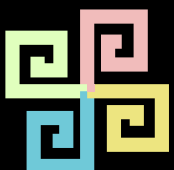


STUDENT ANTHROPOLOGIST



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From the Editor

“the way forward...by embracing technological advancement while holding on to historical nuance”

I am happy to report that after several years of a limited existence, the Student Anthropologist is more robust than ever. In this edition our readers will find sixteen different works, including original research articles, think pieces, photo commentaries, and book reviews written by up-and-coming, young anthropologists. As the National Association of Student Anthropologists' flagship, peer-reviewed journal, the Student Anthropologist is guided by the thematic and theoretical interests of students, offering scholars of any level or subfield an opportunity to voice their perspectives. This edition includes topics as wide-ranging as dance heritage management (Valleroy; Creek), subsistence strategies of small-scale farmers (Morrill & King), and a philosophical exploration of the words and theoretical frames we use to conceptualize our very existence (Hansch). With a geographic spread from Australia to Bangladesh to Nepal to Iceland and closer to home in Chicago, the 2018/2019 issue includes methodological reflections (Husain; Winful; Forbes) balanced by ethnographic insights (Walters; Walters; Hurley) and poignant reviews of the provocative new titles released by more advanced scholars (Commerer; Heffernan; Mylin; Mittal; McMillen; Martinez). The student authors in this issue also cover an impressive theoretical breath from strategies of neoliberal city-making to the political economy of tourism, touching on the ethics of fieldwork at home after a long absence and the way forward for the discipline by embracing technological advancement while holding on to historical nuance. We hope that our readers will enjoy the glimpse these articles provide into the topics and issues that will continue to rise in the field over the next decades as young scholars, such as those showcased here, move forward in academia and beyond.

This issue would not have been possible without the tireless work of several individuals, particularly Interim Editor Stephanie Mojica. Along with Peer Review Editor Alexea Howard and Book Review Editor Elizabeth Holdsworth, Stephanie was the rejuvenating force the SA needed to get back off the ground. The work I have done this year finalizing the edition is fully indebted to these three women's persistence and dedication. I would also like to thank Design Editor Daisy Li for her creative technical skills, allowing us to publish the issue after long delays. Finally, we at the SA are grateful for the support and advice we have received from the AAA Publishing Board, particularly Director Janine McKenna.

I hope all our readers enjoy this edition and stay tuned for the 2019/2020 issue coming early next year.

Bridget Kelly, Editor
Central European University

From the Interim Editor

“varied gender, ethnic, cultural, racial, and religious identities...from several countries around the world”

I am honored to be part of the relaunched Student Anthropologist journal. It was a massive undertaking but a fulfilling one.

I would like to thank my predecessor, Dick Powis, for his training and mentorship even though he was busy in the field. The editors who worked under me — Book Editor Elizabeth Holdsworth and Peer Review Editor Alexea Howard — were very patient and dedicated. I would not have been able to get nearly as much done without them. Thank you so much.

I would also like to thank current Editor Bridget Kelly for her patience and willingness to wrap up this issue.

Also, special thanks to Design Editor Daisy Li, the American Anthropological Association (especially Publications Director Janine McKenna), the National Association of Student Anthropologists, and SA's peer reviewers.

My goal for the relaunched SA journal was to have a mix of academic articles, book reviews, commentaries, and photo essays. Countless hours were spent advertising the myriad opportunities SA offers as well as reviewing each submission.

I am proud to be part of the diversity of this issue of SA. Our authors have varied gender, ethnic, cultural, racial, and religious identities and come from several countries around the world.

I hope to be part of SA in the future, and thanks for your continued support.

Stephanie Mojica, Interim Editor

De Montfort University

Author Biographies

Christa Mylin

Christa Mylin is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Albany, State University of New York. Her research interests include examining how perspectives on gender are connected to understandings of sexuality within religion. Her current dissertation research involves analyzing conflicts in Christian churches in North American that revolve around the roles women should and should not have in the church. These viewpoints are also connected to wider conversations in the United States about sexuality and gender performance among Christians.

Ashima Mittal

Ashima Mittal is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Anthropology in the University of Chicago, Illinois. Her research interest includes understanding the intersections between the production of scientific knowledge, emergent forms of life and governance practices. Her work revolves around studying the politics of outsourced clinical trials in the global south.

Kyle McMillen

Kyle McMillen is a doctoral candidate in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Riverside. Within his program--Education, Society, and Culture--Kyle examines how inequalities are reproduced in the U.S. education system. Specifically, Kyle examines how gender inequities reproduce themselves in educational settings; namely, how aspects of masculinity and heteronormativity are normalized in school-sanctioned activities like school dances.

Emily Creek

Emily Creek is a M.A. Candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Denver. She focuses on cultural anthropology and her research interest includes dance anthropology, Iceland, Scandinavia, globalization, heritage management through art, and place-making. Emily is also interested in visual anthropology and using new technologies to disseminate data. She currently runs the social media accounts for the University of Denver Department of Anthropology. It is her hope that the field of anthropology will be at the forefront of technology and through such, reach a wider audience.

Hilary King

Hilary King (17PhD) is a cultural anthropologist and the Sustainable Development Postdoctoral Fellow in Emory University's Master's in Development Practice. Her work focuses on community food systems in Mexico and the United States. She is passionate about building equitable access to healthy, sustainably-grown food and to the collective work that makes that possible.

Jared Commerer

Jared Commerer is a Ph.D. Student in the Department of Anthropology at Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand) and a Research Assistant at the Stout Centre for New Zealand Studies. His honor's research examined notions of interdisciplinarity and critical theory in the sub-field of medical anthropology, and his master's thesis, completed in 2016, involved working alongside Eritrean refugees residing in Wellington, New Zealand—the aim of which was to understand and explain the causes, experiences, and effects of extreme nationalism and political violence as they transpire throughout, and beyond, the small, modernising nation that is Eritrea. Jared's doctoral research is centred on the theorisation of anthropological theorising and his general academic interests include interdisciplinarity, metatheory, the sociology of knowledge, social theory and theorising, and the intersection of anthropological theory and critical realist philosophy. For more information visit www.critique-criticism.com

Meg Forbes

Meg Forbes is a PhD candidate with the Community Futures Research Team at the University of Southern Queensland in Australia. Meg is an anthropology and psychology graduate, whose interests include ethnography, the use of yarning as a research method, and photography. Meg's doctoral research draws on both anthropology and psychology to explore the relationship between the memorialisation of post-colonial heritage by regional and remote Aboriginal communities in South West Queensland, and social and emotional wellbeing.

Valerie Morrill

Valerie Morrill is a Masters student in the Department of Epidemiology at Johns Hopkins University. Her research interests include sustainable food, food safety, and genetic epidemiology.

Matt M. Husain

Matt M. Husain completed his Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of British Columbia Okanagan (UBCO). His research interest includes Economic Globalization, Development Aid, and Migration. Times Higher Education recognizes Matt's research conducted on the privatized higher education institutions in Bangladesh. Matt is a sessional instructor at UBCO, where he teaches courses on Economic Anthropology, Ethnography of Development, Introduction to Globalization, and Development and Migration.

Tessa Valleroy

Tessa Valleroy is a senior at the University of Missouri, who will be graduating in May 2019 with bachelor's degrees in Anthropology and Biological Sciences. Tessa has participated in a variety of research experiences and looks forward to a career in forced climate migration studies and public relations.

Timothy Heffernan

Timothy Heffernan is a doctoral candidate in the sociology and anthropology program at the University of New South Wales, Australia. As a trained social anthropologist, Tim has experience working with family groups in Reykjavík, Iceland and Australian Indigenous communities in the state of New South Wales. Tim's research interests include ethnicity, kinship and belonging, crisis and aftermath, post-colonialism, and southern theory. Prior to commencing graduate studies, Tim was employed in the Higher Education, Research, and Government sectors and is currently a casual Lecturer and Teaching Assistant in the sociology and anthropology program at the University of New South Wales. Bringing together his research interests and employment experience, Tim teaches a course on the decolonisation of social science research methods to final year undergraduate anthropology students.

Taiye Winful

Taiye Winful is a MA candidate in the Department of Anthropology at The University of North Carolina Charlotte. With backgrounds in both molecular biology and anthropology her research interests include African American diversity, disease adaptation, health disparities, and biocultural approaches.

Winful is a Future Ph.D. candidate who hopes to study salt sensitivity susceptibility in African Americans.

Jill L. Hurley

Jill L. Hurley was born and raised in Texas but completed her undergraduate work at Eastern New Mexico University in Portales, NM, with bachelor's degrees in Religion and in Anthropology. Her undergraduate thesis was on race and racism at ENMU, a Hispanic serving institution. Jill is particularly interested in the processes of constructing and deconstructing culture, and more specifically where and how faith intersects those processes. She recently graduated with a master's degree in Theological and Cultural Anthropology from Eastern University in St. Davids, PA. Her most recent fieldwork was completed in Nepal in 2017, where she focused on the Anthropology of Christianity, specifically looking at conversion from Hinduism to Christianity. Jill hopes to bring her love for the world and faith, both in their beautiful complexity and diversity, to students in the near future.

Jolen Martinez

Jolen Martinez is an undergraduate student at Rice University, where he is studying anthropology and history. His current work examines the politicoethical frameworks that undergird interpersonal intelligibility and value formation, from which he hopes to understand new forms of power amidst contemporary neoliberalism. As a Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellow, his research interests are related to political subjectivity and imaginaries within historical and ethical contexts. These interests include: social movements and revolutions in Latin America and the Middle East/North Africa, reformulations of power among social services in post-industrial societies, and climate security and resilience in vulnerable flood zones. Martinez is currently working on a project that deals with relations of ethics surrounding subjects of homelessness and techniques of power within homeless organizations in urban space.

Jakob Hanschu

Jakob Hanschu is an undergraduate student at Kansas State University where he majors in anthropology and geography with a minor in statistics. He has served as a teaching assistant for both biological and cultural anthropology classes and recently co-founded the undergraduate journal *Live Ideas*, which will be published through the Primary Texts program at K-State. His research interests include archaeological theory, multispecies studies, new materialisms, and the theory and practice of interpretation.

Noah Walters

Noah Walters recently received dual bachelor's degrees in Anthropology and Political Science from Loyola University Chicago. His research interests include class identity, culinary tourism, coffee, and religion in local and inter-governmental politics. As a barista at a local coffee shop, Noah connected his work with his academic interests to study the growing coffee culture in Chiang Mai, Thailand and Culinary Tourism in Chicago. Currently, Noah is a TAPIF awardee in Dijon, France. He plans to pursue a Ph.D. in anthropology.

Economic Challenges for Atlanta's Small Farmers: Creating a Financially Sustainable Local Food Supply

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Abstract

Recent decades have led to increased interest in geographically localized food production and consumption systems as a means of supplying healthy food and strengthening local economies. A major pillar of this economic-strengthening is the idea that more direct markets support the development of viable, small-scale farm businesses. However, literature has increasingly shown that even direct sales may prove challenging as an avenue to economic viability for small-scale farmers. This paper contributes to this literature through an examination of market perceptions and pricing strategies used by small-scale farmers engaged in direct sales opportunities. Interviews with nine farm owners and managers, as well as three leaders of local food initiatives, revealed the creative strategies that small-scale food producers use to mitigate costs, set prices and convey the value of their products. Though farmers employ these creative strategies to make ends meet, their ability to become viable businesses is limited by the scope of current opportunities available within Atlanta's local food system, primarily farmers' markets and Community-Supported Agriculture. In order for local food production to provide viable livelihoods for small-scale farmers, Atlanta's local food infrastructure may need to support small-scale farmers' access to more diverse direct-market opportunities.

Key words: local food, farmers markets, economic viability

In recent decades, American consumers have increasingly looked to locally produced fruits and vegetables as a means of adding fresh and healthy items to their plate and diets. Locally produced foods are also touted as a means of supporting local economies in the face of globalized industry (Gale 1997). In response, local food distribution options like farmers' markets and Community-Supported Agriculture (CSA) initiatives have proliferated and expanded across the country in the past 20 years (United States Department of Agriculture 2015). These measures of expansion provide opportunities for growing numbers of farmers to participate in local food systems.

However, as local food economies grow in cities across the United States, there has also

been increased attention to the difficulties that small-scale farmers face in becoming economically viable. This study investigates various factors that small-scale farmers consider in selling local produce in Atlanta, Georgia, ranging from their perceptions of what limits prices for produce, the methods farmers utilize to lessen their cost of production and strategies utilized for setting prices at the market. These considerations by farmers speak to the real and perceived barriers in creating sustainable livelihoods for small-scale farmers dependent on direct-to-consumer sales through farmers' markets and CSAs. Their strategies and concerns shed light on the limitations of direct-to-consumer, local food system initiatives in Atlanta, Georgia that may

impact the ability of these systems to support farmers in the future.

This paper reviews existing literature to situate Atlanta's local food economy within global and local food systems' trends. For the purpose of this study, we considered local food to be food that is sold at farmers' markets in the Atlanta metro area and produced by farmers all located within 250 miles of Atlanta. The paper draws on semi-structured interviews to show how local farmers work to creatively navigate the markets in Atlanta's existing direct-to-consumer outlets and the strategies that farmers use to maintain profitable exchanges at farmers' markets. Issues considered include farmer perceptions of the cost of local food, strategies to mitigate costs of production, and tactics to set prices at farmers' markets. Lastly, the paper considers alternative avenues for farmers engaged in direct-to-consumer sales that may ameliorate some of the challenges they face in these arenas. These alternatives may broaden the possibilities for small-scale farmers to expand into markets that do not require the continued use of the strategies that they currently employ and may increase their own perception of their economic viability.

The Expansion of Direct-to-Consumer Local Food Economies

In the past 25 years, local food economies have emerged as alternatives to the increasingly, industrialized food system (Alkon and Agyeman 2014; Pollan 2006). Alternative food systems respond to growing trends toward global integration, economic consolidation and environmental degradation (Feenstra 2002). Although no singular definition of "local" exists, initiatives that promote local food often aim to connect food producers and consumers in the same geographic region (Feenstra 2002). In addition, local food economies may support eating food that is fresh, organic and supplied by small farms (Halweil 2002). One of the main benefits of eating locally, as touted by Michael Pollan, a renowned advocate of food-system re-localization, is keeping small-scale farmers in business (Pollan 2006).

Prominent expansions of local food economies include the proliferation of farmers' markets and CSA programs across the country (Adam 2006). Although difficult to calculate, the number of farmers' markets, CSA's and the share of local food sales in the

US have been steadily increasing according to the USDA and other nongovernmental organizations. The number of farmers' markets rose to 5,274 in 2009, up from 2,756 in 1998 and 1,755 in 1994, according to USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service (United States Department of Agriculture 2017). In 2012, U.S. Department of Agriculture data indicated that 12,617 farms in the United States reported utilizing a Community-Supported Agriculture (CSA) arrangement to market their goods (Woods 2017). This is a huge increase from earlier estimates. In 2005, there were 1,144 Community-Supported Agriculture organizations (CSAs) in operation, up from 400 in 2001 and two in 1986, according to a study by the nonprofit, nongovernmental organization National Center for Appropriate Technology (Adam 2006). In early 2010, estimates exceeded 1,400, but the number could be much larger (Pollack 2010).

As the number of farmers' markets and CSA's have increased, so has the market share of local food, or direct-to-consumer sales of food from farmer to consumer. Direct-to-consumer sales accounted for 0.4 percent of total agricultural sales in 2007, up from 0.3 percent in 1997. If nonedible products are excluded from total agricultural sales, direct-to-consumer sales accounted for 0.8 percent of agricultural sales in 2007 (Pollack 2010).

The economic benefits of these innovations are well documented. For example, investment in farmers markets is attributed with job creation. One study suggests that on average, growers selling directly to consumers create 13 full time jobs per \$1 million in profit, compared to growers that do not sell directly to consumers, which create only 3 (Feenstra 2003). An Iowa study estimated that 140 full time jobs were created in one year due to farmers' market activity in that state alone (Bragg 2010). A second study out of South Carolina estimates that between 257 and 361 full time jobs were created due to farmers market activity (Hughes 2015).

Farmers markets are also credited with boosting local economies. Many consumers' practices of shopping at their local farmers' market is driven by a desire to support local economies (Williams 2014). Studies from individual farmers' markets in Pennsylvania (Market Umbrella 2011), Iowa (Otto 2005), and Portland (Yosick 2009) suggest that farmers'-market shoppers also spend money

at nearby businesses, resulting in millions of dollars per year in economic activity. Two studies out of Iowa (Otto 2005) and Oklahoma (Hughes 2015) estimate that every dollar spent at a farmers' market leads to an additional \$0.58-\$1.36 spent at other nearby businesses. These studies suggest that local food economies can have a profound economic impact.

Challenges for Local Farmers in Expanding Local Food Economies

Questions remain, however, regarding the extent to which this growth results in viable and sustainable livelihoods for small-scale farmers. Though their sales outlets may have expanded, many farmers experience increased competition from conventional grocery stores, low profit margins, and difficulty reaching customers, particularly in rural areas.

As demand for local food has grown, "local" food has become a more popular option at grocery stores as well as at farmers' markets across the nation (Adam 2006). This expansion has created increasing challenges for many farmers seeking to make a living through direct-to-consumer sales. As these products are made available in conventional locations, the meaning of local food may be change from what consumers expect as retailers focus only on geography rather than support for farm businesses (Abatekassa & Peterson, 2011). When foods grown by farmers within a specific region are sold as local at Kroger or Whole Foods, consumers may opt for those outlets rather than making a special trip to the farmers' market.

While farmers' markets are economically beneficial for communities, farmers selling at farmers' markets often have low profit margins. Farmers' income from selling directly to consumers is relatively small and limited to markets in urban areas (Feenstra 1997). For example, only 30% of farmers at Iowa farmers' markets reported annual sales greater than \$5,000 (Otto 2008). This suggests that making a living wage from solely selling products at farmers' markets is not economically viable for the vast majority of farmers.

In rural areas, many farmers' markets fail because of consumer's lack of access. Proximity to the farmers' market is an important factor for consumers. Most farmers' market shoppers live within one mile of the market, and residents who live in

the same neighborhood as the market are more likely to become repeat shoppers (Kirwan 2004). For rural markets, lack of proximity is a barrier to attendance.

In many urban areas, farmers struggle to make a profit because they are being stretched too thin across multiple markets. In cities such as Seattle and San Francisco, consumers want a farmers' market in every neighborhood (Zezima 2011). However, this number of farmers' markets may surpass demand from consumers, particularly as other options for procuring local food expand. This means that farmers must attend more markets per week to make the same profit as they did a few years ago, reducing the time spent in the field (Zezima 2011). While adding a farmers' market may seem beneficial for consumers, it is important to consider whether local farmers can shoulder the burden of more time spent at markets.

Given these challenges, it is important to consider farmers' actual experiences and strategies when it comes to pricing their goods at markets, as well as their perceptions of the limitations and challenges that they face. Examinations of farmers' concerns and their strategies shed light on both the possibilities and challenges that they face in running farm businesses and selling directly to consumers.

Methods

This study gathered data on different factors related to how farmers price their products at farmers' markets through semi-structured interviews. Nine farmers and three leaders in Atlanta's local food movement were interviewed about how they price their products and run their businesses. All of the interviews were with farmers that produce fruits and vegetables, and some with additional products like meat or flowers. None are producers of value-added products. All farmer interviews below are anonymized but drawn directly from transcriptions of interviews with Atlanta small-scale farmers that sold produce at Atlanta farmers' markets (Table 1). During the 30-45-minute semi-structured phone interview, verbal consent was obtained, and interviewees were asked to describe how they set their prices, and their opinion on the resources, challenges and limitations farmers in Atlanta face. The interviews were recorded using QuickTime Player, and the audio files were

stored on a password protected laptop. The audio was transcribed and coded to identify themes that existed across interviews.

Title	Gender	Farm Size	Products Sold
Owner, Manager	Male	2 acres	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables
Part Owner, Manager	Male	11 acres	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables Livestock Value Added Products
Owner, Manager	Male	¼ acre	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables Herbs Mushrooms
Owner, Manager	Male	20 acres	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables Eggs
Owner, Manager	Female	1,100 acres	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables Beef Pork
Former Sales Manager	Male	8 acres	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables Chicken Eggs
Manager	Female	16,000 acres	Grass-fed animals Diversified Fruits and Vegetables Value Added Products
Owner, Manager	Female	3 acres	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables Eggs Flowers
Manager	Female	9 acres	Diversified Fruits and Vegetables

For expanded context, three interviews were undertaken with people that are knowledgeable about alternative models for local food sales. These included a Founding Director of the Common Market Georgia, the Executive Director of Global Growers, and a Doctoral Candidate in Anthropology with related research taking place in Iowa. The Common Market Georgia and Global Growers are Atlanta-based alternative models of food production which employ some degree of aggregating produce as a part of their business model. These interviews were

conducted in the same manner but focused on the benefits and problems of selling local food outside of farmers’ markets and other direct-to-consumer outlets.

This study had many strengths and limitations. One strength is that we were able to interview 12 experts in Atlanta’s local food economy, a large sample size for a two-month study. However, interviewees were typically from small urban farms rather than larger rural farms. This means that the interview study is only generalizable among these types of farms. Further research should include interviews with larger, rural farms as well as a price study for Atlanta’s local food to determine how prices of local food compare to prices of food sold in other outlets.

Findings and Discussion

The findings of this study are divided into four parts: farmer strategies for reducing their cost of production, farmers’ strategies for setting prices at markets, farmers’ perceptions of the limitations of farmers’ markets and CSAs, and lastly, farmers’ perceptions of how local food is valued by consumers. These areas move from individualized micro practices and concerns to farmers’ visions about the broader possibilities of direct-to-consumer sales.

Farmer Strategies to Mitigate Cost of Production

Farmers in the study are aware that they need to keep prices competitive with other markets while also trying to cover their own labor costs. In interviews they stressed taking on many roles, self-exploitation, diversifying products, and extending their growing seasons as strategies to increase their earnings. However, these strategies are hindered by the fact that many farmers have no means of accurately estimating their actual cost of production.

Performing Many Roles

Reducing labor costs often forces owners of small farms to take on responsibilities that take their focus away from agriculture itself. In order to decrease labor costs, many of the farm owners interviewed performed many roles, including accounting, managing, and marketing. In many cases, marketing took place online, a low-cost way to reach many people at once. Each of the farmers

interviewed ran their own website, most had Facebook pages, and a few had Instagram and Twitter pages. Some of the many marketing responsibilities taken on by one farm owner included "in-store product demos, brochures and pamphlets, recipes, videos which are posted to our YouTube page, newsletters and blogs, meeting chefs and meeting distributors and giving them tours of our farm." Taking on all of these responsibilities on top of managing a farm places a heavy burden on the farm owner.

Diversifying Products to Sell More to Consumers

All farmers interviewed owned highly diversified farms, selling many different types of products. One farmer discussed the importance of diversification in order to not "limit yourself to one source of income." Another farmer discussed how diversification gives customers, who are often drawn in by the appearance of "abundance," a better experience. Many farmers sold value-added products along with their produce. For example, one sells seedlings from a greenhouse and another sells mushrooms.

Extending Season

Interviewed farmers used strategies to extend the length of time they can sell products at farmers' markets. They used hoop houses, in-ground storage, and plastic over the beds to extend their seasons. One interviewed farmer uses an aquaponic system to grow tomatoes during the winter. Other farmers try to make enough money during the season that they can take the winter off. Farm owners at the Decatur Farmers' Market named weather as the biggest barrier to selling more products throughout the year. Others noted that the cold weather also makes sales difficult because customers are less likely to attend outdoor markets in the cold and they get sick of the food choices.

Using Self Exploitation to Subsidize Prices

For several farmers, reducing their own earnings or altering their standard of living was a primary strategy for mitigating costs. In some cases, especially among new farmers, farmers take a cut of their salary out to subsidize the price of their products. Beginning farmers were quick to defend their prices by mentioning their low standard of

living or even that they live with their parents. One farmer mentioned that she is barely holding on to a "semblance of a first world life." A few of the veteran farmers noted that this strategy is common among farmers just starting out, but that "subsidizing their prices with their income" is not a sustainable way to run a business.

Taking a cut out of a farmer's salary is especially detrimental in the context of legislation that does not support farmworkers making a living wage. Farmworkers are excluded from nearly all major federal laws passed to ensure workers in the United States are making a living wage or even the minimum wage. This phenomenon is called "agricultural exceptionalism" (Seltzer 1995). For example, US farmworkers were excluded from the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which protects workers in unions. Furthermore, all farmworkers were originally excluded from the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish the minimum wage. Although the law was amended in 1978, it now only includes workers on large farms, excluding many of the farmers we spoke with in our interviews. The Fair Labor Standards Act also was never amended to provide overtime for farmworkers, or to raise the minimum age for farm work from 12 years old (Seltzer 1995). Many of the farmers interviewed noted that they felt that, "most [farmers] are not making much income, [and] farming is a high-cost business with a low profit margin."

Farmers Lack Methods for Estimating Cost of Production

Most farmers we interviewed did not have a specific way to estimate costs of production. This may be due to the fact that the farmers had limited time, switched tasks often, or that they were limited to selling at the specific price that the "market could bear" as discussed below. Although two of the veteran farmers referred to sophisticated methods of estimating production costs, including the use of finance software, the other farmers said they struggled to estimate their production costs in a specific way. Most of the other farmers used "pen and paper to estimate production" or made educated estimates based on how much time they thought they spent cultivating and processing an item. One farmer mentioned that, "sometimes we write all this information down but sometimes it's so much information that I can't compute it."

More diversified farmers may not be able to make an accurate estimate of production costs per item because they are constantly switching between tasks, and it is difficult to estimate how much labor went into each item.

Although many of the farmers did not have specific methods to estimate production costs, they expressed an interest in starting. Many of the farmers mentioned applications that they hoped to start using such as AgSquared, VeggieTable, Certified Organic Pro, Quickbooks and Sage 100. An Atlanta, small-farm owner mentioned that he has heard more about “creating enterprise budgets for individual crops and figuring out what cost of production is” in the past few years. Farmers either expressed a desire to begin estimating their production costs or were beginning to try a new application to help them do it.

Although the farmers interviewed did not estimate their production costs, Robin Chanin of Global Growers stressed the importance of production planning. The Global Growers organization works with their farmers to create a production plan at the beginning of every season. Production planning happens before the growing season, and involves making an estimation of your market place, how much yield you will have, the value of the product, who your customer is, and your cost before you make an investment to plant. Chanin stressed that estimating costs of production and evaluating your market is important to pricing products accurately and identifying areas to cut costs.

At-Market Price Setting Strategies

The above strategies, and lack of ability to accurately estimate production costs, encourage farmers to seek out other means of pricing their products. These strategies seem to lead farmers to price goods based on what the market will bear rather than aligning this with their other costs.

Researching What Other Farmers Charge

In order to keep prices high and make the most profit, farmers researched what other farmers were charging at their market, and often matched those prices. This ensures that they get the highest price that the market can bear. Most farmers used this strategy of “looking at people’s prices, looking at how big their bunches are... and in

my head I figure out what I think the market can bear.” There are also generally “accepted” prices of common items that usually range around \$3-4 a bunch or \$5-6 a bag.

However, there are notable exceptions to this method. One farmer interviewed spoke extensively about how a price should reflect production cost:

What it takes you to bring your carrots to your basket may be more expensive or cheaper than what it takes me to bring those carrots to my basket based on the conditions you're dealing with. Water, labor, soil, all those factors affect the cost... you may have an area of your farm that doesn't get enough water or has more clay so the carrots don't grow as fast... and the scale may be different... there are a lot of variables.

Farmers are aware that they will not be able to sell their produce for much higher costs than the other vendors. Researching what other farmers charge ensures that they get the highest price possible at that market.

Avoiding Undercutting Other Farmers

Over half the farmers interviewed expressed that it was important not to undercut the prices of other farmers. This maintains higher prices across the market, benefitting all of the sellers. Interviewees said that undercutting other farmers causes consumer perception of the value of an item to drop, harming the whole market. One of the farm managers interviewed explains the importance of ensuring you are not undercutting because “margins in farming are really low, and you're really going to hurt yourself in the long run.” Undercutting prices at the market may improve a farmer’s sales that day, but it can have the effect of changing a consumer’s impression of how much it costs to grow an item. After a farmer undercuts the price of a certain item, he or she may not be able to sell the item in the future if they raise the price to the actual cost of production again.

Other farmers may approach someone to ask that they raise their prices if they are undercutting. Some farmers describe this communication about price as “respectful” or “fair” but others describe this communication as containing “tension.” One of our interviewees stressed the importance

of communicating about price because “I think in general, farm labor and farmers are undervalued. So, we need to be making as much as possible on every crop...I'll talk to other farmers if I think they are charging too little. It's partially for them, and it partially for the good of the market... [undercutting] lowers people's value of the produce in the long run.” It appeared that this was a source of tension for some farmers who sell similar products.

Checking the Price in the Organic Section of the Grocery Store

Many farmers interviewed also check grocery store prices in order to charge at least the price of organic produce. This ensures that farmers' market prices in Atlanta will not dip below grocery store prices. Two of the farm owners interviewed primarily use this method to set their prices at farmers' markets at or higher than organic produce at the grocery store because “that's what the customers are going to compare it to.”

Altering Amount Rather Than Changing Price

It was also found that most farmers kept their price-per-bunch consistent each week but change the weights-per-bunch to get better prices. This was explained as a way to account for poor growth of a produce item. One farmer estimates that everything at a farmers' market should be sold for about \$2.50 to \$5, and that farmers should adjust the amount per bunch accordingly. Another farmer uses this method, noting that “a lot of customers won't notice, but if they ask I'll tell them.”

Although farmers were insistent that it was important to keep prices consistent, they admitted that there were extenuating circumstances when they would raise or lower their prices. For example, if farmers had an overabundance of an item, they may have a sale and lower the cost per pound in order to “move a lot of product.” Farmers are also willing to sell at a lower price to people who buy in bulk such as canners. On the other hand, if most of a crop was lost to flooding, farmers may raise the price of that item. The method of farming also affects price. For example, one farm owner interviewed will lower her price for tomatoes when they switch from growing tomatoes in a greenhouse to growing tomatoes outdoors, and another farm owner will raise the price when he sells tomatoes from his aquaponics

system.

Farmers' Perceptions of the Limitations of Farmers' Markets on Profit and Scale

Despite the utilization of these strategies to cut costs and maintain price competitiveness, farmers are aware that Atlanta farmers' markets limit the number of customers they can access. One interviewee points out that in many cases, farms are more limited by the fact that many people do not have access to farmers' markets rather than by people choosing not to buy at farmers' markets. A different farm owner also describes how selling at farmers' markets is often not an efficient use of time because, “it's not as consistent, you can't sell as high of a volume, [and] the harvesting and the packaging is less efficient because you're bagging half pound bags rather than a 10-pound box.” Andrea Rissing described how farmers thought of farmers' markets as a marketing opportunity and “as a way to get their name out there, to establish their brand, and to establish CSA customers... and their goal after three years was to not to have to do farmers' markets anymore.” Although many of the farmers we interviewed were critical of farmers' markets, they also felt like their small-size prevented them from selling through wholesaling or through a middle-man. For example, one farmer said this his small size prevented him from wholesaling because “you need a sizable space to supply that volume of food to those kinds of institutions,” and another tries “not to wholesale at all because I can't get a good enough price for what we have.” Furthermore, most of the farmers interviewed were critical of the idea of a middle-man because it reminded them of the industrial food system. Many of the farmers interviewed agreed that wholesaling or aggregating may be more of an option for larger or more rural farms outside of Atlanta. Although Atlanta small-scale farmers felt limited by farmers' markets, they were still selling their products at farmers' markets because other options were seen as even more limiting.

Farmer Perceptions of Consumers' Valuing of Local Food

Each of the farmers interviewed expressed that the higher cost of local food compared to conventional food is a barrier for some consumers to buy locally. One farmer points

out that because the price is so much less expensive at stores like Costco, “sometimes customers think you’re trying to rip them off.” Many of the farmers recalled conversations with consumers that were frustrated at the price of local food compared to grocery store prices.

Another farmer suggests that many consumers are uneducated about why the price of local food is higher than conventional food. He emphasized that consumers who buy local produce are often more focused on health than providing a living wage to farmworkers: “People want healthy food for them and their families. But do you want a healthy life for people bringing that food to you? ... Local food somewhat addresses that. Local food should cost more because local farmers pay more [to their workers].” University of Vermont’s New Farmer Project, a website connecting new farmers to advice and resources, suggests that farmers need to realize that many times their prices will have to be higher than at grocery stores and in those cases, they should focus on educating customers instead of lowering their prices (Vermont New Farmer Project).

In contrast, two recent studies suggest that some US consumers are often willing to pay a premium for local food. In a 2015 study, 78% of consumers surveyed said they would pay 10% more for local food due to the perceived higher quality and “freshness” (Burt 2015). A study conducted in Michigan found that consumers are often willing to pay even more at farmers’ markets during the winter months (Conner, et al. 2009). These studies may reflect different experiences than the farmers we interviewed because these studies were conducted in different cities. These studies may also reflect self-reported behavior, rather than actual consumer behavior at farmers’ markets.

The farmers we interviewed expressed that many consumers do not understand the high cost of local food tied to labor costs that require higher retail prices. Interviewed farmers stressed that they are not trying to make their food inaccessible by charging higher prices. One stressed that her prices are higher than supermarket prices because she is trying to “get a fair value for what I’m doing and I don’t think the average customer has any idea how much work and sacrifice is involved.” Another hypothesizes that if customers were more educated about “all the costs that go into growing food... and if the farmers actually got paid what it’s worth”

then the customer would be more willing to pay the “true cost.”

Paths Forward: Strengthen and Diversify Beyond Direct-to-Consumer Outlets

These strategies, while interesting in and of themselves, suggest that direct-to-consumer sales may be insufficient to allow farmers to reach their own ideas of economic success. In order to ensure that these markets continue to thrive, it is important to assess the limitations of such systems and the challenges local farmers face.

All of these strategies reveal the tension farmers face between aligning their prices with their actual costs of production, which are hard to estimate, and the necessity of meeting consumer expectations. They are also challenged by the fact that they may sell at markets with other farmers whose costs of production may be different than theirs due to farm size, crops grown, and other factors. However, all of these strategies used by individual farmers operate within a broader context that farmers also work to understand and address. In the following section, we examine several strategies that are being used to help farmers overcome the challenges discussed in the previous section.

In order for local food to better support viable small-scale farmer livelihoods, Atlanta’s local food infrastructure needs to change to support local farmers accessing larger and more diverse markets. By increasing support to local farmers trying to enter larger markets, local food can reach more customers and local farmers can increase their scale. For example, local farmers could sell directly to a grocery store, a wholesaler, or restaurants or through an online store. Some interviewed farmers have already used these methods to reach outside Atlanta’s farmers’ markets to access new economic markets.

Strengthen Existing Farmers’ Markets Rather Than Add New Ones

Increasing the number of farmers’ markets may not be effective because farmers may have to go to multiple markets to make the same amount of sales. More farmers’ markets in Atlanta would place a higher burden on Atlanta farmers because, as one farm owner shared, “farmers may have to go to multiple markets to make the same amount of money, when they would only have to go to one market in the past, which increases their cost

and makes them earn less money.” A few of the farmers interviewed proposed that “some of the farmers’ markets should die off, and the better farmers’ market that has more farmers, people need to go to those places... You don’t need to have one on every corner necessarily... but to have one in every single neighborhood in Atlanta is not sustainable, there aren’t enough farmers. It dilutes the value of each market.”

Increase Farmer Capacity to Estimate Production Costs

Currently, most of the farmers we spoke to in Atlanta do not estimate their production costs by item. More specific ways of estimating production may allow farmers to understand which crops are making them lose money and which are less costly to produce. This would allow them to make better business decisions and secure a higher profit.

Expand Financial Incentives Programs

Financial incentive programs for customers would allow farmers to reach more customers. For example, Wholesome Wave Georgia will double the value of SNAP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program) dollars, or Food Stamps, spent at producers-only farmers’ markets (Wholesome Wave Georgia). More financial incentive programs would increase the access of more people in Atlanta to local food and help farmers in Atlanta expand their businesses. However, these programs only serve a select customer base, so they are just a partial solution to attracting more customers to the farmers’ markets.

Aggregate Produce

One way to support small-scale farmers reaching larger markets is to provide opportunities for aggregating produce across many small farms. By aggregating produce for sale, farmers may reach buyers such as institutions, universities, or hospitals. Global Growers and The Common Market Georgia are alternative models that solve some of Atlanta’s infrastructure problems by aggregating larger amounts of produce. These two models could be an effective way for producers to increase their size, and lower their cost per item. This also improves access to local and sustainable food for large institutions such as hospitals and universities.

A third party assisting small-farmers with aggregating produce also benefits farmers by taking the marketing burden off the farmer.

Susan Pavlin, one of the founding members of the Common Market Georgia, stresses the importance of having an external body doing these tasks because “taking that time and energy and set of job skills off their plate will then free up the farmers to be able to do their growing.” On the other hand, Andrea Rissing disused the perception that food hubs are taking advantage of the hard-won customer base of local farms. Rissing pointed out that many local farmers spent years cultivating their customer base and felt that food aggregators were “swooping in” to benefit from their years of hard work. Rissing pointed out that food hubs owned and run by farmers are often less alienating.

Conclusion

Farmers in Atlanta use creative solutions, including strategies to mitigate costs of production and set prices, to make a profit within an infrastructure that limits their market access. In order to mitigate costs of production, Atlanta farmers perform many roles, diversify products, extend their season, and use self-exploitation. In order to set prices, farmers research what other farmers charge, ensure other farmers are not undercutting, research prices in organic grocery stores, and alter the amount per bunch rather than price per bunch. Understanding the current challenges for Atlanta’s small farmers is an important step to understanding the current limitations of Atlanta’s local food economy.

In order for local food to expand and more effectively compete with industrial food, Atlanta’s local food infrastructure needs to support local farmers’ access to larger and more diverse markets. In order to better support small-scale farmers in Atlanta, we recommend strengthening existing farmers’ markets rather than adding new ones, increasing farmer capacity to estimate production costs, expanding financial incentives programs, and aggregating produce. With the information discussed in this article, programs can be effectively implemented to better support Atlanta’s local farmers.

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“Coconut” Anthropologist: A Methodological Enquiry into Employing Ethnographic Methods at Home

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In this article, I describe the challenges associated with my identity during the fieldwork component of my interdisciplinary research. I discuss the specific set of methods employed during my fieldwork and offer justifications why I chose to apply specific methods in various sites and situations during my data collection. I also offer theoretical underpinnings to complement my data collection methods. As a Bangladeshi-Canadian employing ethnographic methods in Bangladesh, I argue that conducting research at home, despite offering some linguistic and tactical advantages, can be as excruciating as leading research elsewhere. Culturally and historically, Bangladeshi communities tend to be more welcoming to foreign, if not white, researchers than they are to researchers that look like they do. Finally, as a “coconut” — brown outside but white inside — qualitative researcher, I elaborate on the issues I faced with access and trust as well as the ways I consequently overcame them.

My research asks how much influence a Bangladeshi aid-recipient might have in the design of a private sector development assistance project. Because I suspected the aid resources were not going to poor Bangladeshi farmers, or entrepreneurs, or middle-class intellectuals, I also enquired into how much awareness of aid and privatization each recipient farmer or entrepreneur had about the aid that ostensibly impacted them. I also wanted to discover if various local, social groups, regardless of gender — including: impoverished laborers, small-scale farmers, small to medium entrepreneurs, wealthy entrepreneurs, NGO workers, development

professionals, retired academics, housewives, media personnel, and undergraduate students and faculty— who were the direct and indirect targets of privatization through development aid and neo-liberalism, understood how embracing deregulation and economic globalization in the name of growth could further affect them in the long-run.

Answers to those three main questions given to me from representatives of the various aforementioned social groups in rural and urban Bangladesh provided a foundation for understanding how external international forces of development - aid, privatization, and neo-liberalism - interact with various social groups and their politics on the ground. Additionally, the answers consequently provided explanations to complement my investigation on the analysis of the politics of development aid in Bangladesh, which has two subdivided and interrelated components including: a) analysis of power, and b) analysis of failure.

Methodology

Pursuing various methodological approaches helped flush out my data collection. These approaches included qualitative, interdisciplinary, multi-sited, and pragmatic frameworks. Although I drew theoretical influences from historians, sociologists, economists, and international relation experts, my data collection was strongly informed by anthropological approaches beyond ethnography. I also employed pragmatism as a methodology because my investigation on social justice issues required drawing from human experience instead of quantitative data, as well as from

technical and bureaucratic process-driven cultures of neo-liberalism, privatization, and development aid.

In pursuing pragmatism as a methodology, I concur with Denzin (2010, 420), who argues that interpreting social justice issues through a discussion of procedures “leaves little room for issues connected to empowerment, social justice, and a politics of hope.” Foucauldian interpretation of power helps unpack the positively correlated relationship between politics and the process-driven, technical-scientific core of development discourse (Curtis and Spencer 2012: 134). Additionally, Rajesh Venogopal’s (2018) observation about the development aid industry also complements my critique:

The fact many development agency and project staff have a science or engineering background, or else are quantitative economists also lends a mystique of the unknown to the political, which is consequently used to box in a wide range of otherwise inexplicable acts of mundane misfortune. (Venugopal 2018, 240)

Building upon that, my data collection was based on John Dewey’s (1925/2008) philosophical emphasis on human experience, which Morgan (2014) iconizes as a ‘philosophically pragmatic’ approach to doing qualitative research.

Morgan (2014) relies on the works of Dewey (1920 [2008], 1925 [2008]) on experience and inquiry to emphasize that our ability to interpret reality depends on our experience as well as on our beliefs and ideas. Morgan (2014, 1046-47) argues that our experiences have roots in our history and culture, and we depend on both of these factors to navigate reality and/or circumvent the changing nature of circumstances in which we place or find ourselves, especially in today’s privatization-led economic globalization processes. Morgan further argues that our history and culture represent our thoughts, beliefs, philosophy, expectations and even biases - these human elements are “inherently contextual, emotional, and social” (Morgan 2014, 1047); most importantly, each of those behavioral outcomes is “socially shaped.”

Thus, my investigation aimed to discover the issues my informants found to be most pressing in their subjective and social reproduction and to learn how my

informants went about pursuing those issues in meaningful ways. Since neo-liberalism is a western import in Bangladesh, I interpret it as an external force of economic domination. Wood, Apthorpe, and Borton (2001, 203) argue that although the evaluators of development aid projects treat ‘methodology’ sensitively, the aid administrators and designers often neglect the importance of methodology at the inception and during the implementation of the aid projects. These critics assume that such ‘neglect’ is sustained through lack of coordination among the development aid donors and partners. I interpret such lack of coordination among the aid hierarchy as an outcome of a linked relationship between the politics of aid and the process driven, technical-scientific core of development discourse.

Thus, I argue that focusing on the experience and beliefs of aid recipients in Bangladesh—through an examination of class relations and how they are situated vis-à-vis the politics of development and economic globalization, and how they shape aid delivery mechanisms and aid recipients’ choices in participating in such programs—is the ideal approach to analyze development. My view is that overlooking the experience of the aid recipients not only limits the social growth of the aid recipients themselves but also undermines the merits of neo-liberal fundamentals, as well as the prospect of development aid resources. As a result, in every method I employed for data collection, I made a conscious effort to learn about the individual experiences of my informants, as well as his or her subjective history and about the social group the individual represented. I begin with discussing my approach to multi-sited data collection method in detail in the following section.

Description of Methods

Multi-sited Method

I employed multi-sited methodology for data collection in Dhaka city’s industrial, residential, and baazar (‘market’) areas as well as in the semi-developed and undeveloped areas of Shimulia and Doulotpur villages located outside Dhaka. Traditional ethnography usually situates a researcher in one specific field site for an extended period. The benefit of being situated in one space enables a researcher to know one site comprehensively without needing to move around to multiple

sites. However, my research required me to trace the application and effects of aid and privatization to explore the different consequences of global policies of neo-liberalism in diverse places of Bangladesh. Hence, I employed multi-sited methodology for data collection as it enabled me to investigate a specific issue – analysis of development aid in Bangladesh – through multiple geographic and/or social field sites within the country. During the process of data collection, as I followed the traces of aid across many places and spaces within Bangladesh, I was able to examine the interaction between the external, international, or transnational forces and processes with groups of impoverished Bangladeshis, wealthy entrepreneurs, students and faculty, small-scale farmers, and small to medium entrepreneurs. Employing multi-sited methods also enabled me to find out how different people in different social and economic situations (e.g., farmer and elites, caste and class) dealt with aid and privatization (Marcus 1995, 95).

Marcus (1995) acknowledges that since multi-sited ethnography has more than one site, this method can impede a researcher from getting to know one site or the people who live there in depth (1995, 95). Multiple sites can also be a challenge and limit the feasibility of the research because the researcher has shorter periods of time at each site. An ideal multi-sited research project would involve following a commodity through multiple spaces. For example, such a method in the Bangladeshi readymade garment products industry might involve a researcher exploring how the design, manufacturing, distribution, and selling of garments interact with multiple actors across numerous spaces. However, given the nature of my investigation, I followed the external forces and/or resources that interacted with members of various social groups in Bangladesh.

Semi-structured Interviews

Instead of a formalized list of questions, I used semi-structured interview methodology and collected data by asking a number of open-ended questions. I found using semi-structured methods more appropriate for my data collection because I was interested in learning about my participants' informal elaborations on topics, including their subjective experiences and perspectives of economic globalization and development aid. Since both Fife (2005, 94–96) and Robson

(2011, 282) had alerted me to the importance of interview structure and cadence, I developed a script made up of the issues I wanted to pursue. This ensured we kept on topic while permitting the interviewees to freely explain and elaborate their stories. As the interviews progressed, I asked shorter questions and listened more because I did not want to interrupt their narratives and wanted to gather as much information as possible. My questionnaires had two parts. After collecting basic demographic information, I inquired about every respondent's understanding of privatization and development aid processes and, if applicable, the individual's involvement as an aid-recipient. International aid agencies only dealt with government and private sector elites so if the person was involved as an aid recipient, I also inquired how he or she got to be involved in aid projects. The flexibility of open-ended questions permits probing for depth or for the respondent to elaborate or add material in their responses (Bryman 2008).

Focus Groups

I conducted six focus group discussions at six different private university areas in urban Dhaka. Employing this method allowed me to gather pre-selected male and female private university students and faculty members, who volunteered to participate in my planned discussion that I designed to learn about their experiences, feelings, and perceptions in regards to higher education systems and institutions in Bangladesh. While an interview mainly takes place with an individual, the focus group discussions allowed the participants and I to interact in a collegial environment during which time we considered each other's ideas and perspectives. Unlike a survey, which could appear to be specific and scientific, each focus group discussion offered flexibility to learn from each other and build off each other's thoughts in a more open discussion. During each focus group discussion, I moderated the session in an informal but professional manner so that each of the participants felt respected, valued, and welcomed. As a moderator, my purpose was not to reach a consensus nor to decide what to do about the student or faculty issues.

Participant Observation

I observed participants at every data collec-

tion research site. In urban Dhaka such sites included garments factories, women-run enterprises, Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA), several private university campuses, and the Kurmitola Golf Club. In the rural sites, my observations included small scale farmers and entrepreneurs, medium and large scale landlords and business owners, primary schools, village tea stalls, mosques, and soccer and cricket matches. My familiarity with Bengali and various dialects, such as Gramer Bhasha (a village dialect), Kutti (an Old Dhaka dialect), and North Bengal Tone, a dialect from the northern region of Bangladesh, made it easier for me to develop rapport with peer researchers, the village elderly, and my interviewees. Despite my Bangladeshi background and familiarity with Islamic rituals, due to my North American mannerisms, some accent, and familiarity with western cultures—frequently expressed through my verbal and non-verbal gestures—in the rural areas, I was humorously called Narkel Bhai, that is, ‘Brother Coconut,’ someone who is white on the inside and brown on the outside. I learned about my bestowed identity as a coconut through members of the cricket team, all young males between 10 and 19 years of age. To be perceived as a non-objectionable person and to participate in community events, I volunteered to referee at village soccer games and to umpire cricket matches on Friday mornings before Jumma prayer. While sharing tea after the practice matches, I asked about the source of my nickname, Narkel Bhai. My team players only laughed and did not reveal any specific source. I realized perhaps ‘coconut’ was coined by the elderly and picked up by the young members of the family, such as my cricket buddies. Whether or not there was anything negative associated with that metaphor, I constantly negotiated my identity as ‘entertaining oddity,’ to nurture a trusting and workable relationship with my peer researchers and research participants (Brownlie 2009).

Use of Peer Researchers

Since I was a non-resident Bangladeshi, I needed local help to initiate and carry out my investigation. Prior to commencing data collection, I also realized the importance of having local guide(s) with the local knowledge and experience and capacity to provide qualitative feedback to modify data collection plans as needed. The opportunity to work with two volunteer ‘peer’ researchers

substantially facilitated my data collection. They included Amit, a male, 35-year-old, who was a part-time lecturer at Dhaka University and worked as the head of a music program on a private television channel. The second peer-researcher was Riffat, a woman aged 50, who was a practicing physician and volunteered at village hospitals in the rural areas where I collected data. Riffat was also a distant relative. I refer to them as peer-researchers since, though not previously trained in social science methods, their educational backgrounds were comparable to my own. They were not necessarily the peers of the people we were researching since they did not share a common experience and identity with all the groups being investigated. Amit and Riffat helped me access archival materials in the public library and facilitated the interview process. Riffat was especially helpful with women interviewees in the rural sites. In addition to working as my peer-researchers, both Amit and Riffat served as my informants.

Riffat’s presence was very useful in conducting research in rural Bangladesh. Although Riffat’s socio-economic class was different than that of the women in the rural areas, as a doctor, her familiarity and work with rural families facilitated my access to potential female interviewees. Gender roles and interactions associated with Muslim beliefs impeded my access to women respondents in the rural areas. Muslim law and custom, as practiced in rural Bangladesh, required the separation of men and boys from women and girls in social settings. The embedded social roles played by the Muslim women in rural areas, especially aged 15-45, prescribed them to remain at home and forbade them speaking with any men they do not know. I wanted to ask these women if they received any money from the aid agencies. Also, I wanted to know if their husbands or fathers-in-law took such money. However, the local women did not want to divulge such private information to me. My kinship with Riffat helped the women overcome their reluctance to speak with me and eventually I managed to speak to some women when I was accompanied by Riffat. The presence of peer-researchers made the bureaucratic and/or gender boundaries more permeable, thus giving me access to a greater range of data (Ryan, Kofman, and Aaron 2011, 51).

Gray Literature Review and Archival Data

Gray literature refers to printed, electronic, or archived documents produced by governments, academics, businesses, and NGOs, among others that are protected under intellectual property rights. Archival data refers to information that is filed, stored, and often kept for internal record, reference, and legal requirements. Both gray literature and archived data resulted from completed activities that are not subject to change. In order to learn more about the historical aspects of aid in Bangladesh, I needed to access government reports and archives stored at the Public Library in Dhaka. When I first arrived in Dhaka, my phone calls to the Public Library to conduct archival research went unanswered. Since the Public Library did not have a functional email system, there was no way for me to contact library personnel online. With his personal network in Dhaka University, Amit facilitated meetings with personnel at the Public Library so I could access archival materials.

With Amit's help, I was able to expedite a meeting with library personnel. I explained my research objectives and plans to the librarian and proved my academic credentials by producing my University of British Columbia identification card and a copy of the research ethics approval obtained from the university. Consequently, I was given access to records of census data, as well as images, deeds, and tax records archived at the library. Although I was not allowed to take pictures of the documents and images, I was able to read various documents and to take notes.

The archival records provided historical data concerning the political and economic changes Bangladesh experienced both before and after independence in 1971. For example, in 1947, when India and Pakistan separated, their religious differences also influenced the design of the national flags of each country. Since Muslim culture follows the lunar calendar, the green and white fields of Pakistan's flag contain a white crescent moon with a star at its center. The Indian flag contains the wheel of *dharma*¹ that complements confluences of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. This wheel is also known as Chakra, which was discovered in inscriptions obtained from Indus Valley civilizations (McIntosh 2007, 377). In 1971, when Bangladesh was separated from Pakistan, as the designers of the country's national flag supported the constitutional ban on communalism and religious discrimination, they

designed the Bangladesh flag completely devoid of Islamic or any religious symbolism. Archival research shows that in 1972 there was no elite class of local Bengalis in Bangladesh. Before independence in late 1971, the well-off class, which consisted of the Urdu speaking West Pakistanis, returned to West Pakistan either before or during the Bangladesh war of independence in 1971. With India's military and economic assistance, the Bangladeshi freedom fighters retaliated and defeated the West Pakistani military forces. Before the victory of independence dawned for East Pakistan, on December 14 in 1971, the Pakistani Army and its Bengali collaborators undertook a genocidal cleansing of numerous Bengali speaking intellectuals including professors, lawyers, writers, journalists, doctors, engineers, and student activists. This violent cleansing of Bengali intellectuals in the newly independent Bangladesh led to power vacuum and shortage of educated bureaucrats and skilled politicians to lead the country towards equitable development and growth. Although Bangladesh had a beloved leader to run the country, people realized very quickly that political rhetoric and leading a country with managerial expertise required different qualities. Sheer mismanagement and failure to hold public officials accountable for corruption and mismanagement resulted in famine in 1974 (Sen 1982, 306). With the CIA's assistance (Chossudovsky 2003), the military conspired to seize power of the overpopulated country stricken with poverty and unemployment. The military rulers opened the country's labor market to the Gulf States in the Middle East for their infrastructural development. A regular flow in and out of Bangladeshi migrant workers to and from Islamic Middle Eastern countries as well as aid or grants from these oil-rich countries to construct mosques all over Bangladesh facilitated the further Islamization of Bangladesh. I came across some statistical data that helped immensely to contextualize my findings. First, the 2011 Census Data for Bangladesh shows the displacement of ethnic and religious minorities in Bangladesh. Similarly, demographic data showed that the emigration from Bangladesh between 1990 and 2010 increased by 750%. During a few inter-

¹In Hinduism, dharma means the principle of cosmic order. In Buddhism, it refers to the teaching of Gautam Buddha.

views, aid workers directed me to locate and access donor agency reports on the Bangladeshi economy. Published by NGOs, donor agencies, and media outlets, often available from on-line sources, these reports also contributed to my analysis of development assistance and the privatization process in Bangladesh. I obtained a specific World Bank private sector development project, IFC-SEDF, Impact Assessment report from one of my interviewees. The respondent gave this document to me to highlight the measured impact of one World-Bank-run entrepreneurship-development and poverty-reduction aid project in Bangladesh.

Content Analysis of Media Articles

I conducted an analysis of Bengali and English news articles to examine whether news coverage of media in Bangladesh accurately, comprehensively, and holistically explained development aid, privatization, economic globalization, and neo-liberalism. There were over three hundred printed newspapers and magazines in Bangladesh as of July, 2016. However, based on circulation frequency, I shortlisted three Bengali newspapers – Doinik Prothom Alo, Kaler Kantho, and Bhorer Kagoj as well as three English newspapers – The Daily Star and The Financial Express, and Daily Sun. Additionally, my peer-researcher Amit worked at one of the mainstream privately owned Bangladeshi television channels, which provided necessary access to a number of media personnel and intellectuals.

Oral Culture in Bangladesh

In Doulotpur and Shimulia, I observed that information and news travelled primarily by word of mouth because the villagers preferred to share and exchange information face-to-face in social situations. Due to rapid state deregulation and privatization of industries and services, the villagers these days have access to mobile phones. Except for one government-operated service known as Tele-Talk, all the mobile phone operators in Bangladesh are privately owned corporations, such as City Cell, which is owned by the former foreign minister of the country; other mobile phone operators are foreign corporations including Airtel from India, BanglaLink registered in Malta, and Grameen/Telenor from Norway. The people in Dhaka I met were comfortable exchanging information or news or data while informally conversing with rela-

tives, friends, acquaintances and colleagues. However, given the frequency of being stuck traffic in daily life, communication through mobile phone was becoming more popular.

The Insider-Outsider Researcher

I was born in Bangladesh and spent my first 17 years in upscale urban areas of Dhaka; however, prior to my research project, I had not lived in the country for 18 years. My years abroad in the United States and Canada made me perceived as an impure desi (local) to many of the people I met and interacted with for my research. During my second trip to Dhaka in August 2016, the entire country was experiencing a security threat², which, apart from two weeks in the villages, reduced my access to informants in diverse socio-economic neighborhoods of Dhaka. During research trips in 2014 and 2016, I was able to leverage extensive kinship ties to reach out to potential interviewees for data collection. Additionally, I have over 14 years of international experience, half of which I spent working at the World Bank Group as a Monitoring and Evaluation Manager in its private sector development arm to reduce poverty in the Global South. My observations in the field regarding global development objectives and socio-economic realities on the ground created a keen interest and passion to better understand the people, their cultures, and the nuances behind development and poverty including the history of the economic forces that often define and frequently reshape people and their cultures. As a result, I returned to academia to pursue my doctoral studies in the interdisciplinary studies program at the University of British Columbia.

At the outset of my research, issues with access and trust had an effect on my data collection. The impediments I faced had more to do with the concept of positionality than with my preparation for the study. I began my fieldwork as an adult male Bangla-

² The terrorist attack on the Holey Artisan Bakery in Dhaka's diplomatic quarters, killing 20, most of them foreigners, took place while I was conducting fieldwork. My access to research sites was heavily impeded as a result of this attack and further security threats all over the country. This act has had a spectacular impact in rebranding Bangladesh as a hotspot for extremism and terror.

deshi-Canadian believing that I would fit right back in to the culture in which I was born and lived until my teen-age years. I am fluent in Bangla and was confident in my knowledge of local culture—I can eat bhat-daal (rice lentil) using my hands and enjoy the deep sense of satisfaction from scraping the last smears of curry sauce off my plate. However, the fact that I spent my adult and professional life in North America affected the way I think, speak, write, and carry myself in social environments. These cultural attributes were sufficient to make me “foreign” in the eyes of my respondents and old school friends. I was both an insider (Bangladeshi) and outsider (North American researcher) but at the same time I was neither a complete Bangladeshi nor a quintessential Canadian. My story reminds me of what Kirin Narayan, an Indian-American anthropologist, experienced when she went to India to conduct her anthropological fieldwork. Her father was an Indian and her mother was German. As she faced the issues of insider/outsider, she argued the following:

a person may have many strands of identification available, strands that may be tugged into the open or stuffed out of sight. A mixed background such as mine perhaps marks one as inauthentic for the label ‘native’ or ‘indigenous’ anthropologist; perhaps those who are not clearly ‘native’ or ‘non-native’ should be termed ‘halfies’ instead (cf. Abu-Lughod 1991). (Narayan 1993, 673)

Narayan later cited the fieldwork experience of M. N. Srinivas, who was born and raised in India and trained at Oxford, to argue that, despite having common roots, Srinivas was not regarded as a “native” during his fieldwork in India (Narayan 1993, 675). She further highlighted that growing up in the city, Srinivas had not comprehensively internalized the embedded cultural/religious rules of purity and pollution to the same extent that the local Brahmans had. Srinivas found himself reprimanded by the headman for shaving himself after a ritual bath rather than before. For these odd behaviors, the villagers found Srinivas a very ‘entertaining oddity’ (Narayan 1993, 675). I similarly experienced a mixed bag and a fair share of being an “oddity” as well as a “halfie” during my data collection in rural Bangladesh. Traditionally, qualitative research meant

going to a community different from one’s own. The methodological benchmark of anthropological research was founded upon the anthropologist as a stranger (Schutz 1964). Perhaps caused by economic globalization and its cultural frictions, a recent shift to research sites in an anthropologist’s home community has raised debates about the application of traditional qualitative methods in the researcher’s own community (Tsing 2005: 1, 4). This recent move exploring what it means to conduct research in one’s home community opposes the customary position of natives as “objects” and counters the Euro-centrist domination of academia (Forster 2012, 13, 16). Researchers who conduct their work in their home communities argue that they can be fluid in terms of identity as both an insider and outsider. Narayan (1993) states that with such a fluid identity, a “native” anthropologist can forward an authentic insider’s view on the profession.

As anthropologists, we do fieldwork whether or not we were raised close to the people whom we study. Whatever the methodologies used, the process of doing fieldwork involves getting to know a range of people and listening closely to what they say. Even if one should already be acquainted with some of these people before one starts fieldwork, the intense and sustained engagements of fieldwork will inevitably transmute these relationships. (Narayan 1993, 679)

At-home research does not diverge from core anthropological methodologies, such as traditional ethnography. Despite offering some advantages in terms of field practicalities, conducting social science research at home is equally as challenging as pursuing research elsewhere (Mughal 2015, 121). Although my research was not ethnographic, conducting research in my home culture and community nonetheless helped me realize that I still required extra local knowledge to survive and needed to relearn the changing cultural patterns of life in my community. Besides the urban areas of Dhaka, with which I am familiar, I worked in rural areas outside Dhaka city that were unfamiliar. Residents in these urbanizing rural areas had an increasing literacy rate and experienced increased economic development while still keeping their traditional patterns of rural life. Work-

ing in these rural areas helped me explore their cultures as an “outsider” while not overlooking some of the usual and nuanced elements that a tourist might otherwise miss or a native might otherwise take for granted.

Chronology of Research

I visited Bangladesh twice for data collection - first in 2014 from May 1st to August 31st for four months, and finally in 2016 from June 7th to August 22nd for another two and a half months. I listed a full chronology of my research movements on Table 1.1 below. I made Dhaka city my home base. The first weeks during both trips went by with meeting and re-meeting peer researchers, obtaining permission to access various types of government and non-government information as well as setting-up interviews. I selected my interviewees through a combination of convenience, snowball, and purposeful sampling. At every research site, I selected people who were available through various contacts (convenience sampling) and based on informant recommendations (snowball sampling). My interviewee selection method, informed by Bryman (2008), was purposeful because, especially in the case of urban interviewees, I chose them from among a group of people who were known to me in advance through kinship ties. I wanted respondents’ perspectives on economic globalization and development aid to learn about their subjective experiences and histories with privatization and aid projects. Therefore, employing purposive sampling in rural and urban areas from a larger population provided variation in data from that which I collected in my field visits (Guest, Bunce and Johnson 2006, 59; Seidman 2012, 56).

During the process of data collection, as evidenced from Table: 1.1, I often moved around among sites because access to specific participants and interviewees was restricted. Also, interviewees frequently either cancelled at the very last minute or were not available at the scheduled time, or wished to make a date later without providing any specific day or time. As a result, I had to constantly make adjustments to my intended plan of data collection. Although I mainly relied on public transportation to commute from research site “a” to site “b,” and vice versa, adjusting cost of time and relevant resources, such as accommodation in a safe place, added up. Thus, availability of funds became a constraint. Additionally, within a specific research site regardless if it were

urban or rural, hardly anything worked as planned. Therefore, starting with whatever worked from my premade plans, I tried to get things done. I carried plenty of reports and media documents with me in my travel bag. Therefore, in moments when I was stuck, which happened quite frequently, I tried to catch up on reviewing and analyzing various types of government and non-government reports as well as media content. Depending on the situation, I often prioritized observing participants at sites instead of reading when I deemed reading would be inappropriate, such as at a village tea stall.

Table 1.1: Chronology of Research Movements

1st May – 31st August 31, 2014 (four months = 16 weeks)

Sequence	Name Of Site/Location	Duration	Methods used at each site
1.	Dhaka	three weeks	Met up with peer-researchers, tried to set-up interviews, observed participants at the Golf Club, and conducted analysis of media reports
2.	Doulotpur village	two weeks	Observed participants at the agriculture farms, tea-stalls, mosques, soccer/cricket-fields. Also, conducted two interviews – one each with a wealthy land owner and a school headmaster
3.	Dhaka	one week	Conducted an interview of a readymade garments company owner
4.	Doulotpur village	two weeks	Observed participants at agriculture farms, tea-stalls, mosques, soccer/cricket-fields, and conducted three semi-structured interviews with the help of a peer-researcher
5.	Dhaka	three weeks	Conducted interviews of two BRTA middle-men and observed participants at BRTA as well as reviewed gray literature and analyzed content of media reports on BRTA
6.	Shimulia village	one week	Observed participants at agriculture farms, tea-stalls, mosques, soccer/cricket-fields. Also, conducted two interviews of two small scale male entrepreneurs with the help of a peer-researcher
7.	Dhaka	one week	Moderated one focus group discussion at a private university and observed students on and off campus by the cafes. Conducted two more BRTA interviews
8.	Shimulia village	one week	Observed participants at baazar and tea-stalls. Also, spoke to three female informants with the help of a peer-researcher
9.	Dhaka	two weeks	Moderated four focus group discussions at four different private university campuses and observed students at each campus. Also conducted eleven interviews with various private sector representatives.

Table 1.1: Chronology of Research Movements			
7 th June to 22 nd August, 2016 (two and a half months = 10 weeks)			
Sequence	Name of Site/Location	Duration	Methods used at each site
1.	Dhaka	two weeks	Re-connected with peer-researchers to set-up more interviews, reviewed gray literature, and analyzed content of media reports
2.	India	three weeks	Research trip with Dr. David Geary
3.	Dhaka	two weeks	Moderated one focus group discussion at a private university and observed students. Conducted five interviews with academics and media personnel
4.	Shimulia village	one week	Conducted three small-scale-entrepreneur interviews with the help of a peer-researcher and observed participants at a farm
5.	Doulotpur village	one week	Conducted four interviews with the help of a peer-researcher and observed participants at various small- and medium-scale enterprises
6.	Dhaka	one week	Observed participants at women business associations and conducted five interviews with female entrepreneurs.

In all, I interviewed 34 males and 12 females in Dhaka city and the two villages, Doulotpur and Shimulia. From every interviewee, I collected their demographic data including age, marital status, education, number of children, and profession. Out of 17 interviewees in Doulotpur and Shimulia, there were 13 males and 4 females. In Dhaka city I interviewed 29 people including 21 males and 8 females. These respondents were between 20 and 70 years of age. With assistance from peer researchers and community gate-keepers, I reached out to their respective communities and expressed willingness to speak to men and women with prior experience of development aid and privatizations projects. Interviews were scheduled in advance based on the convenience of the interviewees.

Prior to beginning the interviews and collecting consent, I briefly described my research project and objectives and read the consent form. Also, I was enthusiastic and honest about how the gathering of data from the interviewees was important both for them and for me to make changes in aid practices. I did not offer them any financial remuneration for making time for me (Alsaawi 2014, 149; Dörnyei 2007).

Except for four interviews conducted at the Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA), all 17 interviewees in rural areas and 29 interviews in urban areas took place in an

environment based on the convenience of the respondents including factory floors, tea stalls, coffee shops, university campuses, and in urban areas at the residences of my interviewees. In rural areas Doulotpur and Shimulia I was able to interact with male interviewees at the mosque, tea stalls at the bazar and/or bus station, farmhouses, and cricket or soccer ground. Given the more conservative nature of rural Bangladeshi culture, Riffat, my female peer researcher accompanied me while I spoke with women interviewees in their homes or courtyards.

Informant Anonymity

Except for three interviewees, including the former head of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), Professor Mizanur Rahman; Shahriar Kabir, a Bangladeshi human rights activist and former President of Forum for Secular Bangladesh, and Brigadier General Shakhawat Hossain, the former Chief Election Commissioner in Bangladesh, all interviewees and informants requested anonymity. The respondents requested anonymity because their answers suggested that local elites and senior aid bureaucrats worked together to secure vested interests from aid projects. Revealing the identity of my respondents, who mainly worked for these same local elites, studied at a private university owned by the elites, or worked as a mid-level project officer at an aid agency, could have put their lives in danger.

For instance, I observed the frequent presence of corrupt practices in public institutions, where paying cash (“greasing the palm”) would expedite matters and would erase evidence of something. I sensed the general public was aware of these corrupt measures and I was extremely sensitive in approaching these issues of local bureaucratic mismanagement and corruption in aid projects. People were initially insecure about discussing such issues, but were more forthcoming as the interview proceeded.

One striking example was my interview with a Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA) employee. In this instance at BRTA, which is a government run agency, the respondent was initially unwilling to sign the consent form and grabbed the form and tried to tear it up. When I asked why he had reacted like this, he said his life would be in danger if his identity was disclosed. I realized it was risky for him to share personal experience about a topic as sensitive as corruption. I invited him to join me at a tea-stall

outside BRTA. While having tea, he asked me about the validity of my research purpose and if I was working for the political opponents of the ruling party or was a newspaper reporter. He also asked if I had a camera on me. Once he understood my intention was honest promotion of academic learning, he gave me his oral consent to respond to my questions and signed the consent form. Considering the danger my respondents could suffer if their identities were known, I assigned each of my respondents a pseudonym.

I also observed similar concerns about threats to lives and jobs from the four interviewed, part-time faculty members employed at various private universities in Dhaka city. As a result, I designed and conducted a specific focus group discussion with faculty members, who not only requested to remain anonymous but also did not want to speak in front of any students.

Conclusion

In this article, I have discussed my approaches to data collection methodology and the methods I employed during my multi-sited research in Bangladesh. I used these methods to learn about the subjective experiences and histories of my informants in relation to privatization and development aid in Bangladesh. The issues I faced, struggled with (i.e. bestowed identity as a “coconut”), and consequently overcame during data collection helped me proceed to the data analysis phase of my doctoral studies. Such an experience also played an instrumental role in my understanding of how privatization and development aid function in Bangladesh. Above all else, my research experience substantiates my argument that conducting research at home, despite offering some linguistic and tactical advantages, can be as excruciating as leading a research project elsewhere.

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The Duality of TripAdvisor: The Quantity of Reviews Detering Strategists from Quality Sites

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Abstract

TripAdvisor brands itself to travelers as a forum to plan the best, personalized vacation. While promoting inclusion and community organization, the site also foments an impractical craze for authentic consumption. Rather than offering a TripAdvisor user (a strategist) the full options available, the site organizes its results on popularity. This cycle entrenches the most-rated locations at the top of search results while flushing less-frequently rated ones out. Thus, the most visited places become the best, most 'authentic' sites. This theoretical research analyzes the duality of TripAdvisor—the attractiveness of self-planning for strategists seeking authenticity paired with the actual algorithms that favor tourist frequency rather than local quality.

Every minute, 115 new opinions are added to the ever-growing database of 190,000,000+ reviews on TripAdvisor (Smith 2014). The free website serves tourists, who use TripAdvisor as an encyclopedia of travel to research, compare, book, and rate every aspect of their trips—from flight to hotel, restaurant to attraction. In this context, potential tourists who rely on TripAdvisor to plan their trips will be referred to as strategists. These users have freedom to form a community and access loads of information. Thus, strategist will refer to TripAdvisor users because they are able to implement whatever strategy they desire for planning their trip. With a simple sign-up, anyone can join the community of reviewers and add opinions and advice for various destinations. The site's global presence leads one to ask what about TripAdvisor makes tourists rely so heavily on it to make their decisions? Furthermore, what effect does TripAdvisor have on the local businesses to which the strategists are planning to visit?

The Tourist's Dilemma & The Mechanics of TripAdvisor

Answering these questions requires a broader understanding of the Tourist's Dilemma—the quandary of where to tour when there are so many possibilities in today's globalized world. As will be discussed below, an understanding of how Consumer Generated Media (CGM) works makes discovering the motivation of strategists to visit TripAdvisor easy. A proper analysis of the effects of CGM on local economies also illuminates how TripAdvisor is beneficial to tourists but detrimental to the locals that provide services to visitors, by directing charges majority-consumer interest towards the same "top choices" for destinations. In discussing the vicious cycle of tourism, R.W. Butler reminds us that, "it can be expected that even attractions of the tourist will lose their competitiveness..." meaning that every destination is subject to continual reevaluation (1980:9). Therefore, rather than relying on quality and authentic experience, TripAdvisor sends its readers to the most frequented tourist sites, often determined through popularity, accessibility,

and location.

Before assessing the true functionality of TripAdvisor, it is vital to understand the consumer base who flock to the site. Travel is becoming more assessable through “increasing affluence, additional leisure time [and] the availability of desirable places to visit” (Prideaux 2002:323). Cheaper travel paired with technology to discover new destinations (such as TripAdvisor) fuel the Tourist’s Dilemma, resulting in anxiety on where to go and what to do.

Nguyen Thai remarks that “perceived uncertainty mediates the relation between choice-set size and destination evaluation” (2017:38). This means that when planning a trip, there is a significant number of available destinations which can lead to overwhelming feelings of choice. This “choice overload phenomenon” fuels a need for some type of help in the decision-making process (ibid). As discovered through an analytical study, Thai concludes that “tourists go through multiple stages in their decisions because their limited analytical capacity forces them to decompose the complex decision into manageable steps” (ibid, 39). A common and rational step is consulting a CGM. Because “uncertainty is the underlying mechanism that mediates the effect of choice-set size,” the Tourist Dilemma can be solved through TripAdvisor (ibid, 48).

TripAdvisor has attained its high status due to the sheer amount of people that use it. As a crowdsourced website, large amounts of people “collaborate through their recommendations in a ranking system as a collective good” (Ganzaroli 2017:503). A contributor has the option of numerical or textual reviews—where they can provide specific detail and advice through journaling, while “numerical ratings are the overall reflection of information in [their] text reviews” (Zhang 2016:283). Together these ratings are combined to position different sites according to their popularity. TripAdvisor lacks specificity in its algorithms; rating is determined by efficiency through collaborative recommendations.

TripAdvisor organizes its reviews based on “the extent to which the problem can be easily represented; the extent to which its solution requires self-motivated people, and the extent to which its evaluation includes a large number of experienced users” (Ganzaroli 2017:503). As this is quite subjective and can be misleading, Zhang et

al. have attempted to create a more efficient algorithm for TripAdvisor, so that the site would “only provide several most important influential factors for tourists” (2016:283). Specifically, they note that for restaurants on TripAdvisor, tourists can only rate them on four criteria: food, service, value, and atmosphere (ibid:283). It then becomes clear that while beneficial, TripAdvisor’s functionality is limited due to this narrow processing. Nonetheless, this understanding is important when assessing the rationale of strategists to consult the site.

Methodology and Literature

Using a large body of outside texts, (see Alderighi, Cohen, Errington, H.N. Mak, Ji, de Jong, Kim, Richards, Tsai), I hope to contribute greatly to my specific research niche on the functionality of TripAdvisor. The theories I will discuss, along with certain ethnographies, look at tourist motivations and the tourists’ impact on local communities. This literature is vital because it looks at the identity of both locals and visitors in touristic consumption. Other research has found a special niche of cultural restaurants, sought after as an ‘authentic’ experience, a drive which motivate tourists to continue their explorations (See ‘A Journey to Venice’ Ganzaroli). With more people initiating and changing tourism discourse locally, understanding the complex effects of this discourse on locals and tourists is important. Thus, this piece is a practical addition to the literature on tourist identity and motivation.

A Strategist’s Draw to TripAdvisor

It is easily understood that growing accessibility to technology and travel push potential tourists, or strategists, to a database for planning. In efforts to escape the Tourist’s Dilemma, strategists turn to TripAdvisor, which can satisfy their need for help. TripAdvisor is useful because it demonstrates human-like attitudes and presents high quality information in reviews infused with user’s trust.

As TripAdvisor is an online site, the elusiveness of the internet is an unavoidable obstacle. The site’s engineers and designers have cleverly worked around this impersonality by branding TripAdvisor as a community of contributors. As Werner Kunz acknowledges, “a sense of community belongingness relates positively to greater attendance at offline gatherings” (2015:1823). The bios of reviewers show experience, number of recommen-

dations, and previously visited places, encouraging relationship building and information exchange. The lack of face-to-face human connection is replaced with a feeling of closeness from seeing shared interests and a stamp of real-life credibility from reviewer bios. This creates a greater sense of community by promoting effective communication “especially for relationship building with a stranger (ibid, 1826). This encourages strategists to use TripAdvisor to “seek avenues to satisfy their curiosity and the urge that entices them to leave their own environment and visit new places” (Prideaux 2002:318). While an only surface-deep reality of personal connection may seem minor, it remains integral in granting believability and trustworthiness to reviews. It is vital to recognize that “by facilitating customer-to-customer information sharing about travel experiences,” TripAdvisor empowers travelers to consult their community of knowledgeable ‘friends’ to “build a tourism package for themselves” (Fileri 2015:177).

TripAdvisor has prioritized the quality of their website. As Fileri et al. describe, “the [greater the] quality of the information that consumers retrieve, the more they will perceive the website to be of high quality, which will both lead to customer satisfaction and trust in the CGM website” (2015:181). It is important to note that the online nature of TripAdvisor makes quality more difficult to measure or guarantee. Vásquez supports this, reminding us that “the traditional lack of reliability associated with self-reports becomes further amplified in online context, where identity has become a fraught and often-contested category, and where issues related to ‘authenticity’ and ‘representation’ abound” (2010:1714).

Recently, a phenomenon of fake reviews has developed. This challenges the quality and, ultimately, the trustworthiness of a CGM, because reviews could thus be inaccurate. In 2015, after a businessman created a site for a fake restaurant, the UK Advertising Standards Authority recognized that “not all consumer reviews are necessarily written by real customers,” which led to a drop in TripAdvisor traffic (ibid, 175). This demonstrated that TripAdvisor needed to maintain trust, without which strategists would be deterred from relying on the site.

To ensure trust, then, a website must capitalize on the quality of its product. Similar to ensuring a community feel, TripAdvisor has “introduced a badge system to show the

different levels of expertise of reviewers” which allows a strategist to assess the credibility and quality of each review. This separates TripAdvisor as a whole from each specific review, forcing the strategist to assess the trustworthiness of each review independent from their trust in TripAdvisor as host of those reviews. As a platform for conversation, the CGM, thus, succeeds at providing quality information. Fileri supports this, stating that “if travel consumers perceive the reviewers as credible sources they will believe that the website is reliable in that it has effective mechanisms in place to avoid spammers who post deceptive reviews” (ibid, 176). Therefore, a substantial review from a credible contributor clearly has more quality than one that is short, superficial or emotional with incorrect descriptions. Similarly, if there is any competing information, “travel advisors can prime and boost customers’ self-confidence by asking and reminding them of their expertise and/or knowledge about traveling” (Thai 2017:49). The quality of the review is thus vital to the promotion of the site’s reliability.

When a review is current, valuable, credible, useful, relevant and complete, a strategist will trust a CGM because “they will think it comes from real customers and not from biased information sources” (Fileri 2015:176). Because of the community that TripAdvisor promotes and the quality of user contributions, strategists trust the CGM. As Fileri puts it, CGMs build trust through the “quality of the recommendation” and with “the previous customers who, by describing their previous experiences, help other consumers to assess [that] quality” (ibid, 181). Therefore, “trust and sympathy are central mediators to relationship development” (Kunz 2015:1826). Simply put, a strategist leaves TripAdvisor happy because they can assess the quality of each review while feeling comfortable in a welcoming community.

The Other Side: TripAdvisor in the Local’s Eyes—A Journey to Venice

Unfortunately, as the hidden side of Butler’s vicious tourism cycle reveals, local businesses that rely on TripAdvisor for revenue may become disenfranchised. Fundamentally, TripAdvisor “intervenes in the structure and organization of tourist flows” (Ganzaroli 2017:509). This is due to the efficiency that the CGM welcomes. Essentially, TripAdvisor can unexpectedly bolster the attractiveness of the most popular sites despite their possi-

bly poor quality. Using knowledge from Zhang et al. on how TripAdvisor categorizes and sorts its reviews, it is clear that the most reviewed options will stay at the top of a search, thereby gaining the most online traffic (2016,283). Developing a cycle in which the most popular sites continually get the attention of new strategists.

To exemplify this further, Ganzaroli draws attention to Venice. Here, “the most popular restaurants become even more popular largely independently of the quality they offer” (2017:509). The ancient Italian town attracts millions of tourists eager to witness the famous architecture built over the water. With large seasonal influxes, there are some periods of the year during which the city cannot hold both tourists and locals. TripAdvisor marks Rialto Bridge and St. Mark’s Basilica as the town’s ‘must-see’ attractions, yet these are also locals’ areas of mass transit. Therefore, residents’ lives “are often inconvenienced by the presence of too many tourists” (ibid, 504).

This is significant when looking at the spatial distribution of highly rated restaurants. Notably, the average TripAdvisor customer overestimates the quality of the experience restaurants offer in Venice” (Ganzaroli 2017:508). 80% of TripAdvisor reviews in Venice are within 800 meters of St. Mark’s Basilica (ibid, 509). While these reviews are trustworthy, the fact remains that they are subjective in their quality. Importantly, “the vast majority of tourists will not return and do not have enough time to acquire information on the quality” of the full sample of Venetian sites (ibid). When businesses rationally invest in quality, their initiatives will go unnoticed because TripAdvisor’s reviews are cyclically fueled on a site’s location nearly exclusively. Even if owners invest in the quality of their restaurant, its “ranking may improve only in the short run” because of the restaurants entrenched location and inability to satisfy their goal of serving more tourists (ibid, 509). Because the contributions to the site are overwhelmingly from visitors and no local perspective is included in the algorithm, the central sites entrench their popularity regardless of quality.

The Duality of TripAdvisor

For strategists, TripAdvisor is worthy of excitement. By creating a cohesive and welcoming environment, the site offers strategists a community of fellow contributors waiting to share their experiences and

answer questions. The platform organizes various reviews to define itself as a quality website, where strategists can make their own judgement, both positive and negative as to the quality of reviews and attractions. Thus, TripAdvisor succeeds at instilling trust in its customers.

While benefiting tourists and strategists in this way, TripAdvisor is also detrimental to the communities it describes. The supposed quality and accuracy of recommendations only draws strategists to certain sites. This is because TripAdvisor is engineered to bolster the top-rated sites based on a minimal, general, and subjective numerical rating system. Similarly, the majority of reviews are written by visitors, so the full set of potential locations remains absent from the collection of popular destinations. The algorithm with which TripAdvisor presents results creates a cyclical entrenchment of popular places negating the true quality of a site while favoring proximity and friendliness to tourists. This duality comes from the inherent flaw of TripAdvisor—their goal of attracting strategists by promising an authenticity that in reality is fabricated and devoid of local input.

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The Intellectualization of Chicago's Culture: An Ethnographic Analysis of the Chicago Cultural Center

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Abstract

The Chicago Cultural Center (CCC), centrally-located on Randolph and Michigan, aims to represent the diverse population of Chicago. Each year, the Center draws thousands of tourists and locals, eager to see the famous Preston Bradley Tiffany Dome or one of the many constantly-rotating exhibits provided by the Chicago Architectural Foundation. Functionally, the Center is open every day with long hours and free admission, seemingly enticing all to enter. Rather contrary to the ethnic diversity of Chicago, however, the CCC, although it is staffed by a wide range of minorities, caters mostly to upper-middle class whites. This ethnographic analysis utilizes interviews and anthropological tourism literature to explain the intellectualization of this Chicago landmark.

Defining the CCC as the "People's Palace" proves awkward as there are many social factors at play in the Chicago landmark. For proper analysis, tourist (and local) motivations for visiting the site must be assessed through ethnographic methods such as participant observation and interviews. Pairing anthropological theory with this ethnography provides insight into how CCC fuels the intellectualism of its guests, both native and visiting. These intellectual norms and attitudes mold the white visitors' class identity, granting them a feeling of superiority and ensuring their continued domination of the site while alienating minorities, who only witness the exhibits and their white audience from the worker's side as CCC employees. From this vantage, the inconsistency in the Chicago Cultural Society's attempted self-positioning as a Chicago landmark is clear.

Methods

My research partner and I conducted brief interviews with randomly selected visitors and workers at the site on Sunday, 22 October 2017, starting at 10am. We returned

at the same time the following Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. These Informal structured interviews were paired with participant observation. We took careful note of self-reported ethnicity, behavior, group size, and each guest's attitude about their visit through informal interviews. Of the sixteen visitors with whom we sustained substantial conversations (longer than ten minutes), eight had previously planned to visit the Center, while another eight had randomly entered. Five of our interviews were with individuals who identified as "Chicagoans," while the rest represented a wide range of home locales (Australia, Georgia, Utah, etc.). Every visitor with whom we interacted was white, except one photographer, Charlotte, who was Asian-American. As previously mentioned, the CCC staff were predominantly black. We also spoke with a Mexican-American volunteer for the CAF. Findings For the individuals who had planned to visit the Chicago Cultural Center, planned visitors, the content of the exhibits served as their main motivation for attending the CCC. Two friends interested in architecture visited

from Kalamazoo for their birthday. A few individuals from around the country (including Charlotte), were on a photography conference, guided by a Chicago native who brought the group to the Center because of the rain. Finally, a couple came to study Cooper Hewitt's exhibit in the Room of Plinths to research new information for their course at IU Bloomington.

Impulsive visitors, those who entered randomly, provided a variety of narratives, as one would expect, about visiting this Chicago landmark. An uncle and his two teenage nieces stumbled upon the Center after their visit to the Art Institute—the uncle presumed the Center was a library, yet remained pleasantly surprised during the visit throughout the Dome and the traveling exhibitions: “We had no idea this place existed. It's a nice way to get out of the cold and off our feet for free.” Four female middle-aged Australians (all librarians) saw a picture of the Tiffany Dome in the Chicago Hop-on Hop-off tourist bus, yet were surprised to discover CCC's proximity to Millennium park, from where they just had arrived: “I recognized the Dome on our bus and really wanted to visit. When we were walking around the Bean I saw this old building and said let's go check it out when we leave. And we did.” This was a similar case to the two women from Atlanta, who stopped in after seeing the well-known Copper Bull on the Washington Street entrance. “I knew this was famous because we saw it on the back of our Art Museum map” Most insightful, however, was a local Chicagoan who sat in the basement drinking his Starbucks and reading the news on his iPad. He called CCC the “People's Palace,” because of its ability to provide “anything to anyone.” This infers that the CCC can host individuals for practically any reason—to study, relax for a moment, meet with friends, or enjoy the free exhibits. Immediately after his eloquent definition, however, the Chicagoan complained that there are often not enough seats as he gestured to a black man sitting at the table next to him.

Discussion

Many of CCC's guests cited the educational aspect of the center as a benefit from their visit. In order to understand the relationship between this perceived benefit and the construction of the center as a hallmark tourist site, it must first be noted, that “no institution [can] be understood in isolation: all were

adapted to each other, and piecemeal changes in one component were not possible without either unraveling the whole or setting in motion countervailing changes that would bring the system back into equilibrium” (Goffman 1982: 13). Here, Goffman reminds us that there are inexplicably complex connections between various social institutions and a proper in-depth analysis is necessary to fully comprehend a topic. This sociological tenet serves as a guideline to develop correct, holistic analyses. Moreover, as Lamont says “social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities. They are also revealed in stable behavioral patterns of association, as manifested in connubiality and commensality” (Lamont 2002: 168). This means that analyses with differences of phenomena at their center will contribute to a greater understanding of social identity.

The striking architecture of the Dome along with various architecture exhibits provide a visitor with niche knowledge and unique ‘field research’ to bring back home. Graburn discusses this in detail, stating that “historical, cultural, and ethnic forms of tourism have become increasingly popular, all of them catering to one form or another of modernity's nostalgia for the premodern” (Graburn 2001: 33). Even more so, this knowledge will transcend a visitor's short time on vacation and set them apart from colleagues at home who did not have the same experience. This is obviously the case with the IU Bloomington teachers, who mentioned that they would utilize what they see in the exhibit as examples for future lesson plans. Similarly, the teacher leading the photography seminar worked around the limitations of the poor weather, stating that her visit to CCC showed a beautiful and unique Chicago. Charlotte will use her pictures from the CCC to display her specific new expertise. Thus, for both locals and tourists, reference to the academic sensation or experience of a place becomes the norm in the descriptions of their experience and a reason for return. Bruner supports this claim, stating that “[tourists] go for adventure, for experience, for status, for education and to explore” (Bruner 2005: 194). Both the impulsive and planned visitors framed the site's didactic capacity as useful for their own social benefit.

Graburn also discusses the “contract between

the ordinary/compulsory work state spent 'at home' and the extraordinary/voluntary metaphorically 'sacred' experience away from home," (Graburn 2001: 27). Due to the predictability of such a feeling of sacrosanct vacation time, it is apparent that tourists will use their experience to define themselves upon return. Such is the case with the aforementioned teachers and Australian librarians. Ian Munt dissects Bourdieu's cultural intellectualism as a commodity, where tourism is a cultural good and experiences are consumed, and then used to benefit the tourist. He warns however, that "the professionalization and intellectualization of travel, together with its associated discourse, have been insufficient in themselves to ensure social differentiation and, more importantly, spatial distance" (Munt 1994: 117). This means that the ritualization associated with travel, and the consequential redefinition of the traveler as an educated tourist, can and will fuel a social divide. Pierre Bourdieu continues by assessing how these practices continually entrench this type of intellectualism:

"The main effect of these developments...may well be to have provided 'intellectual production' with, an audience sufficiently large to justify the existence of specific agencies for production and distribution, and the appearance, on the edges of the university field and intellectual field, of a sort of superior popularization..."
(Bourdieu 1984: 152).

This suggests that a cyclical pattern is then fomented, where the more intellectually-motivated tourists visit, the more attractive the location will be.

The distance that this intellectualization creates between tourists and the non-traveling-other exacerbates social boundaries. Because "urban and suburban middle classes feel that their lives are overly artificial and meaningless, lacking deep feelings of belonging and authenticity," travel can set them apart—travel gives a tourist a social advantage (Graburn 2001: 33). For Charlotte, her pictures and experiences will follow her home, serving as a piece of her journey. She created the stage in her camera where her pictures become a sort of souvenir for her, sharing the incomparability of her story. Chambers reminds us that a "tourists' goal is to get behind the stage that is provided for them and find something real to experience"

(Chambers 2000:19). More broadly, the experiences that the visitors create foment their memories and become part of their individual personalities and self-perceptions. Just as their celebrations of their journey once they have returned home inform their sense of self and interpersonal relationships, so too do their actual experiences fuel their personal identity and social positioning. Lamont reveals that a collective identity requires both internal and external recognition: "on the one hand, individuals must be able to differentiate themselves from others by drawing on criteria of community and a sense of shared belonging within their subgroup. On the other hand, this internal identification process must be recognized by outsiders for an objectified collective identity" (Lamont 2002: 170). This separation can be seen when individuals returned home to show off their new knowledge.

Morgan and Pritchard also discuss souvenirs and their effects on self. They claim that "tourism 'as a system of presenting and performance', [presupposes] that tourism experience and its material manifestations contribute to our narratives and performances of self" (Morgan and Pritchard 2005:45). They continue, "while the postmodern tourist is conscious that he or she is a tourist, he or she has no single tourist identity but performs a variety of roles with multiple texts and meanings" (ibid:40). This means that tourists maintain a strict self-identification from the experience of travel. For the tourists (and locals) who visit the CCC, the intellectualization of the sight fuels a sense of superiority, personified well by the man drinking coffee in the basement café. Bourdieu supports this claim: "Dominant groups generally succeed in legitimizing their own culture and ways as superior to those of lower classes, through oppositions" (Bourdieu 1984: 245). Due to their privilege, the intellectuals succeed in defining the identity of the center.

Conclusion

With its free admission and long hours, the Chicago Cultural Center subtly proclaims itself as welcoming to all. As we encountered, the site does cater to people from a wide variety of geographical locations—yet it remains largely unvisited by minorities. This is due to the high intellectualism the Center fuels. With its specialized moving exhibitions and historically important permanent collections, those who desire to identify as intellectually superior (such as the librarians, photogra-

phers, students, and teachers) fuel a pattern of intellectual-dominated attendance. Munt summarizes the cyclical pattern of intellectual tourism fueling the identification of 'superior' intellectuals. He says that "with the emergence of tourism as both an ethically and socially problematic activity among certain fractions of the new middle classes, tourism and tour companies catering for the intellectual demands of these class fractions are of increasing importance in the legitimation of travel" (Munt 1994: 110). From this, it is apparent that the Chicago Cultural Center remains an establishment for tourists to define themselves as intellectuals for their own benefit. They will take home their knowledge to set themselves apart from their less-travelled (and now less educated) counterparts. Thus, CCC fails to represent the diversity of Chicago, yet institutionally is devoid of blame for this cultural complexity. Overall, certain types of tourism foment a superiority complex in the tourist's performance of 'self.'

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The Transformation of La Guignolée in Ste. Genevieve

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Abstract

When French settlers came to North America in the seventeenth century, they brought with them a rich collection of French traditions. Among these traditions is La Guignolée, a song originally performed on New Year's Eve as part of a begging quest where young men in a community went house-to-house collecting donations of food and drink that were either donated to the poor or used in later community-wide celebrations. Although La Guignolée was a well-known and widely-practiced tradition in North America's French creole settlements, today it survives in a dwindling number of towns across the United States and Canada. The purpose of this research was to show how La Guignolée has persisted and changed in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri and to provide that community with a record of its now rare tradition. A comparison of ethnographic data on current Ste. Genevieve community members' experiences with La Guignolée and archival data on La Guignolée practices in the last three centuries showed how members of the Ste. Genevieve community have maintained this tradition through a combination of community support, performer dedication, and cultural preservation.

Key words: La Guignolée, Ste. Genevieve, Creole French culture

Every New Year's Eve in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, a few dozen people gather at 7p.m. in Valle Catholic High School's gymnasium for a performance they have waited the whole year to watch. They await the charter bus that pulls up to the school a few minutes after seven, carrying twenty to twenty-five men and women dressed as New England colonists, fur trappers, priests, and Santa Claus, among others. These costumed revelers are there to perform La Guignolée, a French song that has been performed on New Year's Eve in Ste. Genevieve since the town was established in the first half of the eighteenth century. La Guignolée, however, is not a tradition exclusive to Ste. Genevieve. When the French settled the American Midwest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, La Guignolée was one of the most popular songs in North America (Berry 1946, 10). Today,

however, Ste. Genevieve, Missouri and Prairie du Rocher, Illinois are the only towns in the United States that regularly perform La Guignolée.

Methods

Despite its rarity, La Guignolée has been the subject of several decades of research, along with the broader Midwestern French culture with which it is associated. Several scholars brought attention to the study of French heritage in Upper Louisiana—also known as the Illinois Country, which encompassed French territories in the Midwest, centered around modern-day Missouri and Illinois—during a cultural renaissance in the 1930s (Servaes 2015, 39-40). Their work was echoed by researchers in the 1960s and 70s who described the decline and subsequent preser-

vation of French traditions like La Guignolée as part of a period of revived interest in cultural preservation known as the Ethnic Revival (Sexton 2004).

The most recent study of La Guignolée is Anna Servaes' *Franco-American Identity, Community, and La Guiannée*. In her book, Servaes outlines the historical context of La Guignolée and uses theories from Victor Turner concerning heritage and collective memory to understand how Franco-American traditions like La Guignolée help preserve French identity and community in places like Ste. Genevieve and Prairie du Rocher. After reading through some of Servaes's description of how La Guignolée maintains and reinforces the membership of French communities, I became curious about the specifics that allowed La Guignolée to survive in the Ste. Genevieve community. I grew up watching La Guignolée every New Year's Eve in Ste. Genevieve's Valley Catholic School, but I knew the La Guignolée I was used to was far removed from the original La Guignolée and also different from the Prairie du Rocher group. So, I set out to understand what changes in the last few decades specifically allowed La Guignolée to survive in Ste. Genevieve and how increased tourism and the efforts of individual performers and community members have shaped Ste. Genevieve's group in recent years.

To do this, I looked at a variety of newspapers and other primary sources printed in or about Ste. Genevieve throughout the town's history, as well as secondary academic publications that discussed the decline of French culture in North America and the history of La Guignolée performances. From this information, I constructed a timeline of changes in North American French culture from the eighteenth to twentieth century and the subsequent effects these changes had on La Guignolée practices in Ste. Genevieve to provide a historical background for the ethnographic data I collected. I then interviewed five members of the Ste. Genevieve community, three La Guignolée performers and two non-performers, about their knowledge of and experience with La Guignolée to gain a deeper understanding for how Ste. Genevieve's community has preserved La Guignolée, and the changes Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée group has experienced in the twenty-first century. I compiled a list of past and present members of the Ste. Genevieve La Guignolée group and contacted them, using snowball sampling to identify other

potential participants, until I found five individuals willing to participate in my project (Bernard 1988, 98). I used semi-structured interviews, during which I asked each participant a series of open-ended questions about their knowledge of La Guignolée, their participation with the group if applicable, the structure of La Guignolée performances, and changes in La Guignolée customs over the last few decades (Bernard 1988, 204). Subjects were encouraged to share as much or as little information as they liked. With both the archival and ethnographic data, I examined how factors in Ste. Genevieve's history led to a decline of French culture, and how intra-community and individual preservation efforts, along with increased tourism, affected La Guignolée in the last decades.

The Early La Guignolée

La Guignolée is a song that French settlers brought with them when they landed in Canada and later moved into Upper Louisiana at the start of the eighteenth century (Dorrance 1935, 10). La Guignolée was traditionally performed on New Year's Eve in North American towns as part of a begging quest ritual, during which performers collected food for a later celebration. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, young men in French settlements would gather in secret locations on New Year's Eve to don their disguises for their night of revelry; these costumes were often composed of masks, cork-blackened faces, ragged or inside out clothing, household items, and strange hats (Sexton and Oster, 2001, 206). Groups were composed of fiddlers who played their violins, leaders who called out La Guignolée's lyrics, and singers who repeated the lyrics backs; there were three to four groups of 10-20 performers per community (Thomas 1984, 151).

The procedure for La Guignolée performances was simple: after performers gathered, they visited as many houses as they could before the next morning, attempting to make 20-30 stops (Thomas 1984, 151). When a group arrived at a house, they would begin singing the first verse of La Guignolée outside on the porch or gallery of a home; if the household was amenable, the group would enter the house to finish their performance (Thomas 1984, 151). Once inside, the group would continue their song, which asked for large cuts of meat and various donations, with two scheduled interruptions built into the performance. The first was a solo about

birds, bowers, and the soloist's lover, during which the soloist asked for the oldest daughter of the family, who he then invited to dance (Primm 2004). If no such daughter was available, another performer dressed as a woman would fill the role, known as "La Fille Aînée" (Thomas 1984, 153). A few verses later, a leader would beg their audience's forgiveness for his performers' rowdiness with a solo of his own. After the song finished, performers would go around with sacks and buckets, collecting food donations that would either go to the church poor box or the King's Ball, a community-wide celebration held on Epiphany, a religious holiday celebrated on January 6 (Primm 2004). Performers would also accept refreshments—often alcohol and snacks—from the lady of the house.

The procedure for La Guignolée has since changed, especially in Ste. Genevieve. The group no longer collects food for the King's Ball, which happens later in the year. Performers no longer invite daughters to dance with the group, and the Fille Aînée solo is now part of the general lyrics. Public venues now host Ste. Genevieve's performers, who travel by bus rather than on foot. In the last few years, Ste. Genevieve has admitted women into its historically all-male performance group, and now the majority of performers are of German descent rather than French (Marshall 1995). Many of these changes are rooted in the social and political changes that began in Ste. Genevieve with the Louisiana Purchase, just over half a century after the town's founding.

A Brief History of Change in Ste. Genevieve

Ste. Genevieve was founded sometime in the first half of the eighteenth century by French-Canadian settlers who populated the Mississippi's east banks around Cahokia and Kaskaskia, Illinois before spreading to the west bank, which flooded less frequently (Dorrance 1935, 10). French creoles—creole here defined as "a white person descended from the French or Spanish of Louisiana and the Gulf States and preserving their characteristic speech and culture" (Dorrance 1935, 5)—in Ste. Genevieve enjoyed the loose control of French governance until the Spanish acquired Louisiana in the 1760s before passing it back to France in 1800 (Marshall 2012, 25). France then quickly sold off their land west of the Mississippi to the United States in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase (Marshall 2012,

25). Though the American government put members of French families in positions of power after the Purchase (Servaes 2015, 34), the influx of English Americans into the Louisiana Territory marked the start of a gradual decline of French culture and language in Upper Louisiana throughout the nineteenth century (Marshall 2012, 25). Many of the English Americans who moved into Ste. Genevieve were Protestants, who were more religiously strict than the French Catholics (Yealy 1935, 115). Subsequently, when the State of Missouri was founded by Protestant leaders in 1821, a series of laws limiting French social activities like revelry and gambling followed. Two particular laws—one in 1855 and the other in 1867—targeted La Guignolée performances (Brassieur 2004; Stepenoff 2006, 191), leading to subdued La Guignolée performances and celebrations for several years after (Fair Play 1873).

German immigrants also started moving into Ste. Genevieve starting in the 1820s and peaking in the 1850s. The Germans in Ste. Genevieve were Catholic like the French, so the two populations generally got along and drew similar disdain from Protestant leaders. However, the Germans raised larger families than the French and eventually replaced them as the majority ethnic group in the mid-to-late nineteenth century (Sainte Genevieve Herald 1957). This, along with Civil War Reconstruction policies that targeted the slave-owning French over the non-slave-owning Germans (Servaes 2015, 39-40), meant that few exclusively French families remained in Ste. Genevieve by the end of the nineteenth century (Dorrance 1935, 43).

One notable 1885 Fair Play newspaper article expressed its dismay over the subsequent loss of French culture by describing La Guignolée as "the last surviving vestige of the old French customs and amusements of Upper Louisiana" (Fair Play 1885). Nonetheless, a nostalgia for the old French traditions emerged during the start of the twentieth century. In 1906, a La Guignolée group composed of young boys went around Ste. Genevieve on New Year's Eve, with the hope that the boys would grow up to continue practicing the tradition (Fair Play 1907). A few years later, a group of Ste. Genevieve residents established the La Guiannée Committee, which produced a series of extravagant La Guignolée performances (McKinstry 1979). The Committee's flashy costumes and celebrations rejuvenated Ste. Genevieve's interest in La Guignolée, drawing large crowds

and even prompting an extra performance around Easter, 1916 (Fair Play 1916; Fair Play 1917). However, the Committee's opulence dissolved in 1917, leaving African Americans and women to support a reserved version of La Guignolée during World Wars I and II due to the absence of young Frenchmen (Fair Play 1918; Ste. Genevieve Herald 1934, Ste. Genevieve Herald 1937).

This lull was countered by WPA-sponsored research (Servaes 2015, 39) and the Ste. Genevieve's Bicentennial Celebration in 1935. In addition to a four-day celebration (Platisha 1935, 31), the Bicentennial Committee sponsored researchers like Francis J. Yealy, who subsequently wrote *Ste. Genevieve: The Story of Missouri's Oldest Settlement*, and went on to discuss La Guignolée's history during In the Dean's Study on the St. Louis radio station KMOX in 1939 (Ste. Genevieve Herald 1939). Preservation efforts like Yealy's continued into 1949, when Elmer Donze, from the Ste. Genevieve radio station KSGM, rounded up all of the old French La Guignolée singers in Ste. Genevieve, Prairie du Rocher, and Bloomsdale, and recorded each group (Donze 1996, 47-48). The same year, Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée and several other groups came together at the National Folk Festival in St. Louis to perform La Guignolée for hundreds of festivalgoers, shortly before the Bloomsdale group disbanded and the Ste. Genevieve group absorbed several of its performers (Marshall 2012, 32-33). These preservation efforts bled into a widespread trend towards ethnic preservation and renewal in the 1960s and 70s known as "The Ethnic Revival" (Sexton 2004). In addition to efforts within the French community, the Ethnic Revival attracted outside attention, like a November, 1962 visit from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat Sunday magazine, where a reporter followed the Ste. Genevieve La Guignolée group around historic sites for a picture story (Ste. Genevieve Herald 1962). Unfortunately, these preservation efforts could not undo the decades of decline that preceded them. As Mary McKinstry reported in a 1979 Columbia Missourian article, "the town's founding fathers would probably choke up if they heard the current rendition of the Guignolee" (McKinstry 1979). Rather than the group of old French men who appeared on Elmer Donze's recording of La Guignolée three decades prior, the singers of the La Guignolée were overwhelmingly German by the late 1970s (McKinstry 1979). By 1994, only five of the 22 performers in the

Ste. Genevieve La Guignolée had any French heritage to speak of (Marshall 1995).

Recent Efforts

The 1993 Missouri Heritage Fair brought La Guignolée back into the lime light when the Prairie du Rocher, Ste. Genevieve, Old Mines, and Cahokia groups performed La Guignolée, demonstrating how the Midwest was determined to hold onto its French roots. This sentiment was echoed by responses to the historic flooding Ste. Genevieve experienced in 1993. Some of the buildings in Ste. Genevieve's historic district were damaged as a result of the flooding, garnering the attention of several nonprofit organizations. Groups like the French Heritage Relief Committee and Friends of the Vieilles Maisons Francaises raised money in an effort to aid in the recovery of Ste. Genevieve's French structures (Marshall 1995).

Though funding was available to preserve the physical remnants of Ste. Genevieve's French ancestry, money was a problem for their traditions. As Robert Mueller, a Ste. Genevieve resident, explained when I spoke with him, the Mississippi Lime Company was responsible for funding Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée for many years (Mueller 2017). However, as Mickey Koetting, another of my participants, explained, the Lime Company stopped funding the group in the last few years, leaving the Ste. Genevieve La Guignolée in need of financial support (Koetting 2017).

Fortunately, La Guignolée had other supporters within the Ste. Genevieve community. Pete Papin, one of the current La Guignolée members I spoke with, told me that Ste. Genevieve's American Legion Post 150 has supported the La Guignolée since his father was involved in the group, serving as a home base where the group started their rounds, stopped for a quick snack of bouillon and chicken salad sandwiches halfway through the night, and conclude their New Year's performance (Papin et al. 2017). The Legion's support was augmented by other community groups like the Ste. Genevieve Eagles Auxiliary, which conducted a road block to benefit the La Guignolée in 2005, raising \$414 for the performance group (Ste. Genevieve Herald 2005). In a 2008 Ste. Genevieve Herald article, the Ste. Genevieve La Guignolée expressed their thanks to the private clubs and nursing homes in town for their participation in the yearly tradition as well as their donations to the group (Ste. Genevieve

Herald 2008). Steadier financial support came for Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée in 2012 when the city's Board of Alderman approved the group's application for the Ste. Genevieve Municipal Band Musical Grant in a 5 to 3 decision. The \$650 award was designated for the group's transportation, their leading expense (Ste. Genevieve Herald 12/19/2012).

Around this time, tourist interest in Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée increased as well. In 2007, the Ste. Genevieve Herald reported that while some Ste. Genevieve residents claimed they did not know much about La Guignolée, out-of-town tourists who encountered the performance group on New Year's Eve said the experience left them feeling closer to the town's French traditions. When I interviewed Mike Papin, Pete Papin, and Mike Polete—three current La Guignolée performers—they shared a few stories about the tourists they encountered during some of their performances. Mike Polete explained that it is not uncommon for the La Guignolée group to surprise unsuspecting visitors at their bar and restaurant stops (Papin et al. 2017). Pete Papin noted that the bed and breakfasts in Ste. Genevieve bring in New Year's guests every year, a point Mike Papin elaborated by saying, "[t]he Bed and Breakfasts bring in their crowds, and they catch us at bars and hotels and they'll come up and say 'what are you guys doing?' and you tell them and they're like 'we're coming down again next [year]. This is great'" (Papin et al. 2017). To capitalize on this trend and the growing importance of tourism in Ste. Genevieve, the City of Ste. Genevieve Tourism Director Stephanie Bell proposed a tourism spending plan to the Tourism Advisory Council and Tourism Tax Commission in 2011. Bell proposed spending \$13,902 with four media outlets to attract tourists, a plan that included an advertisement for La Guignolée that was set to run in a weekly newspaper in Murphysboro, Illinois (Ste. Genevieve Herald 12/21/2011).

While this financial support is a vital aspect in La Guignolée's survival in Ste. Genevieve, the efforts of particular individuals involved in the practice are equally important. As Mike Papin said, there are "five or seven people who do [La Guignolée] every year, religiously" (Papin et al. 2017). He later added, "for me, I get a lot of pride keeping the...tradition going." "We get a lot of compliments through the community that really appreciate that we keep doing this" (Papin et al.

2017). Pete Papin explained in an interview with the Ste. Genevieve Herald in 2012 that "my son Mike told my dad, before he passed away, 'As long as I'm living, I'll keep it up'...And that's how he got stuck with it" (Ste. Genevieve Herald 12/26/2012).

La Guignolée roles were traditionally passed from father to son. This tradition continues with Mike Papin, Pete Papin, and Mike Polete, all of whom got involved with La Guignolée through the involvement or invitation of a relative. When I asked Pete Papin how he got started with the tradition, he replied "Oh, through my family. My complete family was in it, my father and all his brothers, they took part ... in La Guignolee" (Papin et al. 2017). Mike Papin, Pete's son, shares that family history with La Guignolée. He got involved as a young man, after going into the service when he finished high school: "[W]hen I moved back into town it was always my plan to get in the Guignolée and keep it going; it's a family tradition" (Papin et al. 2017). Mike Polete also joined Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée after his time in the military, by invitation of his uncle. After he left the military in 2008, his uncle invited him to accompany Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée group on their rounds, and after spending his first New Year's with the group, Mike Polete said he was hooked. He performed the next year (Papin et al. 2017).

After Mr. Polete joined, though, he realized being part of La Guignolée was not as easy as showing up to perform once a year. The Missouri French dialect died out in Ste. Genevieve in the twentieth century, making La Guignolée performances one of the few times it was used. To help performers sing the lyrics, Mike Papin hands out Elmer Donze's 1949 recording of Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée so new members can learn the song from the old Frenchmen who spoke its language; a phonetic version of the song also circulates to hasten memorization (Ste. Genevieve Herald 2017). The group does not have formal practices except for right before they head out on New Year's Eve, so Pete listens to a copy in his truck for practice. Mike Papin learned the same way, listening to the recording on his commute to work, playing it repeatedly as he learned to imitate his grandfather, who was a lead singer on the recording (Papin et al. 2017).

As Mike Papin explained in a 2011 interview, once he gives his singers their CDs of the record, it's up to them to learn the lyrics (Ste. Genevieve Herald 12/28/2011). He gives per-

formers this advice: “learn the first verse because it’s repeated three times... and then after that just try to pick up a few key words, and just have fun. Don’t worry about knowing the song, the lead singers know the song” (Papin et al. 2017). Mike Polete acknowledged that for the first couple of years after he joined La Guignolée, he struggled with the lyrics. “I didn’t know the words, and there are a lot of people in [the audience] that really pay attention because they know it, they’ve grown up with it,” Polete explained:

“I started hearing people in the crowd saying ‘oh, these guys, look, he don’t know the words’ and I felt bad because I felt like I was dishonoring the tradition. So after that year—my second year in the Guignolée—I said that’s it, I’m going to learn the words, I’m going to learn every word. So that year I got a phonetic writing, you know, of what they actually sing and then I got the recording.”

In order to honor the La Guignolée tradition, Polete would play the recording at work, listening to it twenty times a day for a year, by his estimate. “That’s how I learned the lyrics, though. I had to listen to it probably six thousand times” (Papin et al. 2017).

Women Admitted

One notable change in La Guignolée during the last decade is the admission of women into the Ste. Genevieve group, which was the last male-only La Guignolée group in Upper Louisiana in 1977, as it remained, with a few exceptions, for several decades (Thomas 1984, 151). According to Mike Papin, after he took over La Guignolée he noticed that several veteran La Guignolée performers stopped showing up to perform, a loss he attributed to some of the performers’ significant others’ dissatisfaction with staying on the sidelines while their partners performed. As Mr. Papin put it, “we were losing a lot of good guys that knew the song and it just didn’t make any sense” (Papin et al. 2017).

Mrs. Koetting, explained the events that led up to this situation when I asked her about women in the La Guignolée. It was her understanding that after the Mississippi Lime Company started funding La Guignolée, women were accustomed to traveling along with the performance group. Over the years, whether they were riding the bus or driving the performers when a bus was not available, the

women started dressing up and going into the performance venues to watch from the sidelines and sing along. As Mrs. Koetting put it, “it was kind of the women that decided they were going to participate” (Koetting 2017).

The specific incident that catalyzed the inclusion of women, however, had little to do with lost enjoyment and the resulting lack of attendance. After one of the regular La Guignolée performers passed away from cancer, his widow approached Mike Papin; she wanted to honor her late husband by participating in La Guignolée. As Mike Papin put it, “how can I turn that down?” Mr. Papin then added that at the time he had thought, “and if I’m going to open it up to [the widow], I’m going to open it up to everybody.” Mike Papin also commented, “I didn’t like the whole men-only thing, that never was a spoken rule or anything, so it just seemed to be something that always was” (Papin et al. 2017). This sentiment was echoed by Robert Mueller who explained why women are now allowed to participate in Ste. Genevieve’s La Guignolée by saying, “it’s a different day, different age” (Mueller 2017). In 2015, three women performed in the Ste. Genevieve La Guignolée, and Mr. Papin reported five or six sang in 2016.

Discussion

While La Guignolée mostly draws local observers, the town of Ste. Genevieve has taken a distinct turn towards cultural and historic tourism. Downtown Ste. Genevieve is lined with countless historic homes, many with their own tours and gift shops, and the Welcome Center is brimming with displays and brochures. Recently, U.S. Senator Roy Blunt and U.S. Representative Jason Smith announced that legislation for the creation of the Ste. Genevieve National Historic Park was ratified after the National Park System determined sections of the Historic District qualified for inclusion in the National Park System (Ste. Genevieve Herald 3/23/2018). This declaration, along with Ste. Genevieve’s history of cultural preservation, resembles the three phases of changes in attitudes towards tradition and heritage over the last 200 years described by Nezar Alsayyad in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage*. The first phase roughly coincides with the end of colonialism and results in hybridization between cultures due to increased contact between nations (Alsayyad 2001, 3). This phase is similar to the period during the

early-to-mid-eighteenth century in Ste. Genevieve, when the Louisiana Purchase, the establishment of Missouri, and the influx of Americans and Germans to Ste. Genevieve brought the French community into contact with new cultural practices and political influences, resulting both in a blending of French and German culture as well as the gradual degradation of the old French lifestyle. The second phase then describes how postcolonial nationalism causes nations to focus on indigenous heritage, often with an emphasis on historically symbolic structures and shared heritage in order to reinforce a decolonized nation's indigenous culture against the "homogenizing forces" of modernity (Alsayyad 2001, 3). The cultural renaissance in the 1930s and the Ethnic Revival in 1960s and 70s, in which the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana tried to revive their French heritage through, documentation and celebration of culture, and demonstrations of traditions, reflect this bid to reinforce community through tangible and highly visible demonstration of shared heritage. This trend feeds into phase three, wherein decolonized nations enter the world market, using natural resources and cultural heritage to attract business; tourism becomes a way to gain economic strength by appealing to their traditional "other" status during an era of globalization (Alsayyad 2001, 3). This phase, it seems, is currently unfolding in Ste. Genevieve as reflected by Representative Smith's quote that by passing the Ste. Genevieve National Historic Park Establishment Act, "we ensure the rest of America can enjoy the rich cultural heritage of Ste. Gen. and the unique history of this town" (Ste. Genevieve Herald 3/23/2018). As Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell, and Steve Watson explain in *Heritage and Tourism*, performance of traditions that recall heritage and history in an orchestrated manner are meant to evoke feelings like nostalgia, nationalism, and pride (Staiff et al. 2013, 17). While these performances can reinforce community bonds, they can also attract outsider attention, and the old French houses that line Ste. Genevieve's historic district certainly appeal to the town's French heritage.

Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée group often relies on local funding from year to year, so it is possible that increased local revenue due to the attraction of the Ste. Genevieve National Historic Park could improve La Guignolée's prospects. However, as Michael Chibnik notes in his *Crafting Tradition*, globalization

and the resulting trend towards tourism can be a double-edged sword. While it allows some communities to improve their station, external fascination fluctuates, and while a cultural product might be popular one year, it could fall by the wayside the next (Chibnik 2003, xv). While the novelty of a new National Historic Park in Ste. Genevieve may fare well with tourists at the moment, if the nostalgic appeal of French culture wears off, the resulting economic improvement could disappear.

Despite the rising prevalence of tourism, it is important to note that tourism is only marginally responsible for La Guignolée's survival in Ste. Genevieve in the last few decades, and while a fall in tourism might hurt Ste. Genevieve, La Guignolée would likely carry on. As Ray Brassieur noted in his *Expressions of French Identity in the Mid-Mississippi Valley*, "the role of individuals in the maintenance of group identity is paramount" (Brassieur 1999, ix). In Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée, roles were traditionally inherited along family lines, and while that rule only occasionally applies in modern times, it is still visible in cases like the Papin family, who have been involved in La Guignolée for centuries. This provides a solid backbone of dedicated members like Mike and Pete Papin, who keep the tradition alive despite cultural change. They, along with other core members of the performance group like Mike Polete, help maintain a standing performance group. The recent inclusion of women also bodes well for a consistent La Guignolée performance group, and will hopefully increase retention of both male and female performers. Community support from people like Mrs. Koetting, who helps with the King's Ball and has helped outfit the new female La Guignolée performers; the American Legions, which houses La Guignolée; and community businesses and organizations like the Municipal Band, which help fund La Guignolée, also contribute to the preservation of Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée group.

Conclusion

My grandparents live in Ste. Genevieve, and when I went to visit them on New Year's Eve as a child, my grandmother always took me to see the La Guignolée performance at Valle Catholic. As a kid, I did not understand the words the performers sang or the centuries of history behind them, but that was okay. In Ste. Genevieve, La Guignolée is a staple on New Year's Eve, an annual event

that has been going on for as long as anyone can remember and will likely continue to occur for that very reason. Few Americans would seriously consider the idea of Christmas dying off in the next few years, and, similarly, few Ste. Genevieve residents seem to entertain the idea that La Guignolée will disappear in Ste. Genevieve any time soon. However, preserving the tradition does take work and it is efforts like those discussed in this paper, both by La Guignolée performers and members of the community, that are vital to the survival of Ste. Genevieve's La Guignolée. It is a combination of tourism, advertisement, community support—both morally and financially— and individual commitment of performers that keeps Ste. Genevieve's oldest tradition alive in a time when its practitioners no longer know its language and often do not share its heritage. Whether they are of French descent, German stock, American lineage, or another ethnic identity altogether, it is the residents of Ste. Genevieve and their determination to keep La Guignolée going that has allowed the tradition to survive in Ste. Genevieve.

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Left Behind: Nepali Migrant-Workers Wives and Children

Jill Hurley
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Original photos taken by Jill Hurley during fieldwork in Nepal during the summer of 2017.

Keywords: Nepal, migrant, women























We are Terra

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Keywords: Ontology, theory, interpretation

Terra (n): earth, the

Kim Fortun (2013:450), discussing the “anteriorized future”, states, “The future inhabits the present, but it also has not yet come—rather like the way toxics inhabit the bodies of those exposed, setting up the future but not yet manifest as disease nor even as an origin from which a specific and known disease will come.” I pull this quote from Fortun’s interesting piece on time, in which she asserts that the future is present in the present. Bearing this in mind, I arrive at the thought that if the future inhabits the present, and I exist in the present, then the future must also inhabit me—similar to the way toxics inhabit the bodies of those exposed (Fortun 2013:450). However, I want to extrapolate even further from Fortun’s statement to argue that past, present, and future—multiple temporalities, as well as multiple spatialities—all inhabit each other—all inhabit us. In this vein, we can visualize existence as but a tangled ball of webs (Geertz 1973: 5) or lines (Ingold 2015) continually entangling and reentangling themselves through and with times and spaces.

The argument I wish to put forth is that we are all terra. Our existences transcend the being vs. becoming dichotomy, and perhaps all other dichotomies as well. I agree with Geertz (1973:5) that “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance,” but believe this is where the famous line ought to end. We are indeed suspended in webs of significance, that I believe to be infinite in number, but these webs of significance were not spun by us—not all of them—nor is culture, however you choose to define it, the only entity that makes up those webs. We are

each uniquely suspended in multitudinous webs of “culture,” but also webs of “nature,” webs of our own minds, and webs of the minds of others, to name a few. If we were to break down the perceptual walls that confine all things, we could state that we, “consciousnesses” (this could be an entirely separate paper, but, in short, what I mean by this is that we are only thoughts—one can imagine the implications of such a claim), are suspended in webs of reality (what exists other than our consciousness, but also including our consciousness). If we apply the recent multispecies and ontological turns of anthropology to this the webs grow ever deeper and more complex. “How other kinds of beings see us matters. That other kinds of beings see us changes things. If jaguars also represent us—in ways that can matter vitally to us—then anthropology cannot limit itself just to exploring how people from different societies might happen to represent them as doing so. Such encounters with other kinds of beings force us to recognize the fact that seeing, representing, and perhaps knowing, even thinking, are not exclusively human affairs” (Kohn 2013: 1). There are and have been infinite beings inhabiting different constructed realities.

Another point I will argue here, is for an explosion of all that we take “interpretation” to mean and carry. This is in line with the following passage from Palecek and Risjord’s “Relativism and the Ontological Turn within Anthropology” (2012; emphasis mine):

There is no single ontology that is the basis for understanding all human activity, no view of what there is independent of interpreters. Ontologies are the product of human interpretive interactions with one another and with their environments. These interactions

are often very different, constituting different ontologies. They are incommensurable in the sense that no one way of engaging the environment is right or wrong in metaphysical terms.

I propose to redefine the term 'interpretation' to mean the perceptions that a consciousness makes of reality. World cannot be separated from worldview, they are fused in what I call "reality." Without a worldview, there is no world. Whether one takes a traditional anthropological view of one "world" and many "worldviews," or the ontological anthropological view of multiple "worlds" rather than multiple "worldviews," I still disagree. There are infinite realities; infinite "constructed worlds" that are at the same time world and worldview, constructed through sensory perceptions and conscious and unconscious interpretations. Each consciousness inhabits its own reality and itself. All things apart from it and of it, tangible (e.g., chair or human) and intangible (e.g., knowledge), are a part of its reality, working together in a type of feedback loop: perception and interpretation of the consciousness adds to the reality/constructed world while also adjusting reality/the constructed world. In this way, agency, too, perhaps needs redefinition, because if you follow where my last thoughts lead, you may see that existence=agency in the constructed worlds/realities of consciousnesses, as by existing you cannot help but to perceive and to interpret and thus change the constructed world/reality. In many ways this is also an extension and derivative of Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory. Yet another point central to my proposition here, is that consciousnesses are a part of their own reality, though simultaneously apart from it. Donna Haraway (2016: 91) states that "human and nonhuman beings... are of the world as its stories and dynamic substance, not in the world as a container." This is similar to my concept of consciousness, though still different. I argue that being is both in and of the world; that consciousnesses are both in and of their constructed realities. "Literally surrounded by its environment, and enclosed within its skin" organisms are defined as blobs, an axiom Ingold goes on to refute (Ingold 2015: 9). I hold a similar view to Ingold's with reference to consciousnesses or beings—they are not blobs "in" the world, but multiple dimensionalities in and of the world. We (consciousnesses) are a part of our reality, even as our realities are constructed by us.

Donna Haraway (2016: 33), describes what she calls the Chthulucene, saying that "it does not close in on itself; it does not round off; its contact zones are ubiquitous and continuously spin out loopy tendrils." I urge us to imagine existence in a similar way, as sym-poiesis: "collectively producing systems that do not have self-defined spatial or temporal boundaries" (Dempster 1998 in Haraway 2016:33). This is really a much better description of beings and their observed realities and selves. We are nothing, yet we are everything. We are collectively produced by products of collectively produced producers. These are the "Becomings"—new kinds of relations emerging from nonhierarchical alliances, symbiotic attachments, and the mingling of creative agents" referred to by Kirksey and Helmreich (2010). Existence is a becoming within (constructed) reality, which itself is a becoming, and the two are always dialectically bound.

We, and all things, are interpretations only (perhaps, I should say we are "constructions only"), in and of nested nests of webs of generated and constructed multidimensional meaning, mesh-works that transcend time and space. Frameworks layer atop one another, again, again. If we strip away these layers of interpretations and constructions, the definition and our being are incomplete; we simply "are." When in truth, we are terra. We are inextricably a knot of all.

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Understanding Adaptations: The Importance of Contextualized History in Biological Anthropology

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Abstract

The future of biological anthropology is immense. However, to keep up with changing times and methods, biological anthropology needs to adopt and continue to push new methods. These methods include biocultural approaches, which aid in explaining biological variation as a response to human environmental interactions. Besides furthering the push for biocultural approaches, the need for adding and contextualizing history in terms of participants' bio histories is important as well. In doing so, biological anthropology can be useful in constructing a narrative of people of African descent. Africa is a diverse continent yet overwhelmingly understudied. Understanding the complexity of the diversity of people of African descent can be used not only to address problems in the community (health disparities) but also to understand human biological evolution as a whole.

Key words: biocultural, African diversity, health disparities.

Adaptation to the environment is one of the fundamental concepts of evolutionary and biological anthropology. Looking as far back as Darwin, it has always been assumed that adaptation better an organism's chances of survival. Adaptations are always in response to environmental factors, but can it definitively be said that these outcomes always yield positive results, especially in changing environments? In this paper, I hope to discuss the role history can play in understanding these adaptations. In doing so, I will address the different life histories of African and African American populations, and how these differences play a role in better understanding human adaptation, environmental interactions, health implications, and the importance of biocultural work in biological anthropology.

Today's anthropology often tries to distance itself from the past, a past which reveals the disciplines complicity in the production of "race" as a scientific category. Fast forward

to today, many people still do not understand that race is a social construct. However, whether one recognizes race as a social construct or not, it is clear that race has real consequences. Looking at the United States Census, or other countries' censuses, a majority of the time, Blacks, who were brought to the US in the slave trade, and Africans who arrived more recently are put under the same category: African American. While this might be seen as the politically correct choice, studies have shown that in the case of some diseases, one of these groups suffers more than the other (Wilson and Grim 1991, Cooper et al 1997). I am not separating Blacks and Africans as a divisive mechanism to promote the idea that one is better than the other but rather as a way to point out that these communities do have separate histories that could subsequently result in different susceptibilities to diseases, something I think worth noting especially in the era of racialized and precision medicine. In this

paper I will refer to Blacks and African Americans interchangeable as a separate category from Africans in the US.

Problems with racialized medicine mainly come from the idea that race is socially constructed. How and why should doctors prescribe medicine based on race when these categories are essentially arbitrary? Precision medicine seems like a plausible alternative or at least an advanced version of racialized medicine. Manolio et al. describes precision medicine as "using an individual patient's genotypic information in his or her clinical care" (2013). This genotypic information is then paired with the unique variation in your DNA and environment to personalize medicine to be more effective for the patient (Manolio et al 2013). Often, the backlash against precision medicine comes from those worried about the cost. Just how much does personalized medicine cost? Over the years, the price of genome sequencing has decreased. The first genome mapping cost over 3 billion dollars and took around 15 years. Now, rates vary between \$1,000 and \$4,000 (Becker's Hospital Review). Hopefully, future innovations will arise that continue to lower these figures, allowing for more individuals or companies to get and offer precision medicine methodologies.

This is where history comes in. Imagine two scenarios: one, an African American male goes to the doctor to address his high blood pressure, which runs in his family; and two, a patient who was born and raised in West Africa but has lived in the United States for the last 7 years goes to do the same. This latter patient has no family history of high blood pressure but has acquired hypertension. Both are 40 years old. Contextualizing history is important. Studies have shown that African Americans are more likely to develop high blood pressure than Africans in Africa. Why is this the case? One hypothesis, the salt sensitivity hypothesis by Wilson and Grim, states that African Americans are more susceptible to retaining salt and subsequently developing high blood pressure because their history selected for this trait. In the 16th-19th century, African Americans were brought to the United States during the Atlantic slave trade. During this journey and even when they initially arrived, many of them died due to harsh living conditions. It was hypothesized that those who survived had the ability, as previously stated, to retain salt (Wilson and Grim 1991). Back to the scenario: understanding that these two patients could

potentially have different genetic variations because of their bio histories is essential. Knowing that people born in Africa have lower rates of high blood pressure, examiners would now have to look at the patient's history to identify causation. By focusing on factors such as socioeconomic status, environmental stressors, and African and American cultural dynamics examiners can address what looks like a similar case of high blood pressure as different phenomenon. But, before this can be done the public must realize that these communities have separate histories that leave them with different rates of susceptibility. In this way, using history as a source to understand variation is a powerful tool to help combat disease.

Biocultural approaches make implementing history easy. These approaches push looking at bigger components to explain variation. The best thing about biocultural approaches is their ability to produce holistic explanations to seemingly contained issues. There are a few ways this approach can be handled. One way integrates cultural, environmental, and biological data while the other uses biological data as a primary source and cultural and environmental as secondary sources (McElroy 1990). Because there is no way to say whether nature (biological) or nurture (cultural) plays more of a role in someone's health and well-being (the debates will forever go on), the first approach of integrating all three of these core aspects is more in line with the holistic approach anthropology prides itself in pursuing. In this way, I believe biocultural approaches are a step in the right direction for biological anthropologists.

Anthropology is a four-field discipline. The combination of these subfields leads to very innovative works. I hope the future of biological anthropology continues to push, popularize, and create biocultural methodologies. With this integration of not only culture and biology but also history, biological anthropology can and will be a leading force in working with the public to understand, address, and solve health disparities. The future is bright.

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Encouraging Recognition for Aboriginal Heritage Through Fringe Camp Memorialisation

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Key words: Australia, Indigenous, memorialisation, tourism, wellbeing

My PhD research emerged from consultancy work conducted by my supervisors for an Aboriginal corporation in South West Queensland, Australia. The project focused on designing a tourism trail between sites developed by Aboriginal communities that memorialise pre-1967 fringe camps. The result of this partnership was a memorialisation project that utilised tourism to encourage recognition of the Aboriginal side of Australian history. While my doctoral research focuses on the links between social and emotional wellbeing and memorialisation, in this photo essay I will limit myself to the memorial sites developed by the community who engineered the larger tourism project.



During the early to mid-twentieth century, Aboriginal people frequently lived in fringe camps on the outskirts of towns in order to remain close to their traditional Country (Read 2008, p. 36). From the late 1960s legal reforms resulted in the fringe camps being destroyed, with devastating consequences for the once strong communities (Read 2008, p. 36). Today, many former Aboriginal inhabitants of these camps, and their descendants, continue to return to these sites associated with their memories of family and community life that linked them to a collective Indigenous identity (Read 2008, p. 36).

One example in South West Queensland is a memorial developed by an Aboriginal community on the site where a fringe camp once stood along the banks of the Balonne River. The memorial includes two built structures; a replica humpy, and an interpretive shelter. The replica humpy is fenced to prevent vandalism. The site of this humpy was carefully chosen to stand as close as possible to the original humpy site of a cherished grandfather. The memories of his adult descendants, who inhabited the fringe camp as children, initiated work on the memorial.



The interpretive shelter is also fenced, but with an unlocked gate and seating area that welcomes visitors to enter and rest in the shade. Some information boards display the family trees of those who inhabited the fringe camp, while others display copies of historical documents. Researching and displaying this information was vital for the community who reported that the creation of the memorial helped them develop a better understanding of their own past.



Evidence indicates that memorialisation helps communities maintain important social relationships (Rowlands 1998, p. 63). This motivation was evident in the community's hope that their children and future generations would grow up with a strong sense of identity fostered by the displayed memories of community members. Thus, memorialisation was seen as crucial to maintain ties within the community that was fractured after the bulldozing of the fringe camp. Further, evidence indicates that memorialisation provides an opportunity for marginalised communities to counter stigmatising stereotypes, and to share their collective memories in ways that encourage visitors to develop empathy for their experiences (Pitchford 2006, p. 85; Rowlands 1998, pp. 56-7). This was acknowledged by the community who expressed the hope that the memorial would provide an opportunity for visitors to develop an increased understanding of their little-known history and experiences.



Although over the past century memorialisation has become increasingly important to nation-building in Australia, memorials to Aboriginal peoples' experiences remain uncommon (Dehlsen 2016, pp. 117-8; Read 2008, p. 30; Reynolds 1999, pp. 131-2; Rowlands 1998, p. 57). International evidence, however, indicates that memorialisation raises factors such as the pride, identity, and social cohesion of marginalised communities (Naidu 2004, pp. 7-9; Phillips 2012, p. 341). Similarly, marginalised communities in diverse countries such as Greece, Wales, and Zimbabwe have harnessed tourism as a means of gaining acknowledgement for their unique heritage (Pitchford 2008, pp. 1-3). Thus, although the impact of memorialisation for Australian Aboriginal communities in South West Queensland has yet to be more deeply explored, preliminary analysis suggests that international findings are aligned with the motivations expressed by the community described above. Should international findings indeed be replicated here, it is hoped that this project might inform future memorialisation efforts by Australian Aboriginal communities.

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European Dancehouses: Models of Managing Tangible & Intangible Heritage

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Abstract

The European Dancehouse Network is a sustainable model for stability in dance communities around Europe. A dancehouse is a practice space, a performance space, and an educational space. This model serves artists across Europe by facilitating stable jobs and serves the public through performances. It is also a model that can serve as heritage protection. This type of protection occurs through the stable presence of art in neighborhoods, the rehabilitation of historical and important buildings, and the sharing of stories through the dance created within the walls of these dancehouses. For this think piece, I looked at three Nordic dance houses in Copenhagen, Oslo, and Stockholm. After establishing a foundation for the heritage management occurring in these three cities through dancehouses, I discuss the ways in which fully adopting this EDN model would be beneficial to the city of Reykjavík and its dancers. In this discussion I outline the changes occurring in Reykjavík, the growth of the Reykjavík dance scene in recent years, and the recent activism of the city's dancers. Throughout this piece I will tie the potential benefits of the EDN model in Reykjavík with anthropological thoughts and ideas on cultural heritage and its management. My goal with this article is to articulate the place for creativity in heritage management of urban historical districts and the benefits a highly tourist-visited city, such as Reykjavík, can experience from a re-investment in its artists.

Key words: dance, heritage management, Iceland

What is a dancehouse? And how can it be a model of heritage management? The definition of the European Dancehouse Network is as follows:

"a dancehouse....presents, promotes and supports international contemporary dance through an annual ongoing programme as its primary purpose; has a public mandate or mission under an independent artistic direction and professional management promoting diverse artists and aesthetical diversity; Has an ongoing audience and artistic development programme with learning, engagement and participation contributing access to dance for professionals and the general public; is regularly engaged with dance and related issues at local and international level; has facilities for dance research, residency, production, and presentation. (EDN website)."

So what is this network? What does it mean to be a dance house?

The EDN comprises 36 dancehouses across Europe. Each of these are fully funded by state, regional or municipal grants. Each have studios, host educational programs, and maintain per-

formance facilities. The EDN claims that this model is, "The most sustainable model. The development of individual talents, who do not necessarily stay in the same place, is embedded in the development of a lasting landscape (EDN website)." These dancehouses provide the space for artists to grow and perform, as well as the space for the public to engage in the art of dance. Furthermore, they provide space for cross-discipline collaboration, which strengthen the art and intellectual communities in their cities. Reykjavík, Iceland, a city with a thriving contemporary dance community including a company, freelance artists, and BA-level dance education, is not a part of the EDN.

In this piece, I will investigate the role of dance houses in cultural heritage management as I explore why Reykjavík's dance community would benefit from being a part of this network. To do so I will briefly introduce the dance houses of three other Nordic cities. Afterwards, I will look at the history of Reykjavík's dance space, Dansverkstæðið, as told to me by my research participants to understand why the hashtag #rísidanshús (arise, dancehouse) is so important for heritage management in Iceland.

Methods

My participants for this opinion piece are those included in my MA thesis research, which was ongoing at the time of writing this commentary. My thesis examines the dance community in Iceland more deeply. Participants in this particular paper are given code names and any quotes come from recorded semi-structured interviews conducted during my field work in Reykjavík in summer 2017.

Denmark | Dansehallerne



"We're not just a 'Dance-House' with stages, we're also a place for innovative creativity, where artistic meetings take place and new participative, inclusive activities for all ages, including the very young and children, develop." -Efva

One of my research participants was from a small town in Norway and trained at Dansehallerne before coming to the Academy of the Arts in Reykjavík. Dansehallerne changed everything for her. She watched dancing every week, got to know the "famous" dancers in Denmark, and took the opportunity to learn from them. The national company, freelancers, international residencies, and the best dance school in Denmark are all housed in this one space. Through that space and the network it built, she learned about the BA in dance in Iceland.

Like many of the dancehouses, Dansehallerne has moved multiple times as it gained more state funding, each time growing bigger and making a larger impact on the city. This September they began the move to "new premises in Kedelhuset (a former heating plant for the Carlsberg breweries) in Central Copenhagen" (EDN website). This is an area of Copenhagen that was abandoned during deindustrialization and is now experiencing reinvestment. Dansehallerne's transition into this space will allow the old building and its history to remain central to this part of town.

Norway | Dansens Hus Oslo



"Dansens Hus is Norway's national stage for dance. It presents productions covering a broad spectrum of dance, from productions for babies to appearances by major international artists, from new Norwegian choreographers to well established ones. Dansens Hus is located in the Vulkan area of Oslo, a former industrial district beside the Akerselva river, now a buzzing part of town...the building is a converted factory building, and is one of the finest and most modern theatres in Oslo" (EDN website)

Like the Dansehallerne, Dansens Hus Oslo inhabits an old industrial building. And like Dansehallerne, Dansens Hus Oslo provides the city of Oslo with the ability to preserve this important building while providing the city with art and thought.

Sweden | Dansens Hus Stockholm



Dansens Hus is "located in the new Folkets Hus building that was inaugurated in 1960. Sven Markelius is the architect of this modernistic building built in functional style. The stage was initially planned to house a cinema. However, it became the home for the Stockholm City Theatre from 1960 until 1990 when the theatre moved into Kulturhuset. Formed in 1989, Dansens Hus moved into the premises in 1991. Although the building is not classified as a heritage building, it has been well-preserved" (EDN website).

We see a trend, don't we? In this case the building was designed by a famous Swiss architect, with the intent of housing performance arts. Dansens Hus Stockholm thus keeps Sven Markelius's work at the forefront of their practices: art and history influencing each other.

Iceland | Dansverkstæðið

Dancers in Iceland up until this generation of students, have been trained in a wide variety of methods at schools all across Europe and the United States. In 2002 the Reykjavik Dance Festival started as a way to ensure that the dancers trained in various countries under various techniques could continue their freelance work, support each other, and get exposure. In 2010, a group of dancers in Iceland obtained their first studio space. It was "shitty, but somehow with the space some things really started to happen," one participant told me. It was a small space, only two practice studios and a small lounge, but it was the first space for freelance dancers to work and come together.



The summer of 2017, Dansverkstæðið, a space the dancers rented out, was closed as the city moved forward with its "New Hversfigata" and other development plans. The building was knocked down to make room for new buildings, some of which are specifically for tourism. Thus began the social media hashtag #rísidanshús and the fight within City Hall for a new space. The dancers not only demanded a new space, but they demanded governmental support—modeled after other Nordic Dancehouses and artist salaries.

On Thursday, October 12, the Dansverkstæðið posted an update on Facebook:

"We are extremely happy to announce that we have a new space. We will be moving to the Westside of the centre to Hjardarhagi 47. It is going to take a few months to get our 3 new studios ready but the process will be open to follow here on facebook and other social media. We thank all the people that have helped us on the way and especially our supporters in the city council of Reykjavík."

In January the city of Reykjavík announced that the new building would have a stable 15-year lease. This would protect the community from rising housing prices and allow for stability in both the dance community and the neighborhood of Reykjavík they will call home. Despite this small success, this is not a dancehouse and could not qualify as one. There is no performance space. This was something one of my participants was well aware of:

"We need SPACE. Like we don't need a lot—but it is specific. Like open, with sprung floor and this space would be temporary, because the dream is to finally have our own place, like a venue because right now we have to rely on the National theatre or the city theatre or smaller ones, and that also used for theatre, ... there's no space specifically designed

for dance."

In general, Reykjavík is in a time of a great development. You cannot walk the streets without having to cross to avoid a closed sidewalk or miss seeing a crane in the air. This is not all bad, but there is concern that the "heart" of Reykjavík—the classic colorful yet functional architecture and the community of residences—will be lost. Many people are moving out of the city centre to other parts of the city or to the suburbs to avoid rising prices, all of which has an impact on the city itself.



With this rise in development comes the real concern that art will be driven out of this art-centric capitol. The new dance space is on the West-side, which despite being my favorite part of the city, is secluded from the centre. A stable dancehouse could be a type of anchor, the type of anchor we see in the three other Nordic examples: preserving important architectural heritage and ensuring that Icelandic art is produced and shared. It could also be a community hub for learning and attending shows.

The Sweet Spot: Intangible & Tangible Heritage Management

Tangible Heritage: buildings, sites, landscapes, artifacts, etc.

Intangible Heritage: According to UNESCO this includes, "oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices; rituals and festive event; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship" (King 2013, 295). In other words, the things that are passed to people through interaction and cannot be put in a case in a museum or preserved on a list and protected. Tangible and intangible cannot exist without the each other. After all, it is the intangible culture: the stories told, songs sung, dances danced, meals cooked, and so on that make important heritage buildings valued in the first place!

To me there are two main ways in which these dancehouses manage to blend intangible and tangible heritage. First, and probably most obvious, the dancehouses are in buildings central to neighborhoods or areas of their cities. This was quite clear in the three Nordic examples above: the dancehouses are located in historic buildings or buildings that were created by important architects. The use of the buildings as centers for the intangible art of dance is both a way of ensuring that these artists have a space to create and share, but also a way of ensuring that the buildings remain in use and cared for, which leads into the second way in which the dancehouses preserve and manage heritage. In a letter published through EDN, Efva Lilja (a representative in Stockholm) wrote,

“Now I’m more than ever convinced about the importance of art for the open society. Art generates alternative images and events that make us think further, break up whatever seems given; over and over again it takes a stand for the contemporary. We have to go on” (Right Now / April 2017 / Efva Lilja / Newsletter no 4).

Contemporary dance as an art form is a part of culture, but not necessarily defined as heritage itself. However, the conversations held and the stories told on stage are often seeped in oral traditions and other local heritage. Contemporary dance can take on the burden of preserving heritage and often does. All in all, these European dancehouses serve as a model for heritage management: one that combines modern art and progressive community building. These dancehouses have not only helped to preserve historic buildings as well as preserve intangible heritage such as oral lore, they are also sustainable. They teach, they share, and they provide artists with the space and resources needed to produce the work they desire, which often stems from their own positionality and identity.

Conclusion

If the Icelandic government were to continue to work with the Dancer Association and help them refurbish a building downtown as a practice, teaching, and *performance* dancehouse in the EDN model, a stable and steady flow of art would be pumped into downtown, the dancers would have more consistent work, and thus would be able to stay and work in Iceland more frequently than abroad where they are given work through residencies. Building up the local art scene helps ensure that the things that make Reykjavík such an important historical and contemporary city do not get lost. It is not the end all be all. But by preserving the current downtown and supporting artists, employment and *people* remain centric to Iceland.

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Three EDN dancehouse images and EDN logo are curtesy of EDN website

All other images are the property of Emily Creek.

Research Update

The new Dansverkstæðið opened in March of 2019 after over a year and a half of dancers not having a space of their own. The new space features two studios, offices, dressing rooms, a kitchen, and a lounge—though it falls short of the dream of an official dancehouse, as it does not have a theatre.

“The Composition of Anthropology: How Anthropological Texts Are Made”

Morten Nielsen and Nigel Rapport
London and New York: Routledge, 2018

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What constitutes the creative and transformative procedures shouldered by anthropologists as they endeavor to convey experience via text? The editors of *The Composition of Anthropology: How Anthropological Texts Are Made* argue there is a “specific character” (4) to these processes that, when explicated, assist in revealing anthropology’s disciplinary distinctiveness; a conviction that is unpacked by the contributing authors as they reflect on and write about the minute practices underpinning their ethnographic texts and how they come to evince a final form. The book is intended as both a “pedagogic guide” (4) and “methodological tool” (10) that offers new ways of thinking and writing about writing. *The Composition of Anthropology* will be of interest to students and established academics compelled by reflexive praxis and contemporary anthropological knowledge-making practices.

The Composition of Anthropology speaks to a body of literature traceable to a relatively recent turning point in the history of anthropology: the “writing culture” debate of the 1980s and its associated insistence that reflexivity play a paramount role in the practice of anthropology (Marcus and Clifford 1986). More specifically, *The Composition of Anthropology* is framed as a response to the current lack of attention given to the status and particulars of anthropological writing identified by the editors during their weekly lunchtime discussions at the Centre for Cosmopolitan Studies at the University of St. Andrews (4). Thus, the book seeks to understand how anthropologists transform experience into

written text through the process of “entextualization” (6-7, 197); an exercise that inevitably involves questions of objectivity, ethics, and disciplinary distinctiveness, irrespective of one’s stance on “writing culture” (7).

An examination of entextualization undertaken by anyone other than the author would not account for choices pertaining to the aesthetics of sentence construction, vocabulary, syntax, and rhythm. Such an approach would also exclude the marginal scribbles and contents of notebooks that bridge one’s fieldnotes and published texts, thereby potentially resigning to obscurity the personal ambitions and political intentions latent to the textual work of anthropologists.

As a means to elucidate the private and often habitual factors intrinsic to the process of entextualization, each of the chapters in *The Composition of Anthropology* uses a Text/Commentary format and is prefaced by a brief Editor’s Introduction. The contributing authors provide a short piece of their anthropological writing (the “Text”) followed by a more substantial exposition (the “Commentary”) that elaborates on how the Text came to take the final form that it did. In other words, while the Text can be considered an anthropological construction, the Commentary is a type of deconstruction (9-10). For example, in Helena Wulff’s chapter, “Diversifying from Within: Diaspora Writings in Sweden,” she presents an excerpt from her research depicting racism as experienced by diaspora fiction writers based in Sweden (the “Text”). Accompanying the Text is a personal account of Wulff’s

intellectual history that reveals a childhood love of reading and ballet (the “Commentary”) — the creative techniques of which propelled her toward literary-anthropological work and the writing of the Text as part of a multi-disciplinary research program on world literatures involving the aforementioned diaspora fiction writers. Here, the Commentary sublates the Text by explicitly illustrating the way in which technique and desire can converge in a way that gives rise to creativity in both anthropological practice and the world of ballet.

Regarding the art of writing about writing, the editors recognize the necessity of honesty and generosity (10). However, given *The Composition of Anthropology’s* methodological and pedagogical intent, there is scope to elaborate on the verity that academics are often simply too close to their work to provide gainful perspective when recounting their respective intellectual histories (Gross 2014, 211). As such, the key pedagogical and methodological utility of the *The Composition of Anthropology* lies in its capacity to spark self-reflection. Indeed, by reading and thinking about how other anthropologists think and write about writing, I found myself ruminating on how the residual aspects of my own background in music composition have shaped the way I perceive structure and rhythm in written texts and how I might explicitly evoke these perceptions as I go about “composing” future textual material.

All chapters of the book demonstrate the “chimerical nature” (196) of anthropology: Thomas Hylland Eriksen, thirty years after the fact, admits to taking the easy way out during his analysis of ethnicity and national identity in Mauritius; Morten Nielsen documents the unstable relationship between ethnographic data and theoretical insight by explicating his use of qualitative coding software; and Kirin Narayan seeks to discern the benefits of writing a preface instead of a foreword or an introduction. To *The Composition of Anthropology’s* advantage, the editor’s Epilogue pulls together the central themes that underpin the literary “fragments” (197) contained in the book, thereby concluding what is an accessible and innovative snapshot of contemporary anthropological knowledge-making practices and a notable

contribution to the anthropology of anthropology.

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“Gambling Debt: Iceland’s Rise and Fall in the Global Economy”

E. Paul Durrenberger and Gísli Pálsson
Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014

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A decade after the collapse of Iceland’s commercial banking system, *Gambling Debt: Iceland’s Rise and Fall in the Global Economy* gives pause for thought on the indelible effects of economic recklessness on everyday life. In this book, Editors E. Paul Durrenberger and Gísli Pálsson treat the Icelandic political and business elite as responsible for the 2008 banking collapse. They make plain the behavior of Iceland’s “cheerleaders of neoliberalism” (Durrenberger and Pálsson xxi) and censure those involved in one of the largest commercial bankruptcies of the Global Financial Crisis. Yet, to further understand everyday Icelanders’ role in the collapse, this book also unpacks the nationalistic discourse used to encourage Icelanders’ to support the neoliberal promise of wealth-creation and market fundamentalism in the early 2000s. This is brought to bear through the Editors’ thesis that the collapse is an example of the banality of financial evil, whereby “people act consistently with a set of coherent cultural assumptions that inexorably lead to evil actions” (Durrenberger and Pálsson xxviii). In this case, rampant consumption and dominant narratives of Iceland’s economic superiority obscured the public’s awareness of widespread corruption among the elite and aided financiers in market manipulation.

Comprised of twenty chapters over six sections, the authors featured use ethnography, surveys and historical research to explore the antecedents and aftermath of the collapse. Beginning with an examination of nationalism in the years leading to 2008, Kristín Loftsdóttir (Chapter 1) shows how

Icelanders’ national identity has been firmly based on the distinctiveness of their language, literature and history. Loftsdóttir astutely articulates how the elite co-opted these attributes in the early 2000s to highlight the exceptionalism of an emerging group of male entrepreneurs – known colloquially as ‘Business Vikings’ – who had greatly expanded their business operations abroad. She then makes the case that a kind of “individualistic nationalism” emerged (Durrenberger and Pálsson 9) whereby the qualities used to frame the success of individual businessmen were also said to reflect the essence of the whole nation. In one of the most poignant moments of the book, Loftsdóttir reflects on how this greatly shifted after the collapse: “As if we were in the fairytale by Hans Christian Andersen in which a child suddenly declares, ‘The emperor has no clothes’, the aftermath of the crash caused some Icelanders to suggest that the Business Vikings who had been so celebrated before the crash now could be guilty of treason” (Durrenberger and Pálsson 4).

In the middle chapters, *Gambling Debt* further considers the role of the elite in the antecedents of the collapse by exploring Iceland’s uptake of neoliberalism beginning in the late 1980s. Contributors recount how collaborations between the market, science, and the arts produced new industries that created value from the country’s natural and cultural resources. Evelyn Pinkerton (Chapter 9) explores this through her discussion on the establishment of individual transferrable quotas (ITQ) over Iceland’s fisheries. Through a review of ITQ policies, she shows

how ITQ permits all but guaranteed an annual fishing catch for permit holders. James Maguire's ethnography (Chapter 10) then demonstrates how the predictability of annual catches was used as collateral to raise capital and power sections of the economy. The promised economic development enticed the public to accept such ventures. However, once the global community's appetite for risk began to deplete in 2008, Maguire shows how these investments failed, causing those who had taken up loans financed by speculative capital to fall deeper into debt. Contributors to this section thus illustrate the actions that led to the collapse, and the ways the public became implicated in the elite's risk-taking behavior.

James Carrier's summary chapter signals the importance of *Gambling Debt* for the discipline of anthropology by arguing that our ethnographic endeavors must keep the tension alive between the processes that shape human experience and the disruptions that throw this experience into doubt. This is achieved in the book through a strong commitment to reflexivity and is exemplified when contributors such as Loftsdóttir draw on personal experience to convey the atmosphere of the post-collapse period. Others, like Már Mixa (Chapter 4), rely on observations from working in the banking sector to highlight the unbridled power enjoyed by the business community prior to the crash. Still others reflect on the failure of academics to heed signs of the looming collapse. This is seen most clearly when Guðni Th. Jóhannesson (Chapter 3) highlights the shortcomings of historians in voicing their objection of the exploitation of Iceland's history by the elite. Jóhannesson also warns that if academics neglect their position in shaping public discourse, others will do so on their behalf — and potentially toward sinister ends.

Given the authors' commitment to reflexivity, it cannot be overlooked that examination of community identity in the years following the collapse remains limited. Over the last decade, social and political life in Iceland has been punctuated by a lack of trust in the government and anger over the country's economic position. While this is reflected in discussions of mass protests in response to the collapse (Jón Gunnar Bernburg in Chapter 6) and a yearning for political change (Hulda Proppé in Chapter 7),

a sustained framing of the deterioration of national identity would no doubt extend commentary on Icelanders' attitude towards increased migration (Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir in Chapter 14). Such a framing would further highlight the crucial role that Icelandic language schools (Pamela Innes in Chapter 15) and charities (James Rice in Chapter 16) play in facilitating social cohesion in post-collapse Iceland. In spite of this, *Gambling Debt* contributes to an ongoing critique of the axiom of equality in Iceland that the Editors commenced in two earlier works (Pálsson and Durrenberger 1996; Durrenberger and Pálsson 1989). Through its engaged reading of the human experience of social upheaval, *Gambling Debt* provides a cautionary tale of economic collapse that will no doubt find appeal with students of social and economic anthropology.

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“Given to the Goddess: South Indian Devadasis and the Sexuality of Religion”

Lucinda Ramberg
Durham: Duke University Press, 2014

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Yellamma is a “hot” goddess who brings blessings and trouble to people. *Given to the Goddess: South Indian Devadasis and the Sexuality of Religion* describes how Yellamma’s devotees in rural Karnataka, India seek her favor through gifts of money, food, and sometimes by dedicating their daughters in marriage to the goddess. *Devadasis* are given to the goddess in order to escape Yellamma’s trouble, but their world also creates trouble by offering an alternative definition of kinship, challenging the dominant idea of religion, and presenting a form of sexuality that is neither prostitution nor conventional marriage. Written for a scholarly audience, this book covers multiple topics, winning the Michelle Z. Rosaldo Book Prize from the Association for Feminist Anthropology, the 2015 Clifford Geertz Prize from the Anthropology of Religion, the 2015 Ruth Benedict Prize from the Association for Queer Anthropology.

Three themes – gods, gifts, and trouble – frame Ramberg’s analyses of religion, sexuality, and kinship. Based on two years of fieldwork, Ramberg explains how *devadasis* “world” (manifest) a “world” (a cultural, moral, and cosmological way of knowing and being) in which gods and spirits have power that is exhibited in the physical world. *Devadasis* (those dedicated to a god or goddess) are often children of families who have experienced hardship, which they attribute to Yellamma. By marrying children to the goddess, families hope to obtain her favor. However, Christian feminists, Dalit reformers, and Indian nationalists view *devadasis* as exploited prostitutes who are promoting “backward” practices. These reformers define marriage to a goddess as superstitious

prostitution that must be eradicated in modern India. They “world” a different world in which devotion to Yellamma is a superstition, not religion, and the sexual practices of *devadasis* are legally criminalized as prostitution, according to a 1982 bill.

In *Given to the Goddess*, Ramberg explains that the criminalization of devadasi practice is an extension of colonial era policies that discouraged concubinal and courtesan relationships — even though they had been common in precolonial India. During the colonial era and in present attempts at reform, Ramberg posits that sexual personhood is tied to nation building, and prostitutes are not considered legitimate persons within the vision of the new nation. She draws from Saba Mahmood’s (2005) warning that emancipation from governing regimes should not be equated with freedom from cultural practices. By criminalizing *devadasi* religious and cultural activities, national reformers “have rendered some lives unlivable under the sign of progress” (18).

There is room to expand here upon how national identity is closely linked with one’s religious identity. If India was not concerned about becoming “modern,” would it try to regulate *devadasi* practices so severely? This ethnography explores the consequences of uniting religious and political agendas — but does not further analyze how religious agendas gain power when they become political agendas (or vice versa).

Devadasi practice creates trouble for those who are dedicated by putting them at odds with feminist and Dalit reformers, but devo-

tion to Yellamma also creates trouble by complicating kinship networks. As feminist anthropologists have noted (Rubin 1975; Strathern 1988), marriage can be a way for women to gain value, and marriage to a goddess makes Dalit women valuable.

Dedicated women become conduits through which the goddess's gifts flow to others, an example of Mauss' (1990) assertion that no gift is ever freely given and in fact places social obligations upon people. *Devadasis* have the responsibility of caring for the goddess on a daily basis and will travel together in groups to offer blessings or perform religious rites for their neighbors. *Devadasis* also disrupt kinship structures by turning daughters into sons. Both boys and girls become Yellamma's wives, disrupting heteronormative ideas of marriage. In a patrilineal, patrilocal society with cross-cousin marriage, only sons can inherit property and continue the family line. However, marriage to a goddess allows a woman to take on the role of owning property, arranging marriages for her children, and in some cases becoming the main source of income for her extended family. Her role as a son obligates her to use her social status and economic capacity to benefit her biological kin while also working closely with others who are kin through marriage to Yellamma.

Even though they gain the capacity to take on men's roles, dedicated women are clear that they never become men. Sexuality and gender are complicated and are neither fixed nor inevitable. Also, gender (man) does not follow sexuality (marrying a female deity). As Ramberg explains, "*devadasis* are wives to Yellamma, sons in their family, fathers to their children, mother's brothers to their sister's children" (210). Ramberg expands anthropological understandings of gender performance (Butler 1999) by noting that gender identity can be contrary to performativity. Though *devadasis* perform the role of sons, even fathers, they are never gendered as men. Even the few biological males who are dedicated become Yellamma's wives and are gendered as women.

One of the most significant insights Ramberg offers through this ethnography is that "[r]eligion and sex have always been tangled up in each other" (219). Other ethnographies discuss gender in religion, either allowing for gender fluidity (Mayblin 2010) or restricting

women from religious roles (Eriksen 2016), but *Given to the Goddess* is one of the first to discuss how religion creates new connections between gender and sexuality. By focusing on the specific example of *devadasis*, Ramberg forces anthropologists and all readers to rethink modern notions of sex as only a secular act meant for pleasure or procreation. Within India, conceptions of *devadasis* revolve primarily around their sexuality, while the sexuality of feminist or nationalist reformers is ignored and their social or political agendas are emphasized. There are other examples of how only certain religious persons are thought to have sexuality: "White mommy-daddy-baby-families never seem to be saturated with sex in the way that gay bishops, headscarved women, or dedicated women do. The reproductive sexuality of proper families does not offend modern sensibilities about what is proper to religion or sexuality" (219). Ramberg's conclusions force us all to think about the fact that every religion contains sexuality and that both religion and sexuality are systems of power imbued with ethical considerations about how one should live and who has the authority to regulate what is (or is not) a "proper" expression of religion or sexuality.

In the same way that Mahmood (2005) challenges Western secular liberal notions of Muslim women as oppressed, Ramberg refuses to define *devadasis* as exploited persons who practice a form of illicit sexuality, as they are often portrayed in scholarly and popular literature. The *devadasi* system reveals one particular example of how politicians attempt to regulate sexuality and religion; however, adherents express their agency by continually manifesting a world in which Yellamma is present, requires gifts, creates trouble and reorders kinship networks. Throughout *Given to the Goddess*, Ramberg forces the reader to consider how certain expressions of sexuality become normalized and connected to gender identities that are more complex than anticipated. Though the author makes the point that religion is one method by which sexuality is defined and regulated, this book could include a deeper analysis of how this religion came to have such power in some people's lives. Despite all the opposition to Yellamma and her wives, why do people continue to revere the goddess and dedicate their children? When asked what would happen to Yellamma if no one cared for her, her devo-

tees responded, “[S]he can take care of herself” (109). But if there is no one to “world the world” of the goddess, will she continue to exist? This ethnography could expand more upon the ways in which human behavior enables a religious system to have power.

Given to the Goddess will be valuable to upper-level courses on religion, sexuality, or kinship. It is not recommended for introductory courses, as the main thrust of the book is to challenge established anthropological theories on these topics. This book provides a unique perspective on how sexual capacity is used to reshape existing kinship networks and establish new connections between humans and gods. It is good for moving students familiar with the anthropological study of gender to the next level in discerning how gender is not only performed but is also transacted through various relationships. It is also beneficial for religious studies in considering how all religions are systems of power that define and regulate ethical practices, including sexuality.

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“Speculative Markets: Drug Circuits and Derivative Life in Nigeria”

Kristin Peterson
Durham: Duke University Press, 2014

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In her book, *Speculative Markets*, Peterson offers a critical and incisive ethnographic account of the informal drug market in Nigeria. The book presents the historical, economic, and social context of the current situation of drug circulation in Nigeria and its relation to the global pharmaceutical network. *Speculative Markets* won the 2015 Anthony Leeds Prize presented by the Society for Urban, National, and Transnational/Global Anthropology of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). Methodologically, *Speculative Markets* is exemplar of what Anna Tsing has called an “ethnography of connections” (2004) that cuts across local and global networks of capital with an ethically and politically committed account.

Peterson advances the political and ethical potential of the ethnography of connection to not only go beyond the popular accounts of Nigerian drug trade (which are often reduced to the problem of counterfeiting amidst a crumbling national government) but also demonstrates how life on the margins is very much part of the global entanglements of capital flows and international trade policies. Peterson uses a multidisciplinary approach and develops new analytical frameworks — derivative life and chemical arbitrage — in conjunction with ideas from science and technology studies, critical history, and finance. These ideas can be extended beyond the Nigerian context to other geographies of crisis in the Global South, particularly in the context of medical anthropology. *Speculative Markets* also provides an innovative way to think about developing conceptual tools through the local ecologies of the fieldsite rather than imposing theoretical frameworks

from above.

The book critically traces the correlations between local and global historical events from the 1960s to the 1980s, ranging from the oil boom, the breakdown of Bretton Woods regime, the financialization of Euro-American pharmaceutical industries, and the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in underdeveloped and developing countries. Peterson situates the emergence of Idumota, one of the largest informal drug markets in Nigeria, in this context of national and international reformation. Through shifts in the modern economic landscape, Peterson solves the puzzle of the pharmaceutical industry’s sudden divestiture from Nigeria in the 1970s and the present crumbling state of the country’s drug market.

Before the oil crisis, the Nigerian drug market was dominated by a rich class of private pharmacists who cooperated closely with the Euro-American global pharmaceutical companies. These partnerships were the only means for meeting Nigeria’s drug requirements. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the U.S. dollar was overvalued and destabilized. As a result, the Bretton Woods regime was broken down — which shifted the balance of exchange rates in international trade according to fluctuations in the value of the dollar, leading to massive inflation in countries such as Nigeria. Accompanying this was the financialization of the Euro-American pharmaceutical industry, which required drug companies to maintain higher profit margins that could sustain the volatile stock market.

Given the impact of the downfall of Bretton Woods and the ongoing civil war, Nigeria could not provide a rich consumer class for global pharmaceuticals. The IMF and the World Bank compelled many countries in the Global South to change their national trade and investment policies to allow for greater foreign investment. Peterson cogently critiques the application of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) to Nigeria's domestic economy and documents how this policy resulted in high inflation, massive job loss, and poverty. Because of the lack of a national pharmaceutical industry and complete divestiture of Euro-American companies, the Nigerian government deregulated the country's drug market. Consequently, the country was quickly flooded by low-quality drugs through shadow networks.

Speculative Markets can be placed alongside recent scholarship on the pharmaceutical industry through the lens of political economy and critical geography as captured in the works of Adriana Petryna (2009), Kaushik Sunder Rajan (2006), and Joseph Dumit (2012). Peterson supplements existing scholarship to reflect on how financial markets and SAPs relocate risk to geographical locations such as West Africa to ensure market monopolies in developed economies. Peterson explicitly makes this argument through the concepts of chemical arbitrage and derivative life.

The concept of chemical arbitrage denotes and documents how the very chemical composition of drugs is altered, usually by decreasing the active ingredient in drugs, as they travel mostly from Asia to West Africa through the circuits of shadow networks. Peterson details the ways in which drugs are made cheaper and more competitive given the low-income status of consumers in Nigeria to offer insights into the social life of "bioequivalence." Bioequivalence signifies the similarity of content and effect between two drug formulations. Peterson's work shows how the production of counterfeit/generic medicines is embedded in economic precarity, in which risk becomes part of the chemical cocktail.

Further developing her analysis of risk in this ethnography, Peterson uses the concept of "derivative life" to understand the ways in which risk enters and transforms the life of people living in conditions of extreme

dispossession. *Speculative Markets* shows that this risk is different from the neoliberal imaginaries of risk, where the agent is seen as operating to constantly better her circumstances by making rational choices within an organizational structure. Through a "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of market ecologies, the book brings to the fore the techniques of speculation (i.e. short-term credit practices, labor migration, and entrepreneurship structures) that people use to get through everyday precarity in the absence of overarching organizational structures.

Peterson's book offers a critical framework to consider cultures of medicine in the Global South through a critical engagement with global capitalism and neoliberalism. As an ethnographic work, *Speculative Markets* pushes the boundaries of methodological and theoretical frameworks by demonstrating a multidisciplinary engagement with the field.

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“Downed by Friendly Fire: Black Girls, White Girls, and Suburban Schooling”

Signithia Fordham

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016

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In her book, *Downed by Friendly Fire: Black Girls, White Girls, and Suburban Schooling*, Signithia Fordham offers an in-depth intersectional analysis on the gendered and racialized violence that girls face at school. This two-and-a-half-year ethnographic work was conducted at a predominantly-white suburban school in upstate New York, which Fordham calls “Underground Railroad High School” (2016, 5). Fordham uses participant observations of both classroom and non-classroom activities, formal and informal interviews, and diaries written by the participants themselves (89). However, Fordham is clear that *Downed by Friendly Fire* is not a traditional ethnography.

The book includes both autoethnographic third-person narratives from the author herself along with five second-person composite narratives from twenty participants (21-23). Ethnographically, the book uses excerpts from Fordham’s fieldnotes along with passages from the participants’ diaries to stay true to the experiences of the participants rather than speak for them. Fordham’s thesis is that differences in behavior, practices, and academic achievement between white girls and black girls at Underground Railroad High School are the result of how the school as an institution treats those differences, due to the “dissimilar habitus” between school officials and the two groups of girls (Bourdieu 1984; Fordham 2016, 15). These divergent habitus “structures their differentiated academic performance, habitus beliefs, responses, and practices” (15). Fordham finds that schools are mechanisms that force girls to channel their competition and aggression toward other girls because school officials

and policies misrecognize non-physical forms of aggression as trivial compared to physical violence, leading girls toward an “unending quest for normality” (17). This normality, formed by notions of whiteness and gender, creates an environment where girls who do not meet the standards of whiteness and expected gender behavior are punished socially by their peers.

Fordham points out that previous researchers have failed to account for the racialized nature of female bullying and aggression in United States educational contexts. Fordham posits that American society sets gendered and racialized expectations for girls, and those who violate socially acceptable norms are subject to correction through violence (9). Violence, Fordham argues, needs to be conceptualized differently in schools. While many school officials and students condemn physical violence, Fordham contends that violence in schools needs to be expanded beyond the physical. Fordham found that girls at Underground Railroad High School used “language, logics, and images” as forms of symbolic violence to create an “intimate apartheid” — “lives lived in close proximity but with enormous differences in social and cultural practices and interactions” — between black girls and white girls (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2004; Fordham 2016, 17-18; *Ibid.*, 258). These forms of violence are often misrecognized as the deviant feminine behavior of an individual rather than acts that maintain societal gender and racial hierarchies.

Fordham argues that schools are structured to remedy physical violence but ignore or

rationalize other forms of violence as individual phenomena and therefore perpetuate it. The author documented this phenomenon through the eyes of five composite narratives of twenty research participants (105-229). Each of these stories are exemplary of the different types of violence girls experience at school, ranging from violence based on racial identity to body image. While one instance of violence included a physical altercation, the rest were examples of violence that were not recognized by school officials as legitimate forms of violence and therefore were either not remediated or were viewed as individual maladies.

One composite narrative is analyzed in ways that seem either incomplete or incorrect due to Fordham's view of whiteness. Brittany presents as white; the other students, the school administrators and staff, and her family all identify her as white. However, for Fordham, the way that Brittany talks and self-identifies as "acting black" or "performing blackness" puts her at odds with what is considered normal racial and gender behavior (127). Instead of respecting her identity, school officials and fellow students attempt to correct these behaviors. For Fordham, whiteness and other racial categories are misrecognized as either embodied or a performance.

Brittany's performance of blackness downplays one of the key tenets of whiteness: that whiteness is *embodied* in people who are perceived by society as white (Bonilla-Silva 2018). This means that white people do not need to actively access the benefits of being white because they are granted those benefits automatically by being perceived as white by the society around them (Bonilla-Silva 2018). That means that no matter how much Brittany "acts black," she is still going to gain some benefits at her school and in the world around her just by inhabiting a white body. To ignore or downplay this aspect of whiteness could potentially let people like Brittany off the hook for their appropriation of other cultures. While school officials do not accept Brittany's performance, Fordham recommends that they should. Whiteness' social power and the value it carries in American society means that white people cannot disregard the embodiment of their whiteness, for doing so would fall easily into color-blind discourses that erase the historical and political aspects of that racial category.

This book offers a more intersectional view of the aggression and violence that girls face in the school. Instructors teaching at the undergraduate level could very easily couple this work with other readings focusing on intersectionality (i.e. Crenshaw 1989).

Downed by Friendly Fire also contributes to discussions on methodology and fieldwork. Fordham's use of traditional ethnography intertwined with narrative gives graduate students an alternative template of an ethnography. Most importantly for graduate students entering the field, Fordham writes throughout the book about her struggles conducting the project (61-103). This vulnerable and open narrative gives the novice researcher a sense of "I am not alone in this struggle" when conducting anthropological research and the challenges one may face in the field.

Overall, despite some issues in her analysis regarding how whiteness operates, Fordham's newest book is a positive contribution to the study of race, gender, and education. The book raises questions that consider issues of school climate, female aggression, and racial dynamics that, from a pedagogical standpoint, can lead to intriguing and complex class discussions. The style of the book, often blurring the lines between narrative and ethnography, is easily accessible for readers in and out of academia.

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Four Lectures on Ethics: Anthropological Perspectives

Michael Lambek, Veena Das, Didier Fassin, and Webb Keane
Chicago: HAU Books, 2015

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Four Lectures on Ethics: Anthropological Perspectives, written by Michael Lambek, Veena Das, Didier Fassin, and Webb Keane, is a collaboration of essays related to recent developments in the anthropology of ethics. Containing similar themes on ethical relations and interpretations in historical, social, and cultural contexts, the included essays do not represent a single voice for understanding ethics in everyday life. Instead, the authors offer new discoveries of how people render the world intelligible through ethical evaluation and hermeneutical processes. These discoveries present “the ethical” as a framework for further anthropological studies by pointing to how ethics intersects with every facet of human life, and also provide anthropologists with a theoretical heuristic for social analysis.

The essays in the book are formatted to display each author’s independent thoughts, containing the authors’ related ethnographic accounts and philosophical references. The book is divided into four essays: “Living as if it mattered” by Michael Lambek; “What does ordinary ethics look like” by Veena Das; “Varieties of ethical stance” by Webb Keane; and “Troubled waters, at the confluence of ethics and politics” by Didier Fassin. Although their voices are multiple and diverse, the authors of these essays discuss several similar themes. They depict ethics as an interpretive process for understanding the world into which people are “thrown”, as Martin Heidegger described (Heidegger 1927). They treat ethics as an all-encompassing whole that is expressed in life through interactions and self-reflection to produce different types of ethical subjects and relations. The featured

authors work to reconcile “the ethical” with society instead of isolating it from human interactions by analyzing philosophical theories of ethics alongside ethnographic examples of ethical interpretations. Their theories draw from philosophers such as Smith, Kant, Nietzsche, Wittgenstein, Durkheim and Weber, whose inquiries into ethics assist in describing ethical relationships, moral imperatives, and social constraints. The authors’ incorporation of complex philosophical thought into an anthropological examination of interpersonal interactions offers anthropologists a new method for understanding ethical motivations for human behaviors. Furthermore, they analyze ethical interpretations among diverse communities to demonstrate that ethical concepts are not cultural inventions within distinct societies, but are the product of individual psychology, emotional response, social traditions, and patterns of interaction (155). The authors’ ethnographic examples range from displays of dignity among drug dealers in urban America to expressions of desire among communities of Sumbanese highland villagers; this breadth of examples works to liberate the field from a tradition of ethical relativism, which remains trapped in an incorrect view of cultures as distinct wholes.

One important point the authors raise is a critique of the objectification of ethical concepts. Lambek provides two examples of slogans printed on car license plates to illustrate the importance of looking beyond objectified categories of ethics. In New Hampshire, the slogan “Live Free or Die” (28) implies an extraordinary imperative to defend freedom, which is grounded in the

United States' longstanding liberal tradition. On the other hand, cars in Quebec display license plates that state "Je Me Souviens" or "I remember" (32) which, rather than an imperative command, suggests attentiveness or public consciousness and attests to the remembrance of Quebec's former independence. However, the slogans represent only an objectification of ethics — or the creation of explicit, ethical interpretations through a symbolic presentation of Quebec's and New Hampshire's politico-historical values. These slogans are imposed upon all drivers and their vehicles, but statements on license plates do not hold people accountable for adhering to said traditions. Instead, Lambek suggests that anthropologists of ethics should examine specific acts and practical judgments to understand how the drivers of these vehicles perform ethically (Lambek 2010). Veena Das exemplifies Lambek's suggestion by working through the lens of the ordinary to describe the multifaceted nature of ethical life. Her own work on violence in India uncovers a complex world of ethical relations intertwined with cultural traditions such as the influence of karma in ethical decisions. Her research reaffirms James Laidlaw's work on Jainism and the ethical impossibility of living as a perfect ascetic (Laidlaw 2014) by supporting his conclusions that ethical experiences are inherently incomplete and composed of cross-cutting virtues that are subject to reinterpretation. Therefore, an objectification of ethical life under a cohesive telos is inaccurate. Instead, anthropologists should study the "contours of ethics" (114) through experiences such as vulnerability, sorrow, and joy to accurately describe social life.

Throughout *Four Lectures*, the authors attempt to recognize "the ethical" within sociocultural and historical contexts. In his essay, Webb Keane calls these cultural influences and any experiences or perceptions that enable ethical judgements and decisions among ethical subjects, *ethical affordances* (Keane 2015). These ethical affordances incorporate past experiences and social forces to "give ethics a history" (155-6). Fassin's essay offers case studies to help the reader understand how these ethical stances and affordances are infused in other forms of social life such as political institutions. He examines Kantian, virtue ethics, and utilitarian influences surrounding three issues: the United Nations' principle of the Responsibili-

ty to Protect; different ethical stances in reactions to the Charlie Hebdo attack; and ethical interactions between individual police officers and law enforcement organizations regarding police misconduct in Paris. Using these examples, Fassin posits that anthropologists who analyze ethics and politics must incorporate seemingly oppositional philosophical ideas to fully describe ethical experiences and the vast sociocultural contexts in which they exist. He argues alongside Keane that different ethical subjects and ethical actions are affected by distributions of power in different social positions.

Although *Four Lectures* is an effective and thought-provoking collection of ethical inquiries, ethnographic examples, and theoretical suggestions, it has a few shortcomings. Keane reuses several sections from his 2015 book, *Ethical Life*, which negatively affects the book's intended mission of detailing new ideas and developments in anthropological studies of ethics. Additionally, as Fassin claims, the authors overwhelmingly use positive virtues (i.e. sympathy and dignity) in their descriptions of ethics and exclude negative characteristics (i.e. resentment and hatred) — which are equally prevalent among certain ethical actions. The book would also benefit from extended ethnographic accounts that better portray the authors' theories on ethical life. Despite these criticisms, *Four Lectures* remains a wonderful presentation of ethics as a crucial but overlooked part of human life.

The anthropology of ethics is a nascent field that, as James Faubion described, has mostly philosophical and theological precedents (Faubion 2011). This field offers student and professional anthropologists a theoretical framework for understanding the "human condition at its most universal and intimate scales" (8). The authors of *Four Lectures* illuminate ways in which people find direction and value, explaining human behavior in both ontological and empirical terms through an examination of both philosophical and ethnographic interpretations of ethical substance. The book's diverse examples of participant observations and interviews can assist undergraduate and graduate scholars in observing how ethical subjects engage with other people, objects, institutions, and societal forms of ethics. The authors' methodologies encourage anthropologists to examine everyday ethics in order to move

beyond ethical objectifications and to reconnect the ethical with socio-political and historical contexts.

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