the minimum wage legislation. Some workers believe that industrialists are afraid to be asked about their bookkeeping practices, among others. Several workers complained that while their taxes were taken out of biweekly pay, the Haitian social security office didn't even have a file for them. The industry lobby threatens that the 200 goud minimum wage will be the cause of 15,000 jobs lost. One of the eight primary industrialist families, presidential

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candidate Charles-Henri Baker, allegedly sent a pink slip to 300 workers, saying they would be fired the day that the 200 goud minimum wage law is put in effect.

Research with several factory workers reveals that the average quota for pants is 500 per day and average wage is 100 goud (\$2.50) per day in Pòtoprens factories, which is 20 Haitian cents per pair of pants per person. Since the average size of factory lines is 25, this is 5 goud, or 12.5 cents for ALL Haitian laborers on a pair of pants. Consequently, doubling the minimum wage would be 10 goud, or a quarter per pair of pants. This extra 12-and-a-half cents pales in comparison to the \$1.50, to say nothing of the final retail cost. According to union sources, in the Wanament Free Trade Zone, the average quota for t-shirts is 3000 per day per 'module.' Average wage is 150 goud, or 5 Haitian cents per person per t-shirt. Again 25 people per module and this figure is 1.25 goud (three and an eighth cents) for all Haitian labor.

Article 137 of Haiti's Labor Code obliges the Haitian government to augment the minimum wage to keep up with inflation if it's greater than 10% in any given fiscal year (Oct 1-Sept 30). The last time the minimum wage was increased was in 2003. Given the global food crisis felt acutely in Haiti last April, it is long overdue, and 200 goud is actually lower than it should be to keep pace with inflation and the devaluation of the goud.

This conflict, the UN's increasing use of the trigger, and the debate in Parliament are likely to continue with increased intensity when Parliament will reconsider the act in light of the President's objections next Tuesday. This conflict is but one manifestation of a larger global system that is reeling from an economic crisis and shifting following the new U.S. administration. Speaking of the UN and their attacks against both the students and Lavalas, I was told of a proverb, "*bat two fò, chen pap rele.*" If you beat a dog too hard, it can't bark anymore.

Editor's Note: Mark Schuller, a frequent contributor to the SFAA Newsletter for the Human Rights and Social Justice Committee, is Assistant Professor of African American Studies and Anthropology at York College, CUNY. He has co-directed documentary *Poto Mitan: Haitian Women, Pillars of the Global Economy* (2009) and co-edited *Capitalizing on Catastrophe: Neoliberal Strategies in Disaster Reconstruction* (2008) among other reports and articles about Haiti, development, and globalization. He is in Haiti for the summer.

Understanding Physicians: *Intropunitive* and *Extrapunitive*

By John-Henry Pfifferling, PhD [cpwp@mindspring.com]
Director, Center for Professional Well-Being, Durham, NC

"So, your specialty is the anthropology of physicians," a media interviewer asked of me. "How would you characterize all physicians in one description?" As an anthropologist my first response is, "I can't answer such a request in one tidy phrase." Yet, we all have to deal with requests demanding simplistic responses. How do you grapple with these populist and scientific dilemmas? Below, again using obscure words, I attempt to address the artificial bifurcation of physicians into two tribes.

Physicians generally show up in my Center for Professional Well-Being for help because of two behaviors. Either they *act out* by behaving disruptively when they demean, shame, humiliate, threaten, disparage, or intimidate staff, patients, or colleagues. Or they *act in* by withdrawing, burning out, becoming depressed or suffering from compassion fatigue as a result of the clash of expectations demanded by their work role, medicine and society. A large literature exists describing the problems of disruptive and burned out physicians. I have also contributed to this literature with half a dozen articles on these problems.

What shorthand words describe and also begin to explain this tribal bifurcation? Personality typologies in the past used two kinds of descriptive terms for their patients. Patients were neatly categorized as either *intropunitive* or *extrapunitive*.

An *intropunitive* blames him/herself rather than others or external events. Such blaming etiology predisposes the individual to develop excessive feelings of responsibility for frustrations, misfortunes and bad things happening to people/patients. In physicians this personality type supports obsessive and hypervigilant behavior. If you graft people-pleasing traits with an intropunitive orientation you set the (person) physician up for a workaholic, obsessive and exhausting lifestyle. Medical training seeks and rewards people who are hyper-responsible, hyper-vigilant, detail-oriented and not good at reaching out for help. Thus, complaints about work-hours, obligations, "learning" while



exhausted and married to medicine are minimized. The training system stays abusive toward the physician in training, rewards the status quo and punishes those who question training and role socialization methods. "Getting the teacher of the year award is the kiss of death" is an oft heard phrase. Intropunitives unintentionally set themselves up for burnout and compassion fatigue. Their exhaustion usually means that abandoning family and self-care commitments is almost automatic with massive social, emotional and psychosomatic consequences.

Intropunitives in medical folklore gravitate into Internal Medicine and its sub-specialties like neurology, infectious disease, gastroenterology, rheumatology, pulmonary, etc. Sub-sub specialties like diabetology, critical care and auto-immune medicine allow further concentration into seemingly smaller areas where the physician can "control" the area of knowledge, and responsibility in some way. Some oncologists, for example, describe their colleagues as treating their feelings of responsibility with mind-numbing drugs that are acquired by diverting them from their patients. Their compassion fatigue and exposure to such suffering easily allows "justification" for sometimes abusing pain-killers. Unfortunately, mentored training in the medical field about the unintended dangers for compassionate, committed and conscientious oncologists is the exception rather than the rule.

Extrapunitives in contrast blame other people or events unreasonably and act out by sarcasm, abuse, exploitation and intimidation. Adapting to perfectionism (rewarded by colleagues, faculty, a medical malpractice culture and society) these physicians expect and demand excellence and superb acts by all those around them, especially their subordinate staff. Their expectations are so unrealistically high that appreciation and timely praise is rare. They themselves didn't receive praise in training (or very rarely) and consequently don't offer it to subordinates or colleagues. Skills in constructive feedback are almost non-existent, setting the stage among people they work with for an inappropriate underpinning of anger and frustration from a lack of support.



Early physicians' symbol at Seljuk (Ephesus), Turkey, c. 1st Century, CE

Such physicians experience and see the world around them as a "bottom-less pool of incompetents." Relationships for them are always less important than concrete, measurable outcomes, thus, building cooperative, respectful teams predicated on effective communication is unincorporated in their daily behavior. When their anger, tirades, and outbursts finally become too obvious to ignore they themselves are labeled as the problem rather than finding the problem in their training or personalities. Such are the common components of the disruptive physician problem. The physician is always the pathological problem and "needs to be fixed." The context of perfectionism—physicians as all responsible and all-knowing in an ambiguous, uncertain, mistake-replete system—is disregarded.

Extrapunitives gravitate into procedural, time-limited, interventional fields like invasive cardiology, vascular surgery, general surgery, or trauma medicine. Some go into invasive radiology and gastroenterology. They proscribe work-breaks, show up as isolated, aloof, and arrogant, and relentlessly find imperfection in the work of others—and in their own work. Criticism of colleagues, staff, administration, and their own significant others is effortless. Their pessimism and distrust keeps them isolated and with minimal access to deep social support. The "system" loves their work pace, vigilance, productivity, and appearance of control. Often they are the rainmakers—the producers who make profits for everyone around. Confrontation with their irritating, abusive, disrespectful manners has traditionally been rare.

Both types of physician personalities are silently screaming for help, particularly in achieving balance in a guilt-driven, mind-numbing, demanding world. But, how can such a high achieving, high-status, powerful, wielder of specialized knowledge, and a responsible "captain" of medicine reach out for help? When you reach out for help you need to receive guidance and advice, while remaining somewhat humble. If you reach out for help, others (may) notice you are less knowledgeable and perhaps they will think you are really an imposter. If you reach out for help, then you are in a student's and not a master's role. Such role reversal is emotionally traumatic for high achiever and high status people. The professional image game entraps physicians in a world of pain and minimal self-care. They function on an empty tank with minimal permission to refuel. The costs are painful to patients, the profession and to the wounded healers.

How would these behaviors show up to patients? From a global perspective most patients wouldn't notice anything or would justify the actions or inactions by recourse to: "They are so busy and overworked." Physicians also keep their guard up because patients are still their primary referrals and help keep them in business, so even a pretense of caring is an adaptive trait. Again, using our simplistic typology, extrapunitives will blow up, yell or even bully staff while staying committed to "patient advocacy." Intropunitives, especially those suffering from advanced

burnout, simply will not show up. They will absent themselves, because they already have given everything they had and there is nothing less to give. Instead of husbanding their resources for a lifetime of care they become so depleted that eventually they burn out, thus leaving their patients without any access to them at all. For example, hyper-availability and burnout among rural primary care physicians has made them a scarce commodity these days.

Dialogue: Given the frequency of these personalities among physicians, how can applied medical anthropology be relevant in dealing with the scarcity of rural physicians or even healthcare for isolated populations?

Note: My recollection is that Henry Alexander Murray discussed these types originally in *Explorations in Personality* (1938.)

[Editors Note: Dr. John-Henry Pfifferling's column is a regular feature of the SfAA Newsletter, in which Dr. Pfifferling introduces a new term that helps explain the life and problems of modern, American physicians.]

TOPICAL INTEREST GROUP COLUMNS

Gender-Based Violence TIG: The Cultural and Political Dynamics of Wife Battering and International Health in Northern Vietnam

By Lynn Kwiatkowski [lynn.kwiatkowski@colostate.edu]
Colorado State University



In my current research, I focus on wife battering in northern Vietnam. Using a critical interpretive perspective, I am investigating women's experiences of wife battering, and social and cultural influences on this form of gender-based violence. In particular, I am interested in the impact of transnational processes on local approaches to alleviating this problem (see also Merry 2009, 2006), and the effects of these processes on the health and well-being of battered women. This has included looking at changing contemporary cultural interpretations of wife battering; immediate and long-term social and emotional/physical health consequences of the violence for battered women; and shifting government and non-government organization (NGO) approaches to addressing and preventing wife battering. As a medical anthropologist, I have been especially interested in ways that intersecting international and national health programs have tried to address battered women's health concerns. I have investigated the complex and sometimes contradictory ways that these health programs are conceptualized and later implemented at the community level by international organization and local Vietnam NGO personnel, government employees, government affiliated community leaders, and community volunteers. Some of these individuals include front line workers, who engage directly with battered women.

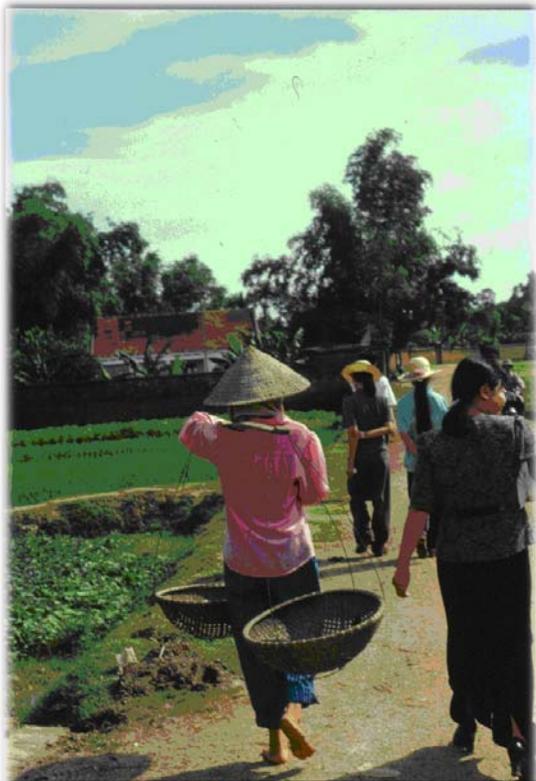
I have looked at the dynamics of intersecting transnational and local processes affecting wife battering in Vietnam during a period of market transition and greater integration into the global capitalist economy. I have addressed the politics of gender, health, and wife battering in Vietnam as new ideologies, programs, and laws have been introduced and negotiated, by international organizations, the Vietnam government, and local communities and institutions. Until recently, state agencies and state supported organizations had been the only institutions available to provide assistance to most battered women and their families in Vietnam. Few local NGOs and international organizations had operated in the country before the 1990s. By the late 1990s, however, international donor, development and health organizations and local NGOs began to establish programs addressing wife battering, or domestic violence more broadly, in greater numbers. Some of the international organizations have implemented new programs that address wife battering as a health and social problem for women. These programs are often developed and implemented with and through local government institutions and NGOs, and, in some cases, in conjunction with other international organizations.

As is well documented, wife battering can have significant impacts on battered women's health, including their physical and emotional well-being (Gammeltoft 1999; Le 1998; Nguyen et al. 2001; Tapias 2006; Williamson 2000). Vietnamese women living in and near the greater Hanoi area with whom I spoke reported that they mainly care for their health needs themselves. Yet, when the women have perceived their injuries to be serious and beyond their ability to treat, many turn to local health services. The majority of battered women I interviewed visited public health services, since most have not been able to afford private health care.

In Vietnam, battered women's health is influenced not only by the immediate impact of their husband's battering, but also by changing broader economic and political forces. Married couples are currently negotiating economic and cultural changes occurring in Vietnam society, due to the state's economic reforms and social changes under *doi moi*, or renovation, policies. As economic differences among families emerge, battered women from poor families and those who may become impoverished in relation to the violence will be at greatest risk of poor health due to institutional changes that have been implemented in the health care arena. This has included requiring fees to be paid for public health care, which had been provided without cost prior to the economic reforms (Tran 2004).

In regard to battered women accessing health care, cultural conceptions of wife battering also must be taken into account. The idea of violence in the home is somewhat acceptable among Vietnamese individuals, despite the outlawing of violence against family members by the contemporary socialist state. Vietnamese community members' perspectives of wife battering are largely influenced by cultural conceptions of gender, the naturalization of men's violence, the importance placed on marital and family relationships, and the relationship of the family to the larger society in Vietnam. Women are vulnerable to violence in part due to continuing historical ideas of gender inequality, influenced by Confucian philosophy, in the context of broader state and international ideals of gender equality. Through my interviews, I found that conceptions of gender inequality, especially within the family between husband and wife, persist among both younger and older Vietnamese individuals, even in the face of state discourse which asserts equal rights for men and women.

Still, shame is associated with wife battering for most families in Vietnam, and a commonly shared desire among battered women is to hide their experience of their husband's abuse. Therefore, battered women accessing



A Vietnamese woman carries a light load, with her empty baskets hanging from a shoulder yoke, as she walks with other women in a rural community of suburban Hanoi.

health care at clinics and hospitals for treatment of their injuries presents a key opportunity for professionals to provide both health care and other forms of intervention and social assistance to battered women. Historically, as in other societies (Williamson 2000), the medical education of Vietnamese health personnel has not included training in caring for battered women beyond treating their physical injuries. Vietnamese health personnel have sometimes encouraged battered women to return to their husband, or have blamed the women for their husband's abuse (Nguyen et al. 2001). Additionally, professional counseling and psychological services have not been prevalent in Vietnam, nor have they been common sources of support and aid for battered women and their families.

When battered women's cases have been publicly acknowledged, the women often have received assistance from other government institutions. A common approach to the problem has been to send members of government sponsored reconciliation committees to counsel the spouses (Vu et al. 1999). Members of the reconciliation committees, who are not professional counselors, often have advised husbands to stop their abuse of their wife, and encouraged battered women to remain with their husband and maintain their family's unity. Through my interviews with battered women, I have learned that many battered women's husbands commonly did not end their abuse of their wife with this form of intervention. The ongoing abuse these women experience results in continuing health problems for them

To address some of these practices, the promotion of Vietnamese women's health through a health-oriented, internationally funded program addressing wife battering was initiated in a Hanoi District in 2002. It was developed and funded by an international donor organization; supported by another international health and development organization and a local NGO; and administered and

funded through the government's Hanoi Health Service. It involved education for government biomedical health providers employed by a general hospital of the Hanoi District, to train them to provide a wide spectrum of services to battered women. The program trained the health personnel to identify battering, to provide basic counseling for battered women, and to refer the women to other health personnel who were trained to counsel battered women more extensively. The program also entailed the establishment of a women's counseling center on the hospital grounds, and the hiring of personnel for the counseling center, to whom health providers would refer battered and other women who needed counseling. In addition to the hospital based resources, the international health program trained health

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personnel at two nearby commune health clinics to counsel and care for battered women, and to coordinate their services with other local state authorities. In the same two communes, the program also established women's and men's clubs that address wife battering. This program was initially conceived as a pilot project that the funders, organizers, and counseling center personnel hoped could be extended to other Vietnamese communities. In fact, similar programs have emerged in other provinces of Vietnam, with some having invited counselors of the original health program to provide training for the health personnel working within their health institutions.

My research has addressed new approaches that this internationally inspired program has introduced among health personnel. For instance, the health personnel are guided to expand their conceptions of their patients and their responsibilities toward them, and to integrate their biomedical work with the services provided by other professionals and community leaders. I have also been interested in complexities that arise when introducing new cultural concepts through the implementation of international health and development programs at the community level (Pigg 1997). One example of this, based on my own research, is the diverse interpretations different front line workers assisting battered women have given to the health program's goals and approach to resolving cases of wife battering. One significant concept introduced to the program participants by the international health program, which is integral to the program's approach to resolving cases of wife battering, is that of "choice." International sponsors and trainers of the health personnel, counselors, and community leaders/members have emphasized providing battered women with the ability to choose the course of action they deem most appropriate to manage the violence they are experiencing. Yet not all of the program participants advocate encouraging battered women to make their own choices in solving their problem. Instead, similar to the approach of the reconciliation committees, they encourage the women to return to their husband. These program participants were concerned about battered women's economic stability and the emotional and social development of their children, among other issues, following separation or divorce from their husbands. This example, only briefly discussed here, depicts how introducing a new approach to gender-based violence into a different cultural and social context, through transnational processes, can be an uneven and complex process. This is a process which may entail a broadening of the scope of the original approach, with local guidance.

Change is occurring in regard to perspectives of and approaches to wife battering in Vietnam, which can be partially attributed to international influence on local NGOs and the implementation of new programs addressing wife battering by international health and development organizations. Ideologies associated with wife battering are beginning to shift due in part to the global circulation of international health programs, the cultural construction of new discourses about wife battering, and the emergence of debates about these discourses among professionals and community members in Vietnam. While violence perpetrated by one family member against another had been outlawed in Vietnam for many decades, a new law specifically addressing domestic violence was approved by the Vietnam National Assembly in 2007, the Law on Domestic Violence Prevention and Control. This law brings national attention to domestic violence, including wife battering, and may provide increased health care and other forms of assistance to battered women. It also "encourages international cooperation in domestic violence prevention and control," which will likely expand the opportunities for negotiation of transnational and local concepts associated with wife battering in Vietnam (National Assembly 2007:3). With the recent emergence of a global gender-based violence movement, ethnographic research assessing this kind of negotiation is becoming integral to understanding changing conceptions of and approaches to wife battering, as well as other forms of gender-based violence.

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Tourism TIG

By Melissa Stevens
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The SfAA meeting in Mérida seems very far away, but abstracts for papers and posters are due by October 15th. Now is the time to begin contacting colleagues about putting together tourism-related panels. If you have an idea for a panel or you are looking to participate in one being organized, both the SfAA NING network (<http://sfaanet.ning.com>), and the anthropology of tourism international list-serve TOUR-ANTH (tourismanthropology@jiscmail.ac.uk) are great options for finding and posting calls for papers.



Another option for meeting planning, as well as for networking with fellow tourism scholars, is the newly created SfAA Tourism TIG Facebook page. The page is pretty bare right now, but more info will be added soon. Become a fan in order to connect with others interested in the anthropology of tourism, and to receive updates from us (only on info related to the TIG and the anthropology of tourism). We would like this page to become a venue for interesting discussions; sharing info on books, films, and other material; announcements for upcoming events, meetings, and conferences; connecting with others interested in research and collaboration; and SfAA meeting planning. Signing up for Facebook is free and opens up opportunities for connecting with people for a variety of reasons (professional and social). To become a fan of the Tourism TIG page, simply do a search for “SfAA Tourism Topical Interest Group” after you have logged onto Facebook. Please tell anyone who would be interested in joining, from professionals to those with a budding interest in the anthropology of tourism. The more fans we have, the better the page will serve as an information and networking site.

I would like to put out a call for essays on topics related to the anthropology of tourism to be included in future newsletters. Essays should be about no less than 1000 words, but no more than 2500 words, and can be on any topic concerning tourism. Essays can be editorial, an analysis of the current research on a topic, a description of a personal experience in the field or in the classroom, a review of a recent book or film on tourism, an argument for or against a certain view on a tourism-related matter, etc. You have a lot of freedom in content, but your submission needs to be relevant to the anthropology of tourism. We welcome submissions from scholars of all levels, as well as students, including undergraduates. Submissions are accepted at any time, but must be received by October 23rd to be considered for the next (November) newsletter. Other than word count, there are no formatting requirements. Please send Word documents as “.doc” files, not “.docx” (VISTA). Send submissions to Melissa Stevens at mstevens@anth.umd.edu.

There are two new editions of key books on the anthropology of tourism out from Waveland Press (www.waveland.com).

Native Tours: Anthropology of Travel and Tourism, Second Edition
By Erve Chambers

According to Waveland Press, “The original edition of *Native Tours* provided a much-needed overview and analysis of anthropology’s contributions to tourism as an emerging field of study. Such a cultural perspective illuminated key ideas surrounding worldwide host-guest relationships and the impacts, both negative and positive, of tourism as one of the world’s largest industries. Applying a characteristically uncluttered, authoritative writing style alongside an exceptional command of the relevant literature, Chambers updates, refines, and extends the original concise work. He identifies new or refashioned trends such as green tourism, community-based tourism, heritage and cultural tourism, and domestic tourism in developing nations, as well as discusses how local prejudices influence and often distort views of tourism. Three detailed case studies originating in the American Southwest, the Tirolean Alps, and Belize illustrate the social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental costs and benefits of tourism.”

Tourists and Tourism: A Reader, Second Edition
by Sharon Bohn Gmelch

According to Waveland Press, “The impact of global tourism research is evident throughout this meticulously edited collection. Embedded within a logical division of topics by thematic sections are over two dozen readings—including nine brand new offerings—by experienced international specialists in a range of disciplines. The globally *Society for Applied Anthropology*

diverse articles represent a generous mix of both foundational works as well as pieces that spotlight the latest ideas and issues in the growing field. Accessible in length and sophistication without being overly simplistic, the authoritative essays included in the second edition of the Gmelch volume make it one of the best single anthologies of social science research on tourism available. Appendices provide information on pertinent films and examples of behavioral guidelines written for tourists."

Both of these books provide excellent introductions to the anthropology of tourism, but are equally valuable to seasoned scholars. The first editions of each have been staples in the classroom for years, and the new editions provide updated material to bring you up to date on the most current and cutting-edge avenues of tourism research. Both are available from Waveland Press (www.waveland.com).

Another new book just out is *Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground* authored by Christina Taylor Beard Moose and published by University of Alabama Press, 2009. From the back cover... "Constructing an ethnohistory of tourism and comparing the experiences of the Cherokees with the Florida Seminoles and Southwestern tribes, this work brings into sharp focus the fine line between promoting and selling Indian culture."

Finally, Cameron Walker has a new book out, also from the University of Alabama Press, entitled, *Heritage or Heresy: Archaeology and Culture on the Maya Riviera*, 2009. This is a fascinating examination of the impact of international tourism on both ancient Mayan structures of the Yucatan and the culture of their contemporary descendants.

Please send essay submissions, and TIG comments, questions, and suggestions to Melissa Stevens at mstevens@anth.umd.edu.

An Excursion in Public Policy Formulation: American Perspectives on Tourism Development in Northern Mexico

By Emilia González-Clements [DSAllnt@aol.com]
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Founder and Director, Fifth Sun Development Fund
Milwaukie, Oregon

My term as chair of the SfAA Public Policy Committee (PPC) ended at the 2009 Santa Fe meeting. I began participating in the committee in 2005 as the PPC focused on enhancing the web resources made available for SfAA members to learn about working in policy arenas. See the PPC web site to view the resources (<http://www.sfaa.net.committees/policy/policy.html>). PPC members presented papers and sessions, held open fora, and facilitated workshops at the annual meeting as well as served as guest editors for special policy-focused issues of SfAA publications. New and continuing activities are described elsewhere in the Newsletter.



PPC involvement

I became involved in the PPC because I believe legislation and public programs can benefit from social scientists' perspectives. As an applied anthropologist, I have always been interested in getting the anthropological perspective into policy formulation. As a consultant in Nebraska, I had completed various policy research projects for state-level program planners. I also served on several state-level advisory boards as a means for providing input. One example was applied research with at-risk populations to identify the Nebraska-specific target populations to fund for HIV-prevention activities. As a doctoral student at the University of Kentucky, I even took a 900-level course called something like Public Policy Formulation from the political science department. That class spoke a foreign language (e.g. "incrementalism"), had the most required readings of any of my courses, and took more time to decipher and understand than even statistics. From a sociology class I remember reading about change coming from person-to-person interactions (symbolic interaction theory, I believe). The PPC mission and goals matched my interests.

For the Vancouver 2006 annual meeting, I organized a workshop on how social scientists can influence the U.S. federal public policy process. The workshop was taught by a friend, the former senior staffer of the US House Agriculture Committee, who helped write the farm bills, and my husband, a chemical engineering professor who

routinely worked “on the Hill” (Capitol Hill) in his areas of expertise—renewable energy and agricultural products utilization. One of the hands-on activities included hearing about and practicing writing a policy brief, a succinct communication to elected officials that provides the rationale for a particular policy alternative. Ten of the attendees were from other countries and wanted to learn about working internationally. Two were from Mexico and commented that the process was similar in their country. All agreed that it helps to know someone with access to decision-makers. The following year (2007) I facilitated an open forum for anthropologists working in international policy arenas.

American Perspectives on Tourism Development

In 2006, I was delighted to undertake a research project to provide the Nuevo León, Mexico, Governor’s Office with a report, “ American Perspectives on Tourism Development In the *Municipio de Rayones*, Nuevo León, México”, the research site for my thesis and dissertation. I was asked for my personal opinions, but offered to conduct a research project. The setting is a semi-arid valley system located about three hours south of Monterrey in the Sierra Madre Oriental. The main economic activity is commercial pecan production.

Here, I comment briefly on my excursion in public policy formulation with excerpts from the American Perspectives I final project report before describing 2008 fieldwork and next steps.

Excerpt from American Perspectives I Final Report:

The current governor of Nuevo León, C. José Natividad González Parás, had identified ecotourism as a potential economic development strategy for the State’s *municipios* (similar to county). A member of the Governor’s staff, Lic. J. Juventino Salinas Silva, (Tino), approached me through my sister, a former resident of Rayones, Frances González T. de Berlanga, requesting photographs and research findings from over twenty years of my fieldwork and activities in the area. He is himself from Rayones. I have known him all his life. After an initial discussion, the Fifth Sun Development Fund (FSDF) agreed to conduct research on American perspectives and provide recommendations for tourism development.



Rayones - Mountains, Rivers and Pecan Trees

The Project and the Project Team

The key question was: “What is needed in the *municipio* in order to attract American tourists?” The 27-page final report not only presented American perspectives, but presented three overall recommendations for ecotourism as an economic development strategy. The team realized that the staff was not familiar with international standards, or differences between adventure tourism and ecotourism, or different types of tourists. Because of the differing levels of awareness, the report included web sites that included definitions, explained concepts and were easily assessed by governor’s office staff, including frameworks and sites on sustainable development and tourism development in rural areas.

My own training is in applied social anthropology with an emphasis on alternative development practice. Fortunately for me, I had just selected an Oregon intern for summer 2006. Joe Feldman (now a graduate student at the University of Florida) had approached me after my presentation on a panel at the SfAA 2006 annual meeting. He wanted to learn about applied anthropology. In a previous internship, he worked in the Caribbean, studying tourism. After guiding him through an intensive short course on “applied”, I asked Joe to create a study guide on ecotourism. I invited Courtney Yilk, a local friend, to join the team. Her specialty is museology and she is particularly interested in community participation in heritage preservation and sustainable development. A long-term agency volunteer, Gloria Medina Best, served as interpreter for Courtney, as well as managing our field settings. Gloria is well-known and respected in the *municipio*.

Methodology

The team used the United Nations and Mexican Federal and State frameworks in its planning, research design and recommendations. The frameworks include standards on ecotourism, sustainability, and development policies and “best practices”.

The team conducted archival research, topical literature reviews, directed observations, informal conversations, key informant interviews, a “windshield survey” (observations by car), simulations (identifying the steps

a tourist would take to get to and visit a site), and mapping. The team also made site visits to tourist places throughout the *municipio*, and gathered a visual record via digital photographs. Team members were all experienced American tourists with a background in academic and applied research.

Current Tourism 2006

Tourism and tourist services are growing. Many former residents return at Christmas and Easter Week to visit family. Domestic tourists visit to enjoy the natural beauty and to camp by the river. They come by car, and, increasingly, by "*cuatrimoto*" (ATVs, quadra-track vehicles). Other domestic tourists go to Rayones specifically to ride "*motos*" (motorcycles) along the river. Domestic tourists also come to the valley "*para conocer*" (just to see what is there). The occasional foreign tourist comes for hiking or as part of the many "*moto*" clubs.

American Perspectives on Current Tourism

Tourist services are few and inconsistent. There are at least four clusters of "*cabañas*" (cabins) in various parts of the *municipio*, as well as two hotels and three restaurants in the town of Rayones. (One of the restaurants charges double the price of the other restaurant for essentially the same meal.) However, there is practically no signage, directions or interpretations of the region for tourists' use. It is difficult to find and get to sites. There is no tourist information readily available in the *cabecera* (county seat, Rayones) or elsewhere.

While the current tourists enjoy the natural features of the *municipio*, like the mountains and rivers, there is no actual "ecotourism" in place. The *municipio* is blessed with abundant natural beauty, but current tourist activities benefit only a few local entrepreneurs, and many activities have a negative impact on the fragile mountain ecosystem. One tourism entrepreneur commented that "There are no rules here. We and our friends can "run wild" ("*riendas sueltas*") with ATVs, motorcycles, horses and buses up and down the river". During one of the site visits, the team observed a group of over twenty motorcycle riders, and four families traveling by "*cuatrimoto*", creating noise, dust and crowding on the narrow gravel roads.

There is insufficient infrastructure in place to manage current or potential tourist activities. There is, however, a new organization of tourist service providers that has created a brochure about the Rayones area.

Positive Elements of the Area from the Team's American Perspectives

Popular images of Mexico tourist activities tend to be associated with resorts or border tourism. While ecotourism and nature tourism may not immediately fit with these images, we feel that the *municipio* has much to offer to foreign tourists seeking an ecotourism or nature tourism experience. The *municipio's* natural and cultural resources have potential to be developed into a tourism product that is internationally competitive. Identified positive elements include:

- Natural environment: mountains, rivers, rock formations, flora, diverse ecosystems, scenery are very appealing despite the lack of wildlife and high levels of biodiversity generally associated with ecotourism
- Sense of remoteness, away from "hustle-and-bustle" of Monterrey and other large urban centers
- Scenic drive from Monterrey to Rayones via an all-weather road
- Great hiking potential
- Sociocultural ambience in towns and communities, including:
 - Daily life and activities (i.e. friendly atmosphere, music in streets)
 - Festivals and special events
- Historic architecture in Rayones, El Barreal and Santa Rosa
- Variety of community types: modern town, traditional towns, *ejido* communities (agrarian reform villiges), *ranchos* (privately-owned properties) and former *haciendas*
- Accommodations available
- Restaurants available
- Food, consumer goods (including gasoline) available

The Rayones *Municipio* has many tangible and intangible elements that could be incorporated into a planned tourism development.

Problems and Issues from an American Tourist Perspective

The team identified a series of problems and barriers for American tourists... Table 1 lists our overall recommendations and Table 2 lists basic tourist needs and amenities that would be required in order to increase American tourism.

Table 1
Overall Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Ecotourism Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International standards for sustainable tourism and sustainable development • Conservation of the environment and promotion of well-being of local people
Recommendation 2: Ecomuseum Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A "museum without walls" showcasing the natural and cultural richness of the area • A focus on broad historical processes "<i>Entre montañas, ríos y nogales</i>" theme*
Recommendation 3: Casa de Cultura Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Casa de la Cultura</i> as the center for tourism information and activities • <i>Casa de la Cultura</i> as a regional museum and center for community activities

*"Among mountains, rivers and pecan trees" is the *municipio* slogan.

Table 2
Recommended Basic Tourist Needs and Amenities

Tourist Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On internet, international and local magazines, etc. • Tourism information centers and sources in Monterrey • Plaza kiosks (Rayones, El Barreal, Santa Rosa, and <i>ejidos</i>)
Tourist Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local tourist sites • Tourist services (lodging, meals, guides, etc.) • Maps and transportation
Basic Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreters, community hosts and tour guides • Basic needs items (bottled water, sunscreen, insect repellent, etc.) • Restaurants
Basic Lodging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comfortable arrangements with clean, functional bathroom • Kitchenettes with necessary items to prepare and serve meals • Access to public telephone
Basic Amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public restrooms (with toilet seats, soap, water, paper towels) • Emptied trash bins at designated picnic and tourist sites • Interpretive signs at nature and cultural sites
Roads/Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good, safe roads • Road signs • Public transportation
Communications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public telephone and long-distance calling cards • Internet services in a coffee shop located on the main square • Fax line
Financial Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Banks • ATM's • Currency exchange

The final project report was submitted to the Governor's Office in September, 2006. Late the following year, the agency was asked to assist staff by identifying local sites that could be marketed on American tourist web sites.

American Perspectives II: What Local Sites Can Be Put on American Tourist Websites to Encourage American Tourism?

Rather than merely supplying photographs and web site contact information, a new research project could provide actual description and impressions of each site by American students. A friend and colleague, Dr. Jack Schultz

of the department of anthropology at Metro State College, Denver, Colorado, agreed to collaborate with FSDF to give his students field experience through agency activities. The students could add to the American perspectives data.

In May 2008, eleven students traveled to Rayones and environs to participate in the agency's sustainable development projects based on agency staff's observed needs. While staff worked with community members to identify felt needs to refine project planning, the students were assigned to identify potential tourist sites in Rayones.

Dr. Shultz divided the students into four groups. Each group was to explore one quadrant of the town and visit local businesses. The student project leader was a former soldier--a logistics specialist--organized, amiable and energetic. Following the town walk-about, the entire group visited local sites (rock art, small towns, hiking areas, and locally-identified places). One student made GIS maps of the entire fieldwork site, noting the location of each potential point of interest. Once again, the team collected digital photographs of the places and people visited. Dr. Schultz is working on the American Perspectives II report, compiling the work of each student into a coherent whole.

A Continuing Journey

The American Perspectives project in Rayones was to serve as a case study for collecting data from each of the other 41 municipios in the state. However, due to other pressing priorities, including escalating drug-related violence, the Nuevo León government did not continue with its expanded plan. Meanwhile, Lic. J. Juventino Salinas Silva, (Tino), the original contact, has become a candidate for the office of mayor of the *municipio*. He is personally interested in tourism development as an economic development strategy. His first goal, if he wins the election, is to establish a Casa de la Cultura. Once again, he has requested research findings, photographs and ideas for his project. He is also interested in working on various ideas presented in the American Perspectives I final report.



Metro State College Team - May 2008

The American Perspectives I team made specific recommendations in the context of international standards, including the protection of fragile mountain ecosystems. The American Perspectives II team identified ways to create activities of interest to American ecotourists and provided photographs for possible use in web sites.



American Perspectives I Team August 2008

Because of changing priorities at the state level, instead of submitting a formal report to a government staff person, I am now dealing directly with the decision-maker at the *municipio* level. Whether he wins the election or not, tourism development will continue to be a priority for him and for the individuals currently involved. On two occasions, I verbally provided Tino a policy briefing based on the research and recommended policy alternatives.

Tino listened, strategized and asked more questions. He has his own ideas and opinions, but is now aware of different types of tourism, and ecotourism for sustainable development in a fragile mountain ecosystem. He is intent on attracting American tourists and had not considered the impact of scores of adventure tourists on loud motorcycles, roaring in and out of the river.

The briefings and the report introduced the concept of community participation. All across the *municipio*, individuals and families are interested in becoming involved in some way, either by providing food, serving as guides, or doing laundry. FSDF was asked to relay their willingness in the report. This region is still experiencing the shake-up of the hacienda system and agrarian reform when the local eight haciendas were divided up and turned over, in part, to former peons in 1936 through 1939. Socio-cultural and economic divisions are still sharp.



A local man willing to serve as a tour guide in the mountains

My excursion in policy formulation in Mexico is unique in that as a family friend and elder, I have direct access to a decision-maker. In fact, through family connections, I met with state and local officials formally and informally. I know that the information and recommendations the agency has provided have been dissected and discussed. My academic credentials and consulting experience are respected. However, it may be that, in the end, if any recommendations are implemented, it will be because of the long-standing personal relationship I have with Tino and the fact that he trusts my knowledge and commitment.

Note: This article was written in April of 2009. Earlier this month, on July 5, Tino lost the election by 16-24 votes. FSDf did not have a summer field season due to escalating violence between drug cartels, some of whom are using the back country roads in the mountains where we work. During our 2008 summer season, some of our crew were stopped on the highway and ended up paying a hefty "fine" to local police on two separate occasions. Another factor is the fact that local power elites

are concerned about our collaborators' changing behaviors. "No quieren que nos abran los ojos" (They don't want you to open our eyes", stated my female counterpart.) She is working quietly within her own community to organize her neighborhood to discuss the re-concentration of land that is occurring. Of the 14 *parcelas* (agrarian reform land allotments) in her community eight are now owned by a single person, who hires and fires locals depending on their allegiance to him.

What are our next steps? Tino wants to see the *municipio* follow a tourism development strategy. He continues to work in the Governor's Office, and has already brought one international and one regional conference to the *municipio*. He continues to ask our advice about attracting American tourists. We are waiting to see how the new political environment shakes out.

American Indian, Alaskan and Hawaiian, Native, and Canadian First Nation TIG

By Peter N. Jones [pnj@bauuinstitute.com]
Bäuu Institute

I hope that everyone is having a fruitful and relaxing summer. I know many people are in the field this time of year, and we hardly need more reading, but I thought I would bring your attention to several recent publications that came out:



Urban First Nations Health Research Discussion Paper

Prepared for the First Nations Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization, this discussion paper addresses the following topics:

- Demographics of urban/off-reserve First Nations population;
- Major data sources for urban/off-reserve First Nations health information;
- Health status of urban/off-reserve First Nations population (where possible compared to on-reserve or mainstream);
- Determinants of urban/off-reserve First Nations population;
- Jurisdictional issues affecting health care for urban/off-reserve First Nations population;
- Trends in urban/off-reserve First Nations health research (i.e., is research activity concentrated in particular areas or on particular issues); and
- Suggested topics or areas for future research.

More on the discussion paper, as well as links to download the paper can be found on the [Indigenous Peoples Issues and Resources](#) site.

The other document that was recently published deals with health information, research, and planning for First Nations. [Health Information, Research, And Planning: An Information Resource For First Nation Health Planners](#)

defines fundamental concepts in health research and public health, and explains them in a manner that is relevant to First Nations health planners, administrators and leadership.

Another document that TIG members may find of interest deals with blood quantum and American Indian status. Entitled [Blood Quantum: Personal View From Gila River Indian Community Members](#) the article contains a number of insights over this controversial topic.

I would like to remind everyone that if they would like to share announcements, calls for papers, or other news with the TIG email list to do so. Please forward it along to me (pnj@bauuinstitute.com), and I will send it out.

As usual, if anyone is interested in joining the TIG email list, simply send me a request and I will put you on. Likewise, if anyone has anything they would like to send out over the list, please forward it.

Intellectual Property Rights - TIG Notes

By Mary Riley [mriley@carotennlaw.com]
Merritt Flebotte Wilson Webb & Caruso, PLLC

Welcome back everyone from the summer break! As we settle into the rhythm of academic and applied work this fall, I wanted to provide an update on IPinCH (Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage). The website continues to evolve and develop as the project has progressed, as can be viewed at <http://cgi.sfu.ca/~ipinch/cgi-bin/>. In addition, the inaugural issue of the IPinCH Newsletter, launched in June 2009, is currently available on the website. The Newsletter provides an overview of IPinCH, reports on the status of its first community-based initiatives, and provides additional information on its working groups, researchers and partner organizations, and its collaborative and interdisciplinary research efforts to date.

In addition, the IPinCH website features additional resources, including listings of upcoming events and conferences related to indigenous IPRs (Intellectual Property Rights), other potential sources of funding, and a newly-created blog. Be sure to check out the IPinCH website when you have a minute to breathe during this fall semester (or however your work schedule is arranged over the rest of this year).

Another website which has continued to grow and evolve over time is Intellectual Property Watch, online at <http://www.ip-watch.org/>. IPW covers all facets of intellectual property law, policy and issues, and also contains extensive information on traditional knowledge, biodiversity and genetic resources, development, technology transfer and human rights. A quick review of the reports under the traditional and indigenous knowledge category shows that there still is little consensus on what steps should be taken to work towards the recognition, protection and promotion of indigenous IPRs, whether through the use of legal instruments or non-legal protocols. I urge you to explore this website as well to see the phenomenal expansion of interest on this topic worldwide.



SfAA NEWS

MERIDA 2010!!!!

By Liliana Goldin [goldin@fiu.edu]
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and
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Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán
2010 Program Co-Chairs



We continue working on planning and promoting the 70th Annual Meeting which is scheduled for March 24-27 in Mérida, Yucatán, Mexico. Announcements in English and Spanish have gone out to all relevant groups and organizations around the world. Numerous panels are being prepared and proposed with the general and broad topic of “Vulnerabilities and Exclusion in Globalization” in mind. We are excited by the diversity of issues that are being discussed for proposals around health, immigration, and development, among other topics. Important panels will be offered as part of the concurrent participation of the Society for Medical Anthropology and the Society for Latin American Anthropology.

The main meeting will take place at the Fiesta Americana Hotel, where we have reserved rooms with reduced rates. We also have negotiated reduced rates at many of the other main hotels in Mérida. We have made American Airlines the designated carrier for our conference. Please check our web page for details on travel and hotels. As usual, we are planning numerous interesting tours. You will be able to visit Maya sites including Uxmal, Chichén Itzá, Ek-Balam, and Mayapan. These are unique opportunities, regardless of your area of specialization, to visit some of the most important archaeological structures in the world and learn about ancient and contemporary Maya society. In addition, you will be able to visit the Biosphere Reserve of Celestún with the largest colony of pink flamingos in the world, and learn about agricultural and public health practices and policies with visits to various farms and rural clinics. Of course, there will be local tours of Merida, where you will visit beautiful and captivating sites. The Ballet Folklórico is planning a presentation for the opening reception and we will all enjoy a variety of daily free shows in some of Mérida’s parks (<http://www.merida.gob.mx>).



Please remember that you can use our On-Line Community to communicate with the membership about possible collaborations. There, we have set up a SfAA 2010 Forum. To access the online community, go the SfAA home page (www.SFAA.net) and click on ‘Community;’ on the right side of the SfAA Online Community page, click on ‘Sign Up’ and then follow the instructions to set your online profile. If you have any problems accessing the online community, please let us know immediately.

Finally, please note that the deadline for submissions is October 15, 2009. All submissions should be submitted on-line and directly through our web-site. If you have a topic that you would like to propose for the meeting, consider proposing a panel for that topic. This will provide further consistency and depth in the presentations. In any case, we also welcome individual presentations and posters. Contact us with questions or concerns.

Keep in touch and begin your plans for our Merida meeting as we ensure that all will be ready for you.

Planning for the SfAA Podcasts at Merida 2010

By Jen Cardew Kersey [jenfur19th@gmail.com]
University of North Texas

The SfAA Podcast project has wrapped up the third year of the project and we are now planning for the 2010 Annual Meeting in Mérida, Mexico. A total of 42 sessions from 2006-2009 are available as free podcasts (mp3, audio) at www.SfAApodcasts.net.

We offer three free ways for listeners to receive a notification when a new podcast becomes available. In addition to simply checking the website you can search for “SfAA podcasts” in iTunes, subscribe to the RSS in a feed reader, or sign up to receive email every time a new post is published. All of these options are explained in full detail on the website and you can subscribe with just one click on the left hand side of the homepage.



In addition to our website, we have three other ways to keep up with the project and to talk with others about the podcasts. You can follow us on Twitter.com (<http://Twitter.com/SfAAPodcasts>) where the project has 69 followers, join our group in the SfAA Ning Community (<http://sfaanet.ning.com/group/sfaapodcasts>), or join our Facebook group with 70 members (search "Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) Podcasts").

The website has had over 23,000 visits since April 2007. This shows that the project has become quite popular and feedback has been very positive. We're taking this momentum with us in planning for the 2010 Annual Meeting. We are continuing to work closely with the University of North Texas and with Tommy Wingo, the audio professional that offers his expertise to the project at a discount (<http://www.Wing-O.com>). In addition to the SfAA Office offering their support to the project, we are now working with the SfAA IT Task Force to plan the expansion of the project. In the coming months, the SfAA IT Task Force will produce a budget for the project, which the SfAA Board will review. Our goal for the project is to increase the number of sessions offered from Mérida and ultimately to offer additional ways to view the sessions such as a webinar.

The SfAA Podcast team has become the most important ingredient for the project being such a success. You can "meet" the past team members on our website (<http://sfaapodcasts.net/sfaa-podcast-team/>). We will announce a call for team members in early 2010 in the hopes of having a six person team to come to Mérida to help with the project.

Currently Available at www.SfAAPodcasts.net

2009 SfAA Podcasts

The Engaged University: What Does it Mean for Applied Anthropology?

Study of HIV and STIs in the Western Hemisphere, Part I

Professional and Academic Collaboration: Strengthening the Preparation of New Professional Anthropologists

Studies Of HIV and STIs In The Western Hemisphere, Part II

Different Fields, Common Challenge: Lessons For and From Military Anthropology

Public Anthropology, Applied Anthropology, and Ethically Engaged Ethnographic Writing

Creating Sustainability in Culture: Real-Time Applied Anthropology

Without Footnotes: Writing Creative Ethnography

Collaboration, Community and Ethics

Military Imaginaries, Ethnographic Realities, Part I (SAR Plenary)

Military Imaginaries, Ethnographic Realities, Part II (SAR Plenary)

Tradition, Community, Gender, and Family in Contemporary Mayan Communities of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala: Reports from the NC State Ethnographic Field School

The Politics of Place and the Ethics of Engagement, Part I

The Politics of Place and the Ethics of Engagement, Part II

2008 SfAA Podcasts

Presidential Plenary Session in Honor of John van Willigen: The Art and Science of Applied Anthropology in the 21st Century

Preparing Applied Anthropologists for the 21st Century, Part I

Preparing Applied Anthropologists for the 21st Century, Part II

Working with Governmental Agencies, Parts I & II

The Scholar-Practitioner in Organizational Settings

COPAA International Invited Speaker

For Love and Money: Employment Opportunities in Medical Anthropology (SMA)

Embodied Danger: The Health Costs of War and Political Violence (SMA)

Mobile Work, Mobile Lives: Cultural Accounts of Lived Experiences

Practitioners Rise to the Challenge: A Discussion of Methods in Business Ethnography

The Flawed Economics of Resettlement and Its Impoverishing Effects: What Can Social Scientists Do?

Visualizing Change: Emergent Technologies in Social Justice Inquiry and Action, Part I: Digital Storytelling and PhotoVoice

Visualizing Change: Emergent Technologies in Social Justice Inquiry and Action, Part II: Participatory Mapping and Visual Arts

SMA Plenary Session: The Political Construction of Global Infectious Disease Crises

Anthropology Engages Immigration Reform

Anthropology of the Consumer

2007 SfAA Podcasts

Malinowski 2007

Society for Applied Anthropology

"Dude, That's My Space!" 2007
"Global Health in the Time of Violence, Part I" 2007
Global Health in the Time of Violence, Part II" 2007
Florida Public Archaeology Network" Blog post
"Contributing to Cultural Understanding" Blog post
"South Florida" Blog post
"Environment & Conservation Policy" Blog post
"Expanding (or Exceeding?) Our Reach" Blog post
"Applying Linguistic Anthropology in the Classroom & Beyond" 2007

Get Yourself Connected: Notes from the SfAA Information Technology Task Force

By Jennifer Wies [wiesj@xavier.edu]
Xavier University

In February of 2009, the Board of Directors formed the Information Technology Task Force to review the electronic communication functions of the SfAA Office, such as the SfAA Online Community, and make recommendations to the Board for the future. We are reviewing current electronic communications and initiatives that the SfAA utilizes while exploring additional options that will attract and retain members and foster communication among members and others. As we prepare for an internationally located meeting in 2010, we are also specifically examining ways that we can utilize web-based technologies to increase and enhance participation for our global audience.

As chair of this Task Force, I am working with Neil Hann (SfAA Executive Office), Tim Wallace (SfAA Newsletter Editor), and Jen Cardew Kersey (SfAA Podcast Coordinator) to recommend measures to increase the effectiveness of the SfAA's web-based initiatives and create new opportunities for connecting applied social scientists with each other to promote knowledge communities and collaboration.

The Task Force is interested in hearing ideas from the membership about how we can utilize our current technologies effectively and add technologies that would be helpful for the future. But before you send me your ideas, I have some assignments for our membership to "test-drive" to become familiar with the web-based tools we currently utilize...

Listen to and Leave a Comment About a Podcast

The SfAA Annual Meetings Podcasts (<http://sfaapodcasts.net/>) are a joint project of the SfAA and the University of North Texas, and is the direct result of student members voicing their vision for the future of the SfAA. The podcasts are free audio files that are streamed to your computer, and contain various sessions from the past three annual meetings. The SfAA podcasts are found through a number of social e-sites, including Twitter, Flickr (photos), SfAA On-Line Community, and Facebook. There are currently about 150 subscribers to the podcast blog, and many more interested individuals received updates and downloads from iTunes. Data mapping visitors' computers indicate that people are accessing the podcasts from nearly every continent. The highest use rates for the podcasts are from anthropology students and other social scientists using podcasts for classroom use. The podcast organizers regularly receive feedback related to the podcast service, much of which is posted on the podcast website: <http://sfaapodcasts.net/buzz-around-the-web/>.

Listening to a podcast is easy and fun. Set aside time to spend with your computer and follow the links to a podcast that appears interesting to you. Once you have listened to the podcast, you can share a "comment"- what you learned, how the piece contributed to a discipline, or a question you might have for the presenter. You might even identify a podcast that intersects with your course content to add to your syllabus!

Become Friends with SfAA President Allan Burns

In the May 2009 SfAA Newsletter, Allan encouraged the SfAA membership to utilize the SfAA On-Line Community (<http://sfaanet.ning.com/>) as a way to facilitate communication among applied social scientists.

Society for Applied Anthropology



Launched in 2007, there are currently over 800 members in the on-line community, and people who join are both SfAA members and non-members. The site is very active and hosts blog postings, discussion forums, and 18 groups (including groups associated with SfAA Topical Interest Groups). The heaviest users are younger professionals and students.

After Allan's reference to the SfAA On-Line Community, membership increased by over 100. Becoming a member of the SfAA On-Line Community is the first step to enhancing your SfAA social network. The next step is actively pursuing people and groups that seem interesting to you as a professional. You can look people up by name or type in topical areas of interest to see who else is interested in the same issues as you. You can even e-mail all your "friends" important updates from your account.

The best way to learn how to use web-based applications for social networking is through practice. I therefore encourage the SfAA membership to practice "friending" people by requesting Allan to be your friend. I'll start...OK, I'm back. I hope he accepts!

These are just two ways that the SfAA membership can actively utilize the technologies we have established to enhance professional communities. And while the Information Technology Task Force strategizes to enhance our annual meetings, we are also exploring options for webinars, virtual committee and topical interest group meetings, and supporting the electronic distribution of our scholarly work. Please look for more updates from our group as we continue to brainstorm.

To submit your ideas for enhancing our connectivity, you can e-mail me at wiesj@xavier.edu or leave a comment on my "wall" at the SfAA On-Line Community site. I look forward to "seeing" you over there...

Consortium of Practicing and Applied Anthropology Programs (COPAA)

By Linda Bennett [lbennett@memphis.edu]

University of Memphis

and

Lisa Henry [lhenry@unt.edu]

University of North Texas

Over recent months, COPAA has been active on several fronts.

First, one of the COPAA sessions organized for the 2008 SfAA meetings provided the basis for a publication in the journal Learning and Teaching in the Social Sciences (LATISS). Second, COPAA initiated its



COPAA Visitors Fellows Program this year and announces the first award below. This program was one that original organizers of COPAA in 2000 identified as an initiative we would launch once it was fiscally feasible, and we are very pleased that COPAA has reached that point. Third, for the 2009 SfAA meeting, COPAA organized two sessions. One of those sessions—on the Engaged University—elicited such a lively discussion among panelists and the audience that we plan to develop a paper-based session

for the 2010 meetings in Merida.



Fourth, in terms of connections with other organizations, COPAA worked with the AAA Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology (CoPAPIA) in launching the MA Alumni Survey. We asked our member departments to notify their MA anthropology alumni about the survey and strongly urge their participation. The survey deadline is August 31, 2009. The direct link to the survey is: <http://research.zarca.com/k/SsRXQTsV>. If you hold an MA degree in Anthropology, and if you have not done so already, please complete the survey. At the upcoming AAA meetings in December in Philadelphia, COPAA will co-sponsor a reception following the Employer Expo at the close of the Expo on Friday.

COPAA is currently planning sessions for the upcoming SfAA March 2010 meetings in Merida. Readers interested in suggesting a possible session or wishing to be included in COPAA-organized, please contact Program Chair Lisa Henry (lisa.henry@unt.edu).

New Publication

A COPAA-sponsored session at the SfAA meeting in Memphis (2008) has led to the publication of a special issue of *Learning and Teaching in the Social Sciences* (LATISS). LATISS is a journal co-edited by Sue Wright, the COPAA distinguished international lecturer at the Memphis meetings. The special issue is titled *Transformation of Graduate Education in Applied Anthropology in the U.S.: Learning and Teaching Policy Studies* (Vol. 2, Issue 2, Summer 2009). Kerry Feldman (U Alaska-Fairbanks) and Lisa Henry (U North Texas) organized the session and co-authored the introduction for the volume. The individual papers include:

1. Transforming Conflict Resolution Education: Applying Anthropology alongside Your Students, by Kevin Avruch (George Mason U).
2. Students Educating Students: Insights from Organising an International, Interdisciplinary Conference on Surveillance and Policing, by María-Amelia Viteri (American U) and Aaron Tobler (American U).
3. Engaging Students in Applied Research: Experiences from Collaborative Research and Learning in Brazil and Paraguay, by Marcela Vásquez-Leó (U Arizona), Brian Burke (U Arizona) and Lucero Radonic (U Arizona)

Report on COPAA-organized Sessions at SfAA 2009:

The Engaged University: What does it mean for Applied Anthropology?

Organizers: Linda Bennett (U Memphis) and Linda Whiteford (U S Florida)

Abstract: A Consortium of Practicing and Applied Anthropology Programs (COPAA)-organized panel session. Panelists address the question: What would an engaged university" look like, and how would one become one? Engagement—be it global or regional—bridges the voice between the university and its surroundings. "Engagement implies strenuous, thoughtful, argumentative interaction with the non-university world in at least four spheres: setting university aims, purposes and priorities, relating teaching and learning to the wider world, back and forth dialogue between researchers and practitioners; and taking on wider responsibilities as neighbours and citizens." How are the universities represented by the panelists becoming engaged, and what is the place of anthropology in that vision?

Panelists:

Stan Hyland (U Memphis); Susan Greenbaum (U S Florida); Paul Shackel (U Maryland); Kendall Thu (N Illinois U.); Kathryn Kozaitis (Georgia S U); Miguel Vasquez (N Arizona U)

Linda Whiteford introduced the session within the context of a workshop that she and Stan Hyland had participated in June 2008 at Virginia Tech University on the Engaged University. Panelists began the discussion by identifying the number one critical issue his/her university is dealing with at this time with regard to the relationship between the university and the surrounding community. Given the fact that we had a wide range of types of universities and departments represented on the panel, many different issues were raised by both the panelists and, very encouraging, by members of the audience. Here is a sampling of such "problematic" issues that that were identified:

- It is essential that the university itself make engaged scholarship a strategic priority, with resources to support that priority.
- Underfunding makes developing and maintaining an engaged university incredibly difficult, if not impossible.
- Anthropology is not always identified by central administration as a potential site for civic engagement, and that needs to be communicated well. Archaeology has great potential for civic engagement.
- Essential to work through channels as well as circuitously in some universities and a major challenge is to educate colleagues in other disciplines regarding anthropology's strong promise for effective community outreach.
- In a university setting with partnerships between the university and the public schools, a question from the faculty emerges: will it count? Why should we do this? Why me? The application of such faculty work to tenure and promotion is ever-present in faculty members' minds.
- Working with Native Americans is both an opportunity and an obligation. This requires educating deans and other central administration leaders as to both the opportunities and the obligations of the academic programs of the university, especially anthropology's.

COPAA will build upon this discussion in a paper session for the 2010 meetings. The session was one selected for podcasting and readers can readily access the lively discussion that ensued through this link:

<http://sfaapodcasts.net/2009/04/06/the-engaged-university-what-does-it-mean-for-applied-anthropology/>

Best Practices in Developing and Assessing an MA Program in Applied Anthropology

Chair: Robert Rotenberg (DePaul U) Panelists: Lisa Henry (U N Texas) and George (Wolf) Gumerman (N Arizona U)

Abstract: Program assessment has been a part of university administration since the early 1990s. Although the process seems straightforward, programs often dread assessment because of the task of collecting the relevant data. Assessment always involves the measurement of progress toward realizing a program's academic goals. This panel brings together representatives of M.A. programs in applied anthropology in North America to discuss their approaches to program assessment. Beginning with the process of setting out the program's goals in language that is conducive to measure, the panel hopes to discover the best practices for M.A. programs.

This panel brought together representatives of MA programs in applied anthropology in North America to discuss their approaches to program assessment. Panelists explained the process of program assessment at their respective universities and discussion followed about best practices. Although the session did not lead to a final list of best practices, panelists and session attendees gained insight and suggestions about program assessment from the lively discussion.

COPAA Visiting Fellows Program

COPAA is pleased to announce the first recipient of the new COPAA Visiting Fellow Program! The first COPAA Visiting Fellows Program award was received by the Department of Anthropology at the University of South Florida (USF). USF will receive \$1,000 to support the USF proposal that brings J. Schensul and Diane Austin to their campus, Fall 2009, to assist in revitalizing their Center for Applied Anthropology. This COPAA program solicits applications from member departments to enhance partnerships between them and practicing anthropologists. Next year, COPAA will increase the award amount available per year to \$2,000, to cover travel, lodging and provide a modest honorarium for two practicing anthropology partnerships. Application details will be available on the COPAA website in early November. http://www.copaa.info/resources_for_programs/index.htm

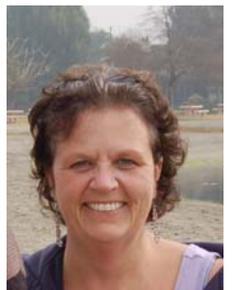
Looking to the Future:

COPAA has a straight-forward mission: To collectively advance the education and training of students, faculty, and practitioners in applied anthropology. Currently the Consortium has 26 member departments. If your department would be interested in participating or if you know of a department where there would be a good fit with this mission, please feel free to contact Linda Bennett, Chair, at lbennett@memphis.edu. In the meantime, please check out the website: www.copaa.info.

Local Practitioner Organizations (LPOs) Section News

Coordinated by Jayne Howell [jhowell@csulb.edu]
California State University-Long Beach

Hope everyone is enjoying the summer. I'm pleased to report that there are great things happening in the LPOs. Please contact me at jhowell@csulb.edu if you have information or announcements to distribute through this newsletter.



SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY NETWORK

Contributed by Gillian Grebler (gggrebler@verizon.net)

The SCAAN Anthropology in Action Film Festival was held in an East LA garden at the end of May. It was a great success and the precursor to future SCAAN film events.

SCAAN will have a start-the-season party on October 4 in Venice CA. It's a perfect opportunity for people to come to their first SCAAN event. SCAAN activities are always informal and new members are always welcome. For information and to get on the SCAAN email list contact gillian grebler at gggrebler@verizon.net

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS

Contributed by P. Stanley Yoder, WAPA President (wapapresident@yahoo.com)

Praxis Award Announcement

The 2009 Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists Praxis Award Competition has generated a record 14 submittals! During August, these entries will be reviewed by the 2009 Praxis Award juror panel of expert anthropologist practitioners: Erve Chambers, Philip Herr, John Mason and Janet Schreiber. The winning nominee will be announced and will receive a cash award of \$1,000 at the end of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology business meeting during the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in December, 2009, in Philadelphia. The award recipient may later be asked to contribute a chapter to future editions of *Anthropological Praxis: Translating Knowledge into Action* (Shirley Fiske and Robert Wulff, eds.).

SfAA Student Committee Column

By Alex Scott Antram [aantram@gmail.com]
University of Texas - San Antonio

Beginning this issue, the SfAA Student Committee will regularly bring you essays from our student anthropologists in each newsletter. Submissions, from 750-1500 words, can be emailed to aantram@gmail.com.

The Student Committee would like to draw attention to the following case involving academics and anthropology. Dr. Janice Harper was an Assistant Professor with the University of Tennessee-Knoxville (UTK). Earlier this year she was denied tenure and eventually fired from her position on July 31, 2009. Dr. Harper's academic specialty deals with the intersection of anthropology and medical/environmental issues. In the course of her tenure evaluation, Dr. Harper was subjected to both Homeland Security and FBI investigations. David Price, a member of the *Network of Concerned Anthropologists*, likens Harper's treatment to the 1950s when mere accusations of communism led to similar harassment (www.counterpunch.org/price08102009.html). Additional investigations by the University of Tennessee's Faculty Senate Appeals Committee (June 15, 2009) have fully exonerated Dr. Harper and state that Dr. Harper was denied a fair tenure evaluation. An online petition has been created calling upon independent bodies such as the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the American Anthropological Association (AAA), and the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) to look into the matter. The online petition is available at <http://www.thepetitionsite.com/11/petition-in-support-of-dr-janice-harper>.



[Editor's Note: See Loewe, this issue, p. for more details on this case.]

Islamophobia Is *Religulous*

By Christopher Sweetapple [christopher.sweetapple@gmail.com]
University of Massachusetts - Amherst

One of the most important and wide-ranging—dare I say fundamental?—cultural debates in America and Western Europe in the age of the War on Terror has focused on Islam and Muslims. With startling overlap, both far-right and leftist-liberal politicians and pundits have expressed serious misgivings about the Muslim presence in Europe and, to a lesser extent, in America. Some of the most sensational events of the decade—the September 11th attacks, the assassination of Theo van Gogh, the civil unrest in France, the London bombings, the Danish cartoon debacle, to name just a few—are taken by these politicians and pundits as evidence of that stubborn neoconservative meme, The Clash of Civilizations. In this context, it is vital for anthropologists to publicly confront the simplistic interpretations of these and other events which ostensibly figure Islam and its practitioners as beyond the pale of Enlightenment values.

Cultural anthropology, along with other disciplinary perspectives and researchers, has analyzed and attempted to intervene in this debate through recourse to a somewhat controversial concept, Islamophobia. That concept seeks to name the sinister representation of and attitudes toward Islam and Muslims embedded in the discourses and practices of the War on Terror as they have percolated throughout the world this decade. Many analysts see the long history of Orientalism and anti-Arab racism in America and Western Europe as the basis for contemporary Islamophobia (Silverstein 2005; Werbner 2005; see also Salaita 2006). However, the intensity of these sinister representations and attitudes has risen dramatically in this decade and has been operationalized into a diverse body of legal and extra-legal measures employed at nearly every level of political organization—from local municipalities to urban and regional organizations all the way to nation-states and supranational bodies like the European Union—for the sake of containing



The Museum of Hagia Sophia Church, Istanbul, Turkey

of Islamophobia still a controversial way to tell the story of this past decade?

Enter Bill Maher and Larry Charles. With their mockumentary film *Religulous*, available this summer on DVD, the “debate” receives another iteration, presenting us with another opportunity to see how criticism of Islam and Muslims can work to reinforce or rearticulate Islamophobia. The value in carefully analyzing this film’s discourse on and depictions of Muslims and Islam lies in the fact that Maher, and Charles, are outspoken liberals. Thus, the film allows us to move beyond the facile association between Islamophobia and the far-right, and it permits us to glimpse just how widespread Islamophobia is even among the “tolerant” left.

The subject of *Religulous* is somewhat hard to pin down. Bill Maher is a well-known American television comic whose “schtick” is famously directed toward religion. Larry Charles is the iconoclastic director of *Borat* (2005) and *Brüno* (2009), among other work in television. *Religulous*, like *Borat*, is a kind of road movie/reality television hybrid. Maher is journeying through the world (well, the US, Western European and Israeli worlds) on a quest of sorts. He doesn’t really present an underlying question which animates his quest, but has more of “snarky” perspective (ie., his) which will bring to light the ridiculous elements of all kinds of religious belief and practice.



French tourists in Essaouira, Morocco

As on his shows, Maher presents himself as an equal-opportunity hater. Christians, Jews, Muslims—none of it makes sense to this rationalist comic, and all of it provides excellent fodder for laughs. But what makes Maher more interesting than a typical comic who pokes fun at the logical inconsistencies of religious belief is his attempt to arrive at, ahem, honest-to-god insight. His television shows, while often a platform for Maher’s crass humor, also include debate among politicians and pundits of many sorts. These debates have fleeting moments of sophistication not found

on other popular American shows of this sort. Maher clearly reads the news and has an inquisitive side. So does *Religulous* present an insightful equal-opportunity religion hater?

Not exactly. The majority of the film tackles various Christians and Christian beliefs for ridicule. But when they turn their gaze toward Islam and Muslims, Maher and Charles wind up regurgitating many of the Orientalist representations of and quasi-racist attitudes toward Muslims, clear signals of Islamophobia.

The majority of the segment in the film which deals with Muslims and Islam takes place in The Netherlands, a phantasmatic front-line of the clash between Western civilization and the Islamic Threat. Maher, sitting in a Dutch coffee house, wonders if “the Dutch are so tolerant that they’re tolerating intolerance?” (1:18). His (White) interlocutor responds, “It’s all about religious fundamentalism. They already killed Theo van Gogh”, to which Maher, blowing out a cloud of pot smoke, responds, “Yeah!” This mini-exchange already points to the problematic logic of guilt by association inherent to Islamophobia. The violence of a person, or even a small group, becomes a proxy for the potential violence of all Muslims, everywhere.

This concern brings him to the streets of Amsterdam, where he debates with a Muslim Dutch lawmaker, Fatima Elatik, in the very spot where Theo van Gogh was murdered. He starts by pointing out that “Lots of people think that free speech goes right up to this point, and then when you’re talking about religion or the prophet, all bets are off”. She starts to reply, saying that “It goes both ways”, before Maher interrupts her to say, “The people who do the killing usually end up on the Muslim side. Do you think that says something about the different *cultures*?” Here, like in most places throughout the film and in Maher’s discourse, religion and culture are conflated in a vulgar manner. And it’s Muslims in this figuration who are the agents of violence.

Moments later, the viewer is treated to a sober, and short, interview with the infamously Islamophobic Dutch politician Geert Wilders who categorically states that “Islam is, according to me, a violent religion, the Qur’an is a violent book, and Muhammad was a violent prophet”. Maher responds with a question: “Do you think Islam wants to take over the world?” to which Wilders replies: “They don’t even make it a secret.” This stunning 30-second sequence condenses the logic of Islamophobia in a surprisingly concise way. First, Wilders’ comment about Islam, the Qur’an and Muhammad each as being violent logically implies that Muslims are violent people, a point Maher seems to have gathered, as seen in his follow-up question. Again, an alarming conflation—“Do you think Islam wants to take over the world?”—of people, culture and religion is on display.

While space concerns prevent me from a micro-analysis of each of the moments Maher treats Muslims and Islam, I think it is fair to say that these moments aggregate in the film to cast a particularly menacing glance on Muslims and Islam, in a film that already starts from the menacing (and factually incorrect) point that religion is the cause of most human violence. Religion is bad, the message goes, but Muslims are the worst and most threatening aspect of that malicious force.

Why is this problematic, and why should anthropologists care? Put simply, the film provides yet another instance in which an important question—How do Islamic and non-Islamic ways of being find harmony in the contemporary West?—takes a back seat to an Islamophobia which masks the social reality of increasingly excluded and targeted Muslim communities. While we should not discount the very real and very important debate about the limits of Enlightenment values in multi-religious and multicultural societies like the US or the Netherlands, neither should we stand by without comment or complaint as popular entertainers, politicians and pundits continue to circulate and ratchet-up Islamophobic discourse. After all, that discourse becomes the fundament upon which both everyday lives are lived and policy and law are written and enacted.

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Practicing Anthropology News

By Ron Loewe [rloewe@csulb.edu]
and
Jayne Howell [jhowell@csulb.edu]
Cal State University-Long Beach

We are about to go to press with the forthcoming Practicing Anthropology issue on digital technology that is guest edited by Krista Harper and Aline Gubrium at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Collectively these articles demonstrate a wide range of ways that anthropologists are combining their expertise with different types of technology for their own research and to benefit communities. Articles by Catherine Sands, Lee Ellen Reed, Krista Harper, and Maggie Shar, and by Margaret Everett (Portland State University), Angie Mejia and Olivia Quiroz discuss the use of photography in projects on children's nutrition in Massachusetts and Oregon respectively. Two submissions deal with the technology behind the construction of digital archives used by communities and researchers: Ray Uehara writes about a Summer Institute of Linguistics database he developed for the Agta in the Philippines. Thad Guldbrandsen and Catherine Amidon of Plymouth State University describe ways the interdisciplinary archive they developed is being used to reconstruct a New Hampshire communities' industrial history. Additionally, Krista Harper writes of her research on environment and health issues that affect Hungarian Romani. Aline Gubrium discusses her use of digital story telling as an educational tool in her classes on health and social justice.



Jonathan West and Kristina Peterson describe how anthropologists used visual media in a workshop with the US government and affected communities in the aftermath of Hurricane Kristina. Our colleague Scott Wilson rounds out this issue with a discussion of trends in visual anthropology.

Call for Nominations: SfAA Sol Tax Distinguished Service Award

Sol Tax provided distinguished service to the field of anthropology. The **Sol Tax Distinguished Service Award**, initiated by the Society for Applied Anthropology in his honor, is to be presented annually to a member of SfAA, in recognition of long-term and truly distinguished service to the Society.

Nominees should be those who have made long-term and exceptional contributions in one or more of the following areas: 1) leadership in organizational structure, activities and policy development; 2) central roles in communication with other disciplines or sub-disciplines; 3) editing and publishing; 4) development of curricula in applied anthropology; 5) formulation of ethical standards of practice; and 6) other innovation activities which promote the goals of the Society and the field of applied anthropology.

Each nomination should include:

- a detailed letter of nomination outlining the distinguished service accomplishments of the candidate
- a curriculum vita
- other pertinent supporting materials.

Nominations are valid for three years from the date of submission. The deadline for receipt of all materials is October 1, 2009. Supporting documents will not be returned unless specifically requested. Please send nominations and five copies of supporting material to:

Society for Applied Anthropology
Attn: Chair, Sol Tax Award Committee
PO Box 2436
Oklahoma City, OK 73101

Telephone: 405/843-5113
Fax: 405/843-8553
Email: info@sfaa.net

The Award winner will be announced at the 2010 SfAA Annual Meeting in Mérida, Yucatán, México and will be invited to offer brief reflections about his/her career.

Please visit the SfAA website at www.sfaa.net to obtain additional information on the Award and prior recipients.

SfAA *Human Organization* (HO) Editor Search **EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, *HUMAN ORGANIZATION***

The Society for Applied Anthropology announces a search for a new Editor-in-Chief of *Human Organization*, a journal that has been recognized as a leading scientific publication in applied anthropology since its founding in 1941. It is published four times annually and is directed toward interdisciplinary as well as anthropological audiences.

The term of the current co-Editor team, David Griffith and Jeff Johnson, ends in December, 2010. The successor's term will begin on January 1, 2011. The search is being initiated now to provide for a smooth transition.

The initial term of service for the new Editor-in-Chief will be three years. The term is renewable for one additional three-year period. The Editor-in-Chief of *Human Organization* also serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

In addition to making at least a three-year commitment to the journal and to serving on the SfAA Executive Committee, candidates for the position should be able to secure release time (where possible) and other institutional support to supplement SfAA resources, constitute an Editorial Board, promote and cultivate the journal, and offer editorial expertise and direction. Additional criteria include:

1. Experience as a journal editor, associate or guest editor, and/or editorial board experience
2. A strong record of publication in applied social sciences
3. A history of involvement in applied social science research/practice

Persons interested in applying for the position should provide the Publications Committee early on with a letter of intent, which can help initiate discussion and provide potential applicants with necessary information.

The actual application should contain the following:

1. A letter of interest that indicates the candidate's experience, ideas, and vision for the journal, and any support (such as release time, space, equipment and editorial assistance) that will be available from the host institution.
2. A letter of support from the institution
3. A copy of the candidate's vita or resume
4. A proposed budget

Additional material may be requested by the Publications Committee at a later date.

The application deadline is October 1, 2009. Applications should be sent to: Society for Applied Anthropology, HO Editor Search, P.O. Box 2436, Oklahoma City, OK 73101-2436. Questions concerning the position can be directed to Nancy Schoenberg, Publications Committee Chair (nesch@uky.edu). We especially encourage interested individuals to contact current editors David Griffith (GRIFFITHD@ecu.edu) and Jeff Johnson (JOHNSONJE@ecu.edu).

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CALL FOR PROPOSALS FOR SEMINAR IN APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

By Nancy Owen Lewis [sfaaproposal@sarsf.org]
Director, Scholar Programs
School for Advanced Research

Proposals are sought for a two-day seminar in applied anthropology to be conducted in 2010 at the School for Advanced Research (SAR) in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in preparation for the plenary session at the 2011 meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA). The resulting manuscript will be submitted to SAR Press for publication in its Advanced Seminar Series.

In keeping with the vision of the Society for Applied Anthropology, topics should employ anthropological perspectives to address specific human problems. Interdisciplinary perspectives are encouraged.

SAR will provide travel support as well as room and board for up to ten participants. Each participant will be expected to contribute a paper, which will be discussed during this two-day session in preparation for the 2011 plenary session and resulting book manuscript. Participants will be responsible for expenses incurred in attending the plenary session at the 2011 SfAA meetings.

Deadline for receipt of proposals is September 15, 2009. Information concerning application procedures, including a cover sheet, is available through the Seminar section of SAR's web site at visit www.sfaaproposal.sarweb.org. For additional inquiries, please contact Nancy Owen Lewis, Director of Scholar Programs, School for Advanced Research, at sfaaproposal@sarsf.org or 505-954-7201.

Applied Anthropology News from Alaska

By Kerry Feldman [afkdf@uaa.alaska.edu]
University of Alaska Anchorage

The summer 2009 volume 7 of the *Alaska Journal of Anthropology* (AJA) will for the first time be devoted to applied research in Alaska. AJA is the journal of the Alaska Anthropological Association [<http://www.alaskaanthropology.org/>]; it has heretofore published primarily about regional CRM topics, prehistoric/historic archaeological and ethnohistorical research regarding Alaska Native topics. However, Anchorage (and Alaska) has over 90 languages from around the world spoken today in residents' homes, with some 28,000 Alaska Natives residing in Anchorage, making it the largest "village" in Alaska. This volume draws attention to those facts, notes that anthropological research in Alaska has ignored the globalizing dimensions of the state, and that anthropology was "applied" at its roots in Alaska; the volume also discusses the strong continuum in Alaska between basic and applied research among professional anthropologists in Alaska.

The University of Alaska Anchorage established an MA degree program in applied anthropology in 1999, with over 20 graduates at present. Subscription information for AJA is found at <http://www.alaskaanthropology.org/> or Fax: (907) 336-0093 to Owen Mason, Editor. The applied essays in this volume are provided below.

1. Applied Cultural Anthropology in Alaska: New Directions ...by Kerry Feldman (University of Alaska Anchorage)

Urban Studies

2. Impressions of Transnational Mexican Life in Anchorage, Alaska: *Acuitzences* in the Far North ...by Raymond Wiest (University of Manitoba)
3. Suitcases Full of *Mole*: Traveling Food and the Connections Between Mexico and Alaska...by Sara V. Komarnisky (University of Manitoba; fall 2009 she will be at University of British Columbia, doctoral program in anthropology)
4. Towards Integrative Planning for Climate Change Impacts on Rural-Urban Migration in Interior Alaska: A Role for Anthropological and Interdisciplinary Perspectives...by Alison M Meadow, Chandra L. Meek and Shannon M. McNeeley (University of Alaska Fairbanks)

Applied Rural and Urban Studies

5. Alaska Native Elders' Views of Abuse: The Tradition of Harmony, Respect and Listening...by Kathy Graves, Louise Shavings and Elizabeth Rose (Alaska Native researchers, non-anthropologists)
6. Measurable Benefits of Traditional Food Customs in the Lives of Rural and Urban Alaska Iñupiaq Elders...by Janell Smith et al. (Alaska organizations and Florida International University)
7. Harvested Food Customs and their Influences on Valuable Functioning of Alaska Native Elders...by Janell Smith et al. (primarily nutritionists, Alaska organizations and Florida International University)
8. The Boundaries of Inclusion for Iñupiat Experiencing Disability in Alaska ... by Travis Hedwig (University of Alaska Anchorage, MA thesis, now in the doctoral medical program at the University of Kentucky)
9. Breastfeeding Decisions among Lower Socio-Economic Hispanic Women in Anchorage, Alaska: The Need for a Holistic Perspective ...by Belkis M Márin Carillo (University of Alaska Anchorage, MA thesis)

High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology Announcement for Annual Conference and Retreat

It's that time of year again, when we prepare for the annual retreat to Ghost Ranch in Abiquiu, NM. A time for relaxation, reflection and surely stimulating conversations across a range of issues, the Ghost Ranch retreat is an opportunity for us to come together to plot a course for the following year and beyond.

The spectacular natural beauty of the area, and the storied history of the Ghost Ranch (learn more here: <http://www.ghost ranch.org/about-us/history.html>) make the annual retreat a special event. Last year's retreat brought the best attendance on record and included a suite of excellent presentations from Northern Arizona University students and others. The general schedule for the event is as follows: arrival and registration will take place on Friday, with an evening session of presentations by students as well as ample time for socializing and reconnecting with other members. A morning session of presentations is scheduled for Saturday, with a closed board meeting on Saturday afternoon. Saturday afternoon is an open time for non-board members to take in the sights of the area, while Saturday evening will be capped with another session of presentations. Sunday will include a short session of presentations followed by an open membership discussion with the board from 10:00-11:30. The weekend activities end by noon on Sunday (though lunch is an option for those interested) as we depart refreshed and reinvigorated for another year of growth for the Society.

Proposals for presentations should be sent to Rich Stoffle <rstoffle@email.arizona.edu> as soon as possible. Registration intentions and funding should be sent to Merun Nasser <merun@worldnet.att.net>, please use the form provided on the website at: <http://hpsfaa.org/>. As a reminder, accommodations at Ghost Ranch are simple, yet comfortable. You have the option of camping, renting a space in a dorm-style room (detached bath), or having your own room with bath attached. **Please fill out the form** and mail it in by **September 7th** to give you the best chance of getting the housing of your choice. If you have questions, contact Rich Stoffle at <rstoffle@email.arizona.edu>.

See you at Ghost Ranch!

Academic Freedom and the Case of Janice Harper

By Ron Loewe [rloewe@csulb.edu]
California State University-Long Beach

By now many readers may have heard about the case of Dr. Janice Harper, the assistant professor at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville who was recently denied tenure largely, if not officially, on the basis of "collegiality." Discussion of the Harper case has been reported in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (<http://forums.chronicle.com/section/Academic-Freedom/10/>) and, more recently, in *Counterpunch* (<http://www.counterpunch.org/price08102009.html>). While cases in which a professor is denied tenure are not generally newsworthy, this case has received growing attention because it not only raises questions about gender equity, but serious questions about academic freedom and the ability of anthropologists to work on sensitive issues

such as nuclear energy and the military. Discussion of this topic is especially important and timely given the participation of anthropologists in the Human Terrain System and the nexus between anthropology, areas studies departments and the Department of Defense via the Minerva Research Initiative, a fifty million dollar government grants program for scholars working in global "hot spots."

From the outset I should note that this article is not intended to present an argument in favor or against tenure, or even a comprehensive summary of the case. This is impossible at this time. Janice Harper currently has multiple lawsuits against UTK pending; consequently, anyone who discusses the case is subject to subpoena, and the principals in this case are unlikely to go on record. Instead, this article - based on a discussion with Janice Harper, a UTK Faculty Senate Appeals Committee Report (June 15, 2009), and a complaint filed in the Knoxville District Court - is intended to argue that this case should be investigated by professional organizations such as the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association or, preferably, by a joint commission. In brief, there are three reasons that this case needs to be looked into. First of all, tenure denial based largely on collegiality is always somewhat suspicious. Quoting the American Association of University Professors' Handbook, the UTK Faculty Senate report notes: that the criterion of collegiality "'poses several dangers' such as ensuring homogeneity, and hence with practices that exclude persons on the basis of their difference from a perceived norm" and that the "invocation of 'collegiality' may also threaten academic freedom" (AAUP Policy 10th Ed., Oct. 26, 2006, pp. 39-40).

In the present case the invocation of collegiality is particularly suspicious because: a) examples of non-collegial behavior were never documented by the department chair or any other source, b) before reversing himself, the Dean of the College had stated that the criteria of collegiality would not be used to determine tenure, c) spurious emails alleging misconduct, and "threats to national security," were added to Dr. Harper's file during the review process and remained in her file even after she was cleared by the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security of any wrongdoing, and, finally, d) the candidate had a very strong publication record, so other grounds for denying tenure would have been extremely problematic. Indeed, at the beginning of section two of the faculty senate report, the authors write "the Committee would like to observe that this case creates the unmistakable impression that the outcome was decided by all parties in the University hierarchy long before the tenure application was ever filed, and the various entities along the way simply tried to find grounds to justify the desired conclusion of denying Dr. Harper tenure (Faculty Senate Appeals Committee, June 15, 2009, pp. 4-5).

On a more personal level I would note that in twelve years of college teaching I have met many exceptionally curious and intelligent people who deserve every penny they earn. Included in this group, however, is a large number of the most stubborn, irascible, annoying, petulant, argumentative, uncongenial and non-collegial people I have met in my life. In fact, it wasn't until I begin teaching at the university that I really came to understand Freud's concept of the fetishism of small differences. Faculty meetings drag on forever as people fight over the most trivial things. Therefore, while collegiality sounds nice, it is no more than a utopian ideal in the contemporary university. In any case, society needs a place to store the irascible college professor. What better place than a university? Secondly, and more seriously, while the involvement of local law enforcement, the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security, in Harper's opinion, resulted from rumors generated *within* the university (e.g., retaliation for complaining about gender discrimination) rather than from *without*, the fact that these agencies did become involved points to the vulnerability of all anthropologists who are interested in examining politically sensitive issues. Despite being thoroughly investigated and officially cleared by the agencies involved, UTK terminated her research on the disposal of depleted uranium for the remainder of her employment, and cast a shadow over Dr. Harper which makes it impossible for her to continue her research even in a different venue. As Harper writes:

"I cannot go to any weapons internet site or access any information on uranium, depleted uranium, nuclear science, weapons production or anything similar -- which would be needed to bring my work up to date for publication -- without risking being red-flagged and my computer monitored yet again. I have found my computer "corrupted" by third parties three times in the last year. Yet I have never broken the law nor violated any ethical standards."

In short, as anthropologists and others during the McCarthy era discovered, the truth or falsity of accusations seldom makes much of a difference. Once the accusations have been made it is very difficult for individuals to clear their names. And while professional organizations cannot and should not investigate every case in which a member is denied tenure, professional organizations have the ability and, I would argue, the responsibility to investigate cases in which legitimate research is blocked and academic freedom is jeopardized.

Thirdly, there are unresolved questions of gender equity that need to be investigated. The complaint filed by Dr. Harper in the Knoxville District Court contains charges of sexual harassment and retaliation for reporting this behavior. These issues will be decided by the court. However, if we examine the larger picture, as Eric Ross does in an *Society for Applied Anthropology*

article in *Salon Magazine*,

(http://open.salon.com/blog/eric_ross/2009/08/26/inquisition_in_knoxville_the_case_of_dr_janice_harper), we find that there is a large disparity between men and women when it comes to hiring and promotion at the University of Tennessee. Quoting a report published in 2001 by the University of Tennessee's Commission for Women, Ross notes that "Women comprise only 29% of all UT faculty and only about 20% of these are tenured." Since 2001, the situation has, reportedly, improved; however, the fact that Department of Anthropology has tenured only two women since it was founded in 1947, and currently has no tenured women faculty should raise some eyebrows. Given the fact that Dr. Harper was a strong and vocal advocate for increasing the number of women faculty at UTK, perhaps the AAA Commission on the Status of Women in Anthropology should also take a look at this case.

A petition in support of Dr. Harper has been set up at <http://www.thepetitionsite.com/11/petition-in-support-of-dr-janice-harper>, and defense committee is being set up. People interested in contributing to the defense committee should contact Dr. Eric Ross at ross@iss.nl.

Note: The official reason the provost gave for denying tenure was that Dr. Harper's publications "failed to manifest themselves in print"; however, a review of academic record, her letters of support, and the UTK Faculty Senate Report render this claim laughable.

From The Editor...

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With each passing year teaching and working at NC State University, and this is my 35th, I become more and more aware of the importance of patterns. My early reading of Ruth Benedict's, *Patterns of Culture*, keeps ringing in my head and is a theme I use incessantly in my field school for apprentice ethnographers. In addition to patterns that enfold through the beginnings and on to the ends in shorter patterns (cycles), such as the annual academic term, there are longer cycles, like those associated with the passage from freshman status to graduation. Then, there are longer patterns. One of them is the human life cycle. At 64 I can see more clearly now how those longer patterns are parts of even more complex patterns. Doctors, for example, can better see some of the recurring patterns within the patterns that are part of human life cycle. Historians might be able to see patterns of even broader larger cycles that affect the human experience. Anthropologists are experienced in seeing patterns in society that are nearly invisible to others.



It is very hard, nevertheless, for one trained in such an achievement-oriented, goal-seeking society as the one in which I grew up to move beyond the concept of time as linear. Apparently, our pre-European ancestors in the Western Hemisphere were less troubled by this as they rejected a linear view of time and history. The Maya, for example, had three, complex, interlocking calendars that, although reflecting a long view of time, nevertheless, ran in cycles. The year 2012 is supposed to be the end of one of those cycles. Will there be major changes or catastrophes occurring a mere two years from now? Who knows? All we can be sure of is that our individual world, and our society and our planet, as well as the rest of the celestial bodies are moving in patterns. The only thing we don't know is exactly how each of these patterns will play out.

In this August 2009 issue, the authors' contributions serve as guides in understanding patterns that affect them and the Others they have studied. Their work will assist us in better interpreting our own, personal patterns and cycles. For example, Phil Young, for example, gives a glimpse of the journeys he has had and that of the Panamanian Ngöbe people he has been working with for decades. In John-Henry Pffiferling's paper we can see the broad patterns associated with physician's personalities. His paper is an interesting reversal for us, as he see our doctors in the role of patient and they are forced to see him in the role of healer. In the lives of Hank Dobyms, Ned Hall and Rhoda Halperin, there are many patterns in their lives that can illuminate our own. Anthropology is unique, I believe, because, more than other disciplines, it enables us to wear the lenses that allow us to see patterns that are invisible to many. Returning to my field school for a moment, as students pass through the cycle of the field school, the successful apprentice is one who gets their lenses fitted so they can see patterns. Putting on these lenses is hard, somewhat like the adjustment it takes to beginning wearing glasses full time after passing one's 40th birthday. Once you get used to them, however, it is hard to see the world any differently.

I hope you enjoy this issue and find knowledge in the patterns the authors reveal through their work. I am sure many of you are beginning one of those shorter cycles this time of year, such as the return to teaching or to studying or perhaps to your children's return to school. This issue will remind us that there are other, longer patterns and cycles that affect us throughout our lives, and, that just maybe, the trials and tribulations of starting over are really not all that bad. It is just normal!

Since starting a new cycle is usually associated with a busy schedule and lots of activity, I am especially grateful to the contributors to this issue for their willingness to share their wisdom and insight from their experiences and understandings of the patterns of life. I also want to thank my colleague, Carla Pezzia, for her invaluable help, not only in putting this newsletter together, but in her sharing her time, insights and ideas with me in the anthropological endeavor.



Carla Pezzia, Assistant Editor

Please note, if you would like to share your own insights and patterns with your friends and colleagues of SfAA, please send me your work and your news items for the November 2009 issue by November 8th.

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