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Parameters of the Possible

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Volume 11

Parameters of the Possible

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Teaching and Learning on the Front Lines

Magdalena Barrera
San José State University

ABSTRACT: *Despite many years of experience in higher education, I was unprepared during spring 2017 to encounter in my classroom the tremendous impacts of the current presidential administration's fear-mongering and ethnic scapegoating. In this essay, I explore the following questions: What changes do we need to make to facilitate teaching and learning on the front lines, by which I mean working with students who are living in fear in this political climate? How do we support students who are not only striving to earn their degrees, but also to protect themselves from ideological, rhetorical, and potentially physical assaults? What does this look like both in and out of the classroom? I describe moments in which I had to facilitate conversations about the political moment with the Latino students in my classes. I also provide some suggestions for how instructors can work to be more mindful of how they acknowledge and respond to students' concerns about the effects of the Trump era on their families and communities. I argue that it is incumbent upon those of us who enjoy the privileges of citizenship, class status, and tenure to find ways to make space and advocate for our most vulnerable students.*

Key words: Pedagogy, Latinos, higher education, politics

Introduction

I feel I may be somewhat of an interloper on this collection of anthropological writings because, as fate would have it, my training and research actually are rooted in literature. However, my department, Mexican American Studies, is housed within the College of Social Sciences at San José State University, and so ever since joining the faculty in 2008, I have been an anthropologist of sorts, a humanist studying the habits of the social scientists who surround me.

Due to my department's and students' needs, I most often find myself teaching Chicano history, families, comparative ethnic studies, education, and—once a year—literature. I live for the literature class, because it is the one time each year when my true passion and skills get to shine. I love seeing students galvanized by the experience of seeing themselves, their communities, their ways of mixing English and Spanish, all represented on the page for the first time. It is a thrill that never gets old. Students who once felt that they never enjoyed reading suddenly realize that they do once they discover texts that speak to their lived experiences.

Hence, whenever spring semester comes around, I am pumped—it is time for Chicano literature! I prepared for the spring 2017 semester like any other: swapping out readings, updating my lesson plans, anticipating the community of learners who would join me on this journey. Yet, as soon as the semester began, it became obvious that something was different. Something was off in students' energy and demeanor. There was a palpable tension, tremors of fear and anxiety that reverberated during our discussions, a certain sadness that lurked at the edges of the room. The students themselves were the same that I have always taught in Mexican American Studies: first-generation Latinos, most from working class and/or immigrant families. Some have close family members who are undocumented or are themselves without papers.

And with that, the difference becomes clear: We are living under a new administration—the Trumpocene, as I heard an anthropologist colleague refer to it. Our current political leaders have made it clear that my students are not to be viewed as true Americans, are not welcome in this country, and they and their loved ones can be rounded up at any time. I can feel these young adults anxiously holding their breath: Is today the day? They hold themselves so tight that they could barely breathe out the lines of poetry that I asked them to read aloud.

What did this look like on a typical day? When students arrive, they know to arrange their seats in a wide circle so that everyone can see each other during discussion. Class usually begins with everyone briefly sharing something about their lives. I try to keep the questions upbeat: "What is something you're proud of this week?" or "What are you looking forward to this weekend?" One day, we were about halfway through the circle when a student rushed in, a few minutes late, trying to catch her breath and apologizing as she took a seat. I assumed she was so flustered because I have a policy that latecomers must write a poem about why they were late and then read it aloud at the next class session. However, when it was her turn to speak, she burst into tears. She explained that she had just encountered flyers from Identity Europa, a white supremacist organization, taped up at various locations around campus. "Be yourself, be white," the flyer screams, "Say no to anti-white propaganda." The founder of this hate group, a student at California State University, Stanislaus sucker-punched a woman at the so-called "free speech" rally organized by far-right extremists last April in Berkeley (Neiwert 2017). For my students, this slip of paper is the same kind of punch. I instantly found myself having to facilitate a discussion to help them process their collective fear and outrage.

Here is another example: While teaching a short story about the Tucson barrio in the 1940s, I had to share a brief history of the deportations of Mexicans from California and the Southwest in the 1930s—euphemistically known as the era of "repatriation," though many deportees were actually American citizens (Balderrama and Rodríguez 1995). As I was set to return our focus to the

story, a hand went up. "Did anyone hear about the raid at the Tropicana yesterday?" a student asked. The class immediately erupted: Talking over each other, students breathlessly recounted what they knew of the raid and about people from their community picked up by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Others chimed in about similar raids that had taken place in their home towns up and down the state of California. As the conversation wound down, the first student said, "I am sorry, Professor Barrera, I took us off way off course." I responded, "Don't apologize—clearly this history relates to what we are seeing today." Again, in an instant, the terrors of the Trumpocene made their presence known.

Strategies for Teaching on the Front Lines

Nothing in my training has prepared me to teach in this context—and I suspect the same is true for many of my colleagues. What changes do we need to make to facilitate teaching and learning on the front lines, by which I mean working with students who are living in fear in this political climate? How do we support students who are not only striving to earn their degrees, but also to protect themselves from ideological, rhetorical, and potentially physical assaults? What does this look like both in and out of the classroom? I would like to reflect on some practices that have worked for me in the spring 2017 semester while teaching on the front lines. You may already be doing these things in your own classrooms, but I share them nevertheless to underscore their importance and to reaffirm our shared commitments.

First, our texts and assignments must be made relevant to students' lives. Because my class is an elective that does not fulfill any general education requirements, students often have to be convinced of the need to study literature. As social science majors, they seek to effect positive change in our communities, but literature as it is taught K-12 does not seem overtly "political." Yet there is nothing more political than literature; in fact, our texts are considered so dangerous that they are outright banned in some places (Rios 2017). Moreover, look at the example set by Trump's administration, which wasted no time in gutting the funding for the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Thus, I must constantly remind students that literature is far more than just "stories." It is a form of resistance, a chance to tell our truths from our perspectives, to record our experiences for future generations. Right now, more than ever, we need our voices and perspectives to counter the spurious rhetoric being circulated about "bad hombres" and the like.

Second, we need to free up class time to create community and a safe space. As you heard in my examples earlier and may have experienced yourself, I have learned to allow more flexible time in my lesson plans in case we need the time to deal with reminders that we are learning to navigate life under Trump. Meanwhile, I know that "safe space" is a much-maligned term for some, yet I find it useful here to draw from Eamonn Callan's essay "Education in Safe and Unsafe Spaces." Cal-

lan makes an important distinction between what he calls "dignity safety" versus "intellectual safety." He explains, "To be dignity safe in a given social environment is to be free of any reasonable anxiety that others will treat one as having an inferior social rank to theirs" (2016:65). Once dignity safety is established in a classroom community, then students are enabled to be intellectually "unsafe" and to consider perspectives quite different from theirs, which then promotes deeper learning.

We can facilitate dignity safety in multiple ways. On the first day of the term, many professors invite students to create common ground rules and expectations, demonstrating their willingness to incorporate students' suggestions into the class. Facilitating small-group discussions, even in a large lecture course, also can go a long way towards building a community feeling in the classroom. For example, in addition to giving students a particular task or question to work on together, I typically ask them to begin by (a) turning their chairs to face each other so they can all make eye contact; (b) making sure they know each other's names; and (c) briefly sharing an "ice breaker" type of question, such as "What is something you're proud of this week, and why?" Moreover, instead of asking groups to report back with points of consensus from their discussion, we can ask them to discuss the range of responses from students in their group, so that no perspectives are silenced. Most key is making clear that diverse views are welcome—which requires from us that we not step back from difficult moments in class. Something students frequently noted is that on the day after the election, some professors conducted class as usual, perhaps fearing the volatility of managing a fraught conversation among diverse students. Yet students overwhelmingly found this lack of acknowledgement far worse than even a tense conversation with students situated across the political aisle. We cannot afford to conduct business as usual.

Third, we need to model intellectual inquiry as it really is, full of doubts, false starts, resulting in only more questions, precisely because our students are seeing political leaders who are determined to do the opposite: offering blustering proposals without accompanying analysis of the likely outcomes. As professional scholars, we have the tools, concepts, and vocabulary to analyze how and why we are deeply concerned about where this country is headed. Our students know well the most pressing issues facing their families and communities; our job as educators is therefore to share the tools of critical analysis so that these young minds can better and more forcefully articulate what their concerns are, imagine possible solutions, and understand how they are connected to much longer histories of inequity, injustice—and resistance.

On a related note, just as we should teach students how to identify "fake news," we ourselves need to model healthy skepticism in what we read. Recent op-eds in mainstream publications—from the *Atlantic Monthly* to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Inside Higher Ed*—would have us believe that it is overly sensitive "snowflake" students who have the power to terrorize faculty and administrators, ruining careers with their al-

leged sensitivities (Barrera and Lee 2016). Or that conservative students are the ones who need protection, when in reality many of them have been emboldened to voice their prejudices—which, paired with an instructors' inability or unwillingness to help students feel that dignity safety, has a terrible effect on overall campus climate for underrepresented students.

Finally, we have to be willing to be vulnerable and open about our own fears and experiences. Emotion can be a powerful way to engage students. I acknowledge that our ability to share what we "really feel" varies greatly by our status and social location. Nevertheless, just as it is easy for us to sense students' unease, so too can they feel ours. David Remnick (2017) recently described the Trump presidency as "the demoralizing daily obsession of anyone concerned with global security, the vitality of the natural world, the national health, constitutionalism, civil rights, criminal justice, a free press, science, public education, and the distinction between fact and its opposite." Students need to know that we share their concerns and feel some of the same impacts they do, because surely some of the palpable sadness and tension in the room emanates from us.

I could not help but bring my own worries into the classroom when I had my own personal encounter with the Trumpocene. During spring break, I was grading papers at a Panera in San Jose, California, when a fellow customer asked me where I was born, said I look "exactly" like a Malaysian terrorist, and warned me that he was calling the federal marshals to alert them to my presence. Other people around us heard his threats but did nothing to come to my defense. The incident only ended because I challenged the man to repeat his threat and began recording him on my cell phone, which promptly caused him to run out of the restaurant. His words sent me into a state of shock; it was not until I called my husband a few minutes later that I registered its seriousness and began crying out of fear and anger. I filed a police report, shared my story and the man's image on social media, and felt comforted by an outpouring of sympathy and support. I also felt I needed to tell my students. It was a Friday, and I would not see them again until class on Monday afternoon, so my gut instinct was to write an email describing what had happened. I hesitated, though, worried that my message might be triggering for them: Undocumented students are on edge already, constantly anticipating this moment, being publicly challenged on their right to be here. However, I decided to share it because I wanted to be up front about my shock, outrage, and dismay. I used the opportunity to urge them to report similar instances that may happen to them and to speak up for others if they witness something similar, while at the same time acknowledging that this can only be done if we ourselves feel "safe."

My point in sharing these reminders is that if you have the safety of citizenship, class status, and tenure, then you absolutely must find ways to make space and advocate for our most vulnerable students in the current political climate. There are no easy answers and clear ways forward that work across the board. Yet, as writer

Christina Torres (2015) explains, "[O]ur students are going to face racism, bias, and privilege whether we discuss them or not . . .We can either run from these discussions, or we can model a courageous vulnerability that we know our students give us every day when they trust us with their hearts and minds." Faculty often aim to move students from a fixed mindset to a growth mindset—yet those same principles must apply to us. As established academics, we are creatures of habit, drawing upon the teaching and research techniques and modes of dialogue that are most comfortable to us and that have enabled us to reach this point in our careers. As a result, we may never know the true impact of our academic freedom unless we are willing to trade upon its currency. Now more than ever, it is absolutely incumbent upon each of us to ask ourselves what we can change about our pedagogical approaches during this new era and how we can better address students' needs. We need to remember that the students are not the only learners in the classroom; faculty members must remain so as well, especially if we aim to prepare students for the challenges that lie ahead for us all.

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The "Muslim Ban" and Beyond: Parameters of the Possible for the Anthropology of Islam in Today's America

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ABSTRACT: *This presentation takes up the theme of the session by examining the nature of Islamic Studies as an academic pursuit in the current political climate of the United States. Many anthropologists and other scholars were drawn to the study of Islam from an interest in subjects we imagined were far removed from contemporary US/global politics. We wanted to study medieval Sufi poetry, or how Muslims negotiate marital disputes in Zanzibar, or debates in Indonesia over intention in Islamic prayer, or how Indian Muslims use sacred texts in healing practice. However, in the current political climate of the United States (most recently exemplified by the executive order on immigration known as the "Muslim Ban") many scholars today find themselves engaging in research, service, and teaching that is in essence reacting to political developments and shifting popular perception of Islam and Muslims. Many are expanding their reach by becoming public intellectuals, active not just in their own academic circles but in the popular press and media. Drawing on conversations with and writings by Islamic Studies scholars, this presentation considers the present and future of Islamic Studies in the United States. What are our responsibilities and obligations? Is there an ethical imperative for certain kinds of scholarly engagement?*

Key words: Islam, pedagogy, Muslim Ban

Introduction

In this essay, I take up the theme of the President's invited session, "The Shifting Parameters of Possibility in American Politics," by examining the nature of Islamic and Middle East Studies as anthropological and academic pursuits in the current political climate in the United States. I am an anthropologist who specializes in Islam in East Africa. Some of us in anthropology and related fields were drawn to the study of Islam from an interest in subjects and questions seemingly far removed from contemporary American politics. We wanted to study family law in Zanzibari Islamic courts, medieval Sufi poetry, debates in rural Indonesia over intention in prayer, or the ways in which Indian Muslims use sacred texts in healing practice. Of course, many scholars of Islam in anthropology and related fields have engaged specifically with political moments and movements, global geopolitics, and the legacies of colonialism. However, we have not defined the anthropology of Islam as necessarily nor inherently political.

However, in the current political climate in the U.S. (recently exemplified by the 2017 executive orders on immigration known as the "Muslim Ban," versions 1 and 2), many anthropologists and scholars in related disciplines find themselves engaging in, or feeling compelled to engage in, research, service, and teaching that is in essence *reacting* to political developments and shifting popular perceptions of Islam and Muslims. Some academics are expanding their reach by becoming public intellectuals who are active not just in their own academic circles but in the popular press and media. Some, like Omid Safi of Duke University and Reza Aslan of the University of California, Riverside have become quite well known and enjoy large public platforms. Other academics are developing new courses, teaching materials,

or programs of study. Still others are launching new research projects that address contemporary political concerns. Of course, this is not entirely new. Indeed, since 9/11, American scholars of Islam have faced a similar climate and have had similar concerns. However, the years 2016 and 2017 have seen an escalation of hateful rhetoric and discriminatory action, both at the local level and, in 2017, from the White House. Data collected by the Southern Poverty Law Center shows a marked increase in anti-Muslim hate groups in the U.S. between 2010 and 2016, with the most dramatic increase from 2015 to 2016 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017, paragraph 1).

In this essay, I draw on my own experience and the comments and writings of other Islamic Studies scholars in anthropology and related fields to consider the *parameters of the possible* for the present and future of Islamic Studies in the United States. As social scientists specializing in the study of Islam, what are our responsibilities and obligations? Do we teach about Islam differently from other religions? Is there an ethical imperative for certain kinds of scholarly engagement? To prepare this essay, I reflected on my own experience and asked a number of social science colleagues in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies to consider how the current climate affects their teaching and research; I have secured their permission to use their comments anonymously in this essay.

Before proceeding, I will share a bit of my own background. I am an associate professor of cultural anthropology at the University of Nevada, in Reno. My primary area of scholarly interest has been the intersections of law, gender, and Islam in Zanzibar, Tanzania. I have studied how people in rural Zanzibar manage marital disputes and divorce, and how Islamic judges reason when disputes get taken to Islamic family courts. I teach

courses on the anthropology of religion, the anthropology of Islam, the anthropology of Africa, and several others. I am also currently the director of the minor program in Religious Studies at the University of Nevada. Prior to my appointment at this university, I was as assistant professor in the Department of Humanities and Religious Studies at California State University, Sacramento, where I primarily taught courses in Islamic Studies.

This essay will first address pedagogy, since my respondents were most eager to talk about how the election has affected their teaching. Teaching is immediate in a way that research is not—we must show up for our classes, even the morning after upsetting election results. We must prepare our syllabi and order books for the next term, while a new research project might take months or even years to develop. Thus, teaching was understandably on everyone's mind. However, a number of respondents, myself included, have already considered new research plans and new ideas for public engagement, which I will address following the section on teaching. To conclude the essay, I consider the thoughts of my colleagues in conjunction with my own reflections, and I offer a model for teaching and engagement that aims to ensure that students are familiar with the diversity and variety of everyday Muslim lives in a way that prepares them to not only understand contemporary political realities, but to critically evaluate and engage with dominant discourses that are only rarely critical, engaged, or well-informed.

Teaching

In responding to my queries, my colleagues indicated that their teaching has been affected in a number of ways. Interestingly, the feedback suggests that professors have become more conscious of the consequences of their *tone* in the classroom, while at the same time they are using more overt examples and comparisons in classes that might be construed as putting the United States in a negative light. After discussing the thoughts of my colleagues on tone, self-censorship, and curricular issues, I will reflect on my own concerns about course content by discussing reviewer responses to a textbook on world religions and my own course planning.

Tone and Self-Censorship

A few respondents focused on how they have adjusted their tone in classes. An anthropologist noted that:

My personal reaction has been a new, weird tension where, on the one hand, I feel more angry and less patient when students' ignorance or Islamophobia/anti-immigrant ideas surface in classroom comments, but I feel more scared to openly correct them because in the context of heightened polarization, I feel hyper-aware of how statements that I KNOW are empirically defensible facts (such as "Muslim refugees are unlikely to be terrorists") will be used to paint me as a "biased" liberal professor by students who disagree. So I'm finding myself feeling more anxious overall about teaching topics that I've been teaching for years, which is depressing.

A historian who teaches a class on Islam in Africa noted the following in terms of how he addressed tone:

. . . I have a student who has tried to raise that issue [of immigration/Muslim ban] in our discussion. I tread carefully with this, trying to respond to that student, while making sure that we have a civil conversation. My goal is to allow other students (DT supporters) to be part of a civil conversation based on facts.

A historian who teaches Islamic history, said "it certainly has made me a great deal more cautious with regard to what I say and how I say it. That said, I actually had pretty good luck this semester complicating the worldview of some of the avowed Trump supporters in my survey class."

In terms of topics and curriculum, some noted that they draw more frequent parallels—and often unfavorable ones—between the US and other regions. One political scientist said, "I make a lot more direct comparisons between the executive power in the U.S. and in the Middle East/Northern Africa region than I expected to ... and of course our discussions of U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis the region are somewhat all over the place because no one knows what the $*&% is going on ... "

An anthropologist similarly noted that, "in one class, we're focusing on Muslim minorities and immigration in Europe. I am finding myself making way more effort to get students to draw parallels to the United States." One historian of the modern Middle East said:

DT's approach to the Middle East offers an interesting contrast with the policies of the Obama administration with regard to Syria, ISIS and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In my classes, we have looked at debate material, press conferences with world leaders and other primary visual material to discuss some of these differences. It kept the students interested in the subject material and helped instill the idea that the history of the modern Middle East is something that is relevant to their everyday life.

Another historian explained his approach like this:

In one of my classes, I had two or three instances where I felt that DT's election impacted my teaching ... [for example] A student asked about immigration/refugees in Europe; so I gave a lecture focusing on that topic in order to help them understand this complex issue, using facts pertaining to European laws.

Another professor reflected on challenges that he and other Arab and Arab-Americans face, not only in teaching tone and research, but in daily life.

As the holder of a U.S. green card, I must say that I have felt that the social and political environment in the U.S. has become somewhat more difficult

for Arabs. You can feel it sometimes in casual encounters at a supermarket or restaurant. I believe that some of the more fringe elements in the society have become more emboldened to be hostile to Middle Easterners since DT's election. As a result, sometimes I feel more restricted in terms of what I feel I can write or say lest it be misconstrued in some way and used against me.

Curricular Changes

A few respondents noted curricular changes in process. One observed that enrollment in and interest in Islam-focused classes was on the rise. One institution had just launched a Middle East Studies major, the success of which my respondent attributed to the election. At my own university, we are in the process of developing one minor in Middle East Studies and another in Middle Eastern Languages and Literature. We also recently hired our first full-time faculty member to teach Arabic, and will now offer four years of Arabic instruction.

Course Content and Course Planning

I will begin reflecting on my own teaching by discussing a world religions textbook that I co-authored with colleagues from California State University, Sacramento. The book was designed for use in undergraduate courses on religions of the world and accompanying resources include course planning materials such as lecture slides and exam questions. The text has been fairly successful: The first edition came out in 2012, the second in 2015, and we are currently working on revisions for the third edition, which should come out in 2018. We are a team of several authors, and each author writes two or three chapters. I wrote the chapter on Islam. The book goes through extensive peer review for every edition. My chapters have typically been well-received—particularly the chapter on Islam. However, after our most recent round of reviews, which were completed in the fall of 2016 and in early winter 2017, my chapter was flagged by the editors as a "problem" chapter. I was surprised, and when I read through the twenty reviews of the textbook, I noticed that instead of the usual praise for my detailed and carefully written sections on the Qur'an, Sufism, Islamic family law in the modern world, and women and gender roles, several (though not all) reviewers criticized the chapter for spending too little time discussing ISIS, terrorism, and "radical Islam." Some of the comments are as follows:

> REVIEWER A: I guess I can understand why it does so, but the chapter largely skirts around issues of violence and terrorism in the 21ˢᵗ century. There is barely any discussion of al-Qaeda and only passing reference to 9/11 – without any explanation of the ideology behind those attacks. I can understand not wanting to over-emphasize radical Islam, but skirting around seems equally problematic ... students want to talk about current events such as religious terrorism and violence.

> REVIEWER B: The definition of terrorism is just plain silly and would be laughed at in any scholarly discussion of terrorism. Yes, [it needs] a serious discussion of religious violence/terrorism. The text is beyond feeble in this respect. The terms are used twice in the entire book, one about Qutb and the other attached to the embarrassing definitional attempt. An [interview with] a Turkish professor in the age of ISIS? Yawn and nod off.

Another critical reviewer noted that the chapter spent far too much time discussing the Qur'an and Sufism. For the purposes of this essay, it seems important to note that the reviewers did not flag the Christianity chapter as problematic for a lack of discussion of the rise of white Christian nationalist movements in the United States and Europe. Indeed, of the twenty reviewers, only two criticized the lack of coverage of violence or conflict in chapters other than the Islam chapter: one reviewer requested that the new edition include a discussion of Hindu nationalism and violence, and another asked that the Buddhism chapter address Buddhist-Muslim conflict in South and Southeast Asia.

So what do I do? Clearly, I need to update the chapter, and I will respond to criticisms, but what is my responsibility as a textbook author? What picture of Islam do I paint for students who may know nothing about the religion, and how much weight do I give to current political movements versus the billion and a half Muslims who are not part of them and have actively denounced them? In a chapter that cannot exceed a certain word count, how much space do I spend writing about the current political and historical moment versus 1400 years of Islamic civilization and cultural history? Our author team has continually aimed for some uniformity across chapters, even while recognizing this can imply false parallels between traditions, and I am now faced with the task of expanding the discussion of contemporary politics in the Islam chapter without increasing the word count. So, what do I cut? How do I balance the need to respond to students' questions about violent political movements that use a discourse of Islam, and loom large in public consciousness in the U.S., while showing students that Islam and extremism are not equivalent terms? My co-authors shared my concerns, and agreed that we cannot produce a new chapter on Islam that looks significantly different from other chapters. Fortunately, in a move that eased my worries about balance, the editors of the textbook decided that we should have a section in each chapter dedicated to religion, conflict, and violence (although this creates other concerns that are beyond the scope of this essay).

Such thoughts are also with me as I plan my own courses. At present, I am putting together a new syllabus for my course on the anthropology of Islam and Muslim cultures, which I will teach again this fall. I am wrestling with how best to approach the course in our current climate, and I am torn. Sometimes, I think that teaching the course the way I always have, which has aimed to get students to understand diversity in religious life in daily practice among Muslims from different parts of the

world, is the best approach. What better way to combat any latent or overt Islamophobia (which I have never experienced in the class) than to teach students about belief and practice in the everyday lives of regular people? We should study Islamic narrative in Malaysian farming practices, the social lives of Muslim teens in Michigan, Muslim healers in Hyderabad, women's organizations in Beirut, divorce practices in Egypt, and the politics of Sufi shrines in Pakistan. In such moments, I find myself *resisting* reacting (if that makes sense), and constructing a syllabus that refuses to react.

In an anthropology of religion class that I taught in Spring 2017, I assigned a recent article in the *New Yorker* that examines how Western scholars and translators have, in effect, removed the "Islam" from the work of the great 13th century poet Rumi (Ali 2017). In the article, Omid Safi, the noted public intellectual mentioned earlier, called this a "spiritual colonialism: bypassing, erasing, and occupying a spiritual landscape that has been lived and breathed and internalized by Muslims from Bosnia and Istanbul to Konya and Iran to Central and South Asia." In the same article, Fatemeh Keshavarz, a professor of Persian literature at the University of Maryland, argues that the process of translation is a reminder that "everything has a form, everything has culture and history. A Muslim can be like *that*, too." I read this, I assigned this, and I think: Isn't it my job to teach American students about the one and half billion Muslims who are *like that*? The millions more who *have been* like that?

However, I also feel compelled to focus the class more on work that addresses the current climate in the West. I have done this to some extent in the past by focusing on the excellent anthropological work on Islam and migration in Europe, and I have focused particularly on the controversy in France surrounding the now notorious "headscarf ban." Should more of the class focus on responses to and perceptions of Islam in the West, then? But is this a spiritual or other form of colonialism? Is this putting the West back at the center? What is the proper balance? By spending more time teaching about Islam *in* the West, or Islam *and* the West, do I risk feeding or perpetuating the highly problematic clash-of-civilizations narrative (e.g. Huntington 1996) that seems to be coming back to life, even as I and so many others actively teach against it?

Research and Public Engagement

Let me now move on to discussing research and public engagement. What are our responsibilities and obligations? Is there an ethical imperative for certain kinds of scholarly engagement? In my informal survey of col-

Yes, the election has changed my research both logistically and normatively. International travel after the announcement of Trump's unconstitutional Muslim Ban is more challenging, both going back and forth to the Middle East and bringing colleagues and interlocutors here (in some instances the latter is impossible). Normatively, Trump's restrictions on refugee resettlement has reoriented my entire research, from

the politics of labor and migration in the Middle East, to the politics of labor and migration of Middle Easterners (and others) here in the U.S. It's jarring to be studying my own country through the same lens of consolidating authoritarianism I used in the Middle East, but I hope the analytic lens can help resist this transformation of our politics.

An anthropologist told me that:

On the research front, I feel more compelled to make sure Islam figures prominently in my next research project, because I [need] to keep speaking reason to the insane voices about Islam in Europe ...

Others are taking on the task of public scholarship. A historian says that he is making efforts to engage with the public through publishing in popular media outlets, and he is also shaping his research to meet current climate.

Just after the election I published an op-ed with USA Today Online and our in local paper about Trump's victory and why it took the liberal establishment by surprise. I am working on an article now that compares Trump's rhetoric/policies with Obama's policies with regard to the Middle East. It has been difficult (and premature) because we still do not know where Trump is going.

In my role as director of the minor program in Religious Studies, I plan an annual spring lecture in religion. This year we invited Omid Safi. Although he accepted the invitation prior to the election, his visit is shaping up as response and resistance: the main event will be a talk entitled "American Muslims: American Dream and Empire's Nightmare" (he proposed another far more provocative title that made me somewhat nervous, so I chose this one). When I asked about artwork and images for the posters and flyers, he sent the now iconic artwork created by Shephard Faery for the Women's March, which the artist allowed others to use free of charge. Clearly, Omid and our Religious Studies committee planned this talk as necessary reaction and resistance in the current political moment. Dr. Safi delivered his talk t o a full house, and his fiery, funny, and political words were extremely well received, and I think inspiring for many in attendance, many of whom were from our local Muslim community.

What about my own research? After the election, our small religious studies committee discussed the necessity of further outreach to our local Muslim community. In the winter, I attended Friday prayers at a small Shi'a mosque, and stayed after to talk with the informal director and some other members, most of whom were students at the University of Nevada. We talked about the election and the Muslim ban, and about various upcoming events on campus. Our talk eventually turned to research, and I summarized briefly the interests of the religious studies committee, three of whom are social scientists with scholarly interests in Islam, and would be de-

lighted to conduct collaborative research. I asked if anything came to mind about research projects that might be useful, and the informal director talked a bit about how they had performed their first marriage, and how the steps they went through to prepare and officiate would make interesting research project. So, I'm considering this as a project (welcome graduate students!).

Concluding Thoughts

To conclude, let me pose further questions about what our role should be as a faculty teaching and conducting anthropological (or other) research on Islam. What are we called to do in terms of teaching, research and engagement? What are we compelled to do? What are our responsibilities? How do we balance responding and reacting to current developments (or resisting) with teaching about the diversity and variation within the Islamic tradition and Muslim lives, both today and for 1400 years? How do we balance a discussion of ISIS and Trump tweets with covering weaving traditions in Senegal that draw on sacred Islamic narratives? How do we respond to student interest in terrorism while also teaching about the ways in which Muslim women in Tanzania navigate between Islamic and customary inheritance norms when making claims to property? Do we let current events dictate our teaching? What about that phrase, "current events"? Should I even use it? And what about our research? What about doing research purely for the sake of knowing more about everyday Muslim healers in Hyderabad? Will that kind of work ever get funding again in the United States? And by doing such a project, would an American researcher be abdicating her responsibility? What are the shifting parameters of the possible, or perhaps the parameters of responsibility and ethical scholarship, in the anthropology of Islam today?

I suppose it is feckless to pose such questions without attempting an answer. In my own teaching, I have come to the conclusion (well, for the time being) that my job is to provide a broad foundation and a deep context for students studying Islam in anthropology and related fields. I teach so that they come to know about Muslims and aspects of the Islamic tradition they do not see in the media or hear about in political discourse—so they learn that, in Dr. Keshavarz's words, that "Muslims are like *that*, too." And, yes, at certain points we will address "current events." However, my greater goal in my academic work is not to simply react, but to teach students enough about the diversity, the complexity, the beauty, and the normality of the Islamic tradition and everyday Muslim lives so that they can evaluate critically and, when necessary, react knowledgeably to the often deafening voices that do neither.

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Countercultural Development: Challenging Gender Roles through STEM in Nepal

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ABSTRACT: *Aid and development have long targeted schooling as a primary site of intervention in Nepal. However, scant research has explored perceptions of development among educators themselves. This study considers how Nepali educators understand themselves as beneficiaries and agents of development within the context of a U.S. Department of State-funded education program. Further, the paper considers how educators understand gender norms, and how their participation in this program may challenge them. The study suggests that the program – as part of larger development initiatives – is a location and context through which girls' identities and educators' identities are negotiated in Nepal.*

Key words: Nepal, STEM education, gender, development

Introduction

Nepali society has undergone dramatic changes since the opening of the foreign aid era in the 1950s. Through the Four Point program funded by the United States in 1951, Nepal agreed to accept assistance and receive its first direct aid payment of U.S. $2000 (Whelpton 2005:15). Since then, foreign aid and development efforts in Nepal have been inseparable, operating as twin, synergistic processes (Panday 2011:167). Though Nepal has a long history of home-grown education initiatives (Sharma 1990:23), foreign aid has targeted schooling as a primary site of intervention. While foreign aid for educational programs flows into Nepal under a "politically neutral" guise (Panday 2011:43), these programs, and the development discourse that frames them, have ideological consequences. In particular, education programs that target girl children confront constructions of Nepali womanhood that have historically disapproved girls' education. The encounter between competing ideologies has led to a process of identity negotiation for educators, students, and parents alike.

This study considers how Nepali educators understand themselves as beneficiaries and agents of development within the context of a U.S. Department of State-funded education program. Further, the paper considers how educators understand gender norms, and how their participation in this program may challenge these norms. The program, Girls Get STEM Skills (GGSS), took place in Pokhara, Nepal, which is Nepal's second largest urban centre. GGSS provided 254 girls in grades 6, 7, and 8 with foundational science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) skills during an eight-month period spanning 2015-16. GGSS was run at three government schools, which were identified as having a large population of traditionally under-served students. Empowering Women of Nepal (EWN), an NGO founded and run by Nepali women, served as the implementing organization and helped teachers conduct and coordinate STEM classes throughout the duration of the program.

This paper examines educators' perceptions of challenging dominant gender roles via their participation in the GGSS program through the concept of *bikas*—the Nepali word for development. *Bikas* is an important signifier in Nepal, with social, economic, political, and cultural connotations and consequences. Examination of educators' perceptions provides insights into the nature and functioning of *bikas*, as well as the ideological impacts of the GGSS program, on Nepali society. The sections that follow will first provide an introduction to gender roles in Nepal, the GGSS program, and the concept of *bikas*. Next, the paper will discuss education as a form of development in Nepal and present the study's methodology, limitations, and findings. Lastly, the paper will conclude with a discussion.

Gender Norms in Nepal

Nepali women are not a homogenous group—there are widespread differences in gender norms across the diverse groups of people comprising Nepal's population. Nepali women inhabit varied caste, class, and ethnic strata, which position women differently in society. However, as Grossman-Thompson (2017), in her work on contemporary gender norms in urban Nepal explains, "there is a hegemonic ideal of Nepali womanhood stemming from centuries of cultural dominance by the politically, socially, and economically elite high-caste Hindus (Grossman-Thompson 2017:486). High-caste Hindu gender norms idealize Nepali women as docile and domestic, prescribing obedience to male members of the household. A woman's place is viewed as in the home, where women are, ideally, secluded and restricted from public participation in politics and education (Grossman-Thompson 2017:490).

As a result of gender relations constructed by an historically dominant, high-caste Hindu elite, women drop out of secondary education in much higher rates than their male peers and are unlikely to pursue skilled professional job tracks, according to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2015). This is especially true for high-value STEM careers such as engineers, computer technicians, statisticians, and city planners. Instead, as Pant and Suwal (2009) report, women are largely responsible for the reproduction of the family through reproductive labour and unpaid household labour, with little access to steady wages or benefits.

Girls Get STEM Skills

The GGSS program was designed to bridge the gender achievement gap in Nepal by providing girls with training in core STEM skills. GGSS used targeted instruction of pre-STEM skills, such as computer literacy and problem solving, to address women's low representation in Nepal's skilled work force. While many empowerment-based programs focus on providing skill training to women already on the job market, GGSS addressed the problem at the secondary education level. In Nepal, the secondary education level consists of a U.S. equivalent of grades 6–10, after which a national "School Leaving Certificate" is conducted. For the U.S. equivalence of grades 11 and 12, students can choose to pursue a "Technical School Leaving Certificate," which prepares them for a vocation. By intervening at the secondary school level, before girls are tracked away from vocations in STEM, GGSS aimed to attract girls to high skill careers and avert inter-generational deficits in education.

The GGSS program also sought to affect the attitudes of parents, classroom teachers, and school administrators about the capacity of girls to excel in STEM subjects. Long-term goals included creating lasting shifts in schools' approach to teaching girls in pre-STEM skills. In this way, the GGSS program did have overt ideological intentions that explicitly labelled girls' absence in STEM fields as both a material and cultural problem.

To prepare schools to implement the GGSS curriculum a leader of the GGSS grant team trained participating teachers, administrators, and EWN staff over a two-day orientation program in Pokhara. The GGSS leader explained the program's curriculum, which had been adapted from a U.S. STEM program for girls, and assisted teachers in carrying out several of the program's STEM activities. The training also encouraged use of an interactive, student-centered pedagogy, a marked difference from the lecture method employed by most Nepali teachers. On December 4, 2015, all three government schools began teaching STEM classes to girls.

The Concept of Development in Nepal

Bikas holds a unique historical meaning in Nepali society. In 1950-51, after the fall of the isolationist and autocratic Rana Dynasty, Nepal underwent dramatic changes as it opened to the West for the first time (Panday 2011:3). This context created a new platform for development activities from various international actors. Tellingly, USAID referred to Nepal at the time as a "development laboratory" and a "blank slate" (Hindman 2002:121). Throughout the "guided democracy" era of Nepal's post-Rana monarchs, *bikas* was used as a legitimizing objective of the state (Panday 2011:36). Consecutive monarchs courted foreign aid and disseminated development discourse through schools, news, and popular media, processes which continue today (Tamang 2002:312). In the context of Nepal's immense diversity of language, caste, and ethnicity, *bikas* transcended local dissimilarities to create a common, national social terrain.

In popular consciousness, *bikas*, the Nepali word for "development," describes anything new or foreign (Pigg

1996:170). Colloquially, the term refers to programs or commodities, especially those that come from elsewhere (Pigg 1993:52). As a concept, it is frequently juxtaposed with the traditional and historic culture of Nepal, which is understood as rural, pastoral and bound by Hindu norms. *Bikas* is used diversely in Nepal's government documents, education materials, and popular media to signal positive and necessary change, transformation, and progress that is by definition a palliative to more regressive aspects of traditional culture.

For the Nepali state, *bikas* has historically provided a way of expressing the relationship between different parts of society, for example urban and rural (Grillo 1997:23). By tying Nepal's urban centers to remote villages through development initiatives, however, the shared social territory created a new awareness of Nepal's state of underdevelopment. *Bikas* depended upon an object upon which to operate and on the "backwardness" and "inadequacy" of places and people. The rural hinterlands, ethnic minorities and women became the target towards which development interventions were particularly aimed (Pigg 1992:496). However, through the proliferation of thousands of projects and decades of development discourse, being Nepali generally came to mean being a citizen of an undeveloped country (Pigg 1993:48).

A number of studies about Nepal have focused on the meaning of *bikas* in the everyday lives of Nepalis. Pigg (1992, 1993, 1996) has produced anthropological studies of development; Shrestha (1993) and Panday (2011) have engaged with *bikas* in self-reflective critiques of Nepali elites; and Tamang (2011) and Grossman-Thompson (2017) have included discussions of *bikas* in their analyses of "developing" Nepali women. Additionally, Ahearn (2001) examined state-level development rhetoric present in government school textbooks, Robinson-Pant (2010) assessed changes in literacy and development policy and programming, and Guinée (2014) described the educational experiences of low caste women. Nevertheless, although it is widely acknowledged that schools are a primary site of *bikas* (Shrestha 1993:8), according to the author's knowledge, scant attention has been given to Nepali educators themselves—a gap this paper addresses.

Education as a Form of *Bikas*

Embedded within *bikas* is an ideology of "high modernization," (Hindman 2002:104) which implies a sequential scale of social progress (Pigg 1992:503). This model embraces a linear mode of development (Hindman 2002:105). In Nepali society, the higher social position a person possesses, the more "developed" they are presumed to be. Being *bikasit*, or "developed," has a practical, cultural, and economic value that enables one to operate in the wider, modern world of development. The social salience of being "developed" enables numerous Nepalis to make a living by administering development programs (Pigg 1993:48). As a result, ideas about development do not exclusively come from outside local communities, but are often expressed within it by *bikasit* people who are also local (Pigg 1992: 494). In the process,

bikas has become a primary way Nepalis understand each other and their relationship to the world (Grillo 1997:12). Through the discourse of development, Nepal itself has emerged as an object of "self-conscious attention" (Pigg 1996:192).

In development parlance, the process of teaching of technical skills to locals by foreign experts is known as knowledge transfer (Koch and Weinger 2016:2). American officials in the 1950s saw knowledge transfer as a key part of Nepal's development (Hindman 2002:102). It followed that American experts would "transfer" knowledge and skills to locals, who would then be in charge of developing their country (Hindman 2002:102). This initial strategy has shaped Nepal's education system for six decades. Educational efforts remain focused on literacy, technical and vocational education, and economic development-oriented expertise (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2015:32). As a result, schools are primary locations for the production and dissemination of development ideology (Shrestha 1993:14), where Nepalis negotiate and navigate the changing social categories of their communities and nation.

Methods

Thematic analysis design was chosen for this study. Research questions included (1) what perceptions do GGSS educators have of the gender imbalance in STEM fields of study? and (2) how do GGSS educators view themselves in the context of Nepal as a "developing" nation? Participants were recruited and selected from teachers and administrators who taught or implemented the GGSS program at three Pokhara area Secondary Schools in 2015-16. EWN provided an existing list of GGSS educators and facilitated introductions between researchers and participants. All three GGSS participating schools and the EWN main office in Pokhara, Nepal were visited.

A total of 18 Nepali educators, all of whom were male, were interviewed. This included 10 individual interviews and two focus groups consisting of six and two educators respectively. The interview protocol, based on the research questions, was semi-structured and open ended. During interviews, participants chose a pseudonym and completed a demographic questionnaire. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. At the end of the interview, participants were given the opportunity to change their responses or express anything not covered in the interview. Focus Groups were arranged for participants who preferred group discussion to individual interviews. Two classroom observations were also conducted at the invitation of teachers.

Upon return from Nepal, all recorded data was transcribed along with field notes. Thematic analysis was preferred to the grounded theory approach to understand the social phenomena of the GGSS program itself rather than produce an overarching theory (Glesne 1992:159). Through an iterative process, 43 initial codes were synthesized into major themes. The findings are presented below in their thematic sections. All names are self-selected pseudonyms.

Limitations

There are several potential limitations of this study. The most significant limitation is possible inaccuracy and/or misrepresentation in the process of translating between Nepali and English. The researcher encountered some difficulties in the actual interview process itself. Several participants were not able to speak English fluently. This may have led to ideas being presented in an inaccurate manner. In addition, some participants did not speak English at all. In this case, the researcher used the assistance of a translator. The difficulties of communication, understanding, and translation may have obscured some of the information spoken by participants.

In a similar vein, the short period of time for the study and researcher's lack of formal training in Nepali cultural studies may have resulted in a gulf in understanding. For example, without a sophisticated understanding of the nature of the relationship between government schools and foreign agencies in Nepal, the researcher encountered some difficulty in assessing educators' perceptions of the GGSS curriculum. The researcher sought to combat this limitation by learning as much as possible about Nepali culture and the education system during the course of this study. The researcher takes sole responsibility for any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of testimony that may still remain.

Findings

Social and Cultural Restrictions

Gender imbalance in STEM was widely acknowledged as a problem" among GGSS educators (Ijon, personal communication, August 6, 2016). Rambabu, a math teacher, assessed the situation, "In Nepal, more than 80% of students studying STEM today are boys." Educators cited a variety of cultural and social reasons for the educational gap. Many pointed to family pressure to get married as a factor that restricted girls' access to education. Deepak, a science teacher, explained, "most of the parents have the concept that girls have to get a nice family environment and a nice caring husband." He continued, "[Parents] say, 'hey, you have to handle your home, you have to go into the home of your husband,' like that" (Deepak, personal communication, August 6, 2016). Deepak's reference to "the home of your husband" refers to the traditional Nepali marriage practice in which women leave their natal home to live with her husband's family. Abhishek, a school principal, reflected similarly, "our society has this belief that once they are mature, they have to go to someone else, so why should they get education?" His comments demonstrate recognition that traditional Nepali marriage practices disincentivize families from investing in their daughters' schooling. Girls' education is not seen as a worthwhile investment because they "go to the husband's house," meaning their education is unlikely to be put to use in a high-skill career and their earnings will not stay within their natal family (Chandrakanta, personal communication, August 6, 2016). In addition, "parents help support boys rather than girls because daughters-in-law often face strict domestic Seclusion following marriage, when they are not allowed

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to work outside the home and are expected to have children" (Chandrakanta, personal communication, August 6, 2016).

Educators spoke openly about the detrimental effects that gender norms have on girls. Ijon, a science teacher, explained, that on the one hand, "boys have the self-confidence within themselves that they will take science and be a doctor, engineer, or something." On the other hand, Ijon continued, "girls are always behind boys and have this low self-esteem" (Ijon, personal communication, August 6, 2016). Educators acknowledged restriction on girls' education according to dominant gender norms is self-fulfilling prophecy. Rambabu explained, "their senior sisters did not dare to study subjects like this science, mathematics, so [younger students] follow that trend." Thus, Nepali girls have few examples of successful women in STEM, which produces low self-esteem and in turn discourages their own pursuits, furthering the cycle of low representation. Rambabu's use of the term "dare" demonstrates his awareness of the courage required for girls to pursue STEM. In addition, his use of the word "trend" demonstrates knowledge of the inter-generational gender gap in STEM, a target of the GGSS program.

Educators pointed to "male dominated" Nepali society as restricting girls' education and holding back *bikas* (Sagar Rana, personal communication, August 7, 2016). Chandrakanta explained, "the thinking we have in Nepal is poor towards the girls. In our society, girls have to suffer the family." Educators' comments disclosed their understanding of women's historical confinement to the private realm. Ijon divulged, "parents do not allow girls to go outside from the home." As a result, "girls face many difficulties to study technical subjects because they have to go to outdoors and parents do not allow them to go" (Ijon, personal communication, August 6, 2016). Ijon's reference of "outside" and "outdoors" is an acknowledgement of parental preferences for girls and women's domestic seclusion. For the parents of young girls, "outdoors" refers to participation in the public spheres of education and wage labor, arenas which have not been historically welcoming of women.

Notably, educators viewed norms constraining women from going "outside from the home" as the antithesis of *bikas* (Rambabu, personal communication, August 6, 2016). Deepak spoke of "the myths working in our society," and Chandrakanta explained, "in our country, there are many superstitions." Educators' viewed the situation through the lens of *bikas*, in which Nepali culture and Nepal itself was an object of analysis. For GGSS educators, Nepali culture needed *bikas* in order to address the gender discrimination at the root of women's absence in STEM fields specifically and Nepal's development lag more broadly.

Need for Development

Fourteen out of 18 educators mentioned Nepal's lack of material resources as a major social and educational challenge. Referring to physical conditions, Deepak stated, "most of the Nepali people are living in scarcity."

He continued, "we don't have much, we don't have many available resources." Ijon lamented, "important materials are not at our school," and continued "we have no projector and no teacher's laptop." A dearth of material resources meant Nepali schools were unable to engender *bikas* in students effectively or efficiently. Devid explained, "in Nepal, many students too are ignorant of education, skills, and training programs." He continued, "in some schools they don't even have the science lab" (Devid, personal communication, August 6, 2016). Educators viewed the absence of material resources and education as a reflection of Nepal's lack of *bikas*. Shyam, a computer teacher, explained, "Nepal is [an] underdeveloped country, you know very well." Shyam's comment reveals the influence of *bikas* discourse, through which Nepal has become a country at which development projects are aimed. His expression "you know very well" reveals a universal view of Nepal's underdevelopment in comparison to the West. Shyam's emphasis on "you" pointed to his acknowledgement of the researcher's position as a white male westerner from a *bikasit* country who would clearly recognize the comparative lack of resources in his classroom.

Beneficiaries of Development

As a result of Nepal's perceived underdevelopment and material lack, educators viewed themselves as beneficiaries of "resources from donors" (Rambabu, personal communication, August 6, 2016). School principal Abhishek was "proud to get this project here," as the GGSS program had energized the school community. He explained, "we were very excited—our students, parents, teachers, staff, and school management community—we were all very, very excited" (Abhishek, personal communication, August 7, 2016). Educators saw the program as "a great chance," for students and themselves (Deepak, personal communication, August 7, 2016). Deepak explained, "we taught them and we learned at the same time." As a result, he was able to "become updated in language and learning" (Deepak, personal communication, August 7, 2016). "Updated" in this context reveals modernity's influence in Nepal, where knowledge of science and the English language can greatly increase one's social and economic standing. As beneficiaries, educators offered "thanks to those like you who provide us this chance"(Rambabu, personal communication, August 7, 2016). The phrase "those like you" again reflects *bikas*' colloquial association with foreign aid and foreigners, particularly white Westerners. Shyam described himself as "waiting" for "another program to be provided to us," revealing the manner in which donors create the context for non-sustainable programs (Shyam, personal communication, August 7, 2016). Often, one-off programs like GGSS can lead to failed initiatives by preventing locals from integrating projects with existing processes or tasking locals with the upkeep of expensive programs. Despite these frequent frustrations with *bikas* projects, educators participating in GGSS were hopeful that even one-off programs could provide much-needed capital and resources.

Agents of Development

Educators' perceptions showed that they understood and embraced the GGSS program's mission to challenge gender roles. Educators saw themselves as "empowering" and "motivating" girls (Babu Pandel, personal communication, August 7, 2016). Kancho, a science teacher, reflected, "for this problem to be addressed, we have to erase the misbeliefs or myths of our society" (Kancho, personal communication, August 7, 2016). Accordingly, educators saw themselves as preparing girls for a "career in the computer line or as a computer engineer" (Babu Pandel, personal communication, August 7, 2016). Kancho explained his success, "before the program we asked the girls, 'What do you want to be in future?'" He continued, "The girls' aim changed after the duration of the program. Some told us, 'we want to be a lecturer like you,' and some told us, 'we want to be like software engineer, computer engineer'" (Kancho, personal communication, August 7, 2016).

As agents of development, educators advocated for the expanded implementation of the STEM program. Babu Pandel recommended, "take this program to the remote site of the Karnali River," an isolated region viewed as deficient in *bikas*. Compared to the relative wealth of urban Pokhara, the Karnali area lacks basic infrastructure and occasionally experiences food scarcity. Thus, when Devid suggests, "continue this program whenever, in any corner of world, in Nepal, or anywhere," he points to the need to bring *bikas* to remote regions, such as the Karnali River area, most in need of development (Devid, personal communication, August 7, 2016). By advocating for the expanded implementation of *bikas*, educators revealed their perception of themselves as agents of development.

Discussion

This study points to an on-going tension in Nepal between gender norms and development ideals. Grossman-Thompson (2017) explains, "the roots of this tension are the seemingly contradictory messages young Nepali women receive" (Grossman-Thompson 2017:502). Through the GGSS program, girls were taught to participate actively in their education and pursue high skill and high value STEM careers. The discourse of development and modernization that is pervasive in Nepal emphasizes that women "participate equally in the public space of modernity as wage earners and consumers" (Grossman-Thompson 2017:489). At the same time, however, women are met with persistent gender norms that counter these exhortations. Norms that disapprove of women's mobility and visibility in public space continue to have tremendous power. Thus, as Grossman-Thompson (2017) explains,

> While the ubiquitous development discourse urges women to 'modernize' through higher education, political participation, and capitalist productivity, hegemonic norms promoting women's domestic role inhibit women's ability to participate equally in the promises of modernity [Grossman-Thompson 2017: 489].

These competing visions of modern Nepali womanhood present a challenging mix of directives for girls navigating their path to adulthood.

This study suggests a principal impact of the STEM program for girls may be an exacerbation of the ideological tensions between gender norms and *bikas*. As Ahearn, in her work on literacy and *bikas* in Nepal writes, "development is not simply a set of economic and educational projects; it is also a set of ideas about how to think and be" (Ahearn 2001:246). For young Nepali women increasingly negotiating between development discourse and high-caste Hindu gender ideology, programs such as GGSS are the locations and context in which modern girls' identities are mediated. While GGSS supports the "empowerment" message of development discourse, its conflict with dominant gender norms leads to a slippery social landscape for girls to navigate. How, then should GGSS participants "make sense of these competing visions of modern Nepali womanhood" (Grossman-Thompson 2017:502)?

In addition to providing a space in which girl students shape their identity as modern young women, the GGSS program is also an arena where educators come to understand their role in Nepal's development agenda writ large. Educators' dual understanding of themselves as beneficiaries and agents of development demonstrates how *bikas* discourse is accepted and then perpetuated by educators in Nepal. Education, as a critical aspect of a *bikasit* (developed) identity has been an historical point of intervention for bikas programs. Thus, it is not surprising that educators understand themselves as part of a *bikas* vanguard. Previous research on development interventions in Nepal shows the often-unintended ideological consequences of development programs (Pigg 1993). The GGSS program is no exception, and it is clear that the program has not only functioned as a vector of STEM skills transference from trainers to teachers to students. GGSS has also served as a medium for the transfer and circulation of ideas about the politics of gender, development and Nepali cultural norms more broadly.

By examining the perceptions of GGSS educators on their role in challenging gender roles through participation in development programs, this study emphasizes the importance of viewing development interventions from the middle, where ideology and implementation converge (Hindman 2002:101). Educators are in a unique position to act as conduits for the dissemination of development discourse from both foreign and local development institutions. Educators' understanding of their roles as mediators between development programs like GGSS and the "targets" of development efforts is a particularly rich source of data on the convergence of the discourse of *bikas*, gender norms, educational systems, and cultural change. This research elucidates how educators themselves conceptualize their role and suggests that in the case of Nepal, educational institutions are both a locus of skill and knowledge transmission as well as a locus of ideological shifts that have equally important implications for development writ large.

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When the Political is Personal: Mexican Teachers' Competing Union and Family Obligations

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ABSTRACT: *Thousands of teachers assigned to remote communities in the largely rural, impoverished Mexican state of Oaxaca have two "homes": the permanent one they share with their relatives (spouses, children or parents) and lodging in the place of employment. This pattern is shaped by three primary factors: (1) the state's complex mountainous topography that has carved out more than 10,000 communities; (2) an underdeveloped infrastructure that leaves thousands of villages isolated and lacking basic services (e.g., paved roads, purified water, electricity, health clinics or pharmacies; phones); and (3) teaching assignments based on seniority rather than preference or necessity. Teachers who live apart from their children rather than subjecting them to harsh conditions face added economic burdens as well as a longing for home, while children often suffer from the absence of one or both parents. Compounding these everyday tensions, teachers frequently must travel to participate in well documented union actions (roadblocks, strikes and marches) in response to neoliberal policies (Foweraker 1993; Ornelas 2004; Yescas Martínez and Zafra 2005). Less well understood are ways that participation in these political actions takes an emotional and financial toll on teachers and their families. This ethnographic analysis of teachers' narratives focuses on ways that teachers balance the often competing demands of their professional, political and personal roles, including during the 2006 Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca (APPO) social movement and more recent civil unrest.*

Keywords: Family separation, labor union, social movement, Mexico

Introduction

This ethnographic study speaks to ties of biological kinship, internal migration, and of brothers and sisters in arms in a southern Mexican labor union. These issues have been a constant thread during my 25 years of fieldwork in Oaxaca, as I studied links between schooling, employment and family.[1] In March 2017, Arturo – a social activist and educator – mentioned that teachers would likely march on May 1st for *Día del Trabajo* (Workers' Day) and *Día del Maestro* (Teachers' Day) on May 15th. He volunteered that this is "better than participating in a *plantón* (sit-in or encampment). That's a *desmadre*." There are many ways to translate this phase, but the politest is to simply say that "Participating in a sit-in is a nightmare." Arturo added that "sleeping in the streets of Oaxaca for a night is bad enough, but it's even worse when you have to spend a week in Mexico City, away from your home and family."

Arturo's words frame this discussion of ways that teachers' job-related, highly politicized labor actions disrupt their personal and home lives in a state that has, simultaneously, the richest cultural mosaic yet poverty rates among the highest in the nation. With an economy founded in subsistence agriculture, tourism and remittances from U.S.-bound migrants rather than manufacturing, teaching has been a desirable occupation for rural residents and members of lower income urban households (Lorey 1992). This is attributable both to the financial aid that is available to students from poorer households and because, through 2014 when federal educational reform legislation was passed, normal school graduates were guaranteed employment with the federal government. However, it has also been fraught with political dimensions and tensions (Foweraker 1993; Yescas Martínez and Zafra 2005). On the one hand, teachers are

agents of the State employed by the federal *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (Ministry of Education, abbreviated SEP in Spanish) and their role includes imparting civic lessons as well as academic knowledge. On the other, teachers' labor actions have been on-going with consistent demands for higher salaries and benefits. In the case of Oaxaca and a few other largely rural southern Mexican states including Guerrero and Chiapas, violent confrontations between teachers and security forces have been widely reported in the popular media. Below, I situate historically teachers' involvement in what participants term a *la lucha* (struggle) for social justice, before turning to teachers' accounts of ways that union protests create difficulties for them and members of their families. Concluding thoughts focus on how we as anthropologists can understand this crisis that has personal and public dimensions.

Contextualizing Sección 22 Protests

Over the past 35 years, Oaxacan teachers have garnered international attention and national infamy due to their continuing – and critics would say relentless – protests. Public school teachers are federal employees and members of the *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educacíon* (National Union of Education Workers, abbreviated SNTE), Latin America's largest labor union with 1.5 million members. Oaxaca's 70,000 teachers belong to one of two locals – *Sección* 22 (Local 22) and *Sección* 59 (Local 59). Local 22 has earned a reputation as one of the most visible, vocal and radical SNTE chapters since the Oaxacan Teachers Movement (Movimiento Magisterial Oaxaqueño, abbreviated MMO) emerged in the 1970s in response to, among other things, low wages.[2] In the early 1980s the MMO joined with teachers in six other largely rural states in the *Coordinadora Nacion-*

al de Trabajadores de la Educación (National Network of Education Workers, abbreviated CNTE) to work within SNTE to bring about change and put an end to corruption and cronyism (Cook 1996; Foweraker 1993; Ornelas 2004; Yescas Martínez and Zafra 2005).[3]

Widely regarded as the "dissident" wing of SNTE, CNTE consistently engages in protests that include *bloqueos* (road blocks) of major highways and urban intersections, local and national *megamarchas* (literally mega marches) with tens of thousands of participants, and the *plantones* Arturo mentioned. Following Local 22 protests in Oaxaca City in 2006 elaborated below, a few thousand Local 22 teachers formed Local 59 as an alternative section; members of the former consider those in the latter to be "traitors." An analysis of the on-going tensions between and within the two sections is outside the scope of this discussion. I focus here on Local 22 demands, which include those for higher wages, better working conditions, and an end to neoliberal policies (including discussions about privatizing education and pensions) that they allege negatively affect teachers and the majority of Oaxaqueños.[4]

Conditions in Oaxaca

Two-thirds of Oaxaca's 3.8 million residents lives in households with a monthly income below the federal poverty threshold of 2600 pesos, or roughly $1350 US (18 pesos = $1 US in April 2018) (INEGI 2015a). The census classifies one-third of Oaxaqueños as native speakers of one or more of the 15 indigenous languages spoken in the state. Over 80 percent of this indigenous population is bilingual in the *lingua franca* Spanish. While in gross terms Spanish-speakers are grouped as *mestizos* and associated with dominant Mexican culture, an unquantifiable number of Spanish-speaking Oaxaqueños identifies with indigenous cultures because they have been raised in households or communities with an indigenous heritage. The indigenous population is overrepresented within the lower socioeconomic strata and, collectively, fares less well in education than Spanish speakers as reflected in lower test scores (Creighton, Post and Park 2016), and factors into Local 22 protests.

Among other concerns that Local 22 members raise are the harsh conditions in rural communities where the majority teach. (The federal government defines a "rural" community as a settlement of fewer than 2500 residents.) The state's mountainous topography contributes to uneven development across the state's over 10,000 communities of varying sizes, the majority of which cannot be reached by paved road. A high number rank at the bottom of national standard of living indices for markers such as nutrition, infant and maternal mortality, and access to basic services such as potable water, electricity, clinics and pharmacies, and schools. Evaluations conducted by Mexico's *Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación* (National Institute of Educational Assessment INEE) consistently report that the quality of schooling and educational attainment rates in Oaxaca are among the lowest in the nation. This pattern is most pronounced in rural areas (INEE 2004; OECD 2015).

These low attainment rates have been consistent even as the schooling system has changed and expanded dramatically since the 1917 post-Revolutionary Constitution made six years of *primaria* (elementary school) mandatory for children ages 6-12. In 1992, three additional years of *secundaria* (middle school) became mandatory, and since 2015 three additional years of *bachilleres* (upper secondary) have been required. Currently, 1.5 million students attend SEP-run schools at these levels. However, 70 percent of Oaxacan communities lack schools offering all 12 years of mandatory basic education, and attendance is not uniformly enforced, especially at upper levels. With a 7.5-year average schooling level, Oaxacan schooling levels are considerably lower than the 9.2 national average. The 13.3 illiteracy rate, albeit a fraction of the 86.7 rate in 1921, is more than double the national 5.5 rate (INEGI 2015a). In interviews, rural teachers identified social issues that contribute to high absentee rates in rural areas, including impoverished households in which children are malnourished, poorly dressed and quite often removed from school in order to provide unremunerated labor or income to the household budget.

The 2006 Sección 22 Cum APPO Movement

The 2006 Local 22 strike, which evolved into the *Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca* (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca, or APPO) social movement centered in Oaxaca City, emerged in this milieu. I summarize here the conflict, which has been discussed in greater depth elsewhere (Hernández 2009; Howell 2012; Martínez Vásquez 2007; Rénique and Poole 2008; Stephen 2013). In 2006, Local 22's *plantón* spread across a number of blocks in Oaxaca City's downtown streets and the *zócalo* (plaza). In addition to demands for higher salaries and improved working conditions, Local 22 criticized the allocation of state funds by the then Governor Ulises Ruíz Ortiz (called "URO" locally) to support presidential candidate Roberto Madrazo of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI) (which had dominated national politics for seven decades) while drawing attention to the high rates of *miseria* (literally misery, but used to refer to abject poverty) in rural areas.

With the public decrying the inconvenience and merchants complaining that the tents, awnings and protest imagery that filled the area were a deterrent to tourists during the high summer tourism season, on June 14th government helicopters dropped tear gas on Local 22 members who were camped out in the zócalo.[5] Although no one was reported killed in the initial *desalojo* – which also included forcibly removing all the tents – in violence that continued through November at least 17 members of the public (including teachers) were lost and others are still reported missing. Although the APPO disbanded within years, *Sección* 22 has continued as a major political force in the state. Besides the ongoing demands for salary, contested points that directly affect teachers have been (1) reforms to federal employee retirement policies which raised the retirement age and abolished the right to pass one's position to a designee; and (2) *la Reforma Educativa* (Educational Reform), educational reform legislation ratified by the federal government in 2013 that

among the most contentious points required that all normal school graduates and classroom teachers pass a standardized test. Oaxaca was the last state to accept this change (in 2016), after Governor Gabino Cué Monteagudo – who had run against URO in an earlier election – reneged on an agreement with Local 22 to allow an alternate educational reform. Local 22 members participated in labor actions that included *plantones* (in Oaxaca City and Mexico City), marches, and work stoppages in opposition to this policy.

Subsequent Struggles: Nochixtlán 2016

Local 22 members' continued *lucha* has included protests against the *Reforma Educativa* supported by current President Enrique Peña Nieto as part of larger neoliberal reforms.[6] Tensions heightened anew in 2016 after CNTE members began a strike on May 15th. On June 19, 2016 – nearly 10 years to the day after the *desalojo* in Oaxaca City – a bloody confrontation occurred in the western Oaxacan town of Asunción Nochixtlán (shortened locally to Nochixtlán) between federal police, locals and teachers at a blockade on the Supercarretera that connects Oaxaca City to Mexico City. Ultimately, eight villagers and teachers were killed, and dozens were injured. In a video posted by CNTE ([http://www.cencos 22oaxaca.org/fotografia-y-video/documental-nochixtlan-ni-perdon-ni-olvido/](http://www.cencos22oaxaca.org/fotografia-y-video/documental-nochixtlan-ni-perdon-ni-olvido/)), one sees male villagers dressed in jeans and work- or t-shirts raising large wooden sticks as make-shift weapons and women in skirts and *huipiles* (tunics worn by indigenous women) confronting heavily armed, uniformed security forces on the Supercarretera Oaxaca-Mexico. According to text on the CNTE Website and individuals with whom I spoke, community members (identified by CNTE as *padres de familia* or "parents") in a number of communities supported the strike. However, even as some sectors of the public were outraged, comments were posted on a number of Websites that criticize Local 22 members for any "repression" (a word CNTE uses in signage and chants to protest government policies) they experience. In these cases, teachers are seen as not doing their jobs (e.g., teaching) and inciting violence. Currently, Oaxacan residents talk about there being "peace" at the moment, with Local 22 holding commemorative marches in honor of "the fallen" and additional labor actions. In keeping with the theme of this panel, this discussion turns to a more nuanced and less understood dimension of these protests, namely, that they are stressful for teachers and their families.

Teachers' Perspectives

I briefly summarize here critical issues that emerged in my research with Local 22 members. Foremost, teachers without seniority are typically assigned to isolated communities, and most stay in very sparse *casas de maestros* (teachers' quarters) provided by the community because it's hard to find rental properties in remote communities. Second, the relatively low number of privately owned cars in the state coupled with unpaved mountain roads, which can turn a would-be "commute" of 100 miles into an all day journey on public transportation.[7]

Thus, distance and terrain shape how often teachers can return home, and they typically do so on weekends, each fortnight, monthly, or in the most extreme case I've documented, only during summer months. Teachers in a number of communities spoke of dietary limitation, including being unable to buy milk, or fruit, vegetables, or meats beyond what is produced in the village. As one mother of two young sons told me about why her children do not live with her, "I can live on *tortillas* and beans for a week or two if I have to. But I'm not going to punish my children [by making them live on that] when at home they enjoy more variety."

To spare children the hardships of rural life I have detailed elsewhere (Howell 1997), many times grandparents or other relatives care for children in their own or the teachers' home if a spouse is unable to. Unfortunately, the underdeveloped communications network coupled with the reality that the state's mountainous topography precludes cellphone coverage in many areas makes communicating with home difficult if not impossible for many teachers. This frequently compounds the sense of physical and emotional distance within families.

In a unique agreement between teachers, the state government and the SEP, Local 22 has overseen job placement since 1992, meaning that in addition to teachers who protest out of conviction, those who wish to transfer closer to home must accumulate the "points" necessary by participating in labor actions of varying lengths. Local 22 calls "general" or "rotating" strikes, marches or blockades. In the latter, one teacher per school attends, or all schools in one of the state's eight geographical regions will participate. How do teachers describe their involvement in these political actions? Analysis of narratives of teachers and their family members reveal that political participation is for many an unwelcome part of what would otherwise be one of the "best jobs" in Oaxaca, due to the (1) "inconvenience," (2) expenses and (3) fear. All compound the already palpable feelings of being away from home.

Inconvenience

A common starting part is the inconvenience and discomfort of being in a plantón, which entails coordinating childcare, having to wash one's clothes, the aches and pains that come from sleeping on the street, and hygiene – for example, using toilet facilities or showering. María, a recently retired teacher, had explained to me in 2014 as she sat on a hot fountain ledge in Oaxaca City as she waited for roll call following a 6-mile march: "I'm thirsty, but I don't dare drink water. I've had to use the toilet for over an hour. But if I get up I'll lose my seat, and I'm too tired to stand."

There is a charge for public facilities, which are often closed overnight. Women spoke of accompanying each other to avoid assault if they couldn't "hold it." Maestros of both sexes described arranging bathing and washing laundry as "complicated" when participating in a *plantón* for a week or more. Those with relatives in the state or national capital try to leave for a few hours to shower or do laundry; others pay to shower and wash their clothing in a cheap hotel or public bath area.

Expenses

There are many other expenses associated with plan-tones. Although after decades of labor actions teachers currently enjoy a monthly income that places them in middle to upper ranges of the local salary scale and receive generous benefits, many have high job-related expenses. Among these are taking public transportation to reach the villages they teach in, and getting back and forth to protests in Mexico City.[8] Teachers who can leave from Oaxaca City or other large population centers can get group rates on the Autobus Magisterial or carpool. However, those living in communities without access to roads, or if they are the lone representative of their school, often spend as much as three days' salary – on travel.

Purchasing food adds to expenses. Some teachers occasionally eat in restaurants, but more typically they buy from street vendors or pool their resources to purchase food in bulk in markets that for the most part women prepare collectively. In 2006, teachers praised members of the public who brought them cooked food or allowed them to hook up to electricity in their homes or businesses (Howell 2012).

Fear

This cooperation contrasts with conflicts — both verbal and physical — between members of the public and security forces that fall into an umbrella category of "fear" or "violence." Insults such as "lazy" and "*pinches maestros*" are directed at teachers of both sexes, and women report that they are consistently called "whores." Physical abuses from the public while sleeping in *plan-tones* include being urinated upon, kicked, spit upon, and worse. Victoria, a farmer whose youngest daughter lives at home when not teaching in a community located 3 hours from their village, recalled that in 2006 that

> I saw on the news that the federal police were coming, and that scared me. But not as much as I fear what those crazies who are angry with the teachers might do to my daughter. They threw dead dogs on them while they slept!! You can imagine how that made me feel. Outraged, but helpless. So even though I support the teachers' protests, I can't wait until this is over.

Her words and concerns parallel experiences in a number of accounts reported following the 2006 APPO movement (Denham et al. 2009; Howell 2012; Stephen 2013). For example, Local 22 member Marisol echoed these fears when recalling her experiences when participating in a Mexico City *plantón* in 2014 and 2015:

> When you're in Mexico City overnight, you're dealing with drunks, drug addicts, the homeless. A lot of people of limited means. So you worry about robbery, or that they'll come back in a gang. Or with weapons. And you're even more defenseless if you fall asleep.

Overlying these stressors is the very real possibility of a forcible *desalojo*. Quite often the tents, awnings or mats where teachers spend most days and nights are destroyed or end up in a trash heap. Although participants might salvage some items, teachers explained that material goods are a secondary worry in *desalojos*. Rather, if they sleep at all, they spoke of doing so "with my shoes on" or "with one eye open" to be prepared to flee quickly. Tania, a teacher in her late 40s, shuddered as she recalled an event where police hit a colleague and tried to "drag him off." She and women with her grabbed their bags and shoes and "what we had in our hands" and hit the officers until they left him alone. She described seeing women faint when federal police charged at them, and lauded her colleagues of both sexes who went back "at great risk to themselves" to pick them up and carry them to safety. She insisted, "I never tell my daughter about these things. It's better she doesn't know. She's already scared enough when I'm in a *plantón*."

While most parents try to shield their children from the tensions of protests, many cannot. During marches, teachers walking with or carrying young children for miles are a common sight. Everyone I spoke with explained that the presence of children is not ideal, but, as one *maestro* said, "sometimes you just don't have anyone to leave your child with." In these situations, others in the *plantón* will watch children while parents go shopping or run other errands. Tania said,

> It's easier if it's just for a few days. Maybe at first your child sees it as something novel, even an adventure. But eventually they get bored and restless just sitting around. It's better if there are other children there they can play with, but you can't plan for those things because it all depends on who participates that week. The life of a teacher's child is not an easy one.

Based on my conversations and observations, I contend that it's also difficult to be a teachers' parent or spouse. I heard of marriages ending when a husband or wife objected to a spouse's participation, accusations of infidelity, and arguments over the distribution of household chores. These concerns overlie the fears for safety and sense of a teacher's absence; the latter is all the more acute for educators who are already living away from home for most of the year.

Conclusion

By way of concluding, these ethnographic snapshots of rural teachers' family and professional lives provide a sense of the frictions that they navigate when balancing what are at times opposing commitments. These are forged in large part by the government's policies for staffing rural schools, and the reality that many of those who pursue teaching are not in a position to study other fields nor find other sources of gainful employment. The latter stems from their origins in economically marginalized households which helped to shape their career choices in an attainable profession. As an anthropologist,

I have long taken the position that individuals who pursue this route to economic solvency, if not social mobility, exhibit agency that allows them resistance to the false consciousness of class, residence and gender. Individually, this is exhibited through what Sherry Ortner (2006: 135) discusses as an "intentionality" of agency that allows individuals to pursue their "aims, goals and ideals… wants and desires." In this case, for many this means greater financial security. Collectively, in keeping with Ortner's (2006:136-136) discussion of the "agency of power," though their on-going labor actions, teachers are challenging the social structure and education system fraught with class differences and an entrenched rural-urban divide that, in keeping with Pierre Bourdieu's broader discussion of institutions, reproduce a status quo rife with social inequality (see also Howell 2017).

More recently, I have also adopted John Galtung's (1969) framework of structural violence or "social injustice" to explore the complexities of Oaxacan teachers' experiences and status. I follow Galtung in recognizing social injustice as a violation of human rights relative "to what individuals can do or can have" while structural violence is linked to issues of systematic inequality stemming from uneven distribution of resources and decision-making power (1969:171, 188 n.18). One sees evidence of both, on the one hand, in government staffing policies that assign teachers to schools in distant communities without regard for where they want or need to live. Conditions in many of the communities to which Oaxacan teachers are assigned cause them personal suffering while in residence, and result in them making the painful decision of living away from their children to spare them these hardships. On the other hand, many teachers – including those who joined with Local 59 and others who are still active in Local 22 – have expressed their frustrations with union policies that compel them to participate in protests and labor action in order to be eligible to transfer. The latter manifest in accusations of patronism within the union leadership and personal resentment at time spent in protests that does not necessarily result in the desired transfer. Nevertheless, the Local 22 members with whom I spoke remain committed to the philosophy of "*venceremos*" (we shall overcome or triumph), which is also the title and chorus of the Chilean song that has been called the *himno magisterial* (teachers' anthem) as it is a staple of Local 22 marches.[9]

I end with Tania's reflections, based on spending months out of the past decade in *plantones*, in terms of her goal to be permanently united to her family:

> I ask myself if all these sacrifices are worth it – getting sunburnt, getting rained on, going hungry, and getting sick while sleeping on the streets in a place that's, well, uncomfortable. Trust me Jayne, it's nothing like sleeping in your own bed. You think about that when you can't sleep. But I have the hope that participating in these marches will allow me to [transfer] closer to home, to my daughter.

At the same time, she expresses her strong commitment to the union and the teachers' goals of bringing about change in Oaxaca: "You asked if we form a community . . . I prefer to think of it as solidarity. We are a solidarity. We have to work together in this *lucha*."

Ultimately, her comments about "the struggle" reify the mixed emotions and sentiments that others consistently expressed, including resentment, fear, or loneliness at different times while participating in protests that require that those living away from home spend even more time away from their families. The consistent reason for doing so is that they strive to achieve *una vida major* (a better life) for themselves and their families and, on a larger scale, a society with a higher level of social justice.

NOTES

1. This study is an outgrowth of my long-term research (begin in 1989) focused on rural schooling and employment in Oaxaca. The primary data discussed here have been collected since 1996, when teachers' political actions became all the more visible as discussed in the body of text. During fieldwork trips that lasted between two weeks and 15 months, I have conducted hundreds of hours of participant observation with teachers and in Oaxaca City streets, the latter often observing labor actions. Additionally, I have interviewed dozens of *maestros* aged 19 to mid-80s who have taught at preschool, elementary, middle school and upper secondary levels. The narratives of teachers presented here come from interviews conducted in the summers of 2015 and 2016, and in March 2017, with educators I have known for 15 years or more.

2. In recent years, the MMO has been known as the Movimiento Democrático de Trabajadores de la Educación de Oaxaca (MDTEO), or the Democratic Movement of Oaxacan Education Workers.

3. CNTE had initially formed in 1979 as the *Movimiento Democrático Magisterial* (Democratic Teachers' Movement, or MDM).

4. A number of scholars have discussed the privatization of education as part of the larger structural adjustment policies at the heart of the federal government's neoliberal agent (Alcántara Santuario 2011; Delgado-Ramos and Saxe-Fernánde 2005; Ornelas 2004) Among these are reforming education (with support from the World Bank and encouraged by the UN), and privatizing banks, communications and transportation systems (Ornelas 2004). General critiques of neoliberalism include that it exacerbates inequality, is detrimental to the natural environment, and can result in the loss of human and political rights. Writing of educational reform in Mexico, Armando Alcántara Santuario (2001:104) notes that federal government policies "appear to be more oriented toward ensuring the interests of global capital are realized, often at the cost of national interest and the lives of too many citizens."

5. The annual Guelaguetza folklore festival sponsored by the government in Oaxaca City the last two weeks of July is a linchpin of Oaxaca City's economy. In 2006, teachers protested this festival held annually (except for in 2006) since 1932. Initiated by the local business community, critics contend that the festival commodifies autochthonous customs while ignoring indigenous Oaxaqueños' lived experiences of poverty and discrimination (see Lizama Quijana 2006:242). Since 2006, Local

22, CNTE and APPO have sponsored a Guelaguetza Magisteri-al y Popular (Teachers' and Popular Guelaguetza) that is free to the public and, these organizations contend, offers a more "authentic" representation of Oaxaca's dances and communi-ties. In 2017, the event was to be held on the first Monday of the state-sponsored festival in Oaxaca City, and also in the com-munity of Nochixtlan where protestors were killed in a 2016 confrontation between members of the public, teachers and security forces.

6. As of this writing, state legislators continue to discuss how to best implement the policy in Oaxaca.

7. The Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas y Geografía (INEGI 2015b) reports that in 2015 there were just over a quarter mil-lion (227,000) privately owned cars registered in the state.

8. These include health insurance, vacations, the right to loans, and annual end of the year bonuses.

9. An instrumental version of this song, uploaded in May 2016, is available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watchv=sRBqYEBMJmc.

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Situating Giving Back for Native Americans Pursuing Careers in STEM: "You don't just take, you give something back."

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ABSTRACT: *This article explores how a desire to give back influences Native Americans pursuing education and careers in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM). We present analysis of data from 51 interviews with Native students and STEM professionals. Despite the compelling evidence of the core significance of a community orientation among Native Americans, insufficient attention has been given to thinking about the unique challenges faced by STEM professionals in devising ways to give back and how this relates to the continuing problem of underrepresentation of Native Americans in STEM. Here we propose strategies for universities and industry to honor Native ways of being by recognizing and embracing giving back as a value, and supporting STEM students and STEM professionals to overcome challenges to be able to give back to their communities. These strategies for situating giving back will promote expanded participation for Native Americans in STEM. This work provides insight for thinking about other underrepresented populations in STEM.*

Key words: Giving Back, Underrepresentation, STEM, Native Americans

Introduction

> That's one of the things that I would like to do is to give back to my community ... it's just for my particular degree, there really wasn't any potential for me to [come back].
>
> We've always had to try to figure that out ... What do we do? ... I don't know ... How are we going to use this education? It's like, I have no idea ... And that's the biggest thing that I've been <u>struggling</u> with recently….trying to <u>figure out how</u> this degree in mechanical engineering and my role as an aerospace engineer, how's that gonna be useful at all to [TRIBE NAME]?... And ... if I'm going to come back, there's not really going to be an existing job there for me to jump in to. It has to be created out of something that doesn't exist yet ...
>
> You don't feel like there's an immediate, direct path back into the community workwise and that you're kind of going out, you're blazing that trail, you're trying to take a leap of faith and going out there and doing things.
>
> (Quotes from three Native American STEM professionals)

Culturally Situating Native Participation in STEM

Over the past 20 years, an increasing number of Native Americans are going to college, getting a college degree, and pursuing graduate studies (Winkleby et al. 2009). However, despite these gains, Native Americans continue to be significantly underrepresented in education and careers involving science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) (Ferrini-Mundy 2013; National Science Board 2016). As part of an effort on the part of universities, industry, and science sector funders (e.g. the National Science Foundation [NSF]) to promote participation by underrepresented minorities in STEM, a wide variety of pipeline, internship, mentorship, and scholarship programs have been created. These programs offer Native students opportunities for developing knowledge, skills, social connections, and interests that will position them to pursue a career in the sciences. These initiatives and investments are important pieces of the STEM education/career puzzle for students from underrepresented populations, but statistics on Natives in STEM demonstrate that they have fallen short of hoped for outcomes. Figuring out how to achieve greater gains in broadening STEM participation for Native Americans continues to present a challenge.

We propose that Native underrepresentation in STEM requires consideration of issues that have not been sufficiently addressed by programming that targets STEM curricular, knowledge, social, and skill deficits, or educational financial barriers. Data we gathered while conduc-

ting a study about the factors that support success among Native Americans in STEM suggest that cultural dimensions of the choices that Native students make regarding what discipline or career path to follow are of more importance than is generally reflected in the design of STEM participation initiatives. Elsewhere we discuss Native identity as an important component of Native success in STEM (Page-Reeves et al. 2017b). Here we consider how the value of "community" influences Native STEM participation. Below we argue that a culturally sanctioned conceptualization of the need to use one's education to *give back* to the community[1] plays a significant role in the educational and career choices that Native American students make. Using one's educational achievement to *give back* something to the community— to one's own local or Tribal community, to the broader Native American community, or to society in general—is given a high priority and value.

For many Native students, it may not be immediately apparent how one could possibly use a STEM degree or career to *give back*. For example, becoming a physics professor or developing expertise in computational mathematics may not seem to have relevance or use in the context of a Native community. As a result, although there is often a tendency to attribute low Native participation in STEM to lack of capacity, many Native students make a *choice*—it is not that they do not have STEM knowledge or interest, but rather, *they consciously choose not to pursue a degree or career in STEM* in favor of other options that appear to offer a greater potential to achieve community-oriented goals and objectives that they value (e.g. teaching, social work, nursing, medicine, etc.). We suggest that a key reason for such a decision is that they cannot reconcile their understanding of STEM content/activity with the culturally defined value placed on community. Institutions and funders interested in promoting STEM participation for underrepresented populations have not sufficiently conceptualized the importance of this dynamic for Native students. Moreover, the way that STEM subjects are taught in the mainstream classroom does not tend to incorporate attention to this issue in a meaningful way that would allow Native students to imagine aligning their STEM educational and career aspirations with their community-oriented values.

Giving Back as Purposeful Motivation

Having aspirations that go beyond one's own personal and individual accomplishments has long been recognized as a potentially powerful motivation for individual academic attainment and persistence, and as promoting subsequent career performance and capacity. In studies by Yeager and colleagues, for example, students with a "transcendent purpose for learning" persisted longer when required to engage in a task that was considered "boring" and were less likely to drop out of college (Yeager et al. 2014), and those with "purposeful work goals" were found to derive more meaning from life and schoolwork (Yeager and Bundick 2009). In the education, career counseling, and community service literatures, this dynamic is often described as a desire to *give*

back to the community. The desire of students to give back to their community has been shown to have an important influence on educational, career, and volunteerism dynamics in a variety of cultures and contexts, including among African Americans (e.g. Charles 2005; Farmer et al. 2006), Hispanic Americans (e.g. Bernal 2001; Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009), Asian Americans (e.g. Chang 2004), and Samoan Americans (e.g. Borrero et al. 2009). However, among Native Americans, giving back has been identified as a foundational and unifying cultural construct, and as both a core motivation for and a defining feature of success (e.g. Guillory 2008; Guillory and Wolverton 2008). For Native Americans, giving back goes beyond conventions for community connection and service described for other groups.

The Significance of Giving Back for Native Americans

The literature on Native Americans and the core cultural significance of giving back is compelling. Okagaki, Helling, and Bingham (2009) found that Native individuals place greater value on the need for their own education and work to result in pragmatic benefit for not only themselves, but also for others in their families and communities. They describe this value as a "cultural orientation" (2009:171). Waterman and Lindley (2013:147) write that, "community is at the core of the existence of Native nations" and that in Native communities, there is a deep "sense of obligation and responsibility to community well-being" reflecting culturally defined values that permeate everyday life. In a study by Guillory and Wolverton (2008:75), giving back to the community was cited as a source of both encouragement and motivation for Native college students. Commitment of students to family and community becomes a resilience factor that enables Native students to overcome challenges and barriers in the "hope of making life better for their families" (2008:74) and cultural practices involving giving back remain "guiding forces throughout their lives" (2008:75).

Giving Back and Native Nation-Building

But for Native Americans, the paradigm of giving back is more than just "do-gooding" or community service. In his delineation of Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit), a theoretical framework for understanding the complex reality and experience of Native people and Native communities, Brayboy (2005) highlights the relations of power that inform the structural and experiential landscape for Native Americans. Using a TribalCrit lens, giving back can be understood as essential for Native self-determination. Guillory (2008) sees the community orientation of giving back as a mechanism for decolonization by nurturing the skills needed for "rebuilding that which [was] damaged" in the historical experience of cultural and physical genocide (2008:175). Kawulich (2008) explores how giving back builds leadership in Native communities that has far-reaching implications for positive strength-creating community processes. Waterman and Lindley (2013) see the culturally defined dynamic of giving back as a form of community cultural

wealth (2013:147)—a mechanism for maintaining cultural integrity that is necessary for Native communities to continue as sovereign peoples (2013:152-3). Giving back, then, is an integral component of Native nation-building (Waterman and Lindley 2013:148).

Understanding Giving Back for Natives in STEM

Here we explore how the desire to "give back" to their community, to the broader Native community, or to society influences Native Americans pursuing education and careers in STEM. We present analysis of data from 51 interviews with Native students and STEM professionals. Our findings build on the work by Native scholars and others referenced above that has begun to examine how the centrality of a relational ethic based on the Native cultural value of community influences educational persistence and career trajectories for Native Americans and connects back with broader community and political processes. Our findings contribute further insights that help us think about nuances entailed in the giving back paradigm, including dynamics specific to Native individuals pursuing education and careers in STEM. Despite the compelling evidence of the core significance of a community orientation among Native Americans, insufficient attention has been given to thinking about the unique challenges of giving back faced by STEM professionals and how this relates to the continuing problem of under-representation of Native Americans in STEM. Here we propose strategies for universities and industry to honor Native ways of being by recognizing and embracing giving back as a value, and supporting STEM students and STEM professionals to overcome challenges to be able to give back to their communities. These strategies for *situating* giving back will promote expanded participation for Native Americans in STEM, but we believe that they also have implications for thinking about participation for African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and other populations that continue to be under-represented in STEM.

Methods

We conducted this study through a collaborative partnership between researchers at the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES), the University of New Mexico (UNM), and Northwestern University (NU) (Page-Reeves et al. 2017a). Our research team includes both Native and non-Native investigators, and junior Native researchers who were learning to conduct research. We developed the discussion presented here from our analysis of 1,926 pages of interview transcript data that we gathered through 51 interviews—30 interviews with Native college students, and 40 interviews that we conducted in two iterative phases with 21 Native STEM professionals (21 in Phase 1 and 19 in Phase II). All participants provided signed informed consent. Interviews lasted one to two hours, and were audio-recorded and transcribed by a professional transcriptionist.

Student interviews were conducted by two junior Native researchers (Authors #2 & #3). Student participants were junior- or senior-level college students in Albuquerque at UNM or the Central New Mexico Community College (CNM). The student cohort of 18 men and 12 women was diverse in terms of Tribal affiliation, and included both STEM and non-STEM majors. The STEM professional interviews were conducted by an experienced anthropologist (Author #1). STEM professional participants were a national cohort that we chose with an eye to diversity in relation to Tribal affiliation, geographic location, academic degree, STEM discipline, and work sector (academia, industry, government, Tribal government, private business). We followed the National Science Foundation (NSF) definition of STEM disciplines which, in addition to the traditional physical sciences and math, include life sciences, environmental sciences, education sciences, and social sciences (NSF n.d.). Additionally, we also considered the category of medicine/medical research as a STEM discipline. However, our participants were overwhelmingly affiliated with the traditional hard science, math, and engineering STEM disciplines (See Table I).

Table I: Interviewee Affiliations and Characteristics

Discipline	Sector	Highest Degree
Aerospace Engineering	Government (2)	Ph.D. (7)
Chemistry	Government/Industry (1)	MS (5)
Electrical Engineering (3)	Industry (4)	MBA (1)
Environmental Engineering	Private Business (4)	BS (8)
Environmental Science/Hydrology	Tribal Government (3)	Medical Student (1)
Fish Biology	University (7)	
Forestry		
Manufacturing Engineering		
Materials Engineering		
Mathematical & Computational Sciences		
Mathematician		
Mechanical Engineering		
Medicine/Medical Research		
Nuclear Engineering/Physics		
Programming/Software Engineer/Computer Science (3)		
Small Business Owner/Retail		
Water Resources/Chemistry		

The STEM professional cohort was balanced in terms of gender (10 women and 11 men). Interviewees all strongly self-identified as Native (Page-Reeves, et al. 2017b), but were from diverse backgrounds that included urban, suburban, rural, and reservation experiences.

We posed questions in the interviews in a way that was designed to be open-ended to allow the interviewees to drive the direction of the interviews, and we derived questions in Phase II of the STEM professional interviews from our analysis of Phase I interview data. We were interested in understanding factors that contribute to success for Native Americans in STEM. We had five principle, underlying domains of inquiry: (1) the types of experiences and relationships individuals have had that supported success in STEM (including mentors, teachers, family members, study groups, student and professional organizations, "discourse communities," social networks, and "protected spaces"); (2) individual perspectives on the relationship between indigenous and Western science epistemological orientations, and how they describe their own ability to navigate between/within the two; (3) the extent to which individuals see themselves or "people like them" as being involved in and having the capacity to be successful in scientific endeavors; (4) how they understand and explain their own and others' success in STEM; and (5) "counter narratives" regarding their own success or experiences or about science that challenge *status quo* thinking or images related to science or Native participation in STEM. However, because our project design employed an anthropologically inspired approach (Madden 2010), interviewees were encouraged to present their stories in a broad and open manner rather than being proscribed/constrained by *a priori* questions developed by the researchers, and for the most part, interviews were conversations or dialogues rather than the more traditional interviewee/interviewer dyadic interview structure.

We reviewed interview transcripts using a rigorous, disciplined approach to create an empirical analysis of the data according to Hammersley's (2008) criteria for qualitative research based on plausibility, credibility, and relevance. We followed Gläser and Laudel's (2013) framework for theory-driven qualitative content analysis. We reviewed the transcripts and identified conceptual categories and patterns related to the domains of inquiry, extracted data, and developed conceptual summaries. Following review and summary, we coded extracted data for systematic themes and their domains. We used "constant comparison" (Perry 2003) to explore interconnections between theme categories and made connections with concepts we had identified in the literature by developing a holistic interpretation of the data that we present below.

Findings

Despite the diversity of the interviewee cohort, we identified a number of key themes in our analysis of the interview data. Elsewhere we discuss themes of *identity* (Page-Reeves, et al. 2017b), *wayfinding* (Page-Reeves, et al. 2018), and *resilience* (Page-Reeves, et al. N.d.). Here we consider the theme of *giving back* in relation to five domains:

(1) Duty, Expectation, & Reciprocity
(2) Defining Success in STEM in Relation to Giving Back
(3) Translating & Bridging Functions of Giving Back in STEM
(4) Being a Role Model & Blazing a Trail in STEM
(5) Giving Back as a Challenge in STEM.

Duty, Expectation, & Reciprocity

A primary motivation for interviewees to want to give back was because they feel a sense of duty, responsibility, and obligation that is in line with previous studies of giving back in Native communities (*e.g.,* Guillory 2008, Guillory & Wolverton 2008). Interviewees said things like:

> My family was very supportive when I decided to go into ... STEM ... but in addition, they were always ... reminding me of that <u>duty</u> to help the people and give back to the family. And, when we talk family, that's basically the community and not only our community but all Native communities.

> There's a lot of things I want to do ... But as a Native American, I'm <u>obligated</u> to ... go work back with my community and to help out like the people where I grew up because it wouldn't feel right to just up and leave and not go back.

> I was doing [it] because I felt <u>bound and obligated</u> that I should become this person that all of the people before me were and that this is my path. And that you know this was the way that I would give back all of these gifts that I've been given ... And ... I would go back to the reservation and pass on my knowledge and that I would ... try to help ... other people from my tribe go to school and ... show them the way.

> Oh, I think that's something that every Native is taught. It's part of the culture ... and it starts when you're very little. If somebody gives you something, you don't just take, you give something back ... I remember. This was a story I was told and I passed it onto my little sister that even with Mother Nature, with Mother Earth, you don't just take, you have to give back. And how our ancestors were shocked when the White men came and just chopped down a bunch of trees and planted corn and didn't think about how to give back to Mother Nature, and you know, you don't take from Mother Nature without giving in return. And so … I think that it's the same then when you have a chance for an education, and you have a chance to do special things like science, that it's your <u>obligation</u> to give back.

Part of the sense of duty that interviewees expressed has to do with living up to the expectations of others. Expectation pushes them to live up to the obligation they

feel, but similar to experiences recounted in studies by Guillory (2009) and Makomenaw (2014), it also provides a source of strength to be able to confront educational and professional challenges. One interviewee said,

> There's a whole community of people and your elders that you're supposed to listen to. There's ... a whole <u>expectation</u> of Native people to ... go out and get an education that's supposed to be to come back and help the people. And, and so it's not like you can go off and be selfish and study whatever you want. It's almost like you have that in your mind the whole time, that you need to find something that's useful. And ... so, like even for me, I felt like I had other interests ... but I stuck with engineering, even though I knew it was harder and even though there were parts that should have driven me away, because they weren't very fun or very interesting to me, but I stuck with it because I knew it was gonna be very useful in the end.

But the expectations of others have further implications. Charles (2005) found that African American teens from an urban community see their own success as impacting a larger narrative about race. He reports that they believe that "If I don't succeed, they would say, I told you so" (2005:8). Similarly, because Native Americans are underrepresented in STEM, interviewees feel a sense of responsibility for making sure they stay on a straight path—that failure is not an option because it would only serve to reinforce negative expectations, stereotypes, and narratives about Native ability. One interviewee described it as needing to make sure that he did not "drop the ball … an <u>expectation on ourselves</u> to … succeed and to not stray." Another said,

> We still hear it every day that we need more Native American scientists and engineers because there's just none. There's not very many. We have a very low representation in the STEM fields. So I feel like <u>being one of the few, I have to perform well. I have to do well.</u>

Succeeding in STEM is, in itself, a form of giving back by proving that negative caricatures are not correct.

In addition to wanting to improve conditions in one's community or live up to expectations, the desire to give back contains an acknowledgement of a debt created by personal benefit. Reciprocity, or the idea that individuals who have received something need to return the favor, is an important dimension of the giving back paradigm. Interviewees in this study said things like, "My main focus and goal is to have Native children … <u>have the same opportunities like I had</u>," and "I feel like it's my responsibility to share that … <u>I learned it from someone else and now I'll have to teach someone else what I learned</u>." But reciprocity has implications that go beyond merely repaying a debt. Among Korean Americans, Chang (2004) reports that individuals who are understood to have gotten ahead as a result of support from the community then feel obligated to contribute time or money in return as a way of repaying the debt, but do so in a way that holds the community together in the face of economic and social forces that otherwise diminish community cohesion. Similarly, for Chicanas (Mexican American women), Bernal (2001) sees reciprocity as a mechanism that reinforces collaborative ties between community members. She describes this as a form of cultural resistance. Among Native Americans, Brayboy, Solyom and Castagno (2014:587) recognize the important role that the dynamics of reciprocity play in tribal nation building, and Minthorn, Wanger and Shotton (2013:62) understand reciprocity to foster the development of leadership in the Native community.

Defining Success in STEM in Relation to Giving Back

As indicated earlier, purposeful goals are not only a part of the giving back paradigm, but are associated with academic and career success (Yeager et al. 2014; Yeager and Bundick 2009). The importance of having a strong sense of purpose has been identified as a defining feature of Native Americans' determination to "give back" (e.g. Guillory 2008). Interviewees see a sense of purpose as integral in their own career trajectories (Page-Reeves et al. 2018). They described this as something beyond personal or professional success or as "a <u>purpose</u> … that you're not doing this for yourself." It could be related to family: "I had a bigger <u>purpose</u> because ... I needed to do what I could do best for my family." But, they often saw it as part of their connection to a community. Interviewees said things like:

> I would bring all our kids here … I spent the first eight, ten years here teaching them … all of these things that they need to know as people, to be good people first … and understand their <u>purpose</u> in life—that they have…individual parts in this larger mechanism, but that each one of them have an important <u>purpose</u> … and each one of them, working independently but together at the same time, to make things better … and … it goes back to that <u>purpose</u> thing.

And,

> I would always be available to help the community because we were a community and the only way that we would remain a community that we all did our parts to improve it or make oneself available . . . my dad would always put it in the context, remember you're not doing this for just yourself, you're doing this for your community and the good that comes from your dedication and the work will benefit not only you and your family, but your community ... So ... a <u>purpose</u> ... kind of a thing. Yea ... that ... you're not doing this for yourself.

While we generally understand the concept of purpose in relation to doing something for others or for the greater benefit of the community, within the giving back paradigm purpose is often defined within a framework of cultural values and a spiritual ethic. Bernal (2001) found a thread of spirituality woven through the Chicana orientation to enhancing the community. "For these women their spirituality was connected to their commitment to their families and communities. They saw their educational journey as a collaborative journey not an individualistic one" (2001:634). In Charles' (2005) study in an urban neighborhood, the desire to give back to the community among African American teens was experienced as a moral obligation derived from their Christian faith. They have "an "immutable sense of 'stewardship' that can be found in the religious teachings of the New Testament" (2005:5 Similarly, interviewees in our study see a spiritual dimension and purpose to their work in science and the way they are able to give back. Speaking about her work in science, one interviewee said,

> Creator gave us this mind to dream big, but with purpose, and again always to give back to the community … to dream big but realistically and the whole intent and purpose of that ultimately is to benefit your larger community.

Another said,

> People have purpose. People have souls that we have to respect, so that when we pursue something, it starts with prayer, and I see the connectivity in my mind … there's a spiritual aspect. So rather than … separating in separate compartments, math, science, the environment, and whatever else, it's all connected so that the spiritual side is sort of the thread that holds all of these together.

Interviewee narratives suggest that this spiritual orientation enhances rather than encumbers their ability to do meaningful science:

> Having a spiritual component to life makes me, and probably others, a better scientist ... observing nature ... And ... directing the human experience in a way that's harmonious and consistent with nature, what our ancestors were all about, and that's what we're facing today.

And, having a spiritual connection provides them with a framework of support:

> That's what got me through ... going back to that and re-routing myself ... with the prayer and the practices and the spirituality ... that's what kept me going because…if we look back at our ancestors ... they struggled, they survived, they withstood time … and I saw myself there too ... and then I saw that happened to me and so I went back to ... gathering myself together and going back to my spiri-

tuality, praying and re-centering and talking things out ... just going back to my faith or gathering myself and picking myself up and understanding where I belong in the world ... having a sense and place and knowing that I needed to be, [that I would] be an engineer, and sticking with it.

Spirituality, then, not only gives interviewees purpose, it gives them the strength they need to confront both philosophical and everyday challenges of pursuing a career in STEM, and ultimately becomes the foundation for giving back, reciprocity and the development of Native leadership.

For Native Americans, conceptualization of giving back as a duty, an expectation, and a reciprocal obligation with a broader purpose and spiritual roots is the way that success is defined. Talking about their own personal careers in STEM, interviewees said things like, "I guess I really don't look at it as, as succeeding ... in that sense … because I ... think of it as just doing ... my part or giving back," and, "I guess success for me ... is not necessarily based on ... the grants or the publications ... it's really investing my time and helping [in the community]." Interviewees told us how they view success in STEM, in particular, as having a unique capacity for inspiring others (Page-Reeves et al. 2018). These data from Native STEM students and professionals support previous findings that for Native Americans, success is measured by how one's individual achievement contributes to the wellbeing of others and their community (Guillory 2008; Juntunen et al. 2001).

Translating and Bridging Functions of Giving Back in STEM

For Natives pursuing a career in STEM, giving back has a particular importance because of the technical and scientific knowledge that individuals learn that has implications for benefiting Native communities. Interviewees feel they have the ability to translate scientific concepts to make them more meaningful for people in the community who do not have scientific training or who might not understand the issues. For example, one interviewee, speaking about her own expertise, said she wants to

> [help] people to understand climate change ... I have a better understanding of both the [TRIBE NAME] perspective and then the scientific perspective and then translating it into the language so that they can understand it. So some terms may not be directly translated, like climate change … there's no word in [our] language that means climate change, but there are other concepts in [our] philosophy that allude to ... a demise or an unbalanced time.

Another framed it as leveraging his position as a trusted insider to help community members understand scientific data, which forms the basis of debates that influence Native land and resources. He said that he could help

[translate] environmental-related stuff that's going on, on their land, and if they have a person who's non-Native coming on, then their ... you know their tribal council's not gonna trust them, but if you have some Native kid who grew up in that community, who knows how to you know understand what the data's saying and all that.

But the idea of translating is not a one-way process. A number of interviewees see their role as a bi-directional translator. They believe that they are developing skill and expertise that has implications for Native communities, but that the synthetic perspective that they have developed—uniting indigenous and western ways of knowing—has benefit beyond the Native community. One interviewee spoke about how this plays out in chemistry, saying,

As a Native chemist ... you think about those things. You say, well, how is it going to affect our people? How is it going to affect our resources? ... I think, indigenous science not only ties in the Native culture, but is also providing substantial data and information to ... the other worlds ... it's not a double-edged sword, it's an even plate ... it's good all around ... I think it's connected.

However, specific scientific knowledge itself is not the only way that interviewees think about their professional and STEM expertise in relation to giving back. Interviewees also described their role as one of bridging institutional and structural relations between Native and non-Native communities. One interviewee sees his individual role in working as a liaison. He said,

I'm definitely kind of ... working in that space like between tribes and like outside organizations like ... government agencies, labs, universities ... lots of non-profits … [and] for-profit companies ... that are trying to do work with ... Indian country.

Another interviewee focused on the importance of being able to learn the rules of different systems and sharing that knowledge. He said,

I think being more open to other aspects of how society works or how cultural things work you know if you can understand two different ways it's better than one you know if you're in a classroom they're not gonna teach you in a traditional sense, well maybe like a, a Native traditional sense you know, they're gonna teach you the way that they learned it from their professor who probably wasn't Native right? So if you can understand both ways and how to, how to, learn how the professor teaches, how that's structured, and then be able to take what you learn and teach it to your community in a more, in a fashion that's more culturally appropriate maybe? Then that's great, then you can transcend those two things.

Yet another sees his role as helping his community to learn how to mobilize resources. He believes that he is

gathering other resources and knowledge…and then [you] return home … you … build your experience and career and bring something back home, not only yourself but these other resources …This is a holding place for us, we're gathering all our resources, but we have plans and visions to go back home … learning how to do that, networking, knowing where resources are, and then connecting it back to yourself and then to the community and then tying it all together.

Being able to bridge between Native communities and non-Native knowledge, institutions and resources is crucial to Native health and wellbeing, and ultimately central to Native nation-building.

Being a Role Model & Blazing a Trail in STEM

A key dimension of the giving back paradigm has to do with setting an example for others, especially for young people. Guillory (2008) discusses the importance of role modeling in the Native American conceptualization of giving back. Individuals who are successful become concrete evidence for kids that they have options, breaking out of stereotypes or expanding kids' sense of who they can be (Page-Reeves et al. 2018). One interviewee said,

For me, I think … my impact comes from … those humble beginnings and dealing with… struggling in undergrad, and then getting through and succeeding. Like that's the story I want people to know and have it be out there so that they can go and do [it too].

Another said,

Going back to the career ... points of being a STEM major is that you're pretty much guaranteed to make more than you would in other fields. And you're able to use … those funds and take it back to the reservation. You can take your knowledge back to the reservation and help your community ... And it would just help ... the Native community to be able to show these other kids that it's do-able ... like a role model, right ... I didn't really know … any Natives who were in the STEM field growing up. Most ... all of the older people that I knew, they were all in the construction business and like my dad ... it would definitely help our community and help the image as a whole.

In studies of giving back for a variety of populations, role modeling is often specifically discussed as a way to combat negative community dynamics such as drugs, alcoholism, teen pregnancy, and criminal behavior which can lead to prison time (e.g. Bingham et al. 2014; Borrero et al. 2009). Our data suggest that while these things are a concern, interviewees are also interested in inspiring kids to love science and to feel joy in that. One interviewee said,

What am I gonna do specifically for my community? ... <u>maybe I've inspired others to sort of ... take the STEM discipline</u> ... it's hard to tell ... that's what I'd like to think, but nevertheless ... being identified as being successful ... if people see me in that light, well, that's great, but how I would like to take advantage of it myself is to ... not necessarily ... try to ... bask in any glory or something, but to try to use that ... for some of the youth ... to help <u>inspire</u> them.

Related to the idea of role-modeling, is the desire to have one's actual experiential knowledge be beneficial for others. Interviewees repeatedly used the metaphor of "*traveling a path*" to describe their experience. However, the path to becoming a STEM professional is acknowledged to be fraught with challenges. This is reflected in the idea expressed by a number of interviewees that they are "*blazing a trail*" (Page-Reeves et al. 2018) One interviewee discussed how difficult it is, saying,

and that you're kind of going out, you're <u>blazing that trail,</u> you're trying to take a leap of faith and going out there and doing things ... that's like ... a lonely road, you know? ... [Native STEM professionals] are truly ... blazing trails.

Interviewees see what they are doing is learning how to overcome obstacles so that they can pass that knowledge on. Interviewees said,

So I want to give back and the reason I want to give back is to support the younger generation and to <u>make that path easier for them because it was such a big learning curve for me</u> and that just to let them know it doesn't have to be so hard if you go this way or that way.

and

this value, this ethic for giving back ... I guess how I imagined that to happen is more helping those who are coming behind ... <u>young people who may have endured or experienced the same kind of struggles, have the same ... obstacles in their life,</u> but now have a desire to do something different ... <u>to follow this path</u> to be able to provide encouragement and ... share my experience with them in a way that kind of helps them <u>move along that path.</u> That's kind of how ... I've always internalized ... that ethic.

Still other interviewees see this process as having more expansive implications. One interviewee discussed how he envisions the path he has traveled going to college, working in industry, and starting a business as a STEM professional as a cumulative process. He said,

I look at my community ... There's very few job opportunities ... And I feel like the thing that will sustain us in the future and sustain us as a people and sustain our sovereignty is to have economic development in the form of jobs and employment and those kind of things which will allow us to stay in the community, allow us to have opportunity to make a living for ourselves economically and allow us the ability to stay in our community and be connected with our traditional ways. <u>But who's gonna make that happen? It's those of us who are going out, getting our degrees, getting experience in the ... in the larger world who can come back home and create opportunities</u> ... I think being able to bring viable business opportunities to the community is huge ... So many of our communities have a casino or a hotel or something ... each generation going forward should have the ... intent to improve upon with what they were given ... you should always think about not only yourself but for those who come after ... The destiny is within our hands … I think it has to be ... a holistic approach ... it's a slow, methodical process and it's ... an accumulation process.

Role-modeling and trailblazing, like other dimensions of the giving back paradigm, operate on multiple levels. Role-modeling makes it possible for others to imagine becoming a STEM professional. Trailblazing makes the experience of becoming a STEM professional easier for others in the future. Both contain seeds of transformation to strengthen Native communities and to enhance Native sovereignty.

Giving Back as a Challenge in STEM

While giving back is a clearly articulated objective for Native Americans and as we demonstrate above, giving back has many dimensions of meaning, figuring out exactly what giving back entails is not as obvious (Guillory 2008:170). This fact has significant implications for STEM participation—who decides to go into STEM. It also influences Native STEM professionals in an ongoing way. A lack of appreciation of the cultural priority placed on giving back by Native students exists in the orientation and goals of college administration and STEM coursework. This lapse has been identified as a damper on Native participation in STEM. HeavyRunner and DeCelles (2002:8) write that "institutions fail to recognize the disconnect between institutional values and [Indian] student values; hence the real reasons for high attrition rates among disadvantaged students are never addressed." In a study comparing perspectives of Native college students and college administrators, Guillory (2009) and Guillory and Wolverton (2008) found that ideas about what it takes to promote Native persistence and academic achievement held by Native students and those held by college administrators did not align. While administrators focused on tangible things like financial assistance and curriculum content, students' responses

indicate that "family and giving back to tribal community [provide] the determination and desire to finish [college]" (Guillory 2009:16). Students who are not able to connect their goal of giving back to a college education are less likely to continue their education. Smith and colleagues (2014) looked at this dynamic specifically for Native American STEM students. They identified a lack of "goal congruence" between the priority placed upon giving back by Native students and a perceived individualistic orientation of careers in the sciences. This perceived individualistic orientation is generally supported by the way that STEM classes are taught and the nature of the knowledge conveyed, even if it is not necessarily indicative of all careers in STEM. Smith and colleagues believe that this lack of perceived goal congruence negatively influences Native participation in STEM. They "contend that to the extent that Native American students highly endorse communal work goals, this goal endorsement will be associated with feeling that they do not belong in STEM and undermine their persistence in STEM majors" (Smith et al. 2014:415).

Interviewees in our study discussed how the challenge to give back is a continuing struggle for STEM professionals. This was a pervasive theme in the interviews we conducted, and a dilemma for interviewees. They discussed a variety of things that make giving back difficult. One described it as a problem of proximity: "We talk about giving back to your Native community and I don't have that opportunity because I don't live near my Native community." Another described it as a function of infrastructure:

> I do think that science needs to come to the reservation. There's got to be a way that it can be implemented to really help things there and I'm still trying to figure out how that is. There's not a good infrastructure for engineers to come back and readily help the reservation. It has to be created from…nothing.

In the sciences, certain disciplines are easier to connect to giving back than others. Some of the interviewees in this study have expertise in water resources, forestry, or fisheries that have obvious implications and uses in Native communities. But others who have degrees in physics, aerospace engineering, mathematics, or computer science find it more challenging to identify ways that the specific content of their scientific expertise can be mobilized in the service of community goals. Interviewees said things like, "That's one of the things that I would like to do is to give back to my community . . . it's just for my particular degree, there really wasn't any potential for me to [come back]," or "You don't feel like there's an immediate, direct path back into the community workwise," or "It is a hard thing to understand how going into Physics is ever going to help anyone," and

> The concept of giving back ... that's the biggest thing that I've been struggling with recently … trying to figure out how this degree in mechanical engineering and my role as an aerospace engineer, how's that

> gonna be useful at all to the [TRIBE NAME]? … And, and if I'm going to come back, there's not really going to be an existing job there for me to jump in to. It has to be created out of something that doesn't exist yet ... I don't think I'm gonna be working in the same field.

Figuring out how to give back is a continuing challenge that clearly emerges from interviewee narratives.

Addressing Challenges Entailed in Giving Back

A number of authors have proposed ideas about how to address the challenge of giving back for Native Americans. Brayboy, Solyom, and Castagno (2014) discuss this issue from the perspective of tribal nation building. They believe that the focus on individual merit and achievement by colleges and universities needs to be transformed to honor Native students' cultural values. They see a need for a tribal nation building orientation at institutions of higher learning to not only promote recruitment, persistence, and retention among Native Students, but to facilitate Native leadership development by specifically supporting a student's capacity to give back. Guillory (2009) suggests the need for colleges to create programs to allow Native students to maintain a connection to their community and to have culturally sensitive career counseling. Guillory and Wolverton (2008) recommend creating collaborative programs between tribal communities and educational institutions. Makomenaw (2014) believes that service learning and volunteer programs could be created to allow Native students to integrate their education with the cultural value of serving communities. Minthorn, Wanger and Shotton (2013) want, in addition to cultivating relationships with Native communities for collaboration and service learning, to see colleges internalize the priorities of Native culture and communities in a more structured way. This suggests that connecting Native students with Native faculty for structured mentorships that involve work in Native communities would serve this purpose and would have the added benefit of further promoting leadership in Native communities.

Situating Giving Back in STEM

Brayboy, Solyom, and Castagno (2014:590) write that Native students need more information about how "a college degree can (and to some extent should) add benefit and value from a Native perspective." Writing about this issue with a specific focus on STEM education, Smith and colleagues (2014:424) believe that a way to address goal incongruence between the STEM curriculum and Native Students' values is by incorporating culture in the curriculum. They suggest that first year curriculum courses in STEM could emphasize the communal value of science and engineering careers, and provide real world applications. Our data suggest that this approach would be extremely valuable. We believe that interviewee narratives demonstrate the need to *situate* giving back specifically in relation to STEM. Elsewhere (Page-Reeves et al. 2017b) we have discussed how important it

is for young people in Native communities to understand that they do not have to give up their Native identity if they pursue a career in STEM. We describe how interviewees explicitly indicated that they see our research as providing perspectives that can contribute to developing strategies to help Native youth understand this fact. As Brayboy, Solyom, and Castagno (2014:591) astutely point out, "institutions of higher education can help encourage students to believe that they do not have to choose between home community/culture and being a college student." We believe that this is particularly key in STEM, and has implications for thinking about giving back. We propose that in addition to strategies for universities to encourage and connect with Native students' desire to give back, STEM industry employers and Native organizations have a role to play.

Conclusion

In this article, we have demonstrated nuanced dimensions of the giving back paradigm as it relates specifically to careers in STEM. We did this through presentation of quotations from narratives gathered from Native STEM students and professionals. We have 1900+ pages of transcript data. As should be evident from the extensive quotes we were able to weave into our discussion above, the narratives we gathered were rich and interviewees, particularly the professionals, were eager to speak about their experiences and share their ideas. We were incredibly inspired by their stories and their insights. All of them expressed the desire to give back, but the challenges are significant. Building specifically on ideas from Smith and colleagues (2014) for STEM education, and in line with broader insights from Brayboy, Solyom, and Castagno (2014), our data support the idea of a need for specific course content in STEM to help students understand how to connect their career aspirations to their desire to give back.

Students require information to guide them in understanding the ways that a career in STEM can be synthesized with their Native values and identities (Page-Reeves et al. 2017b) and in figuring out how to think about orienting such a career path to giving back. This is particularly key for those careers that cannot be understood as immediately relevant to the priorities of Native nation building (*e.g.,* computational mathematics, laser science, or aerospace engineering). We propose that universities and industry could benefit from working with individuals like the interviewees in this study, and AISES—a national Native nonprofit dedicated to promoting Native participation in STEM and a partner on this research (Page-Reeves et al. 2017a)—to develop course content, curriculum, workshops, and presentations to help students *situate* giving back into their own conceptualization of what it means to pursue a career in a STEM field. Universities could tap Native STEM alumni to create these educational components. STEM industry companies could mobilize Native employees and provide resources for working with universities on these ideas and to create professional contexts where this information could be shared for individuals who have completed their education in STEM and entered the work world.

AISES could be involved in a variety of ways, including by identifying Native STEM professionals who are particularly interested in these issues.

We propose that Native professionals who have been trailblazing a path in STEM education and careers have perspectives that are particularly salient for contributing to the development of messaging to communicate positive ideas about STEM to Native young people. Many are the first Native individuals to work as professionals or to receive advanced degrees in their field and they have personal experience connecting their professional career goals and activities with their Native values in order to give back in a way that we have called *wayfinding* (Page-Reeves et al. 2018). These individuals have unique experience and perspectives that can help universities and industry develop culturally appropriate materials and processes that can help Native students see themselves *becoming* STEM professionals and self-identifying as scientists (Page-Reeves et al. 2017b). But developing these resources requires a concerted and structured approach. If done strategically, coherently, and holistically, we believe that these strategies for situating giving back will promote expanded participation for Native Americans in STEM. However, because giving back has been demonstrated to resonate with individuals from a variety of populations that continue to be under-represented in STEM, we believe that *situating* giving back in this way could also have implications for thinking about similar strategies to improve STEM participation for African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and other populations.

NOTES

1. In the anthropological literature, we understand that there are many types of Native "communities." However, here, we employ the phrasing "giving back to *the* community" because this reflects the way that interviewees generally spoke about their relationship to "their community" or "the community" broadly defined as singular. In this usage, interviewees routinely conflated reference to their own Tribe with a broader pan-Native identification, or even with broader social impact, and often they moved from one usage to another and did not make a distinction.

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Mental Health and Ruination in Seattle

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ABSTRACT: *This paper draws on ethnographic research I conducted in "clubhouse" spaces in two community mental health clinics serving lower class people of color and immigrants in Seattle. Drawing on my informants' experiences in the Pioneer Square neighborhood – formerly a lower-class enclave now associated in Seattle with the "homeless mentally ill" – and in mental health clinics, I track community mental health clinics as a displacement and containment of lower class "rights to the city." To do so, I track the notion of the "homeless mentally ill" as a figure of postwar psychiatric discourse through its specific history in Seattle, arguing that postwar American psychiatry and community mental health helped reimagine poverty as a question of madness, and thus transformed the material needs and the rights of citizenship of the poor into questions of "character reform" and therapeutic services – longstanding forms of paternalism that characterize struggles throughout American history concerning elite control over philanthropic giving over against the democratic distribution of material benefits. Drawing on this material, I suggest that the imagination of Pioneer Square and the deprivation my informants experienced in community mental health clinics is not a side-effect of clinical "mismanagement," but rather part of an ongoing practice of what Ann Stoler calls "ruination," ritualized indignities deeply embedded in the paternalistic separation of the material and the therapeutic in postwar American psychiatry. Ultimately, I address questions of poverty, home, and rights to space in Seattle.*

Key words: Community mental health, psychiatry, ruination, right to the city, Seattle

"'To ruin,' according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary "is to inflict or bring great and irretrievable disaster upon, to destroy agency, to reduce to a state of poverty, to demoralize completely." Attention here is on to ruin as an active process, and a vibrantly violent verb…

As Frantz Fanon wrote in his study of the extensive mental disorders that followed French rule in Algeria, it is the "tinge of decay"—the indelible smack of degraded personhoods, occupied spaces, and limited possibilities—that were (and remain) hardest to erase."

—*Ann Laura Stoler, "Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination"*

I sat talking to Laverne in a conference room in a mental health clinic. It was an old building, probably built in the 1930s, with high ceilings and big windows. We got to the conference room by passing through a locked door and winding down a labyrinth of hallways with old, creaking floors, which left me feeling disoriented – as though I had gone into a space of ritual seclusion. The room we sat in was covered in vibrant murals. It was a typical overcast Seattle day, a contradictory kind of light that filled the room through large windows: simultaneously gloomy and bright, a harsh kind of light familiar to Northwesterners; not sunny, but a light that burns your eyes. An off-kilter sense that pervaded our interview.

Laverne came to our meeting with a metaphorical puzzle, figured in a collection of scraps and photos in a bulging manila folder, the notes from her investigation. The folder included pictures, writings, newspaper clippings, notes, even her father's death certificate. Her father, she told me, "is one the people that built the roads in Seattle." They were a working-class family, and her father was terribly abusive, "sociopathic" in her estimation,

following on a long history of abuse within her family. It was one story of trauma after another. She told me about her Uncle Bennie's hospitalization after a psychotic break, and how the family had "stayed up all night" talking after his eventual release, exploring the long family history of depression – of deprivation and violence. She told me about her daughter's husband, a young Mexican immigrant, who, in a fit locked himself in their trailer and shot himself. "But I'm proud to say that my kids are the first generation of children in my family that haven't been abused," she told me. And I remember a photo of her father as a child in front of a shack in Montana, a look on his face, somewhere between indifference and ennui, that I understood as poorly as the meaning of the objects surrounding him. We lingered over the image of this child that would become a monster – the look on his face not sinister, but *elsewhere*, ghostly. Why were we looking at this photo?

Laverne told me about fleeing home as a teenager and moving to Pioneer Square. Now in her 50s, she lived with her husband, a Native American man, and their three kids, in a trailer in one of the working-class towns south of Seattle. As Laverne recounted living in Pioneer Square, she told me, "I think that I was there because I didn't want to help myself," she said, echoing an oft-reiterated therapeutic cliché. But as she talked more about Pioneer Square, she became more animated, almost like someone carrying on about college, and began to directly contradict her previous thoughts. "I was taking drugs at the time. I came close to working as a stripper at one of those places on First Ave. I thought it would be fun and exciting – *everything was so fun and exciting*. I just wanted to stay there [in Pioneer Square]. So I *did* make a conscious decision to stay there and party – 'cause I was having fun. So here I was, living at the Yesler Hotel, drinkin' *Thun-der-bird*," (a cheap wine) she said, emphasizing each syllable, relishing the mem-

ory.[1] But then she caught herself and looked up at me nervously, reading my reaction to her story. Recomposing herself, her affect and intonation became sober: "But I didn't care about myself back then, that's the sad thing," reiterating a therapeutic line.

How do anthropologists talk about informants that want to talk about what's *not there,* raising the specter of what Derrida calls alternately an "absent-presence" or a "hauntology" (Derrida 1985; 1994)? What Laverne presented me with was not exactly the "cultural knowledge" that anthropology likes to presume, but rather with cultural *not-knowing,* cultural ignorance (see Ronell 2002). What kind of "data" is Laverne's manila folder – her scraps, traces, and contradictions that don't quite add up to a coherent story, personal narratives characterized by disavowal and ambivalence? Her scraps, almost pieces of refuse worked, as Jani Scandura (2008:21) writes, "as a borderline for signification."

Avery Gordon addresses something similar in her work on haunting. She writes that "the ghost or apparition is one form by which something lost, or barely visible, or seemingly not there to our supposedly, well-trained eyes, makes itself known or apparent to us" (2008 [1997]:8). I argue that these scraps, silences, and this haunting non-knowledge are a matter of what Ann Stoler (2008) calls "ruination" – both objects of, and ongoing processes of cultural undoing. Laverne's manila folder and experience in Pioneer Square was an archive of a repressed, subaltern history, of a haunting present-absence, and a clue about the ruination of lower-class worldings in the neighborhood. With her manila folder, the shards of her archive of depression, Laverne was asking me, in some sense, to help her put the puzzle together, to "brush history against the grain" as Walter Benjamin (1968:257) put it, to explain that haunting feeling – and this paper is one such effort.

I return to Pioneer Square later, but first I follow Laverne's story across the spaces and social figures she invokes: from the Single Resident Occupancy hotel to the clubhouse of the mental health clinic; from lower-class urban publics to psychiatric character reform and self-care; from pre-war hobohemia to urban renewal and community mental health. Along the way I show why – and challenge how – we understand homelessness and mental illness in urban settings. And I argue that community mental health is complicit in shaping a form of medicalized "repressive benevolence" that has helped ruin lower class social spaces and sediment Fanon's "tinge of decay" in the degraded persons disciplined in these institutions (quoted in Stoler 2008:195). Ruined spaces and ruined persons that have, by medico-psychiatric fiat, written the poor out of the social contract, casting them off into the symbolic space of American madness, our national unconscious.

The Clubhouse Election: Medical Paternalism and Undermining Selfhood

I showed up at the clubhouse of a different clinic one day to meet my informants, Kenneth and Cora, and found them stewing, looking dejected. The clubhouse was an ugly, uninviting office space; that ugly, off-white lino-leum flooring meant, I imagine, to hide stains by pre-emptively designing itself as a giant stain. It was furnished with used office furniture, a long table surrounded by institutional-looking chairs like you would find in a high school classroom, and a few throw-away items that had been given as gifts scattered around, like an old recliner. There was some random work-out equipment in one corner along with a broken stereo system. It was full of papers on bulletin-boards, flyers that were years out of date, piled high, unruly, signs of bureaucratic entropy. There was the coffee maker – which clients were no longer allowed to use after staff accused them of wasting coffee. The clinic, which catered to African Americans, was in an ethnically diverse neighborhood where many of Seattle's communities of color had been pushed. There was an old picture of Martin Luther King, Jr. on the wall, his image printed on a mirror, a kind of kitsch, next to the exercise equipment that no one ever used, another kind of kitsch. It was a place where a kind of salvage capitalism meets *The Office.* There was a little carnivalesque humor to the random assortment of objects. But there was also an equal amount of straightforward indignity and neglect, not to mention that the clubhouse was not a space free of hierarchical supervision.

My informants looked dejected because earlier in the morning the results of a clubhouse election had been announced, and Kenneth and Cora had been running. They were some of the most involved members of the community there – natural organizers, capable of getting people together and leading group events. Kenneth told me when I arrived that the head case manager in the clinic had claimed that the ballot box for the election was stuffed and had called off the election.

Thus began a litany of complaints that my informants made about the way that the clinic was run – a list that I had heard plenty of times during fieldwork there. It seems like every time the clients – or sympathetic staff – attempted to assert client agency there was a reason that it had to be interrupted. First there was a counseling or discussion group that Kenneth and Cora organized that was client-run. The clinic shut down the discussion group, citing "confidentiality laws" concerning the confidentiality of patient medical records. And the staff leveled the accusation that client discussions were "bad for their mental health."

Then there was "legislative class" organized by a young case worker. One product of "legislative class" was a small advocacy group that the clients ran called Making Inside Changes (MIC). MIC focused on food stamps, Section-8 housing, and supporting Seattle's Mental Health Court, and organized a lobbying trip to Olympia, the state capitol, for Mental Health Day. The clinical staff claimed that the clinic could be punished for facilitating political action. So legislative class was ended, and MIC was told they could not meet in the clubhouse. These events preceded the clubhouse election, when the same case manager disqualified the election because of the "stuffed ballot box" – a perfectly condensed symbol of frivolous power, of revoked rights of citizenship, hierarchy, and infantilization (see Lyon-Callo 2004).

While Kenneth and Cora were telling me the story, the door opened between the clubhouse and the locked portion of the clinic where the case managers worked, and in walked the head case manager. She walked over to the locked closet where she had put the Folger's can with a slit cut in the top that functioned as a ballot box, and pulled it out. She sat down with us at the table, opened the Folgers can, and started counting the ballots. She declared that the box had not been stuffed after all, and declared Kenneth and Cora election winners, congratulated them, and then walked back out through the door she came in.

Kenneth leapt up and sprung over to the locked door. "John, did you see that?" he said to me. "She did that because she heard us telling you what happened," he said excitedly. "She must have been listening from George's office, he's not in today, and it's right on the other side of the wall. She did that because you're here."

These petty indignities based in ordinary personal behavior as well as psychiatric pseudo-science, the use of illegitimate if not counter-productive hierarchical power, were all symptoms of the operation of paternalism, suspicion, shame, and demoralization in the clinic (see Lyon-Callo 2004; Wagner 2001). I came to see these forms of power and humiliation as central to, not merely incidental to, the operation of the clinic. They were practices of *ruination,* dismantling voice, disqualifying selfhood, part of an ordinary and regular demoralization of my informants. This puts Stoler's (2008) citation of Frantz Fanon in context. Given this environment, does anyone wonder why someone might not "take their mental health seriously?" I remember Kenneth complaining bitterly about the flavor-of-the-week slogan at the time, "recovery." I remember him saying "recovery? Recovery for what? There's not anywhere for me to recover to . . . At least when I was getting high I was getting high. Here all I get is this bullshit confidentiality."

Bundling the Material and the Therapeutic

Working in clinics, I began to see that "mental health" care is not one kind of care, not only or primarily mental, nor is it one kind of institution. It's a bundling or clustering or a variety of forms of service and care, something like Bruno Latour's (1986) notion of enrollment or association. For instance, many of my informants in community mental health clinics would tell me over and over again that mental illness was *not* why they were there, that they were not and never had been mentally ill. On the contrary, I regularly ran across not only obviously mentally ill individuals, but also people that would be classified as mentally disabled, individuals that were subjects of histories of trauma and violence, drug addicts, individuals that were immigrants subject to displacement and living in poverty, and others that were "foreign" and "other" in ways that might not be intelligible or serviceable other than through the category of "mental health." The conflation of services for these very different cases – a diversity of circumstances defined mostly in opposition to white, middle-classness – under the conventional rubric of "mental health" created institutional and cultural ?

confusion. It bundled material needs into institutions charged with providing "therapeutic services" and "character reform," yet always privileged the latter (see Wagner 2001).

For instance, I remember Noi, one of the "Thai" clients that I met while running "art therapy" groups in a culturally-sensitive Asian-American clinic. My co-worker, a psychological social worker who ran the program, became bothered because Noi started trying to clean the room, a very controlled clubhouse space, that we ran our sessions in. Convinced that this was a symptom of Obsessive Compulsive Disorder, my coworker asked the psychiatric nurse to consider rediagnosing Noi so that he could be medicated with anti-depressants recently indicated for OCD. Surprisingly, the psychiatric nurse resisted my coworker's suggestion, telling us a story instead. While Noi spoke Thai, and currently had a case manager that spoke Thai, his national identity was misleading. He had been a child living near the border of Cambodia and Vietnam, where, during the conflict with the Americans, he was orphaned after losing his parents – in fact, the nurse suggested that he witnessed these events. Like so many others he ended up in one of the 13 border camps that Thailand set up to collect refugees where he lived for close to a decade before immigrating to Seattle. Talk about ruination. In contrast to the imposed passivity of the clinical space, Noi's attempts at cleaning could be seen as an expression of capability and agency, as a sign of his perceptiveness and attention to his surroundings. Was he resisting a form of clinical passivity that was simultaneously a symptom of ruination?

The medical logic implicit in applying OCD in this way is symptomatic of two interlinked processes. First, the form of "pharmaceutical reason" (Lakoff 2006) that my colleague employed obscures the difference between Noi's "mental health" and his material needs or forms of social difference – what I see as part of the neoliberal project of the psychiatrization of poverty (see Rose 2006). Re-encoding socio-material problems of homelessness, food insecurity, differential abilities, immigration, structural unemployment, and violence as matters of "mental health" is a radical practice of dematerialization and desocialization, a sleight-of-hand that substitutes the reification of mind in the place of the provision of social and material necessities – not to mention medicalizing innocuous forms of otherness (see Wolf-Meyer 2014). Second, this mentalization of poverty is part of a long genealogy of debates in American welfare concerning outdoor vs. indoor relief. These debates revolve around the question of whether the poor should receive material benefits like housing or food with or without submission to forms of church, state, or in this case, medical supervision, practices of "character reform" (Wagner 2001). For example, there were shelters that demanded attendance at mass in exchange for a bed. The rhetorical value of community mental health is in the way that the inflation of the psychological has both bundled and obscured the differences between the role of the material – like food and housing – and the therapeutic.

This all begs an important question, central to my purpose here: why has it become so hegemonic that most of us implicitly consent to psychiatry's dominion over the group that we so casually call the "homeless mentally ill"? Why do we think that mental illness is the main driver of poverty? Why do we consent to psychology's institutional dominance in the management of poverty?

"Turning Vagrants into Patients": The Yesler Hotel, SROs, and the Ruination of Lower Class Rights to Space and Citizenship

"I was living at the Yesler Hotel, drinking *Thunderbird*," Laverne exclaimed with celebratory bravado. Catching herself, she adopted a new posture: "The sad thing is that I didn't care about myself."

The Yesler Hotel is a former SRO in Pioneer Square, which is now known as the Morrison Hotel, and houses 190 rooms run by Downtown Emergency Services Center – a notorious mental health center in Seattle that every middle-class mental health advocate I ever met used the term "bedlam" to describe. But isn't 190 a lot of rooms? Isn't this a positive development?

Something different emerges when we see the Yesler in the context of two historical forces: urban renewal and the Community Mental Health Act of 1963, two forces that changed the material *and ideological* characteristics of the neighborhood and the people living there, two central ingredients in the bundling of the material and therapeutic that I described above – not to mention the narrative stuttering in Laverne's life history.

I don't have time to go fully into the colorful history of Pioneer Square, the original Skid Road, a place known as a "main stem" or "hobohemia" that collected migrant laborers from the U.S. and Asia in the wake of the Alaska -Yukon Gold Rush (see DePastino 2003; Tyler 1967). Postwar urban redevelopment schemes, transportation changes, and renewed Cold War emphasis on psychological normalization in the form of conformist models of domesticity and middle-class capital accumulation put pressure on the neighborhood, delegitimizing and dismantling lower-class social and material infrastructures from Pioneer Square (DePastino 2003; Groth 1999; Lutz 1997; May 2008; Metzl 2005).

Historian Coll Thrush describes Pioneer Square in the 1960s and 70s in his book *Native Seattle* as such:

And a neighborhood it was: for all its dysfunction, for all the poverty and discrimination and cheap booze, Indian Skid Road was a community with its own rules and its own distinctive identity. To begin with, the Native population on Skid Road tended to be fairly stable. And unlike the general population of Skid Road, the downtown Indian community included many women, who often held down jobs as barmaids and cooks… Like their Service League counterparts, the women of Skid Road were problem solvers; they could be depended on, for example, to know about openings in berry picking, dock work, carpentry, and other jobs. Among the black jazz clubs, gay cabarets, Chinese restaurants, and Filipino night

cafes that had also sprung up in the area, Native Skid Road had by the 1960s developed into a functioning, if troubled, community with *three key institutions: the Indian bar, the single-resident occupancy (SRO) hotel, and the streets themselves* [Thrush 2007: 175].

According to Thrush there were close to 1,700 SRO rooms in the 1960s, and having a room, not unlike Laverne's I presume, "was a sign of status among Indian Skid Roaders" (2007:176) – no doubt part of the long history of lower-class struggle for the right to space and autonomy in Pioneer Square. By the 1970s urban renewal and heritage tourism programs – under the guise of preservation and safety ordinances – had destroyed three-quarters of the SROs, and nearly 60 percent of Pioneer Square's population had disappeared. Graham and Company, a real-estate company with failed designs on Pioneer Square, advocated for "relocating [the remaining population of Pioneer Square] who could not be *institutionalized in prisons or asylums*" (Thrush 2007:177, italics mine) – thus making the links between redevelopment and psychiatric institutions explicit.

This not only destroyed social networks, but pulled lower-class housing infrastructure out from under vulnerable populations (see Groth 1999). Simultaneously, the emergent Community Mental Health Act re-encoded poverty and lower-class rejections of normative domesticity in psychological terms. This "turned vagrants into patients," as anthropologist Kim Hopper (1988) has put it, destroyed lower-class rights to space, and made poverty a psychiatric rather than material problem. Under the guise of psychiatric benevolence, the lower-class came under the psychiatric gaze as patients, and thereby, to quote Hopper again, "lost an element of refusal or defiance," or what I'd call following Henri Lefebvre, the right to the city (Lefebvre 1996; see Harvey 2008).

Thus, I resist the synecdochal collapsing of homelessness and mental illness that comes in the naturalized ideological category of the "homeless mentally ill." This term and its vague target population(s) is a product of material and institutional histories. Not only is it descriptively inaccurate, it is a deeply ideological concept, a term that, as Latour (1986) describes, enrolls a network of actors in a composition that I've argued should be resisted. The "homeless mentally ill," as a naturalized ideological concept, is a project of ruination.

To conclude, the psychiatrization of space and poverty in places like Pioneer Square is part of a broader cultural project of class, race, gender, and ideological containment. It simultaneously destroyed lower-class rights to the city while creating a circular logic that turned mental illness into a hegemonic explanation of poverty. This was a conservative coup for indoor relief and the proponents of victim-blaming, paternalism, and character reform, courtesy of the intellectual hubris and class prejudices of those jewels of postwar science, American psychology and psychiatry. This is a broader project of ruination. The SRO, like the famed railway lines destroyed by auto-manufacturers, was destroyed

along with alternate class and race-based urban infra-structures, an alternative history of urban development not built on the popular American amnesic conceit of rebuilding cities as if from scratch. Urban renewal destroyed lower-class worldings and spaces of citizenship, while the discourses of community mental health psychiatrized – and thereby dehistoricized – urban poverty. Thus, if this is a larger cultural project, it is the end of the Great Society, as it writes the poor, via medical paternalism, out of the social contract. It cast the poor, like the bedlam of Downtown Emergency Services Center, into a national political-unconscious of madness and unintelligibility. Like ghosts.

To close, let me return to Laverne's story. Her personal narrative straddles this historical threshold. In the first version, "drinking Thunderbird," "for all its dysfunction," is still an agent free of an abusive home. The second version, a psychiatric cliché: no longer an active agent of a class position, but as a responsibilized subject with a mental illness, a mental reification that represses the history of the material destruction of spaces of security and rights of space for people in her class situation.

NOTES

1. In 2005, the Seattle City Council asked the Washington State Liquor Control Board to prohibit the sale of cheap, high-alcohol content drinks, including Thunderbird, from impoverished "Alcohol Impact Areas."

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Fakes, Poisons, & Medicines: Pharmaceutical Capacities in the Context of Radical Uncertainty in Tanzania

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ABSTRACT: *Powerful antibiotics are readily available for purchase throughout Tanzania, and global health policy makers regularly decry this situation as dangerous and disordered, as if no rules govern the use of antibiotics in Africa. While practitioners of Western biomedicine view pharmaceuticals as cures for disease, in Tanzania such medicines are understood to be volatile and potentially dangerous substances—one among many unpredictable, fluctuating, and highly contemporary forces from outside, whose potentials are at once positive and negative. In the prevailing Western understanding of antibiotic use in Africa, 'truth' lies in the science that goes into the making and proper prescription of drugs, and such deviations as 'overuse' result from the fact that locals misunderstand what these drugs are and how they should be used. In this paper, based on over two years of ethnographic fieldwork, I argue that Tanzanian practices are aimed at determining the 'true' nature of these drugs, at differentiating types of drugs, and at establishing control over their variable capacities. I explore this process through two examples: (1) the widespread problem of fake, or 'chakachua' drugs, and the use of embodied epistemologies for identifying such substances; and (2) a counter-discourse about the dangers of pharmaceuticals as one among many toxic imports from outside. I argue that these examples demonstrate: (1) how Tanzanians both resist and remake the capacities and potentialities of antibiotics; (2) the role that embodied epistemological practices play in the production of local knowledge; and 3) that efforts to know/control these medicines may be a response to globalizing forces more generally.*

Key words: Tanzania, pharmaceuticals, counterfeits, globalization of medicine, bodily epistemologies

Introduction

Powerful antibiotics are readily available for purchase throughout Tanzania, and global health policy makers regularly decry this situation as dangerous and disordered, as if no rules govern the use of antibiotics in Africa. While practitioners of Western biomedicine view pharmaceuticals as cures for disease, in Tanzania such medicines are understood to be volatile and potentially dangerous substances—one among many unpredictable, fluctuating, and highly contemporary forces from outside, whose potentials are at once positive and negative. In the prevailing Western understanding of antibiotic use in Africa, truth lies in the science that goes into the making and proper prescription of drugs, and such deviations as overuse result from the fact that locals misunderstand what these drugs are and how they should be used. In this paper, I challenge this view by demonstrating that Tanzanian practices are in fact aimed at determining the true nature of these drugs, at differentiating types of drugs, and at establishing control over their variable capacities.

As antibiotic use becomes more and more widespread, we are witnessing an outpouring of concern over the rise of antimicrobial resistance. The World Health Organization reports that this is one of the greatest challenges to global health: Dr. Margaret Chan, former Director-General of the World Health Organization, stated in 2011 that "the world is heading towards a post-antibiotic era, in which many common infections will no longer have a cure and, once again, kill unabated" (Chan 201:para. 12). These developments are occurring alongside an increase in the rhetoric of consumer-driven choice and the value of the free market to address health care needs through-

out the African continent (Janes and Corbett 2009; Pfeiffer 2004). In recent years, the Tanzanian state has been attempting to re-imagine biomedicines as commodities to be regulated by 'technocratic expertise' and framed within a neoliberal development discourse about progress and modernization (Langwick 2010). Meanwhile, nongovernmental organizations pressure the Tanzanian state to adopt what the global health community views as appropriate requirements for the use and regulation of pharmaceuticals, which has led to new measures aimed at tightening regulations on drug sales. Yet, recent public health research on the sale of pharmaceuticals in Tanzania has found that the regulations that do exist are rarely enforced or followed, that drug shop staff do not meet the official qualifications, and that the selling of unpackaged tablets or prescription-only medicine (to customers without prescriptions) is the norm (Axt 2011; Goodman et al. 2007; see also Whyte 1992). Such efforts to regulate global health and limit antimicrobial resistance rely almost entirely on Western assumptions about what pharmaceuticals are and what gives them their potency and capacities. These are the grand narratives that I seek to complicate and challenge in my research.

Biomedicine's depiction as acultural and universal has been convincingly challenged by research in the social studies of medicine (Gaines and Davis-Floyd 2004; Kleinman 1979, 1995; Lock 1995; Petryna, Lakoff, and Kleinman 2006). Additionally, social scientists who study the culture of biomedicine have often implicated it in troubling power dynamics, arguing that biomedical interventions are becoming increasingly pervasive in the Global South in part because of the ideological support

their individualization (and subsequent depoliticization) lends to neoliberal policies and agendas (Farmer 2003; Biehl 2005; Scheper-Hughes 1992). Research on pharmaceuticals in Tanzania appears to be following these broader theoretical trends, describing unregulated consumption of pharmaceuticals as the "privitisation of poverty" (Green 2000) and biomedical discourse as a type of "medicalization of everyday life," albeit in the context of a weak state and despite the "resilience" of local people (Obrist 2003, 2004). Such frameworks argue that by engaging with certain medicines people are socialized into mechanisms of control (Applbaum 2006; Burke 1996; Lakoff 2005), including biopolitical processes that leave certain racialized bodies vulnerable to disease and death, producing what Fassin (2007) calls an "inequality of lives" (see also Briggs and Martini-Briggs 2003; Comaroff 1985, 1993; Good et al. 2008). Pharmakons in particular (as Biehl terms them) entangle subjects in "new mechanisms of sociomedical and subjective control" that "replace social ties, voiding certain forms of human life in the family and medicine" (Biehl and Moran-Thomas 2009:269). I argue that this interpretation may not capture much of contemporary usage in Africa, where people are trying to come to terms with change and uncertain futures by attempting to fix/stabilize reality and perhaps even to create new worlds through these medical practices (Guyer 2007; Smith 2011).

My research contributes to scholarship on how pharmaceuticals have been taken up in a globalized world by challenging this anthropological literature to move beyond the tropes of neoliberal subjectivity and medicalization. I ask what pharmaceuticals *are* to begin with, if they are the same thing across different contexts, and how their identities may be shaped by practices of knowledge and healing in the postcolonial context. Additionally, in response to the preponderance of literature about the social and political construction of traditional medicine as a concept in Tanzania (Feierman 1981, 1985, 2000; Feierman and Janzen 1992; Langwick 2006; Redmayne 2004 [1970]; Schoenbrun 2006), I demonstrate how biomedicines (and their internal categorizations) are *also* socially constructed in Tanzania (as elsewhere). In this paper, I explore how the meanings and uses of antibiotics and other pharmaceuticals are shaped by their relationship to traditional medicines, symbolic divisions, and bodily schema, which may overshadow the role of the pharmaceutical industry, the state, or Western biomedicine in defining and regulating pharmaceuticals.

This paper is based on over two years (2011, 2012, 2013-2015) of ethnographic fieldwork which I conducted in Iringa, Tanzania, a regional capital in the southern highlands with a population of about 113,000 people. I found that complexly nuanced understandings of the characteristics and uses of pharmaceuticals circulate widely and constitute a form of knowledge that at times includes, but also transcends, that of biomedicine and global health. Here I argue that Tanzanian practices are aimed at determining the 'true' nature of these drugs, at differentiating types of drugs, and at establishing control over their variable capacities.

In this paper, I explore the day-to-day reality of such practices in two arenas: biomedical settings and traditional healing compounds. I first introduce the widespread problem of fake, or 'chakachua' drugs, and discuss how biomedical personnel respond to these conditions. Next, I explore the use of embodied epistemologies by patients as a technique for identifying such substances. Finally, I present a counter-discourse amongst traditional healers (and others) about the dangers of pharmaceuticals as one among many toxic imports from outside, and demonstrate the ways in which these conditions of radical uncertainty enable complex entanglements between healing regimes. I argue that these examples demonstrate how Tanzanians both resist and remake the capacities and potentialities of antibiotics and other pharmaceuticals. I conclude by suggesting that such efforts to know/control these medicines may also be understood as a response to globalizing forces more generally.

Counterfeits & *Chakachua*

Currently, it is estimated that 10–15 percent of global drugs are counterfeit (Cockburn et al. 2005; Berkrot 2012). The prevalence is higher in developing countries in Africa and in parts of Asia and Latin America where up to 30–60 percent of drugs on the market are counterfeit. The World Health Organization asserts that Sub-Saharan Africa is most affected by counterfeit pharmaceuticals, with antibiotics being one of the most common drugs to be faked (Burns 2006; World Health Organization 2006). Over half of all pharmaceuticals are thought to be counterfeit in parts of Africa (Cockburn et al. 2005), with a significant proportion of these fake products coming from India (Mhando et al. 2016). While I was in Tanzania, the issue of counterfeit antibiotics was a central concern in the news and popular discourse, as were the efforts of pharmaceutical corporations to control that illicit market and the "war on counterfeits" being articulated (and occasionally waged) by the neoliberal Tanzania state (Songa 2011). What I was primarily interested in during my fieldwork is how local people—both medical personnel and lay people—identify fakes, classify qualities of drugs, and respond to these uncertain conditions.

Early on I discovered the Swahili neologism "chakachua," which is used, along with other terms like "bandia," to refer to counterfeits. It was originally coined during the 2010 national elections, in which much of the country argued that the results were rigged. Since then, it has become widespread, and I see it partially as a critique of life under neoliberal restructuring policies, in which nothing is entirely what it claims to be. One professor I spoke with at a local university described chakachua as "manipulation" or a situation in which something about a thing's "reality has been altered." A famous example of kuchakachua was a nation-wide scam of watering down petroleum by mixing in kerosene, such a common practice that the government decided to raise the price of kerosene to discourage it (which then unfortunately disadvantaged low-income families who rely on kerosene for lighting). Sekela, a pharmacist at Kalenga Pharmacy, one

Figure 1. Sekela (on right) at Kalenga Pharmacy

of the more pricey and upscale drug shops in town, told me that all the pills I was looking at in her shop were probably at least a little bit "chakachua." She explained: "like when you commission a couch to be made and you tell them you want it made out of three materials, but they only use two," or "like Chinese cell phones which are not really phones."

In the realm of medicine, chakachua is not limited to pharmaceuticals. I also encountered many cases and stories about chakachua lab test results and laboratory equipment. This situation led one doctor to advise me that, because of the unreliability of these tests, it would be better not to check at a lab at all, but just to go directly to buy medicine if I ever felt the symptoms of malaria during my fieldwork: "Don't rely on lab investigations," he said. "Rely on signs and symptoms." In the following two sections, I explore what exactly these signs are and how one learns to read them in and on the body.

Chakachua Pharmaceuticals & Embodied Epistemology

A very well-known case of chakachua medicines that occurred during my fieldwork had to do with antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) that were purchased by the Medical Supply Department (MSD) of the Tanzanian government

for distribution throughout public facilities. These ARVs were discovered to be either fake or expired (depending on who one asked), and several high-ranking government officials did end up going to court over the case. Although many of my interviewees told me these drugs had come from India, some news outlets report that they were produced within Tanzania by the TPI (Tanzanian Pharmaceutical Industry), which is owned by Madabida, the Chairman of the ruling CCM party in Dar es Salaam.

According to Dr. K, a doctor at the regional government hospital and one of my primary interlocuters, these drugs were discovered as fakes through the patients who complained that the substance inside the capsules was "like ugali" (a local type of porridge) rather than like "maize." In other words, patients observed that the substance was sticky rather than granular. These patients would return those pills to the places where they bought them and then the staff would shake capsules to determine which were still good, or in Dr. K's words "which ones were shaking well like sand" and then exchange ugali-texture pills for the sand-texture ones.

Government supplied medicines are purchased and distributed in Tanzania by the MSD (Medical Supplies Department), which had a large warehouse in Iringa, supplying the regions of Iringa, Ngombe, and Ruvuma.

When I interviewed the Warehouse Officer there, he told me that he had indeed "come across that challenge" of chakachua drugs, mentioning two recent cases—an Amoxicillin suspension (an antibiotic) and SP (an anti-malarial). Both were discovered as fakes by patients who noticed that these medicines change color and/or that the colors were not quite right. These chakachua drugs had already been distributed to facilities and health centers, and though they were eventually recalled, customers were only given their money back if they returned the drugs with an invoice, then prepared a document called a Return Memo, and other procedures that are cumbersome and rarely followed. Most recalled drugs do not get re-turned. In the words of the Warehouse Officer: "Those people will know fakes after they're consumed." I main-tain that this knowing is an embodied epistemological technique which involves both an awareness of the prop-er colors, textures, tastes, and smells of medicines, and a careful attunement to the signs in one's own (and others') bodies as they interact with the consumed substance. I understand Dr. Kessy's reference to "signs" to be akin to Nancy Munn's (1986) conceptualization of "qualia": re-ferring to how the qualities of things become materialized in bodies, such that experience can be understood as a semiotically informed aspect of the social, rather than just an individual subjective state (Chumley and Hark-ness 2013).

In the course of my fieldwork, I found that embodied epistemologies frequently enabled people to identify chakachua medicines through their material qualities like color, texture, smell, and taste. Dr. K, who owns his own private pharmacy in addition to working at the govern-ment hospital, told me a story of how he found fakes in his own shop. One day he opened a tin of tetracycline (an antibiotic) and observed that there were powdery patches around the capsules, which he thought meant that perhaps some of the capsules had broken down, but he decided to start selling them anyway. The patient who ultimately discovered that they were chakachua had bought a cap-sule to open and pour onto a wound on his leg. (This is a common practice in Tanzania, partially because it is much cheaper than buying antibiotic ointments). Inside the capsule, this man saw white powder instead of brown powder and came back complaining that "the powder inside is in another manner." Together Dr. K and his pa-tient tasted it and determined that it was chakachua be-cause it "tasted sweet like cassava; not bitter, just sweet." As Dr. K told me, "every drug has its own peculiar taste."

The contrast between bitterness and sweetness is a central one in traditional healing in Tanzania (and throughout the Indian Ocean region, where humoral un-derstandings of the body are widespread) (Etkin 1992; Farquhar 1994; Lee 1993; Winterbottom and Tesfaye 2016). In Swahili, 'tamu' is an adjective for sweet or de-licious food, while 'chungu' (the word used to describe strong pharmaceuticals like antibiotics) connotes bitter, sour, or harsh foods (like sour lemons or hot peppers). It can also refer to sharp pain or grief. The connection be-tween taste and temperature is also important; "bitter, acrid foods are considered to be markedly hot" (Weiss 1996:94). While heat transforms or speeds things up, cold

Figure 2. Dr. K in his office at the Iringa Regional Hospital

restricts and slows things down (1996:174). Thus, to say that a medicine (whether pharmaceutical or herbal) is bitter (chungu) is to indicate its strength. Bitterness is a very culturally significant quale, and this is why Dr. K knew that when his tetracycline tasted sweet, that was a sure sign that it lacked any strength at all.

This lack of bitterness comes up frequently in cases where chakachua drugs are detected, especially when medicines are switched with one another. For instance, in one such case, Ceptrin (the brand name for the antibiotic Co-trimoxazol) was switched with Panadol (the brand name of the pain killer Paracetramol), because these pills are identical in shape and size. A company in Dar es Sa-laam took the tablets and switched them, earning a hefty profit from the scam: Ceptrin sells for 7,000 Tanzanian shillings (TZS) for a standard course of treatment, while the equivalent number of Panadol pills would sell for only 1,000 TZS. (One U.S. dollar is worth approximately 2,246 TZS, at the time of this publication.) They supplied several areas—one place that I know of purchased 1,000 tins of the chakachua Ceptrin. Ultimately, this scheme was discovered again by patients who noticed the lack of bitter taste. In this case, the drug was being used to treat sexually transmitted infections, but was just a painkiller. Although patients are most often the ones who discover fake drugs, sometimes medical personnel do as well: in the regional hospital where I conducted fieldwork, the malaria medicine Quinine was discovered as chakachua

after nurses who were injecting in-patients with it noticed that everyone's fever remained high and that it seemed to cause patients to sleep more. When they peeled off the label, the nurses discovered that underneath was written 'valium.'

National Origin, Pharmaceutical Potencies, & 'Polypharmacy'

Due to widespread perceptions of Indian, Chinese, and African medicines as of lower quality than medicines from Europe and the Middle East, counterfeiters also "play with the packaging" of drugs by altering the country of origin so that they can sell medicines for a higher price. Tanzanian, Kenyan, and Indian medicines are repackaged in containers from the UK and Germany in particular (both countries which historically colonized the region) because people will pay more for those. Dr. K warned me not to buy medicines from the UK or Germany because there was a good chance they would be fake, since people can make a high profit using this strategy.

A common tactic that doctors and patients use for dealing with this issue is what local doctors call "polypharmacy"—giving multiple drugs for multiple diagnoses because they are not sure which disease it is and/or not certain about the quality of the drugs. This is standard practice at the regional government hospital, as well as at private clinics. At one of the top private clinics in Iringa, Mariam, who manages it, told me that they often practice polypharmacy, especially with antibiotics, giving patients two or three types at once. She also noted that, while patients complain frequently about chakachua medicines, they never complain about ones coming from Germany or Egypt.

Nowadays, Mariam lamented, "everybody makes medicine, it's crazy." She orders their medicines from three companies in Dar es Salaam: Salama Pharmacy, JD Pharmacy, and Meggido. During my fieldwork, this clinic identified several counterfeits in its stores, including Metacelphin and Quinine (anti-malarials), and Metronidazole (an antibiotic and antiprotozoal). Although she usually cannot tell which are fake, Mariam herself once discovered counterfeit paracetemol when it came in poor packaging with flaky edges.

Meanwhile, Mariam says that patients frequently complain about chakachua medicines, but that since one cannot know for sure if it's actually fake, the doctors have to continually change patients' prescriptions until something works. The gynecologist at this clinic gave me some examples of this practice in action. He had several female patients who could not ovulate, so he gave them drugs for induction, and all these patients used Indian brands for several months without ovulating, so were unable to conceive. Then when they switched to drugs from Germany and the UK, they did conceive. But, he said, even more important than the fact that they were now able to conceive, the stronger evidence for the different qualities of these pharmaceuticals was that the patients "*could feel the difference*" in their bodies.

Another case he told me about dealt with the trials of an ethnically Arab woman who suffered from chronic cough and flu for which she used an antihistamine called Cetracine. With the Arab brand that she used in the past, she got an immediate effect when she used it. But then she "used ours"—(I interrupted to ask—you mean made in Tanzania?—and he said, no, from India)—"she used ours for four or five days without any effect at all." He said you "can't ever be one hundred percent sure which drugs are low standard," but that if he were sick he would definitely "fetch for medicines from Europe rather than India". What I want to stress here is that in both the examples he gave, the quality of different drugs was discovered by patients' bodily reactions or lack-thereof. Like the Warehouse Officer told me—"Those people will know fakes after they're consumed."

Pharmaceuticals as *Sumu* (Poisons)

In this section, I want to contrast these narratives and experiences of chakachua drugs with a counter discourse in Tanzania about the dangers of pharmaceuticals as poisons (or *sumu*, in Swahili). I focus especially on how one traditional healer articulated this to me because I think he skillfully highlights some of the epistemological and ontological politics at play. Anthropological and postcolonial studies on medical pluralism have convincingly shown how, in plural medical contexts, the boundaries between discrete categories of knowledge and practices are often blurred and purposefully left ambiguous by patients and healers alike (Flint 2008; Harding 1994; Latour 1993). By doing so, they critique the notion of distinct epistemic categories sustained by earlier ethno-medical studies of local medical systems that sought to understand interpretive systems of illness in isolation. Instead, they show how biomedicine and traditional medicine have been coproduced in Tanzania as elsewhere through encounters such as colonization, missionization, post-independence socialist policies, international development, and structural adjustment (Geissler and Molyneux 2011; Langwick 2006, 2010, 2011; Tilley 2011).

Focusing on the movement of bodies, knowledge, and patients, this literature also problematizes the notion of medical pluralism itself by showing how different healing regimes comingle and produce new entanglements, for which the old notion of hybridity is increasingly ineffective (Agarwal 1995; Anderson 2002; Cohen 1998; Mol 2002). For instance, Langwick (2008) writes about how the nurses she worked with at Tanzanian hospitals thought that the capacities of pharmaceuticals were sometimes being blocked by witchcraft, so the sorcery had to be removed first before those pharmaceuticals could be effective. Inspired by such work on plural healthcare systems, I also investigated how engagements with pharmaceuticals are shaped in dynamic dialogue with other treatments options and regimes in Tanzania, and how biomedical treatments may become reconfigured as something new in the process.

I worked with various healers during my fieldwork, including Mzee Simba, a powerful and respected healer who treats patients through occult and herbal methods, curing both physical diseases and problems caused by bewitchment. He frequently talked about the poisons of

Western medicines and foods, as well as how the destruction of the environment due to urbanization had contributed to modern health problems by means as varied as reducing rainfall, angering ancestors by breaking taboos, and destroying the plants which used to be available as medicines. On one such occasion we were discussing the traditional medicine called *kimehe*. I had read in the Tanzanian National Archives about how kimehe was used by Chief Mkwawa of the local Wahehe ethnic group in his campaign against the Germans (early 20th century) to outsmart them by making himself invisible and hiding in plain sight. Mzee told me that this tree no longer exists in Tanzania, but that his supply of the medicine has been handed down for generations and that it cannot ever run out, "even after one hundred years," because it comes from a blessed tree that replenishes itself.

Mzee then began telling me about how this kind of medicine differs—morally and ontologically—from modern pharmaceuticals. First, he explained that, as with many traditional medicines in the region, he cannot travel with his medicines to sell them, for if he does, the substances will be weakened as a result of his breaking taboos (*haribu mwiko*). One also cannot use these medicines to make a high profit, which is part of what sets the moral framework of traditional medicines apart from pharmaceuticals. Mzee told me that luxury (*nasa*) is something the ancestors disapprove of, as wealth leads to

Figure 3. *Mzee Simba teaching his young son and apprentice to prepare kimehe*

desire (*tamani*) for things like beer and women. These medicines (which are understood to be agentic) "do not want you to do those things because doing so makes them dirty [*chafu*] and they lose their strength [*uzimu unapotea*], because the ancestors are still in there," he said. Drawing a contrast with pharmaceuticals, Mzee described biomedicines as being corrupted by the greedy motivations of their producers. The fact that pharmaceuticals are widely perceived as business enterprises in which people will chakachua anything to make a profit thus clashes with the moral economy of traditional medicines, in ways which contribute to the discourses around their poisonous capacities.

I also understood Mzee to be stressing the fact that his medicines were ontologically different from pharmaceuticals. By invoking the term 'ontological' here, I am attempting to avoid construing the agency of ancestors in traditional medicines as "belief," because doing so would risk making the capacities of such entities ineffectual in my account, when most Tanzanians I know insist that they are powerful forces in their lives. Writing about magic and medicine in colonial Indonesia, Margaret Wiener has also argued that when anthropologists refer to certain practices as "a matter of belief," we fail to take seriously how various actors come together to produce a "set of actions that transforms relations," actually "affect bodies and minds," and "make new objects and subjects" come into being (Weiner 2013:504-505). As I demonstrate here, the ontological (as well as the epistemological and moral) politics of medicines in Tanzania transforms bodies and relations, re-articulating both tradition and global connections in the process.

When we discussed such matters, Mzee always began by reminding me of how the local Wahehe people were forced to get vaccinations (in particular smallpox, which left a permanent scar) in order to travel during the British colonial period. He complained that traditional healers such as himself are now required to take their remedies to Muhimbili Hospital/University in Dar es Salaam to get their substances tested, making them "slaves to foreigners/white people [*wazungu*] until tomorrow." As Stacey Langwick (2011) has written about extensively, this is a matter of "ontological politics" because those tests can only recognize the chemical composition and not the agency of ancestors, a crucial factor in what makes traditional medicines work, according to local healers (see also World Health Organization 2002). I understood Mzee to be commenting on both this post-colonial reality and the unjust nature of global capitalism when he elaborated that he has medicine which treats HIV by increasing CD4 counts (a measurement of white blood cells which indicates the overall health of one's immune system), but that the government prevents him from advertising his treatment because they are earning so much money by bringing anti-retrovirals into the country, which they do in exchange for giving foreigners minerals. "Leaders want people to keep dying to do business," he said.

In fact, Mzee took one of his patients—a Christian pastor whom he had cured of HIV/AIDS—to the regional hospital to have the pastor tested, and the results were

clean [*safi*], revealing that his treatment had worked and that the pastor was no longer HIV-positive. Mzee showed this evidence to officials at the TFDA (Tanzania Food and Drug Administration), who reportedly told him that his medicine was legitimate, but that if he advertised it, he would be shot. In one of our meetings, Mzee explained the situation as follows:

> Our leaders are stupid…All diseases are caused by foreigners/white people [*wazungu*]…wazungu invented AIDS and brought it here to kill people. They volunteer to make you like them…[it's like] if you want fish, you use wire to fish, and put meat on it. Then in the water the big fish comes and gets trapped. So volunteers are trapping people. Big nations bring medicine with diseases inside, like viruses. We take those drugs and get sick…[he listed some examples—HIV, birth control, cancer]…A large percent of Western medicines are dangerous. If they came as they are, it would be good, but they do it in different ways…like vaccinations, work for a time, but they must have other things inside, in order to make [the disease] come again later…for now, even food brings disease. This [pointing at his own medicine] doesn't expire. The ones that do [i.e.- pharmaceuticals] rot inside, and people bribe the TFDA to change the expiration date, and then people eat those things. Like soda that's opened, after a few days is not good…

My assistant, Moshi, who had accompanied me to this interview (for practical assistance and occasional translation—though I was conducting interviews in Swahili myself at this point in my fieldwork), turned to me at this point and told me that her mother had similar views and therefore had refused to have her vaccinated as a child, telling her that it would make her sterile. However, later she was forced to get vaccinated by the government, she said. I interpret such discourses about harmful drugs entering Tanzania from outside as ways of articulating "a world of vulnerability and unreasonable relationships," much as historian Luise White (2000:5) has written about colonial-era stories of blood-suckers in East and Central Africa. I diverge from White, however, in that I do not see such accounts as untrue. Instead, I conceptualize these concerns as "literal metaphors" (West 2007:63), which are *both* literally embodied *and* metaphors for speaking about larger structures of power.

It is well known in Tanzania that there is a dynamic relationship between biomedicines and traditional medicines, and global health researchers often assume that people are turning towards herbal remedies due to the impotence of pharmaceuticals, perhaps fueled by the spread of counterfeits discussed above (World Health Organization 2002). Representatives from major global pharmaceutical companies have even started formulating policy around fears that "harmful counterfeit medicine could push rural communities in Africa to re-adopt traditional medicines to address their needs" (Onyiego 2011:para. 10). However, what my work with traditional healers and their patients uncovered is that there is another discourse about pharmaceuticals in Tanzania—that they are potentially toxic—and this is also shaping how/when/if people use these medicines.

Dr. K, the government doctor I mentioned above, said that it is very difficult to convince people to take medicines daily for chronic conditions in particular, because they are concerned that consuming pharmaceuticals every day will cause them to "accumulate poison" in their bodies. He himself sought out traditional treatments for his own diabetes for this reason. And, when I met with the gynecologist at the private clinic discussed above, I asked him if the low quality of pharmaceuticals could be making more people seek traditional medicines. He replied that "it could be a contributing factor," but the reason he volunteered enthusiastically was that: "*people know and realize that conventional drugs are toxic; their side effects are being exposed. Alternative medicine practitioners use this opportunity to say that hospital drugs are chemicals and toxic, that they do damage to organs*" [interview was in English].

It is important to note here that this discourse about pharmaceuticals as poisonous or toxic circulates so widely that even biomedical doctors in Tanzania are concerned about it and will opt to use alternative treatments for this reason. In fact, a common theme throughout my research, especially during oral history interviews with elderly persons, was that a main cause of people being sicker today than in the past has to do with the many and varied poisons, or "sumu," of contemporary society, including substances like pesticides, pharmaceuticals, and Western processed foods. Thus, while my interlocutors in Tanzania are indeed concerned over chakachua medicines lacking in potency, they are simultaneously worried about the potential for such substances to be *too* potent, and potentially poisonous.

Conclusion

Both practitioners and lay people in Tanzania identify and classify pharmaceuticals by reading the signs to infer medicinal effects, or poisonous effects, or, sometimes, no effect at all. This requires using sensory practices in order to tell how a drug has interacted with the consuming body. In conversation with other anthropological accounts of taste, especially Africanist work on sensoriums, I too argue that taste acts as an embodied epistemological practice (Geurts 2002; Stoller 1997). Geurts has shown how the Euro-American understanding of the senses as the passive recipients of data is insufficient in Ghanaian contexts in which senses are also about the active construction of knowledge—"tasting to see" (2002:204). In considering the tasting of drugs as a knowledge practice, I also draw from Barad's theorization of knowing as "a direct material engagement" with the world "where part of the world becomes differentially intelligible to another" (2007:377).

Additionally, I want to put these concerns in conversation with questions around the eating of pharmaceuticals (Farquhar 1994; Mintz and DuBois 2002) and to suggest that the consumption of drugs may relate to other

kinds of 'eating' in Africa (Bayart 1993; Mbembe 2001). Eating can be theorized as a "process of objectification" in which objects "are considered as embodiments of social practices, whose specific form and properties…can be recognized and interpreted through the experience" of consuming them (Weiss 1996:125). In other words, the substances we consume are the products of others' labors, and in consuming them we are also consuming those individuals' properties, including their social and moral status. This means that how those substances affect us also tells us something about the people who produced them. Strathern (in an attempt to develop a non-Cartesian way to conceptualize relationality) argues that eating can be broadly thought of as "a general way of articulating the entailment of all kinds of entities in one another" (2012:11); in the process of eating one's "agency is implicated in the agency of others" (2012:11-12) through the embodied appropriation of their productive capacities. This understanding of eating is in fact central to Tanzanian notions of the body, kinship, and relationality more broadly. It is why the "stomach is considered the site of human personality and agency. Social relations are considered in terms of eating" (Stoller 1997:7). Thus, I argue that eating pharmaceuticals enacts certain relations in a globalized world: that narratives about—and perhaps even embodied responses to—chakachua and/or poisonous pharmaceuticals can be read as sophisticated political critiques (indicting the producers of those substances). Such critiques draw on an East African conceptualization of eating and consuming as a way to theorize contemporary relationality and global inequalities, historic and contemporary. Interpreting if a medicine has worked or not, if it has healed or harmed, is then perhaps not only a kind of embodied epistemology, but also a political and moral claim expressed in and through the body itself.

Pharmaceuticals in Tanzania destabilize the boundary between medicine and what Mbembe refers to as 'doubles' in the post-colonial context (2001). These doubles—medicine and fake, medicine and poison—reinforce Mbembe's arguments about the centrality of multiplicity and contradiction in contemporary Africa. After the harm done by structural adjustment policies in Africa and elsewhere, many anthropological studies have focused on the devastating impacts of market reforms on the lives of people striving to survive in conditions of ongoing poverty and generalized uncertainty (Das and Das 2006; Nguyen 2010Peterson 2012). Such works describe in nuanced ways how the uncertainties, capriciousness, and unpredictability of social life characterize much of contemporary experience in Africa, leading people to try to manipulate and control the unseen forces affecting their lives, including God, the state, the market, and the occult (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001; Jones 2010; Marshall 2009; Sanders 2001; Smith 2008). I propose that biomedicine (and biomedical technologies more generally) can also be fruitfully analyzed through these broader social concerns and that doing so may shed light on the multifaceted production of ill-being and well-being in Africa.

If anthropology is to understand how pharmaceuticals are globalized and taken up in uncertain, ambiguous, and poverty-stricken local worlds, it needs ethnographies written from those zones in collaboration with those actors engaging with its complexities. Doing so forces us to challenge the 'grand narratives' of global health—here, that the 'overuse' or 'misuse' of pharmaceuticals in the Global South is the central matter of concern (Pigg 2013). Instead, I maintain that to better understand how these substances are experienced locally, we must recognize that they are viewed as volatile and potentially dangerous, and yet also as unreliable and potentially impotent—in other words, as one among many unpredictable, fluctuating, and highly contemporary forces from outside, whose potentials are at once positive and negative.

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A Lot to Talk About: Burial 135 More Than a Statistic

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ABSTRACT: *California site CA-Ala-329 has served as a valuable resource for many bioarchaeologists since excavation ended in the late 1960s. Most studies focused on the collection as a whole rather than single individuals, but unique individuals do exist; for example, Burial 135 who I will call Metx. Metx is an adult male skeleton with severe temporomandibular joint osteoarthritis (TMJ OA) and a large quantity of shell pendants. I compared Metx to his contemporaries to answer three questions: Was he an outsider when considering nonmetric cranial variation as an indicator of biological relationships? Was his TMJ OA affliction unusual? What may have caused his TMJ OA? Using 17 nonmetric cranial traits with discriminant function analyses, Metx was correctly classified as belonging to Phase I temporal period. Metx was not a biological outlier. Yet, his TMJ OA was atypical; out of 118 adults with preservation of the temporomandibular joint surfaces, 14 had TMJ OA. Metx is the only individual who had bilateral TMJ OA and his TMJ OA was most severe. Correlations of TMJ OA with a number of possible etiological factors, such as number of remaining teeth, abscesses, and bone resorption, revealed no significant relationships. Past research on the Ryan Mound tooth wear suggests extramasticatory uses of the jaw and, thus, Metx's TMJ OA may be a result of artisan tendencies that may also explain his excessive grave goods. Yet, uncovering the cause of Metx's TMJ OA is difficult since OA's etiology is multifactorial.*

Key words: Temporomandibular joint osteoarthritis, biological relatedness, Ryan Mound

Introduction

California site CA-Ala-329 (also known as the Ryan Mound) is a hunter-gatherer Amerindian site that dates between 2150 years BP (years before present) – 150 years BP and contains over 300 individuals. The Ryan Mound site, which is located on the southeastern margin of the San Francisco Bay (see Figure 1), contains elite individuals who subsisted on hunted and gathered foods; a large part of their diet was shellfish (Coberly 1973; Leventhal 1993). The Ryan Mound was excavated from 1935 to 1968; however, the excavations were not continuous (Leventhal 1993). Although excavation wrapped up in 1968, research on the skeletal collection did not take off until the 1990s. Since 1990, anthropologists have used the site for research on dental disease (e.g., Jurmain 1990a), entheseal changes (also known as muscle markers) (e.g., Weiss 2007; Weiss et al. 2012), isotopic dietary analyses (e.g., Bartelink 2009), interpersonal aggression (e.g., Jurmain and Bellefemine 1997; Jurmain et al. 2009), stress fractures of the vertebral column (e.g., Pilloud and Canzonieri 2014; Weiss 2009), and for many other studies ranging from being used as a comparative sample to early hominids (Weiss, 2012; Weiss et al., 2012) to looking at body proportions in the Holocene (Auerbach 2012). These studies have helped us draw a general picture of the peoples of the Ryan Mound. For instance, they had few cavities, but high levels of dental wear that was likely related to diet and use of the teeth as tools. Furthermore, research on entheseal changes and cross-sections have led us to conclude that the Ryan Mound population had a sexual division of labor in which females were key in processing foods using mortars and pestles, while males likely spent their time hunting with the use of obsidian arrowheads. Studies on interpersonal aggression have led to conclusions regarding the protection of young, high levels of fighting among males, and victimization of females.

As the largest single-population prehistoric site west of the Mississippi, the Ryan Mound has also provided materials for research on osteoarthritis, which is the most common skeletal pathology found in both archaeological and clinical samples (e.g., Jurmain 1990b; Jurmain and Kilgore 1995; Weiss 2006, 2012). In the Ryan Mound, osteoarthritis rates and severity are actually low compared to other prehistoric samples; the low rates and mild severity of osteoarthritis among the Ryan Mound is likely due to their young age at death, with most people having died in their 30s. Yet, the osteoarthritis studies have shown that males are more prone to osteoarthritis than females, especially in the arm joints; and, the joints affected were different from the most commonly affected joints today. For example, in modern people knee osteoarthritis is very common and elbow involvement is not so; the reverse is true in the Ryan Mound sample.

Most of the studies on the Ryan Mound, regardless of the topic, have focused on the collection as a whole rather than single individuals. Plus, all previous studies have assumed that the Ryan Mound population were of one people and there was biological and cultural continuity throughout time. Population studies allow us to draw conclusions about activities, pathology, and culture, but these broad-stroked studies fail to take into account individual differences. Much of early physical anthropology, which stemmed in part from the researchers' medical training background, focused on case studies; i.e., they looked at individuals rather than populations. Unique individuals do exist within the Ryan Mound sample and previously, single individuals have been isolated for study to focus on rare diseases. For example, in 2013, I published on an adult male with a large paracondylar process, which is a large bony protrusion at the bottom of the skull that can result in early onset osteoarthritis of the neck. Paracondylar processes, which occur in less than five percent of people in any population, are likely caused by genetics, but their effect on the anatomy of the

Figure 1. Location of CA-Ala-329, the Ryan Mound.

Figure 2. Metx's osteoarthritic mandible.

head and neck causes the osteoarthritis. I, like other researchers, have found that looking at unique individuals in prehistoric collections can let us move beyond one-dimensional depictions of past populations and help us gain a greater appreciation of individuals of the past, allowing their individual stories to be told and giving them a voice across the generations. The focus of this study is a single person, but with a comparative approach using the entire available adult population.

As I was collecting data on nonmetric cranial variation from the Ryan Mound to challenge the assumption of biological continuity, I came across Burial 135, who I have named Metx, and was drawn into looking closer at this individual due to a shell fragment on his skull and severe osteoarthritis at the jaw. Metx, which translates to grandfather in Ohlone Costanoan language, is a skeleton of an adult male with severe temporomandibular joint osteoarthritis (TMJ OA) (see Figure 2). According to field notes and illustrations, Metx was buried in a tightly flexed position with animal remains and a large number of associated shell pendants. Specifically, Metx was found with a large quantity of *Haliotis* shell pendants (Leventhal 1993). Furthermore, Metx was unearthed with a shell fragment caked to the cranium (see Figure 3), which came off as I cleaned the skull. Through pelvic examination following Buikstra and Ubelaker's (1994) standards, I confirmed that Metx was a 39 to 44-year-old male. Using Leventhal's (1993) work along with field notes from the Ryan Mound excavation, I saw that Metx came from the portion of the site that belongs to the temporal period of Phase I. The Ryan Mound has been divided into three temporal periods: Middle (2150 – 1050 years BP), Phase I (1050 – 450 years BP), Phase II (450 – 150 years BP). The majority of the collection falls into the Phase I period.

Figure 3. Ornamental shell fragment caked onto the left side of Metx's cranium by the coronal suture.

Due to his unique features, I will compare Metx to others in the Ryan Mound. In this study, I address three questions in regards to Metx. The first question is whether Metx was an outsider or one of the crowd when considering nonmetric cranial variation as an indicator of biological relationships. As mentioned previously, the Ryan Mound is assumed to contain one population that was biologically related. However, even in samples that display biological continuity, sometimes outsiders can be found. Previous research on other prehistoric samples has suggested that individuals who are buried differently or who have different diseases may be outsiders just passing through, or who have married into the population; some of the most vivid examples of these come from bog bodies found in Northern Europe, Kennewick Man in Washington State, and Otzi the Neolithic Iceman from the Alps. Whether the Ryan Mound sample displays biological continuity will be answered more fully in later studies that I am working on; yet, I am interested to see whether there is any evidence that Metx was not "one of the tribe" so to speak, due to the differences in his burial goods and TMJ OA. The second question that I am asking here is whether his TMJ OA affliction was unusual for the Ryan Mound sample. Although I have conducted many studies of OA on the Ryan Mound, I have

not specifically looked at TMJ OA in this sample; perhaps, Metx's affliction can be found in many individuals. And, what may have caused his TMJ OA? Determining the cause of pathologies is difficult in skeletal samples, so taking a close look at Metx and the cultural artifacts in his burial may help me draw some conclusions.

Methods

In order to test for biological relatedness, I collected data on nonmetric cranial and mandibular (lower jaw bone) traits; I chose these traits for three reasons: (1) they were preserved on Metx; (2) previously published research linked these traits to genetics; (3) the traits were easily scored with low intra-observer error rates (i.e., if I rescore them, the data are likely to be the same). In total, seventeen traits were scored. These traits can be described as being mandibular (related to the lower jaw bone), sutural (related to the line of junction between two skull bones), or related to grooves (long and thin indentations on the skull), notches (small, short indentations), and foramina (holes). Each of these traits has been shown to be determined genetically and is, thus, useful in determining relatedness in archaeological samples (Hauser and De Stefano 1989; Herrera et al. 2014; Ossen-

Table 1: Nonmetric traits examined to determine Burial 135's relationship to other individuals in the Ryan Mound sample.

Trait	Location and description
Gonial eversion	Flaring of the posterior mandible where horizontal body and vertical ramus meet.
Mylohyoid bridge	Bony ossification in the interior mandibular ramus.
Asterionic ossicle	Accessory bone at the junction of parietal, temporal, and occipital bone; non-sided.
Bregmatic ossicle	Accessory bone at the junction of the sagittal, coronal, and parietal sutures; non-sided.
Coronal ossicle	Accessory bone along the superoanterior cranium.
Inca bone	Accessory bone at the center of the parietal-lambdoidal junction; non-sided.
Lambdoidal ossicle	Accessory bone along the posterior junction of the parietal and lambdoidal sutures.
Sagittal ossicle	Accessory bone along the superior portion of the skull; sagittal suture runs anteroposterior.
Squamous ossicle	Accessory bone along the flat suture of temporal bone that meets with the parietal bone.
Squamous synostosis	Fusion of the suture along the flat squamous suture of the temporal-parietal juncture.
Metopic suture	Visible suture along the frontal bone that divides it into left and right.
Divided parietal bone	Visible suture that divides the parietal bone.
Parietal notch	Extension of bone on the squamous portion of the temoporal bone at the parietal junction.
Parietal foramen	Small holes on the parietals near the sagittal suture.
Supraorbital foramen	Small holes above the eye orbits.
Supraorbital notch	Oval notch above the eye orbits that varies in its occlusion.
Frontal grooves	Elongated anteroposterior grooves along the left and right side of the frontal bones.

berg 2013; Ricaut et al. 2010). Furthermore, these traits have been used with within-population examinations of relatedness (e.g., Brasili et al. 1999; Khudaverdyan 2012; Rubini 1996). For all traits that occur on the right and left sides, the right side was used because that was the best preserved side of Metx, but when the right side was not present, the left side was scored; this method allows for a larger sample size, but makes distinguishing groups more difficult. All traits were scored as either present or absent with the exception of the three traits: parietal foramen, the supraorbital foramen, and the supraorbital notch. Parietal foramina, which are holes found on the sides of the skull, were scored as absent, present on the bone, or present on the suture. Supraorbital foramina, which are found above the eye socket, were scored as absent, single foramen, or multiple foramina. The supraorbital (above the eye) notch was scored as absent; present, less than half of the notch blocked by bone points; present, more than half blocked by bony points; present, degree of blockage unknown; and multiple notches. I ran Chi-Square and discriminant function analyses by temporal period with p-levels of 0.05.

In order to analyze TMJ OA rates, I used Rando and Waldron's (2012) method to identify afflicted individuals. Rando and Waldron's method requires scoring of both the mandibular condyles and the temporal bone, which is the location where the jaw connects to the cranium. Rando and Waldron's method requires five changes to be searched for: (1) eburnation, which is a shiny polish on the bone, (2) porosity, which is the presence of small holes on the joint surface, (3) pancake-like bone growth on the joint, (4) osteophytes, which are bone spurs, and (5) changes to the contour of the joint. If any joint surface has eburnation, then OA is said to be present; whereas two or more of any of the other traits are needed to be scored as osteoarthritic. The TMJ OA scoring method differs slightly from OA scoring methods for other joints since the TMJ rarely experiences ankylosing (also known as fusion) and has more contour changes as a result of the articulation surface consisting of fibrocartilage rather than hyaline cartilage (Bag et al. 2014; Rando and Waldron 2012). Fibrocartilage, which is thicker than hyaline cartilage, seems to also make the articulation surface shinier than other joints and, thus, eburnation may be trickier to observe than in hyaline cartilage joints.

Although I noted the overall score of TMJ OA as present or absent, I also looked at all individual features separately to determine if Metx was an outlier using an anomaly index. I analyzed the results by sex (male, female), age (20s, 30s, 40s+), and temporal period using Chi-Squares and when required (due to small sample sizes) likelihood ratios with p-levels of 0.05. I determined sex and age using pelvic morphology and cranial morphology (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994).

Due to the previous inquiries by other anthropologists (e.g., Hodges 1991; Lovell 2014) and medical doctors (e.g., Mehta 2014; Pintor et al. 2015), I also decided to run correlational tests of TMJ OA with the number of remaining mandibular and maxillary (relating to the upper jaw) teeth, bone resorption (i.e., bone loss), and abscesses. Researchers have found inconsistent links be-

tween TMJ OA and these dental health factors. To examine whether dental health correlated with TMJ OA, I counted the number of remaining maxillary and mandibular teeth for each individual. Since teeth can fall out after death (post-mortem), each tooth socket was assessed to see whether any bone resorption was present; if the tooth socket did not undergo these changes, then I assumed that the tooth loss was post-mortem and counted it as a present tooth. Individuals were also scored as having bone resorption or having no bone resorption. Additionally, I examined each individual's mandible and maxillary region for evidence of an abscess that would be indicative of an infection; this was marked as abscesses present or absent on the mandible and maxilla separately. Dental abscesses (see Figure 4) are holes that allow pus to exude out from bone to remove the dead bacteria. I ran Chi-Square tests for TMJ OA and abscess presence, and for bone resorption presence. I also ran Student t-tests for TMJ OA and number of maxillary and mandibular teeth remaining. For all of these tests, I set p-levels at 0.05.
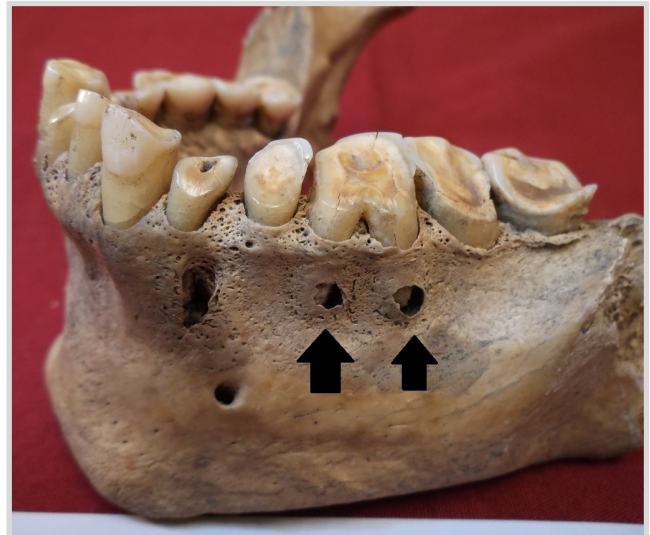
Figure 4. An example from the Ryan Mound of dental abscesses (black arrows).

Results

For 4 out of the 17 traits (mylohyoid bridge, frontal grooves, asterionic ossicle, parietal notch), there were significantly different distributions of the traits by temporal period; and the overall outcome for temporal differences was Chi-Square = 52.920, df = 30, p-level < 0.01. Using discriminant function analyses, 68.3 percent of crania could be accurately assigned to their temporal period. Figure 5 illustrates the discriminant function results with Metx being represented by a black star. Also, using discriminant function analyses, Metx was correctly classified as belonging to the Phase I period. And, although 31.7 percent of crania were misclassified, 88.6 percent of Phase I crania were correctly classified. Thus, Metx was not a biological outlier.
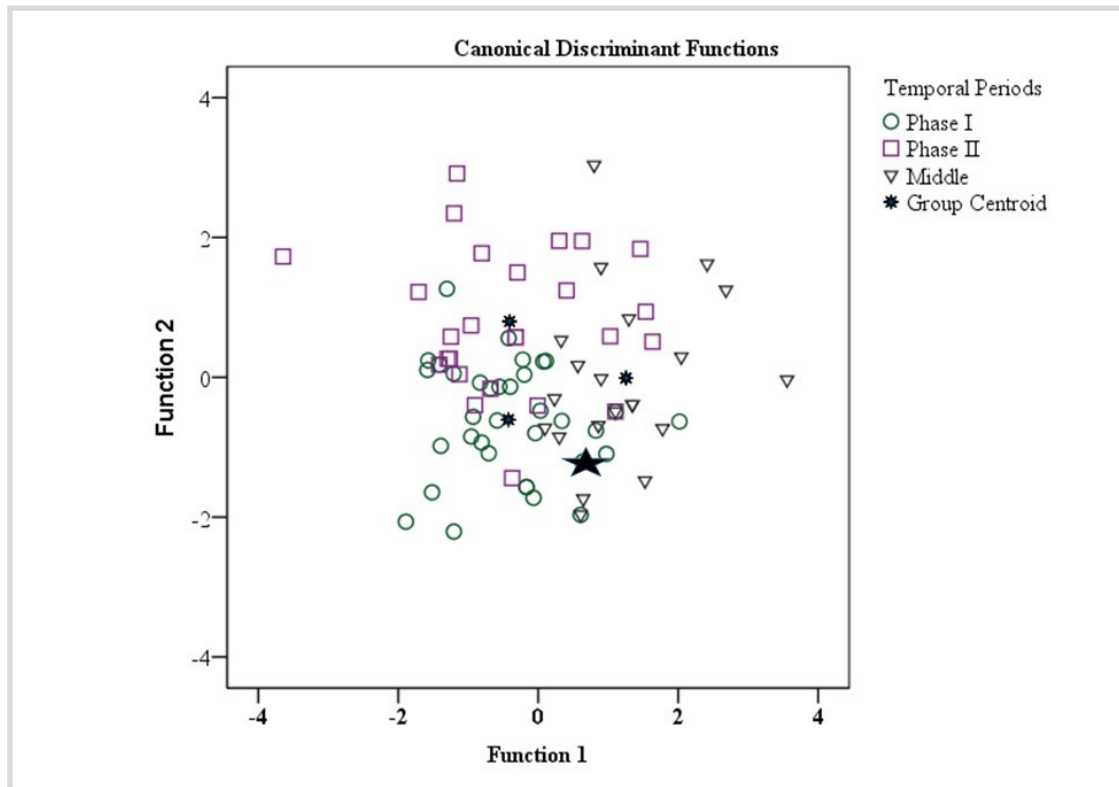
Figure 5. Scatterplot of discriminant function analysis of 17 traits: N = 82; temporal periods, Middle Period = triangles; Phase I = circles; Phase II = squares; temporal periods centroids = asterisks; Metx = black star.

Fourteen out of 118 (12%) adult individuals with preservation of the temporomandibular joint surfaces had TMJ OA. Twelve of the individuals with TMJ OA had both sides preserved; 7 individuals had TMJ OA on the left side only; 4 had it on the right side only; Metx had bilateral TMJ OA; he is the only one to have it on both sides (Chi-Square = 224.080, df = 3, p < 0.001). Half of those afflicted with TMJ OA were males and half were females; thus, there were no sex differences (Chi-Square = 0.000, df=1, p = 1.00). There were no differences between temporal periods either (Chi-Square = 0.687, df=2, p = 0.71). TMJ OA did have a significant relationship with age; it was only found in individuals in the age categories of 30 to 39 and 40 plus (Likelihood Ratio = 8.721, df=2, p < 0.05). Using an anomaly index to detect outliers, Metx was found to be a significant outlier at the 1% detection rate with an anomaly index value of 6.278. Metx's TMJ OA was anomalous for the Ryan Mound sample.

TMJ OA in the Ryan Mound was not found to have any significant correlates with mandibular teeth number (t = 1.297, df=112, p = 0.20), maxillary teeth number (t = 1.282, df=97, p = 0.20), mandibular abscesses (Likelihood Ratio = 0.000, df=1, p = 0.986), maxillary abscesses (Likelihood Ratio = 0.702, df=1, p = 0.40), or bone resorption (Likelihood Ratio = 4.871, df=3, p = 0.18). Results remained non-significant when age was controlled for.

Discussion

Using discriminant function analyses, Metx is classified into the correct temporal period; he was not a biological outlier. The Ryan Mound crania could be accurately assigned to their temporal period only two-thirds of the time and only a quarter of the traits showed differences in distribution by time periods. Although the few temporal differences discovered may reflect biological differences, the sample size was small (N= 82) and much right side data was missing; thus, more complete and sophisticated analyses, such as mean measures of divergence that work well with data with missing values, are required to draw firmer conclusions about biological continuity. Determining whether the Ryan Mound contains one people with biological continuity is essential for many reasons. Disease risk, for instance, is in part genetic and in part environmental; if we assume biological continuity, we may make the mistake of thinking that differences found in the population relate to different environmental or lifestyle factors, whereas the differences may actually be due to genes. Additionally, if the Ryan Mound sample is one continuous people, then the living descendants can make a stronger case for federal recognition. Currently, I am in the process of further examining biological continuity of the Ryan Mound with a larger number of traits and a greater number of adult individuals. For this study, however, the answer to the first question is that Metx was not a biological outlier and, thus, this cannot help to explain

his distinct burial with the excessive beads, or his severe TMJ OA.

Although Metx's TMJ OA was unique in the Ryan Mound due to its bilateral expression and its severity, 12 percent of the adult population examined were afflicted with TMJ OA. All 14 individuals (including Metx) who had TMJ OA in the Ryan Mound were in their 30s or older and TMJ OA correlated with age; that TMJ OA correlated with age was not surprising. Age is the best predictor of OA, regardless of the joint affected and the population examined (Weiss and Jurmain 2007; Weiss, 2014). Many researchers have found a positive age correlation with TMJ OA in both clinical and archaeological samples (e.g., Kalladka et al. 2014; Lovell 2014; Magnusson et al. 2008; Widmalm et al. 1994). Population rates of TMJ OA varies from 9 percent to 36 percent in individuals over 65 years of age (Rando and Waldron 2012). Clinical studies have noted that the rates of TMJ OA may be higher in elderly individuals, but they seem to experience less pain with TMJ OA than those afflicted at a younger age (Schmitter et al. 2005).

The assumption has been that the high rate of OA in the elderly may be due to wear-and-tear of the joints and, therefore, some individuals, including myself, have argued that OA is not a disease at all, but rather just a normal part of aging. TMJ OA may correlate with age as a result of changes in mechanics due to tooth wear, tooth loss, and bone resorption (Griffin et al. 1979; Widmalm et al. 1994). If TMJ OA is a result of dietary use of the jaw over time that results in tooth wear, loss, and eventually bone resorption, then I might have expected it to occur in a large portion of the Ryan Mound population since everyone eats. In some cases these dental factors have been found to correlate with TMJ OA (e.g., Hodges et al. 1991) and in others no correlation can be found (e.g., Eversole et al. 1985; Lovell 2014; Magnusson et al. 2008; Whittaker et al. 1985, 1990). For instance, Hodges and colleagues (1991) who looked at a British medieval skeletal sample of over 300 found that tooth loss, attrition and TMJ OA correlated. Yet, the results could not be replicated in other studies on ancient Britons (Whittaker et al. 1985, 1990) or on modern skeletal samples from the UK (Eversole et al. 1985). In a high attrition (i.e., tooth wear) population of Predynastic Egypt, Lovell (2014) found no correlation with TMJ OA and AMTL, but she did find an age correlation even in this rather young population. The Ryan Mound population has a high degree of occlusal (relating to the biting surface) tooth wear, many individuals with antemortem (before death) tooth loss, and bone resorption, but the number of remaining teeth and bone resorption did not correlate with TMJ OA even when controlling for age. I did not look at attrition because the excessive tooth wear made scoring attrition difficult. Blake (2011), who conducted research on the Ryan Mound's dental wear patterns, found that most individuals had extremely worn teeth; the attrition levels were beyond those of other populations known for their tooth wear, such as the Inuit and Australian Aborigines.

Due to the small number of individuals with TMJ OA and the unique severity of Metx's TMJ OA, it is likely that Metx's TMJ OA was not caused by factors that af-fected the entire population, such as jaw use from eating. One possibility is that Metx experienced trauma or an infection and that this caused the TMJ OA. Bacterial infections, which can be a result of caries or attrition allowing bacteria to enter the dental pulp, may cause inflammation and possibly secondary OA (Forshaw 2009; Kalladka et al. 2014; Scrivani et al. 2008). Ear infections can also lead to TMJ OA, especially in young individuals (Scolozzi et al. 2005). However, I found no correlations with dental abscesses and TMJ OA in the Ryan Mound sample. Yet, 12 out of the 14 individuals with TMJ OA have abscesses; on the flip side, over 80 percent of individuals without TMJ OA have abscesses too. Abscesses are extremely common in the Ryan Mound sample.

Trauma, with or without abscesses, can also cause OA when a joint is knocked out of its socket and results in a misaligned connection. The extra mechanical stress on the joint from the misalignment can cause trauma-induced secondary OA (Kalladka et al. 2014; Scribani et al. 2008). Lobbezoo and colleagues (2004) and Isberg and colleagues (1998) found that when TMJ OA is found in children, it is often a result of trauma. It is possible that Metx experienced trauma; previous research has found that many individuals, especially adult males, in the Ryan Mound were victims (and likely perpetrators too) of interpersonal aggression (Jurmain and Bellifemine, 1997; Jurmain et al., 2009). Perhaps, Metx experienced a dislocated jaw from an injury. However, without soft tissue evidence, traumas that result in dislocations are hard to diagnose on skeletal materials (Weiss 2014). Other causes, such as juvenile or rheumatory arthritis, are rarely diagnosed in prehistoric skeletal samples, but clinicians have found that bilateral TMJ OA is common in children with these early-onset forms of joint disease (Scolozzi et al. 2005).

The jaw is nearly in constant use from eating and talking, but in past populations the jaw and teeth were often used as tools; Molnar (2011) talks about the use of the jaw and teeth as the "third hand." Extramasticatory (sometimes referred to as nonmasticatory or nonalimentary) uses of the TMJ and teeth have been found in a variety of populations, such as in Vikings from Sweden (Molnar 2008), ancient Moroccans (Bonfiglioli et al. 2004), Anatolia samples from Turkey (Irvine et al. 2014), and Inuit populations (Fiorenza 2011). The uses range from cordage making to hide preparation, but can also include use of toothpicks such as has been suggested in Neanderthals (e.g., Frayer et al. 1987). Some of these populations, such as the Inuit, have high levels of TMJ OA (Merbs 1983). A case study from Turkey has found that there is also a likely connection between preparing cordage and TMJ OA (Vogeikoff-Brogan and Smith, 2010). The use of the jaw for extramasticatory purposes may have led to Metx's TMJ OA. Blake (2011), looking at macrowear and scanning electron microscope images of some of the individuals in the Ryan Mound, including Metx, found that the grooves, cupping, and striations on the teeth examined were distinct from a control group who had a similar diet to the Ryan Mound individuals. She suggested that this wear is related to the sophisticated basketry culture that was present among the Amerinds

of the region. In order to prepare twine, cords, and string, fibers would be pulled through teeth. Thus, perhaps Metx was an artisan who used his mouth excessively for fiber preparation. This may help to explain the high number of pendants found associated with his burial. Metx's number of shell pendants placed him as an outlier at the 2 percent detection rate with an anomaly index of 14.963; only one other individual (Burial 104 with an anomaly index of 20.879) could also be counted as an outlier at the 2 percent detection rate. Although one cannot be sure that this cultural behavior caused Metx's TMJ OA, it seems the most plausible explanation. More research into TMJ OA and basketry should be conducted to help confirm this conclusion.

In conclusion, Metx illustrates that exceptional individuals can be discovered and their stories can be told even millennia after they lived their lives. Population studies with large sample sizes have provided us with much information about the past, but too often we treat past peoples as generalities rather than individuals. Part of this broad-stroke approach is a result of cautious efforts on researchers' parts to not overstate our conclusions. Yet, we, as anthropologists, should not assume that past populations held no one-of-a-kind individuals. Sometimes when discussing other peoples, researchers — including myself — seem to assume that all people in a group were essentially identical; Metx goes to show that you can find exceptional individuals who were "one of the tribe" and yet may have been one-of-a-kind.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Feminizing the Narrative: Women Rappers and Gender Empowerment in French Hip-Hop

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ABSTRACT: *French women have long been in a subordinate position as compared to men, and females are underrepresented in nearly every sector in France (including in pop culture). Moreover, this sort of gender discrimination is even worse for women of color in France, as they are nearly invisible aside from the menial service jobs that they usually occupy. Due to their lack of a voice in France, one of the only outlets available for women of color to express their frustration, communicate with one another or uplift themselves is the medium of hip-hop music. This paper introduces readers to the subject of female-led resistance to gender inequality in France via the contemporary medium of French-language hip-hop. This paper analyses lyrical educational empowerment by women in French "rap" by discussing a few examples of this ever-evolving thematic concept of positive resistance via the rhyme as we briefly deconstruct a few songs by the four major female rap artists in France over the past 20 years.*

Key Words: French women, female rappers, French hip-hop, lyrical resistance, rap as protest

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This is for the ladies, pour les ladies.
Pour les ladies je demande du respect, quoi qu'on en dise.

This is for the ladies, for the ladies.
For the ladies I demand respect, whatever they say about it.[1]

Lady Laistee, "*For the Ladies*"

The most recognizable icon of France is that of Marianne, a defiant and strong woman who symbolizes the strength and revolutionary resilience of the *République française*. However, despite the enduring presence of the radical allegoric female figure that Marianne represents, French women have long been in a subordinate position as compared to men, and they remain underrepresented in nearly every sector of the country. A report published by the World Economic Forum (2014) places France in the 57th position internationally in terms of gender equality, which ranks it in second to last place in Western Europe. When the data are further broken down by category, the findings are even worse. In terms of women's political empowerment, France ranks 63rd internationally; when regarding wage equality, the country finds itself in the 129th position. Although the French government routinely adopts legislation to equalize the playing field in terms of gender issues, statistics like these illustrate a different reality for women in the country.

For centuries, women in France have expressed their frustrations by using the very French tradition of resisting authority and educating the masses via the written word. Female authors such as Simone de Beauvoir, Colette, George Sand, etc., used literature to discuss various morals and codes facing women, and this type of educational and pedagogical approach has continued in subsequent generations of feminist writers. Francophone women authors of color (e.g., Maryse Condé, Assia Djebar) have also employed this literary resistance strategy within their narratives as they highlighted various issues relating to gender while focusing on subjects pertinent to their unique cultural experience. This sort of teaching via literature from a gender / racial / spatial point of view continues to be relevant in the contemporary era as young women of color are also increasingly turning to this style of protest, but with a small twist: Via rapping their rhymes in French-language hip-hop. This new form of rapped *résistance* is occurring to a non-response from feminist groups in France to address issues that pertain to the unique needs of young females of color. For example, Duchin (1987:11) states that French feminist organizations "have the reputation of paying more attention to theory than to practical questions." Due to this narrow approach amongst more established women's rights groups, issues relating to females living in disadvantaged communities are nearly non-existent in the national discourse. Thus, because women of color are made invisible by official State secularism that does not acknowledge gender as a defining national statistic, and by feminist organizations whose mission it is to promote women's rights, the contemporary medium of hip-hop has been, and still is, an increasingly effective way in which to bring the issues of young females to the masses via an effective and educational lyrical delivery rapped above a thumping bass line.

Although hip-hop culture in France and elsewhere has been dominated by males since its embryonic stage, French women of color have left their own distinct marks on the genre. In their songs, female rappers tend to focus their attention more on education, immigration, social issues, gender inequality, and quality of life themes, with little to no emphasis on street violence and the type of male posturing / positioning that one often associates with hip-hop. However, the music industry in France has not always been kind to females. For example, rap lyrics often portray females ambiguously, usually in oppressive, sexist or negative ways. Responding to this often-misogynistic portrait motivates the representations put forth by female artists and separates their thematic approaches and personal *résistance* from males as they shape the genre of hip-hop to fit their unique needs. The goal of these women rappers is to inform listeners about

humanistic themes that affect females first, and to discuss how social discrepancies with concern to gender also affect society at large. After a brief overview of the origins of hip-hop in the United States and France, as well as a discussion of issues as they relate to females of color in the latter country, this paper introduces and briefly examines a few songs that have a mission to educate listeners on topics concerning women of color by the four most popular female French rap artists over the past two decades. In doing so, I illustrate how this quartet of *rappeuses lyriques* also act as hip-hop philosophers or teachers who use the public platform of the microphone as a pedagogical tool in which to discuss divisive subjects that minimize or ignore the role of ethnocultural women in France.

Race, Space, and Hip-Hop Philosophy

Researchers such as Prévos (1996), Forman (2000), and Chang (2005) argue that the base rubric of hip-hop music is formed by the rapper's spatial and social construct. To this end, Chuck D of the group Public Enemy once echoed that sentiment when he labelled rap lyrics as being "*Black America's CNN*" since early American hip-hop educated listeners of the realities occurring in minority neighborhoods. Forman (2000:78) maintains that the location, or "place" serves as a "lens of sorts that mediates one's perspective on social relations," and that it "offers familiarity" that provides rappers with a certain "perspective" in which to evaluate their spatiality. The concept of speaking truth to power as a way to educate people is not new to hip-hop, as the movement was founded on the principle of using rap music as a non-traditional pedagogical tool (i.e., "peace, love, unity, and having fun"), and lyrics were first composed by early rappers in New York as a way to bring to life issues that others in more elevated societal positions were perhaps afraid to discuss (Chang, 2005; Rose 1994, 2008). Hip-hop has a lot in common with the African narrative tradition of the village *griot*, a person whose job as the village librarian of sorts was to educate citizens about their history and culture for thousands of years, and this concept of storytelling is found throughout the global African diaspora. Early hip-hop artists in the United States continued this sort of legacy of "*griot education*" in regards to their lyrics and their focus on community affairs, and what has now come to be known as "conscious rap" music continues it. As important as storytelling is in regards to hip-hop, the origins of modern rap can be traced from the 1960s and 1970s. During those decades, the Jamaican musical style known as dancehall served as the primary motivator for the birth of hip-hop in the United States as gangs and other individuals with direct immigrant origins in The Bronx melded a Caribbean-style sound mixed with African-American soul and R&B. Popular street DJs such as Kool Herc, Africa Bambaata, and Grandmaster Flash pioneered this new musical genre into the ears of many in 1970s New York City, and from this nascent stage of street parties, a movement was born.

In its embryonic period in the United States, hip-hop culture and the art of rapping were viewed as effective ways in which to educate consumers and listeners on a variety of subjects and themes facing people of color living in the "inner city" (Hebdige 1987; Rose 2008). For example, Grandmaster Flash's 1982 song entitled "*The Message*" was one of the first tracks to teach listeners about a myriad of negative social issues emanating from the '*hood*, and its video clip represents one of the classic examples of how hip-hop could be used educationally. Perhaps the most well-known artist to juxtapose hip-hop with pedagogy was (and remains) the artist known as KRS-One from the Bronx-based group Boogie Down Productions (BDP); a person whose very name is broken down as "*Knowledge reigns supreme over nearly everything.*" Each of BDP's albums was rooted in subjects involving social justice, and the group's tracks took firm stances and deconstructed controversial subjects such as misogyny, gang violence, drug use, educational deficiencies, and so forth. Moreover, song lyrics even found ways to instruct listeners about safe sex in ways that were easily understood and appreciated. While lyrical discussions concerning themes like this have been present in all musical genres for decades (e.g., the protest music of the 1950s, punk rockers in the 1970s-forward, "World" artists from developing countries), rappers were able to define and mass market themselves as "teachers" and "philosophers" with educational messages to distribute to the masses in their orbit of "the hood," all of which were endorsed by industry record companies until American rap music started to embrace a more "gangster" style in the mid-1990s. KRS-One is not the only artist to label him/herself a "*Hip-Hop Philosopher*," but he is one of the originators of the concept and his popularity remains intact.

The use of rap music as pedagogy is also gaining traction among American educators, as it is increasingly seen as being an effective educational tool in classrooms. Tobias (2014) argues that because hip-hop music represents a social and cultural practice, the genre critically expresses and socially considers a variety of important subjects that are necessary curricular topics in schools, especially where students of color form the majority of students. Lesson plans that use examples from hip-hop songs that feature themes such as one's representation, agency, place, space, and identity, and its use by the artist as a teacher (and by students as consumers) are all valuable ways to understand and teach issues that otherwise may not be discussed in official school curricula. Further elaborating on this subject, Tobias (2014:22) maintains that the use of hip-hop in education enacts and increases critical pedagogy in classrooms, as it provides opportunities for "students to consider themselves and their community in terms of who they are and collectively." This sort of unique pedagogy fits into the educational mission and vision put forth by KRS-One and other hip-hop philosophers and it also provides teachers a critical pedagogical and curricular lens that otherwise would not exist via mainstream educational policy. Whether one is a consumer of the genre or not, a comprehension of hip-hop's early mission to inform listeners of problems facing ethnocultural minorities is necessary in order to understand issues facing this segment of the population, whether in the United States or elsewhere.

Margins and Misogyny

In terms of academic investigations on subjects relating to racism and misogyny, France has never been an easy country where research on those topics is promoted by the government or that is even easily accessible. Officially, the country is secular and "colorblind." This means, even a minor census or academic study that might examine an issue as it affects one's race or gender will not be sanctioned by the government or they are generally discouraged or non-existent (Bleich, 2004; Fleming, 2017). Furthermore, Fleming (2017) argues that the French government has abdicated its responsibility for dealing with racism in terms of official policy. In other words, Fleming (2017) further states that "French 'anti-racism' is a total disaster. Instead of formulating anti-racist policies and collecting anti-discrimination statistics, the country contents itself with anti-racist discourse and magical thinking."[2] In short: It is better for the country not to revisit colonialism and other divisive subjects in favour of national unity, as a way in which to protect and preserve a cleaner collective memory. Kokoreff (2008) argues that issues facing populations of color are rarely discussed at all anywhere in France, unless one concentrates on deviance and other sociological ills that take places in areas where minority populations reside (such as in the Paris suburbs). As for women from ethnocultural communities, Fleming (2017) states that their stories are rarely heard at all. That said, youths of color have found a unique niche in terms of talking about their "space" and any issues relevant to them: Via Hip-hop music and rap lyrics.

Although hip-hop culture is assumed to be the domain of young men, women have also played a major role in rap, and gender motivates the topics and subjects that are discussed in their songs. Berry (1994) and Rose (1994, 2008) posit that males in hip-hop usually rap about social dichotomies such as racism and other issues that focus solely on the masculine urban experience (e.g., police harassment, crime, street violence). This means that the thematic material in their songs is spatially limited (i.e. men rap by using language associated with power and dominance). Female rappers also breach social issues in their lyrics, but their narrative tends to focus less on the above-mentioned themes and more on equality and social issues. Strausz and Dole (2010) argue that the subjects that are heard in songs by women seek to produce a broader dialogue concerning different ideologies, topics, and communities that are not spatially limited to urban areas (e.g., domestic abuse, gender bias, sexual discrimination). Rose (1994: 147) supports these points by arguing that a tactic employed by female rappers is to work "within and against the existing dominant sexual and racial narratives" in order to conceptualize and educate listeners on issues that are important to females of color. Furthermore, Rose (1994, 2008) also posits that women rappers use their pulpit to speak to the importance of the female voice and sexual freedom. In other words, women in hip-hop educate their listeners on themes such as autonomy, the importance of gender unity, and the resistance to all types of violence and dominance affecting females across racial lines. While rap music is not something that many would consider as being inherently feminist, female artists employ specific and simple generic qualities of the genre to promote themselves and their lyrical message. Because hip-hop music represents extreme self-promotion, women rappers are able to use this public platform to their advantage in order to express female power without being accused by critics as being self-centered feminist radicals who are anti-establishment; thereby dismissed by mainstream pop-culture outlets and being spatially limited to the academy.

Although women have influenced the rap genre stylistically and technically, their overall contributions are often downplayed or ignored in favor of men (Layli, Morgan, and Steven 2004). Since hip-hop music is usually framed as being a representation of life as experienced by males of color, it has not always been easy for young females to create spaces outside of the pre-conceived sexual and misogynistic stereotypes found in many rap lyrics and videos (Weekes 2004). Moreover, the presentation of women in the hip-hop industry is often one of an outsider or a bystander rather than as what Guevara (1996:51) labels as a "participant," since the presence of females and their contributions to the genre are largely unrecognized or downplayed. Guevara (1996:51) further states that whenever women take leading roles in commercialized visual presentations of hip-hop culture (especially in film), they enter the scene as "exotic outsiders" who make their mark via some sort of romantic involvement with a male protagonist. In this sense, hip-hop remains a male-dominated industry and is usually referred to as being the *music of the streets*, a place where female rappers are seen as interlopers (Rose 2008). Adams and Fuller (2005) argue that in a world where negative social constructs such as sexism, misogyny, hatred, etc., are institutionalized, observations of this sort of patriarchal ideology and attitude in hip-hop culture are extensions of outer negative societal parameters that go beyond music.

To gain acceptance and credibility in hip-hop culture, women often borrow or adopt masculine attitudes and personalities when they rap, dance, or tag graffiti. Faure and Garcia (2005) state that this type of appropriation of male behavior is intended to mask signs of femininity, and it is often manifested by language, fashion, or personality changes that mirror those seen amongst male artists. Female rappers take style cues from men in the industry and visually or lyrically appear as "tough" or "hard" in their appearance and delivery, even when many women artists outpace males in sales and popularity. Moreover, stylistic changes assumed by female rap performers are not just limited to one's look, behavior, or sound. Troka (2002:87) argues that the experiences of women of color in hip-hip are made invisible since they are neither male, nor a member of the dominant culture; traits that she states as being the two "prized markers of neutrality" in the United States. Misogynistic lyrics, songs, and video presentations further demonstrate the dominance of males in rap by ignoring, dismissing, subjugating women, or outright discriminating against them. According to Guevara (1996:56), female rappers are res-

tricted and discriminatory because women artists are "expected to act differently" than males when they appear on stage. For example, it is acceptable for men in rap to be sexually suggestive and even misogynistic on stage or in visual presentations, while with a few exceptions, females refrain from doing anything similar when they present themselves. That said, contemporary artists such as Nicki Minaj seem to present more of a "female in control" narrative in her lyrics and adopt more of a misogynistic persona in content, but that sort of feminist presentation is often given from the perspective of the male gaze, as suggested by the imagery in her videoclips. Because industry insiders and record companies are cognizant that young males are the major consumers of hip-hop in the United States, Hollywood's concept in regards to the involvement of women in rap focuses more on *fantasy* (i.e., focusing on the appearance of female artists) than *reality* (i.e., the creative talent / art of females). Although rap music is promoted as mere entertainment, hip-hop representations of women perpetuate existing gender and sexual objectifications and stereotypes, thus endorsing a society where females are viewed as the subordinate objects of men (Quinne 2000).[3]

Earning Respect via Resistance

Hip-hop culture in France has been no less limiting towards women than in the United States, as the genre in France is also traditionally dominated by males and geared towards male consumers. Strausz and Dole (2010:12) argue that women present in French rap have been more "tolerated than accepted," and in order to gain respect, female artists have been forced to struggle against hardened patriarchal attitudes that have been pervasive in the industry. However, over time women rappers have gained respect and a few have become major players in French hip-hop. This sort of popularity suggests that the opinions of the purchasing public in France do not reflect the assumed male-dominated aesthetic of the market as seen and promoted by record companies.

Despite the lack of an equilibrium in terms of gender during rap's nascent stage in France, the first ever hip-hop song to be issued on vinyl in French was the song "*Une sale histoire*" by the female artist Beside, which appeared on the B-side of New York rapper Fab Five Freddy's 1982 hit, "*Change the Beat.*" However, following this initial ground-breaking contribution to rap music in France, women largely disappeared from the scene and remained non-players until the late-1980s.

The first female hip-hop artist to receive album recognition after Beside was Saliha, a *rappeuse* (female rapper) who entered rhyming competitions across France. Throughout the late-1980s, Saliha recorded singles that appeared on the numerous best-selling "*Rapattitude*" compilations, and she later followed this up with an album of her own in 1994. However, following the very tepid success of Saliha, no woman would attract much interest from companies or producers from a large commercial perspective. Other artists (such as Princess Aniès) occasionally appeared and released albums that featured feminist-empowered lyrics, at times enjoying

moderate airplay, but a sustainable female presence was lacking throughout the 1990s. Despite these challenges, over time things would change as a newer and younger group of women rappers emerged to challenge male dominance in rap music and this new group of female artists would eventually reverse the misogynistic imagery as presented in hip-hop culture up until that point.

One of things that expedited the serious arrival of female rappers in France in the late-1990s was the sudden rise of women in American hip-hop. During this time, artists such as Lauryn Hill and Missy Elliot were breaking sales records and winning multiple Grammy awards as they changed the landscape of American rap music. The emergence of female rappers in the United States was hardly a new concept, as earlier artists such as Queen Latifah paved the way and diversified American hip-hop in the late-1980s with empowering songs such as "*Ladies First*," a track whose lyrics and Afro-centric feminist narrative celebrated the contributions of women in hip-hop and in society, as this example shows (from Berry, 1994: 193):

> Who said the ladies couldn't make it, you must be blind
>
> If you don't believe, well here, listen to this rhyme
>
> Ladies first, there's no time to rehearse
>
> I'm divine and my mind expands throughout the universe
>
> A female rapper with the message to send
>
> The Queen Latifah is a perfect specimen.

Stimulated by this new wave of females gaining prominence in American hip-hop, things started to evolve in France as well when a rapper from the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe named Lady Laistee (née: Aline Christophe) emerged onto the scene in the late-1990s. After working alongside one of the pioneer groups of French hip-hop (NTM) and issuing a few songs on compilation albums, notably "*Respecte mon attitude*" (which appeared on the release entitled "*Cool Sessions 2*"), Lady Laistee enjoyed success not previously seen for a female rapper. Following this small bit of initial visibility via her contributions on those male-dominated compilations, Lady Laistee put forth a few successful albums of her own, two of which deserve denoting. The first of these releases, entitled "*Black Mama*," became a top selling record in France, and the most popular track of this album was the song "*For the ladies*." As its title suggests, the song's lyrics challenged anyone who dismissed females as second-class citizens, as shown here:

> *Baisse les bras mon statut de femme fait de moi une exclue*
> *L'univers fermé, dépassé, partageons le monopole (...)*
> *Pas d'machisme. À l'envers, gardez votre défaut, frère,*
> *Envers et entre tous, je représente les soeurs fières.*

> Lower your arms, my status as a woman makes me excluded
> The closed universe, past up, let's share the monopoly (…)
> No machismo. Get back, keep your weakness, brother,
> Reverse and between it all, I represent proud sisters.

The above excerpt echoes familiar themes as manifested in many songs by Lady Laistee, such as a demand for equal rights for women and female empowerment via the unity of all women. As mentioned previously, Weekes (2004: 147) maintains that American rappers such as Queen Latifah and later Missy Elliot were re-appropriating hip-hop music and producing their own responses to the "masculinized containing of femininity" by using hip-hop to educate the masses and create a place where women could portray themselves on their own terms, and it is from these American female artists that their French *cousines* (cousins) would draw their inspiration. The song "*For the ladies*" as well as others from Lady Laistee's album *Black Mama* received massive airplay in France, making her the first French female artist to rise up and challenge male dominance on a large commercialized scale, whether it was in the industry or French society in general. In addition to rapping about the subject of sexism in France from the point of view of a woman of color, Lady Laistee also followed the usual thematic trends as established by male hip-hop artists in France when she discussed subjects in regards to integration, acculturation and racism, as demonstrated in the following excerpt from the song "*Black Mama*" (a track that addresses the disparities and exclusion facing French-Caribbean migrants in France):

Née sous les tropiques mon domaine les DOM-TOM
Jusqu'a c'qu'on m'emmène loin de mon home sweet home
J'ai fait un vol de huit heures pour devenir métropolitaine
Métro, police haine, banlieue, on n'a pas eu mieux (...)
On jouait avec des mômes qui nous insultaient, je me
  battais
C'est là que j'ai pris conscience de la couleur que j'avais.

Born in the tropics, my domain is the DOM-TOM
Until I was brought far from my home sweet home
I took a flight for eight hours to become metropolitan
Métro, police hatred, suburbs, hardly had better (…)
We used to play with the kids who insulted us, I fought
It was from this where I became conscious of the color
  that I am.

The discussion of one's ethnocultural identity and marginalized social position is a frequent topic found in French hip-hop in general, and Lady Laistee is following the pre-established lyrical schema that forms the rubric of rap in France —one that uses music in order to express or protest a social message. That said, the lyrics throughout the song "*Black Mama*" address the realities of downward mobility and exclusion as faced by immigrant women in France in particular, including those new residents coming from the overseas territories (known locally as the DOM-TOM). Despite their lack of traditional immigrant status (they are French citizens in full), people from the Antilles are frequently marginalized and they live in socially-disadvantaged suburbs of Paris and other cities amongst other immigrants from ethnocultural communities. Unemployment figures amongst youths of color aged 15 to 25 years old in many suburbs are estimated to range upwards to 85 percent, with women being the most underrepresented in terms of jobs (Kokoreff 2008; Mallière 2008).

Unlike the few female artists who came before her, Lady Laistee was able to sustain her popularity for a few years. Her follow-up album was entitled "*Hip-hop Therapy*" and it also featured several songs promoting the empowerment of women, as well as discussing the lack of rights concerning females of color in general. The two most popular releases of Lady Laistee's new album were the songs "*Diamant noir*" ("Black Diamond," a track where she reflects on the nostalgia of growing up in as a woman of color in the downtrodden Paris suburbs), and" "*Un peu de respect*" ("A little bit of respect"). The latter song was intentionally modelled after the famous 1960s feminist anthem by Aretha Franklin, even sampling its background music and beat (where Lady Laistee's single would be immediately recognizable to listeners). Lyrics from "*Un peu de respect*" follow the exact same model as the earlier empowering song by Aretha Franklin; that is, where respect is demanded and expected, and women insist on being treated as equals. Throughout the entirety of the track, female listeners are instructed to stand up, speak loudly, and believe in one another, as shown here:

On demande un peu de respect
Viens on va t'apprendre comment rester droit
Dans notre monde, faut pas t'attendre à ce qu'on nous
  entende plus
Car en nous on y croit (...)
Fini l'âge de pierre, on est pierres précieuses,
Pour causer des fractures, on frappe dur (...)
Laisse parler des soeurs.

We're asking for a little respect
Come on, we're going to teach you how to stand tall
In our world, don't expect us to shut up
Because we believe in ourselves (…)
The stone age is over, we're precious stones,
To break things apart, we hit hard (…)
Let the sisters talk.

Later lines from the song further echo this sort of powerful refrain of shaking up this system ("*pour causer des fractures, on frappe dur*") as a means of appealing for female unity and empowerment when the track's consumers are told to "let the haters hate when it comes to our future" ("*On laisse baver les bavards sur notre futur*") and let the sisters talk for themselves ("*laisse parler des soeurs*"). Lady Laistee goes on to remind everyone that the time has come for true equality for all women as they are setting their sights on new goals in order to create a new female-first history that matches that of their forefathers ("*On vire nos repères pour égaler nos pères*"). In a country that ranks 126th globally in terms of wage equity (World Economic Forum 2014), empowering lyrics such as these resonate with female listeners. Similar to Queen Latifah in early American hip-hop, Lady Laistee's massive success would open the door for future female rappers. Other artists soon followed in her footsteps as the genre further developed during the first decade of the 2000s, though not all would receive the same type of popular and critical acclaim. The most famous female "*rappeuse*" who immediately followed Lady Laistee was the artist Bams.

Born in France of Cameroonian parents, Bams (née: Rita Bamsoukoisant) was an outstanding scholar and athlete who became attracted to hip-hop as an adolescent. Similar to previous female rappers, Bams also appeared on compilations that featured emerging artists, and she was the only woman who appeared on the *hardcore* rap album entitled "*Hostile hip-hop.*" Bams differed from other women rappers in the sense that her lyrical narrative tended to be more radical in form, an approach that mimicked popular male *hardcore* artists. This was not surprising considering that she released songs under the tutelage of the same management company that worked with artists such as NTM, a frequently banned hip-hop group who has made a career out of tackling controversial issues dealing with race and class in France with forceful and direct language. Bams' debut album "*Vivre ou mourir*" ("Live or Die") did exceptionally well in regards to airplay, and from this release came the powerful song "*Douleur de femme*" ("Women's Pain"). This track featured a thematic approach of direct and explicit feminist militancy; one far greater than what was stated by Lady Laistee and others. In this song, Bams raps "*je fais mes thèses bien exposées*" ("I expose my theses well"), and further lyrics of this track delineate the historical role of women in society, as shown here:

> *Rien n' change, l'histoire se répète*
> *Bafouées, toutes ont pris perpète*
> *De quel délit la femme est donc la vedette*
> *Sous le péché d'Ève un mari trop bête*
> *Imbécile, trop stupide une bouchée d'gourmandise fait*
> *Que le mal soi-disant nous magnétise (...)*
> *Femme à l'aube de l'an 2000, les marques de l'histoire*
> *laissent des traces indélébiles*
> *Quelle que soit la décennie on nous veut le même profil*
> *Toujours plus belle, plus servile.*

> There is nothing to change, history repeats itself
> Violated, all (women/stories) has been perpetuated
> No matter the offense, women are the star
> Eve's sin due to a very stupid husband
> An idiot, too stupid, a mouthful of gluttony
> (And) that so-called evil magnetizes (influences)
>   everyone (…)
> Woman at the dawn of 2000 marks the history leave
>   indelible
> Whatever the decade, they treat us the same way
> Always more beautiful, yet more servile

In addition to the above example, later lyrics from "*Douleur de femme*" further elaborate on subjects of rape and violence against women and they instruct listeners to understand that firm resistance to these things is not solely a feminist duty, but one that is the responsibility of humanity: "*ce n'est pas un geste, ni une cause feministe, juste un sentiment de devoir humaniste*" ("it's neither a feminist cause nor jest, just a feeling of humanist obligation"). An additional refrain from this song aims to unite all women together as one in order to resist the uneven and subordinate categorization of females everywhere on Earth ("*unis, l'ensemble des femmes*," or "united, all together as women"). The song "*Douleur de femme:* fared very well commercially, and its accompanying video-

clip showed that not only male artists could take a more militant approach to rhyming about negative societal ills, as women also have something to say on the matter.

Additional tracks from the album "*Vivre ou mourir*" such as "*Pas cool*" with its lyrics "*J'veux pas être jolie, fais chier d'être une fille*" ("I don't wanna be pretty, it sucks to be a girl") address sexism and gender imbalances directed towards women, whilst releases such as "*Moi, ma violence*" ("My Own Violence") take a more direct approach. In the latter song, Bams suggests that working-class females of color (about whom she raps as being "on the bottom, who have nothing") should revolt and resist against the systematic discrimination they face. Direct, hard-hitting tracks such as these made Bams the first *hardcore* female rapper, and her approach has been further copied and emulated by others in recent years, notably by the contemporary Marseille-based radical artist Keny Arcana. Bams was very popular and a *rappeuse* whose lyrics were far more revolutionary than the time when they were released in the 1990s. Despite the fact that male artists had been addressing themes of social resistance to the political order for years, Bams was the first female rapper to cast away any reluctance to tackle these subjects in the same fashion as men in French hip-hop. Although she received critical acclaim for her work, Bams' popularity was short-lived and she did not enjoy the same amount of sustained commercial success as Lady Laistee. After Bams' popularity waned and she moved to other educational-type projects (e.g., becoming a co-founder and later editor pf *Respect Magazine*, a popular bi-monthly magazine whose target audience is youth of color in France) and several years would pass until another female would gain any sort of prominence in hip-hop.

Teaching from the Platform of a *Méga-Star*

The immediate years following Bams' success did not see the emergence of any notable female rap talent on a grand scale, though a little-known rapper by the name of Diam's (née: Mélanie Georgiades) started gaining notoriety for her unique rhyming, lyrical delivery, and stylistic technique. In time, Diam's would become the highest-grossing female rapper ever seen in French hip-hop, and one of the best-selling Francophone musical artists of all time. Born in Cyprus of a French mother and a Cypriot father, Diam's moved to Essone in the Paris suburbs when she was very young. Growing up in the disadvantaged "*banlieues*" (urban-suburbs) as French rap started to explode in popularity in the early 1990s, Diam's started writing and performing as a teenager and she was quickly noticed by small record labels. Similar to other artists who came before her, Diam's would also be featured in tracks released by male rappers (on albums by Les Neg Marrons, and Black Mozart) as she made a name for herself in the industry. After a few solo releases that were mildly received by the public in terms of their very modest sales and airplay, Diam's finally evolved from the rap underground in 2003 with her own album entitled "*Brut de femme*," ("Crude Woman") a release that was autobiographical in nature and one that tackled many women's issues head on, such as domestic vio-

lence, marital problems, and gender discrimination in employment, amongst others. Once released, "*Brut de femme*" became one of the top selling French hip-hop albums of all time and its crossover appeal helped Diam's win a "*Victoire*" award for "*Best Rap Album of 2004*" (a first by a female artist). This sort of visibility and commercial success enabled Diam's to cement her status as a major player in the French hip-hop scene.[4] However, it was her next album, entitled "*Dans ma bulle*" ("In my Bubble") that would set a new standard, not only for female artists, but for French hip-hop in general. The subject matter of this new album did not shy away from discussing contentious matters as they affect women and others from ethnocultural communities, and divisive topics such as racism and sexism in France were lyrically analyzed and deconstructed. Diam's was fully cognizant of her popularity and she used this public platform as a lectern in which to educate the French public on the aforementioned issues and much more.

Upon its release, "*Dans ma bulle*" quickly rose up the charts and it became the top selling album in France in 2006 (of all musical genres). We previously mentioned that the vast majority of hip-hop artists hail from immigrant and ethnocultural communities in France, and the subject of one's identity and social position is a repetitive theme in French rap. To this end, several songs from "*Dans ma bulle*" album addressed the marginalization of immigrant youths, albeit from a feminist and humanist perspective, as this excerpt from the track "*Ma France à moi*" ("My France") demonstrates:

> *C'est pas ma France à moi cette France profonde*
> *Celle qui nous fout la honte et aimerait que l'on plonge*
> *Ma France à moi ne vit pas dans l'mensonge*
> *Avec le coeur et la rage, à la lumière, pas dans l'ombre*
> *(...)*
> *Ma France à moi se mélange, ouais, c'est un arc en ciel,*
> *Elle te dérange, je le sais, car elle ne te veut pas pour modèle.*

> It's not my France, this deep France
> The one who shames us and wishes that we dive from it
> My France does not live in the lie
> With the heart and rage, in the light, not in the shadows
> (...)
> My France is all mixed together, yeah, it's a rainbow,
> It (my France) bothers you, I know, because she does not want you as a model.

High concentrations of immigrants and people of color reside in the impoverished suburban areas surrounding Paris, cramped into small apartments located in high-rise complexes known as "*cités*." Kokoreff (2008) and Marlière (2008) state that youths from these areas suffer from institutional discrimination, low educational attainment, and high unemployment, and these are the themes featured in the song "*Ma France à moi*," albeit from a female perspective. Rose (1994, 2008) states that what separates female hip-hop artists from their male counterparts is their broader focus on issues that go far beyond the usual lyrical discussion that centers on racial and cultural discrimination as the central thematic refrain.

Women rappers tend to discuss social issues from a far less revolutionary perspective than is often the case with male rappers; choosing instead to focus on humanistic themes. Diam's is no exception to confronting personal and social issues, but she generally does so by rapping empowering messages in her songs and their accompanying videos. This sort of pedagogical and philosophical narrative was previously used by Queen Latifah and Lauryn Hill, among other female rappers in the United States (Rose 1994, 2008).

Similar to the subject matter heard on many of the tracks from her previous album, the second major release by Diam's also tackled a broad range of social issues, many of which had never before been discussed so openly in French music, no matter the genre. Topics such as teen suicide, relationships, anxiety, dating, eating disorders, and body image were featured as major themes in many songs, all of which were accompanied by popular music videos. More radio-friendly topics were also covered on this new album, such as what one hears in the song "*Jeune démoiselle cherche mec mortel*" ("Young Lady seeks Cool Dude"), a song whose subject matter revolves around women looking for an ideal partner, but with a small twist: It is the females who seize and maintain control of the power dynamic of mate selection and dating (with this theme being further emphasized visually in the track's official video). In the single and video, the "*mec*" and men to whom Diam's makes reference are told to be courteous towards women and to treat them well, as illustrated in this line: "*Mon mec a des valeurs et du respect pour ses soeurs*" ("my guy has values and respects his sisters"). Further lyrics from "*Jeune démoiselle*" echo similar points when Diam's raps: "*Dans mes rêves mon mec me parle tout bas, quand il m'écrit des lettres, il a la plume de Booba*" ("In my dreams my guy speaks to me very low, when he writes letters to me he writes like Booba"). The song and video presentation were massive hits in France and its particular "hook" (refrain) resonated among males and females alike as it shot to the top of the French music charts, where it remained for several weeks.

Other tracks from "*Dans ma bulle*" contain similar lyrics that demand a reconfiguration of gender imbalances. For example, lines from the popular song "*La Boulette*" proclaim "*y a comme un goût de boum boum dans le coeur de mes soeurs*" ("there are exploding feelings in the hearts of my sisters") that serve to pay homage to the growing unity amongst women of color in France. The song goes on to address some of the dangers facing females in the disadvantaged suburbs of Paris, as shown here:

> '*Y a comme un goût de viol quand je marche dans ma ville.*
> '*Y a comme un goût de peur chez les meufs de l'an 2000.*
> '*Y a comme un goût de beuh dans l'oxygène que l'on respire,*
> '*Me demande pas s'qui les pousse à te casser les couilles.*
> *J'suis pas les secours, j'suis qu'une petite qui se débrouille bien.*

Kinda tastes like rape when I walk around my city.
Kinda tastes like fear for us chicks in the 2000s
Kinda tastes like pot in the oxygen we breathe,
Don't ask me why they break your balls.
I ain't like 911, I'm just kid a who hustles well.

After first naming some of the distractions that affect ethnocultural women in poor neighborhoods (e.g., rape, fear of walking freely without being harassed, drugs) and after addressing possible reasons why males are the target of the authorities ("don't ask me why they break your balls"), Diam's ends this lyrical example by rapping how she is able to navigate the contours of her environment because she "hustles well" as a means to survive, with the entire song serving as an educational rallying point that calls for other women to mimic this approach. Further lines from "*La boulette*" mention how ethnocultural youths in France reject the traditional educational secularist narrative from school: "*nan nan c'est pas l'école qui nous a dictée nos codes*" ("no no, school hasn't taught us how to be") with the "us" being women of color in particular. Additional lyrics from the same song instruct listeners and the public at large about generational differences when Diam's describes the rebelling adolescents of her contemporary era as belonging to "*la génération nan-nan*" ("generation no-no"), which is a repetitive and continual refrain throughout the track, and one that encapsulates and embraces the rejection of contemporary by today's youth.

What makes Diam's stand out from earlier female artists such as Lady Laistee has been her mass appeal across gender, class, and racial lines. At her peak during the first decade of the 2000s, the sheer popularity of Diam's was unrivalled (to date), and her record sales and chart dominance reflected this reality with each of her subsequent album releases. However, constant touring and endless hassling by the French media forced her to retreat from recording and take a two-year sabbatical until 2009 when she released "*S.O.S.*" This new album also featured tracks that addressed controversial and contemporary themes in France, but this time discussion religious differences, as shown here in "*Lili*," a song that discusses the ostracization of female immigrants and Muslim women in French society:

La France pour moi c'est rien qu'un très grand hôpital,
Je passe ma vie en isolement depuis qu'on me dit que je suis malade (…)
Je ne mérite pas que l'on me prive d'études, ou d'éducation
Elle n'est pas laïque cette nation, elle craint juste la contagion (…)
Parce que je suis une femme convertie, et que je porte le voile.

France for me is nothing but a very large hospital,
I spend my life in isolation since they told me I'm sick (...)
I do not deserve that because I was deprived of my studies, or education
This is not a secular nation, it is afraid of contagion (...)
Because I am a converted woman, and I wear the veil.

Researchers such as Kokoreff (2008) argue that youths of color in France (and Muslims in particular) have few prospects of success, and thus are condemned to fail by the system. This type of exclusion is contributing to a social separation in France and this deepening dichotomy is creating a "new and dangerous" segment of French society; one that may further manifest itself with anger towards State institutions (as shown in the recent attacks on the periodical *Charlie Hebdo*). It is this theme of social alienation (sans violence) that Diam's addresses in "*Lili*."

As Diam's has evolved as an artist, her commitment to making life better for women and others who face obstacles from French majority society has increased. Unlike other performers in the music industry in France, Diam's has dedicated the majority of her royalties from the sale of the album "*S.O.S.*" to her foundation (entitled the "*Big Up Project*"), which provides support and funding for youth centers and other projects affecting adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa. In the years following the success of "*S.O.S.*," Diam's once again withdrew from the spotlight and during an interview on a popular talk shown broadcast on the French television network TF-1 (in 2012), she announced an additional indefinite sabbatical from hip-hop. It remains to be seen if she will stage a comeback in the future. Despite this new pause from recording, Diam's remains the most successful *rappeuse* in France as well as being one of the most popular female artists of all time in French music. Despite the massive popularity that she has achieved as a *mégastar*, Diam's has made a career out of resisting being placed in any sort of category concerning gender stereotypes, choosing instead to project a more positive outer image that contrasts her style from other female artists and musicians. It was this choice that made Diam's a commercial success and a best-selling artist. That said, Diam's also addressed various social issues concerning women in her music through an pedagogical lyrical perspective just as her predecessors once did by rapping in order to empower and educate women of color across social and racial boundaries in France.

Anarchist Education and *Le rap radical*

Despite the commercial success of Diam's, female hip-hop artists rarely choose to emulate the more radical side of the music put forth by their male counterparts, with Bams being a notable exception. That type of revolutionary rap, known in French as *le rap hardcore*, features songs with themes involving discrimination, invisibility, and alienation with stated goals to encourage and teach listeners to resist and fight against the system by any means necessary. Although female rappers have not shied away from addressing subjects that discuss racism and despair among youth of color, they have typically avoided having a true "*pure et dure*" revolutionary approach in their music and pedagogical methods, preferring to employ a more delicate approach to which all sectors of French society can relate (as done by Diam's). However, the arrival of a Marseille-based radical artist

named Keny Arkana broke this pre-established schema, and her entire musical repertoire tackles more controversial subjects in a revolutionary and political type of way (whereas previous artists resisted political labels and rapped about issues from a more humanistic perspective).

Keny Arkana's first forays into rap music came via her participation in an underground group from Marseille named *État-Major*. The group released several mix-tapes and vinyl tracks and gained a small underground following which caught the attention of record companies. However, none of these productions received much airplay. Following her participation with *État-Major*, Keny Arkana launched a solo career and the thematic narrative of her lyrics has been more forceful than what has traditionally been the case amongst female rappers in France. For example, her songs focus on issues relating to anti-globalism and anarchist movements, as seen through the feminist lens.

In the poor and working-class areas of Marseille a small anti-globalism collective known as "*La rage du peuple*" ("People's Rage") was formed to protest a variety of global issues that affected youth negatively, with Keny Arkana being a founding member. It was her participation with this radical group that would eventually serve to motivate her music and career. Her first album, entitled "*Le missile est lancé*" ("The Missile is Launched") contains songs with themes addressing a variety of left-of-center subjects dealing with globalism, capitalism, climate change, the Zapatista movement in Mexico, genetically modified foods (GMOs), and racism. Lyrical representations rapped by Keny Arkana in her tracks employ direct language that is angry, forceful, violent, and more aggressive in theme and subject matter. For example, Keny Arkana openly encourages revolt and protest by all available means, although she refuses to be aligned with any larger political entity or ideology aside from those strategically allied with her own vision. As stated previously, women rappers in French have tackled so-called controversial themes and subjects in their lyrics, but none have openly and repeatedly encouraged revolt and civil disobedience against the State by being aligned ideologically with political, and especially anarchist movements. Women rappers such as Diam's and Bams differed from Keny Arkana in that they addressed issues as they involved females of color in France exclusively, instead of targeting subjects related to international anarchist movements and the juxtaposition of feminism and liberation in France with that sort of global struggle for rights. This important distinction makes Keny Arkana stand out from her peers in the genre. Despite her revolutionary and aggressive approach, Keny Arkana's lyrics serve to express a positive effect since her rapped messages are based in education and social activism, and the not petty street crime in the name of resistance that is often glorified in tracks produced by male hip-hop artists in the United States or beyond.

Perhaps Keny Arkana's most well-known song to date is "*La rage du peuple*" ("People's Rage"), a track that represents and channels the anger of the anti-globalism movement, as well as paying homage to the very anti-capitalist and openly anarchist organization that

she founded in Marseille. Lyrics from "*La rage*" (along with its accompanying video, which shows clips from anti-globalism protests from around the world) outline the frustrations that anarchist groups have vis-à-vis the current world order and the song's stated pedagogical goal is to educate listeners on a variety of topics that directly affect them in their day-to-day lives. In the song "*La rage*," Keny Arkana makes a plea for her listeners to channel their anger (i.e. "*La rage*") into learning more about how they can topple and demolish the current system, when she raps:

> *Parce qu'on a la rage, on restera debout quoi qu'il arrive,*
> *La rage d'aller jusqu'au bout et là où veut bien nous mener la vie (...)*
> *Anticapitalistes, altermondialistes, ou toi qui cherche la vérité sur ce monde, la résistance de demain. Inshallah à la veille d'une révolution. Mondiale et spirituelle, la rage du peuple, la rabbia del pueblo; parce qu'on a la rage, celle qui fera trembler tes normes. La rage a pris la populace et la rage est énorme.*

> Because we rage, we will stand up no matter what,
> The rage to go through to the end and where we're willing to lead our lives (...)
> Anti-capitalist, anti-globalist, or wherever you're seeking the truth about the world,
> The resistance of tomorrow. Inshallah on the eve of a revolution. Global world and spiritual,
> The rage of the people, la rabbia del pueblo; because we're enraged,
> The one that will shake your standards. Rage has taken over the people and the rage is huge.

Later in the same track, she even goes as far as to express her rage about GMOs when she raps "*La rage, car c'est la merde et ce que ce monde y adhère, et parce que tous leurs champs OGM stérilisent la Terre*" ("Rage, it's this shit this whole world adheres to, and because all of their GMO fields sterilize the Earth"). Despite the strong words shown in the above examples, it is important to note that Keny Arkana does not endorse any sort of hate towards those in power, as in the same song she later raps: "*On a la rage, pas la haine … la haine est inerte et destructrice*" ("We have rage, not hate … Hate is inert and destructive").[5]

The type of forceful and confrontational thematic discourse shown in releases like "*La rage*" separate Keny Arkana from other female rap artists in France since her message is not as much concerned with the unity of woman solely on gender lines alone as much as it focuses on unifying and educating the entire working class, especially females within it, against the French government and corporate interests. It is difficult to know if Keny Arkana will eventually develop a massive following along the lines of Diam's since she is not very comfortable being labelled as a *rappeuse* in the commercial or artistic sense, though she is conscious of her place as an activist-teacher. For example, during an interview with the French radio network RFI, she once stated: "*Je dis que je ne suis pas une rappeuse contestataire, mais une contestataire qui fait du rap*" ("I am not a radical rapper, but rather a radical teacher who raps").[6] While this choice

may limit Keny Arkana's popularity and album sales, it certainly solidifies her reputation as a true radical-type educator in French hip-hop.

Discussion and Conclusion: The Future

It is unclear how women involved with hip-hop music in France will continue to evolve and develop as the music becomes more and more commercialized and commodified by industry marketers and advertisers. To use the United States as an example, aside from a few exceptions (such as Lil' Kim, Nicki Minaj, etc.), women have been all but erased from mainstream rap music in recent years, and educational-style conscious hip-hop is not seen as commercially viable as it concerns female artists by Hollywood record executives. In fact, the Grammy Awards mirrors this type of gender invisibility in American hip-hop as it eliminated the *Best Female in Rap* category in 2005. Whereas women were once extremely popular and were an integral part of American rap up though the late 1990s, women are now once again hypersexualized and stereotyped in the industry, and they continue to be the victims of misogynistic lyrical and visual presentations put forth by male rappers in their lyrics, songs and videos. This sort of sexism even occurs among best-selling female hip-hop artists in the contemporary era. In 2015 Nicki Minaj's choice to self-promote her "brand" via the use of misogynist body imagery on her recent album differs starkly from the feminist and Afrocentric powerful presentation once employed by female rappers such as Queen Latifah. In France, this type of negative imagery is far less common since female rappers are still involved in hip-hop, but sexism is not invisible when best-selling contemporary hip-hop artists (such as Booba) freely label women as "*putains*" (whores) in many songs and the use of misogyny to sell records is on the rise. Much scholarly discussion focuses solely on the very place of females in rap music, whereas this study gives readers a brief introduction to the messages behind the rhymes, as given by some popular mainstream artists in French hip-hop. These messages follow an old, pre-established schema in French writing: Rebelling against those in power by using prose and a pen, and in our case, to "rap" the result of those written representations.

However, despite good visibility in terms of album sales and airplay, women in French hip-hop remain marginalized by an industry that favors males. At the same time although men continue to dominate rap music in France in terms of per capita release percentages, female rappers continue to sell records and their songs and videos are extremely popular when they are fully promoted by record companies. Thus, feminist messages do resonate when they are heard, albeit when given full industry support and commercial airplay. Despite the small numbers of women involved in French hip-hop, they are able to be noticed by the consuming masses because the unique subject matter of their rap counteracts and confronts sexism in France by educating listeners of the existing disparities in regards to gender. This sort of rhymed lyrical protest follows a well-established traditional French schema of protesting and promoting *résistance* in poems, stories, plays, and now hip-hop songs. Unlike what is seen in the United States, commercialized

hip-hop in France (to date) has not been disenfranchised as a form of educational resistance due to the fact that the French definition of that term has been historically and culturally grounded in the notion of informing and teaching the masses via poetry and prose. Hip-hop follows this model, but instead of writing a poem or book, all that is needed is a microphone, a rhyme, a turntable, and a sampled bassline.

It is my hope that this study serves to stimulate researchers into examining similar ideas for further academic investigations. A further question or subject worth examining would be the effectiveness of these rapped messages in terms of how they are being received and understood (or not) by consumers. Additional scholarly research is needed in terms of measuring whether or not hip-hop consumers in France are listening to what is being rapped to them, or merely hearing it. In short, further investigations may examine whether or not people are paying attention to the issues and subjects brought forth by these artists, and what the result of this "education" might be. Moreover, other music styles in terms of feminist-inspired songs or lyrics (perhaps juxtaposed against hip-hop) are also worthy of academic research.

The four artists briefly examined in this essay use the medium of French rap as a way in which to provide females agency in a socially expressive pedagogical space. This "rapped classroom" is one where rappers educate listeners whilst also denouncing patriarchal and misogynistic attitudes as they encourage social justice and raise awareness of issues that relate to the experience of women of color in France. In other words, the sense of "place" as defined in rap music is dissected and discussed from a female perspective, just as it once was in American rap during its commercially conscious era. Thus, when evaluated under contemporary norms, female lyricists have played an important role in French rap as hip-hop philosophers by offering their students (consumers) a uniquely feminine view and perspective to a variety of issues affecting women of color in France that otherwise may not be heard, discussed, exposed, or understood in a country that still has a long way to go in terms of gender equity. Although this sort of pedagogical approach via music is not unique to hip-hop music, it is the most effective method in terms of reaching females and others from those marginalized populations whose identity and sense of belonging are often put into question by majority society. Although women in French hip-hop may not solve the problems about which they rap, their lyrical representations about realistic subjects facing women of color in France educate and inform listeners in ways previously not as widely consumed in terms of overall availability.

NOTES

1. All French to English translations were done by the author, unless otherwise noted.

2. Please see: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/crystal-fleming/frances-approach-to-fight_b_7231610.html (retrieved August 2017)

3. The cover photo of latest single by the American hip-hop artist Nicki Minaj (entitled "*Anaconda*") illustrates this aforementioned point, as the artist is featured in a misogynistic and

suggestive pose that some may consider as sexist and/or degrading to women. The thematic idea of this photo was made by Nicki Minaj herself (as she stated in radio/television interviews). However, this decision may have also been endorsed by the advice from her producers and record company management.

4. The *Victoires de la Musique* are the French equivalent to the Grammy Awards in the United States.

5. An interesting footnote to the above excerpt is Keny Arkana's linguistic insertion (*code-switching*) of Arabic and Spanish into her lyrical delivery. This is typical across French hip-hop and it is especially acute for rappers hailing from the very diverse city of Marseille.

6. Please see: http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr articles/083/article_16663.asp (Retrieved: 22 July 2016).

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Games and Gaming: Innovative Approaches to Actionable Research

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Abstract: *In this paper, we explain how applied ethnographic research and games share many vital aspects, specifically in the domains of design and learning. On the surface, these fields might appear to be worlds apart, but we found many congruities between them. Both follow a variety of analogous methodologies, including a focus on iterative design, peer-reviewed testing processes, design-led creative approaches to problem-solving, and the use of multidisciplinary practices to create more substantial results. Moreover, both fields strive to create relevant materials for their clients, and rely on both qualitative and quantitative methods of assessment. Additionally, the interactive learning and knowledge sharing facilitated by tabletop roleplaying games function similarly to the way multidisciplinary research teams collaborate to solve real world problems. These parallels have implications for new directions in applied anthropology education and research design. We note how these fields both encourage their practitioners to syncretize skills and knowledge in areas beyond their training, and suggest techniques which can hopefully benefit social science researchers working in a wide range of settings. Additionally, we present ideas for the creation of collaborative learning environments, adaptations to field school training techniques, and the design of collaborative research forums.*

Key words: Games, design, roleplay, education

Introduction

The research we present in this paper was partially inspired by our collaboration with performance artist, activist, and educator L.M. Bogad, who approached us to help him design a roleplaying game that teaches players about activism and social movements. We regularly play games with Dr. Bogad, especially Dungeons & Dragons and similar tabletop roleplaying games (TRPGs). This project was especially interesting to us since we have both played games our whole lives, and have been students of the social sciences for much of our academic careers. The opportunity to create a game with the intention of having a social impact is understandably exciting for us. The idea for the game was inspired by Dr. Bogad's own methods of teaching through theatric techniques and roleplay. As we studied game design for this project, we found a multitude of fascinating similarities to applied anthropology.

Before we could study game design or gameplay, we first had to understand play and games from an academic perspective. In *Homo Ludens,* Johan Huizinga's *(*2014 [1950]) groundbreaking look at how cultures use play to fulfill societal needs, the author observes that games take place in what effectively constitute ritual spaces, with play acted out in a "magic circle" where one exits the mundane world and enters what is akin to a spiritual realm. He further argues that players' roles in society – or even in reality – are temporarily altered in the process of play. Game spaces include explicit rules and traditions that are expected to be followed and upheld during play. Furthermore, Huizinga argues that participants undergo a transformation during play, ceasing to be themselves while the game takes place, and being acknowledged instead as someone or something else. This can take on many forms, such as when Olympic athletes become representatives of their respective countries' physical prowess and cultural values, when Monopoly players take on

the role of ruthless land barons seeking to bankrupt their competition, or when Halo players digitally transform themselves into genetically-enhanced super-soldiers. While play persists, there is an expectation that other players will acknowledge this temporary transformation.

What Are Games?

As a category for defining the types of games people play, *game* is a daunting broad term. It can include sports and tests of skill such as Olympic competitions, gambling and games of chance like roulette, and party games like Charades, as well as the large categories of computer, console, and mobile video games, tabletop board and card games, and roleplaying games (RPGs) of any variety (including tabletop and live-action). When discussing games and game designers in this paper, we are primarily concerned with those in the later categories: the designers and products in the range of consumer games that include video games, board and card games, and RPGs. These types of games are among the most widely played today, and new games are being developed and produced for these media daily, as opposed to sporting or gambling games for which rules are widely established and largely static. In Section Two, we specifically delve into an analysis of tabletop roleplaying games (TRPGs), based on the research we conducted as we prepared to create Dr. Bogad's game.

It is difficult to define what a game actually is, or to even define *game*, as Salen and Zimmerman (2003) show in their extensive analysis of what constitutes play and games. They synthesize definitions of *game* from eight game design and academic sources, including social scientists like Huizinga, creating a chart of the similar and dissimilar features of each definition, finally arriving at their own: "A game is a system in which players engage in artificial conflict, defined by rules, that result in a quantifiable outcome" (Salen and Zimmerman 2003:81).

This begins to get at what many scholars and practitioners have agreed constitutes a game, though Upton (2015) argues that this definition is not especially useful for critical analysis of what games are, choosing to define *play* instead of *game*, stating, "Play is free movement within a system of constraints" (Upton 2015:15). This definition is more useful for critical analysis because it allows for a discussion about games in which there is no quantifiable outcome, or story-based games for which the outcome is undefinable until the players choose to define it, such as with many TRPGs. In this paper, we employ a combination of these definitions, defining *game* as a system of structured play, defined by rules, that constrains players within a shared transformative space. Based on the categories of games we have chosen to focus on for this paper, we believe this combined definition adequately describes games for our purposes.

Section One: Game Design & Social Science

As we began to research game design, we discovered interesting correlations between our social science training and the methods employed by designers. As avid game players, we had assumptions about how games might be designed, but by looking through the literature about this new subject, we were struck by how similarly games and social science research are created and executed. The main topics we discuss in Section One focus on three interconnected ideas: (1) that game designers and anthropologists are adept at syncretizing knowledge and skills from diverse subjects; (2) the commonalities between methods and practices employed by practitioners; and (3) the similar ways that these fields produce useful deliverables for clients, partners, and customers.

A Brief Overview of Game Elements

Some of the primary responsibilities of game designers are to develop the rules, mechanics, themes, and related elements of a given design (Brathwaite and Schreiber 2009; Fullerton 2014). Depending on the specific medium (video game, board game, roleplaying game, et cetera) these requirements may vary, but there are some generalizations that can help us to understand games in general. We hope the following examples can better elucidate this to readers who are less familiar with some of the specific elements of games (for an in-depth discussion of these elements, see: Brathwaite and Schreiber 2009; Ernest 2011).

Rules in games should be a familiar concept to anyone who has played a card or board game. The rules of Monopoly, for example, spell out what players are allowed to do in a given circumstance, such as what happens if they land on an unowned property (buy it, or else it goes to auction) and what happens if a player lands on a property owned by another player (they must pay that player rent; if they are unable to do so, they may sell their own property to make up the difference; if they are still unable to pay in full then they go bankrupt and are out of the game). Related to the rules are a game's mechanics, which are the systems that help to define how the rules are implemented. Hunicke et al. (2004) define mechanics

as, "the various actions, behaviors and control mechanisms afforded to the player within a game context." (Hunicke et al. 2004:3). In the example of Monopoly, this includes elements like movement by dice-rolling, building houses and hotels, and so on. Game mechanics provide a foundation for what occurs during play, and can include complex simulations of realistic behaviors and abstract actions with little similarity to real life.

Theme, on the other hand, is the game's set dressing, and can be narrow or broad. Theme can meaningfully impact the game's design or simply be an attention-grabbing overlay. Many themes exist for games, such as high fantasy (inspired by literary writers like Tolkien and Le Guin), military history (American Civil War, World War II, et cetera), science fiction (inspired by popular media such as Star Trek and Star Wars), more realistic themes like fire-fighting, disease control, and fencing (such as the games Flash Point, Pandemic, and En Garde, respectively), and countless others. Andrew Looney (2011) argues that even rudimentary themes can have a significant impact on the design of game mechanics, by informing what types of behaviors designers want to include in their game, though the degree to which realism and theme play a part in design is based on the needs of each design.

As mentioned above, all games include a degree of abstraction in the implementation of mechanics, but different games do so to varying degrees. Some games are perfectly fitted to having seemingly arbitrary themes tacked on to abstract rules, whereas other games are designed heavily around a core theme. For example, the family of games known as Eurogames (a designation for games that do not necessarily come from Europe but which are inspired by the work of popular European designers) are known for an emphasis on rules design first, with theme added as an afterthought (Daviau 2011). Eurogames favor abstractions over simulation, such as in the fencing game En Garde, where players play numbered cards to 'move' one's character relative to their opponent and 'touch' them by achieving a target number. Using numbered cards to reach an intended value or series is a widely-used game mechanic, featured in many well-known card games, such as poker and blackjack. The numbers can stand in for anything (such as movements and attacks in fencing) or simply represent numbers themselves. In comparison, some games painstakingly attempt to simulate complex behaviors, such as in the TRPG game system Pathfinder.

Pathfinder's base combat system takes up over 20 pages in the 560-page Core Rulebook, with many other related mechanics throughout that book and the dozens of supplemental sourcebooks that exist for the game. Much of the play in Pathfinder is heavily centered around robust, fantastical tactical combat encounters. Players can select from dozens of weapons (both real and imaginary), hundreds of magic spells, and a multitude of specific character options in the form of training and specializations (which go by a slew of names, including attributes, feats, powers, et cetera), all of which are designed both by the team that develops Pathfinder and by players themselves. There are countless games which represent

combat in other ways than these two examples, and designers must carefully consider the level of complexity that suits the needs of the given game system and its players. Part of this decision-making process is based on the designer's specific knowledge about material related to the design, whether the game's focus is on theme or mechanics.

Synthesizing Practices

One of the immediately evident similarities between anthropology and game design is the way both fields attract individuals with diverse knowledge and interests. A wide-reaching set of skills and abilities is highly desirable in these disciplines, and practitioners must often fulfill a variety of roles to effectively complete a project. Simply having broad skills and knowledge, however, is not sufficient to create functional designs or practices. One must also be able to meld their accumulated talents effectively. Game design and applied anthropology favor practitioners who are able to combine diverse skills and who regularly explore new topics relevant to their projects; those working in these fields have a tendency to utilize many tools, to research broad materials that are related to their current work, and develop skills necessary for bringing all these elements together into a coherent whole. This begins to touch on the versatilities of practitioners in these disciplines, since both fields attract polymaths and those with similarly diverse interests and abilities.

For example, an anthropologist doing a study of a community organization in Silicon Valley will benefit from an understanding of the history of the region, working knowledge of local laws and bureaucratic systems, conversational fluency in local languages and familiarity with specific vernacular related to the community and organization, regional demographic information, and various other bits of knowledge beyond their social science training. Likewise, if a game designer is creating a board game with a World War II theme, they can create a more engaging game if they incorporate historic battles of the period, geopolitics of the era, period weapons and garb, technologies that were available, and so on, beyond just an understanding of how to write rules and balance game statistics. To properly utilize these skills, practitioners must use careful consideration and synthesis skills to create designs that blend into a cogent final product. Thanks to their broad study and understanding of a wide range of topics, anthropologists and game designers both tend to fill unique roles in projects they undertake.

Like anthropologists, game designers are generally transparent in discussing their inspirations and sources. Gary Gygax and Dave Arneson, co-creators of the ubiquitous roleplaying game, Dungeons & Dragons (D&D), are well-documented as being history buffs and avid fans of historical war games, which provided untold inspiration for D&D (Ewalt 2013; Gilsdorf 2009). Similarity, in the first pages of some of the Pathfinder roleplaying game sourcebooks (which heavily borrows themes and mechanics from D&D), the designers often provide insights into the media and literature that inspired their designs, such as in the case of their "Occult" series of gamebooks, which were developed using one of the designer's personal library of over one thousand texts on occultism (Brookes et al. 2015). Likewise, many anthropologists devote space in publications to explaining the initial research - literary, firsthand, and otherwise - they conducted to prepare for entering the field. For an anthropologist, this is due in part to the extreme importance of understanding the culture and history of a research site or study population, whereas for game designers, it is done both to inform game elements and to create an immersive experience for players, which leads to more robust and engaging play.

The need for game designers to do documentary research to aid in the completion of a given design also extends to playing games designed by others (Fullerton 2014; Garfield 2011). In the same way anthropologists build from established theories, existing games provide a framework for new ones. Innovative mechanics inspire designers to reimagine how games can be played and to tinker with classic concepts. This is illustrated nicely by the current slew of 'deckbuilding games,' an idea which was hypothesized but never truly implemented before Dominion was released in 2008 (Selinker 2011; Yu 2011). This style of play builds off the idea of creating custom decks of cards, popularized by games like Magic: the Gathering, but turns that customization into an actual mechanic of the game itself, rather than an ancillary component of play. Today, deckbuilding games are released regularly, with new mechanics to support the core concept. This is similar to the same way that social scientists might align themselves with a particular theoretical tradition or approach, while adding their own unique spin to it, for example, building from Lévi-Strauss's structuralism and incorporating new approaches and interpretations.

Methodological Affinities

The similarities between practitioners in anthropology – especially those in consumer research (Sunderland and Denny 2007) – and game design include: the necessity to master skills outside of one's discipline; an iterative design process including peer review; multidisciplinary techniques and teams; and an overall emphasis on creative problem-solving. While many of these qualities are found in a wide range of disciplines, game design and applied anthropology meld them in similar ways and for a similar purpose: for creating useful and practical products for partners, clients, or customers, in the form of deliverables like reports, or finished games. How these products are disseminated differs between these fields, but the process of their creation involves comparable methodologies.

In game design, much like in anthropology, there is a constant interplay between the objective and subjective elements of a given project or design, be it a game system or a cultural study. Game design and anthropology are both composed of aspects that are at once exacting and intuitive. Put colloquially, both fields can be described as an art and a science. So, where anthropologists have

theories and statistical analyses, game designers build off established rules and must mathematically balance game elements. At the same time, in much the way that any social science project requires intuition and finesse when working with human subjects or host communities, game designers must be able to turn abstract concepts into playable mechanics, and they have to somehow grasp the ephemeral idea of what it means for something to be 'fun.' This balance can be difficult to find in either field, and is based on the specific needs of a project, including having a firm grasp of who will be using the result of the work.

Game designers devote a great deal of time to considering the needs of a design's target audience (Fullerton 2014; Looney 2011). So, as in the earlier examples, some games represent combat with complex mechanics, while others emphasize things such as trading resources or building architectural structures, and include few or no representations of physical conflict. This is all dependent upon the systematic needs of the game itself as well as the tastes of the target audience. Similarly, anthropologists must often find a balance between theoretical applications and practical experience in fieldwork and research projects. Some anthropological studies, for example, rely more heavily on demographic analyses than qualitative findings.

Striking the right balance for a given project - whether a study or game - requires a solid understanding of the issues and problems at hand. Game designers and anthropologists, however, are trained at merging what are seemingly disparate concepts and ideas into a functional whole. Fullerton (2014) examines some of the important skills possessed by game designers, including: strong interpersonal skills and the ability to communicate concepts between individuals in different fields; the ability to foresee and manage constantly changing projects and the hurdles inherent therein; and a great deal of creativity, in this case with an emphasis on synthesizing established elements and new game concepts. In a strikingly similar list, Satish (2008) explores the emerging needs of applied anthropologists working in the field, citing many analogous skills, such as: diplomatic communication and interdisciplinary practices; knowledge transfer; and mastering wide-ranging disciplines beyond one's social science training.

Because of these syncretic skills, game designers and anthropologists tend to fill intermediary roles between members of interdisciplinary teams, communicating ideas between people who might not have the same professional vocabulary (Austin 2004; Fullerton 2014). Both roles can require a fair bit of translating concepts so that everyone involved in a project can be on the same page when it comes to achieving goals and addressing issues. Where an anthropologist might have to explain complex bureaucratic requirements to community members while also adequately reporting those same community members' concerns to local government officials, a game designer might have to communicate coding limitations to graphic designers and explain artistic concepts to programmers. The more we can master a diverse vocabulary and act as bridgers between team members, the better we can manage projects, by staying focused on their goals.

In the social sciences, we are no strangers to the peer review process and collaborative projects. In game design, there is a similar tradition of playtesting; bringing people in to try out new designs or iterations of an ongoing project. In this context, playtesting is similar to focus groups used in consumer research anthropology (Sunderland and Denny 2007) to understand the needs and opinions of a target audience or population. There are a variety of factors which playtests are designed to assess: finding out if a game is fun, highlighting what might be challenging or unfinished, and even to see if the game works to begin with. Just like applied anthropology, game design suffers if one tries to do it in a vacuum, devoid of input from peers and collaborators, and hence playtesting is an integral practice which can help to avoid problems in the initial design (Daviau 2011; Looney 2011; Yu 2011), which can even help to avoid issues that might lead to the eventual collapse of a project (Fullerton 2014). Playtesting is just as vital throughout the design process of a game as peer review is to any science, but sadly it often gets neglected because of temporal or financial constraints, even though such testing might have saved a project from commercial failure (Fullerton 2014), and hence from obscurity.

Another parallel between these fields is in the opportunities for practitioners to become advocates for clients, host communities, and customers. Fullerton (2014) argues that game designers should primarily be advocates for players, since effective design requires the designer to "look at the world of games through the player's eyes" (Fullerton 2014:3). In the applied anthropology literature, we see a similar striving, in efforts such as community-based research and action anthropology (see for example Austin 2004; Brighton 2011; Collins et al. 2013; Lane et al. 2011; Mathie and Cunningham 2003; Schensul 2010). Satish (2008) points out how anthropologists have a history of advocating for host communities going back to at least the 1960s, stating that many modern applied anthropologists become partners to the communities they work with, a sentiment echoed by Austin (2004).

Again, there are lessons in each discipline which can inform the other. Player engagement is a core element of effective game design; designer James Ernest (2011) argues that engagement should be central to all games. Of course, this can be difficult to achieve, since many people do not know why, exactly, a given game may appeal to them. Still, an unengaging game is not likely to find a very wide player base, and will therefore have negligible impact on the public and fellow designers. Ernest (2011) and Upton (2015) both state that designers should begin a project by choosing what feelings and emotions they want to evoke during play, and then design towards creating those experiences. This is an area where anthropologists are especially poised to inform game designers, perhaps by conducting focused research on players to help acquire an understanding of why they enjoy the games they play, something which many players cannot easily

point out themselves. Information such as this would be valuable to game designers seeking to reach a wider audience or designing games with specific goals in mind.

Rijsberman (2013) provides a useful ethnographic framework for conducting consumer product research on non-essential or luxury goods, pointing out key differences between this and more traditional anthropological studies. In product ethnography, for example, there is a degree of primacy given to individual behaviors rather than group interactions, since individual use patterns are especially important to designers. Fullerton (2014) and Woodruff (2011) propose a similar approach to game design, encouraging designers to playtest their games with a wide variety of people, to assess their merits and to identify potential problems. Rijsberman (2013) further stresses a need for balancing anthropological theories about culture with observations about individual habits and behaviors when conducting such research, building on a variety of methodologies that distinguish between types of innovation and other user-experience issues, while noting the challenge inherent to predicting what people will do with a given product. These types of predictions are of vital importance to game designers, who need to create clear objectives and define restrictions for players, to avoid (as best as possible) game-breaking bugs, or exploits which give advantages to some players to the detriment of others. Avoiding these issues early on can save designers a great deal of trouble later; if such errors are included in a published game, they must then be corrected at a cost of time and money to the designer, the producer or distributor, the consumer, and other involved parties. By applying a social science lens to design early in the process, game designers can develop a deeper understanding of their target audience, which will have a variety of benefits.

Keeping Deliverables Relevant

Practitioners in many fields conduct focused research into topics related to a given project, but game design and anthropology - especially applied anthropology - use the product of those efforts in similar ways. Both disciplines focus on producing works that are accessible and useful to a wider audience than just our peers. In applied research, we are primarily concerned with producing deliverables that can be disseminated to clients, partners, or collaborators with different training than our own. This is especially true of consumer research, but is no less valuable to any cultural study. Regardless of who will be using our findings, there is tremendous need to clearly communicate those data to people that are not trained in anthropology. Game designers face a similar challenge when it comes to synthesizing game mechanics into rules. The rules of many modern games - especially TRPGs - are often complex, yet must be easily understood by players, lest they become frustrated and lose their willingness to play. Daviau (2011) stresses that game designers should follow the conventions of other games as much as possible when writing rules. This is a familiar concept for anthropologists, who design projects by building on established theories and methodologies.

If a project is going to reach a wide audience, then it is beneficial to create a sense of immersion in our deliverables, such as the use of thick description in ethnography. The primacy of immersion is certainly important to an anthropologist entering the field, since they must literally immerse themselves in a culture, both because they will become a part of that community in a critical sense, and so that they can properly analyze their data. The takeaway lesson here from game design relates to using this immersion to create compelling narratives. Developing techniques to give clients, partners, students, and other readers of anthropological texts a greater sense of immersion into the cultures written about has numerous benefits. In the case of clients and partners, especially in applied research, immersive documents serve to both show that the anthropologist understands the cultural unit, and that they can effectively convey their findings through clear, effectively synthesized data and conclusions, even if the intended audience is not necessarily well-versed in theory and academic rhetoric.

Section Two: Learning Through Playing Games

Now we switch to a discussion about playing games, specifically tabletop role-playing games (TRPGs), and the effect they can have on their players. Much of our understanding about how roleplaying games function comes from the intimate knowledge we have gained as players and observers, and from our academic research into these media. Over the past ten years, we have participated in many private and public TRPG play sessions, to the point that we have become experienced roleplayers and can analyze this phenomenon with a trained eye. There has also been a dramatic surge in academic research on TRPGs during the same period, of which we give a brief overview. We begin this section with a description of TRPGs, for the benefit of those readers who are unfamiliar with this medium. We then move on to discuss the academic research about gameplay, specifically the ways in which learning can occur in TRPGs through: (1) self-teaching and interactive learning; (2) promoting prosocial behaviors; and (3) failing in constructive ways.

A Brief Introduction to Roleplaying Games

There are many types of TRPGs, each with their own sets of rules and play styles, but most have the same basic structure: most participants fulfill a player or actor role, while one participant takes on the storyteller or game master role, terms which we refer to interchangeably. The game proceeds as a form of interactive storytelling, with the storyteller providing setting descriptions and acting out the characters the players interact with, while the players roleplay their own characters and interact with the game world and its inhabitants through the storyteller. There are usually sets of adventures or missions within a larger story arc, commonly referred to as the campaign, and players form a team, often referred to as an adventuring party, as they progress through the story. Participants fulfill certain roles within the adventuring party through

the characters they play, acting out different personas and adapting to different challenges.

As we mentioned previously, we are both part of a gaming group that meets on a regular basis to play home-based TRPG campaigns, often with particular settings or rules unique to our gaming group. We have participated in several such campaigns over the past ten years, as well as numerous public play events at local game stores. Many players, including ourselves, conduct self-directed research as they create characters and prepare for in-game scenarios. A great deal of effort can go into making a life-like character, complete with their own skills, abilities, social connections, and backstories. Players often augment the characters they create with facts about historical and contemporary cultures and professions, to be able to make a more realistic - and therefore believable - character.

The goal of a TRPG is generally not to win the game, but instead to keep the narrative going, so that participants can experience and contribute to the entire story. Many players are not generally concerned with winning in the same way they are with other types of games, but focus instead on furthering their agenda of exploring the shared imaginary space that fits their particular playstyle (Upton 2015). The adventuring party commonly has short-term and long-term goals they strive to achieve throughout the course of the story, but whether they succeed in them or not does not typically hinder gameplay. Players might fail or succeed in a given encounter, but a skilled game master will not allow that to end the current narrative arc; the results simply become a part of the overarching story.

No two TRPGs are exactly alike, and there is plenty of room for customization in individual gaming groups. Some TRPGs focus more on social encounters, while others concentrate more on combat, or take a more balanced approach between the two. For example, Dungeons & Dragons (D&D), the ubiquitous fantasy role-playing game, balances social and combat encounters, incorporating rules to support diplomatic and martial tactics, while it deemphasizes storytelling to the degree that game masters often give brief setting or character descriptions with little narrative embellishment. On the other hand, the Storytelling System, a supernatural gothic horror rules system, contains rules and game mechanics that support group storytelling with a highly narrative style, while combat takes a back seat. There is variation in these gameplay experiences, however, depending upon the playstyle of a given gaming group. Some groups may prefer more opportunities for roleplaying, while others prefer more story, or combat. Based on our observations and gameplay experience, there is typically more space for such variation in home games, rather than in public play events, which tend to be highly combat oriented.

Self-teaching and Knowledge Sharing

Structured play through games over an extended period can influence the way players think and behave. As players adapt to new game experiences, they may develop their social and cognitive skills, which can carry over

from the game to enhance other aspects of their lives, especially through continued play (Koster 2013), such as the creative problem solving and diplomatic negotiation skills that one can learn by playing TRPGs. Games in general offer an experiential form of teaching, and what players learn depends on the design of the game itself (Koster 2013). Individual skill development in TRPGs is partly based on the experience of playing in a campaign and learning through trial and error. As we discussed above, success or failure in a story arc does not necessarily mean the end of the game, but the outcome of an encounter or scenario is partly dependent on the social and storytelling skills of the players themselves (Upton 2015). Individual players may be at an advantage over others at the start of a campaign, but continued play can stimulate behavioral change for the other participants. Individual players may develop new or hone existing skills and increase their capacity for different learning types through the games they play (Koster 2013). Since the experience of playing TRPGs is largely dependent on the social factors of interactive storytelling (Upton 2015), this can play a key role in the skill development of individual players in-game and out-of-game.

TRPGs offer an environment ripe for learning, based on a tradition of knowledge sharing through storytelling and social interaction. This tradition was developed and encouraged by D&D and has been adopted by other TRPGs that have come since. D&D was based on older war games that were reenactments of historical battles, such as Waterloo, and augmented by fantasy novels, such as *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (Upton 2015). The Dungeon Master's Guide and Player's Handbook for D&D rely heavily on real world academic knowledge of various cultures and religions to make those elements of the game world more realistic, giving it a lived-in feeling. Players are encouraged by design to follow suit when developing their own characters and institutions within the game.

In our experience as players and game masters, the immersive gameplay that is sought by many gaming groups is partially dependent on real world participant knowledge. Inspired to self-teach by TRPGs, players often research relevant topics to enhance their experience, an example of informal research known as tangential learning (Extra Credits 2012). Players will use this newfound knowledge in-game, while adding to their wealth of real world knowledge. As they roleplay through scenarios, players often share their knowledge with fellow participants to create an immersive environment and increase the likelihood of reaching desired outcomes in-game. Their research can also help them out-of-game, as they prepare for their next in-game session. Players will frequently be able to anticipate the next section of narrative arc to be roleplayed (Upton 2015), based on how a session ends or through hints provided by the game master. This allows them to plan for the next session by collaborating and strategizing with their fellow players, and researching useful battle or diplomatic techniques.

Prosocial Behaviors Encouraged by RPGs

Something we find fascinating about TRPGs is the way they can encourage prosocial behaviors, and the great learning potential they hold for participants. Prosocial behaviors include a multitude of actions that are done solely for the benefit of the recipient(s), sometimes to the detriment of the actor, also referred to as altruism (Penner et al. 2005). The elements of TRPGs - including storytelling, acting, improvisation, cooperation, and strategic planning - promote prosocial behaviors as players work together to defeat their foes, solve puzzles and problems, and explore the game world. These potentialities are made possible through the social interactions of the participants, but also through the motivating factors of gameplay.

The idea that games can build stronger social bonds and help players develop stronger networks is explored by Jane McGonigal (2011), who studied why people play games and how they can improve social connections. Many games encourage people to interact with others, and most people under the age of 18 spend about 60 percent of their game time playing socially, with friends and family (McGonigal 2011). These interactions help players build prosocial emotions associated with these interactions, which can be beneficial to introverted individuals (McGonigal 2011). These are not inherent qualities of games as a part of the design process, but a side effect of playing games with others.

In long-term gameplay, over the course of an adventure or campaign, the social interactions required to play a TRPG can strengthen group cohesion, and increase the knowledge and skills of the players. Individual players become invested in continuing the campaign so they can experience the story and defeat their foes or solve the mysteries. They are motivated to learn and grow as individuals and as group members to increase the resiliency and longevity of the group, thus ensuring group cohesion and party survival to continue the story (McGonigal 2011). Individual players are motivated to act voluntarily in ways that benefit the whole group, which effectually improves the game for all participants (McGonigal 2011). Each interaction and challenge met by the group increases their commitment, because it means everyone gets to keep playing something that is fun and meaningful to them.

It is important to note here that not all gaming groups experience this type of cohesion and harmonious interaction. The types of social interactions one will encounter in a roleplaying game are potentially as diverse as the personalities of the roleplayers themselves. Group dynamics in-game are also dependent on one's station within the social hierarchy; whether one is male or female, or is a rookie or veteran player, can affect the way that player is treated in-game and out. Additionally, the players and game master do not always get along. As one participant correctly pointed out during our salon panel, some game masters behave antagonistically towards their players, and actively try to "win," treating the experience more like a competitive game, rather than a traditional roleplaying experience. On the other hand, we have observed that this behavior can sometimes inspire group cohesion among the players, if the game master comes to be perceived as the opposition rather than a partner in storytelling.

In one public play event we participated in, the game master specifically targeted Chelsea's character – who was the healer of the party – during combat, with the goal of killing the character. This did not make sense within the context of the in-game encounter, because our characters were fighting animals that would not have the necessary intelligence to employ such advanced strategic tactics. The game master was using out-of-game knowledge to manipulate the encounter in his favor, even though that might have meant the end of the game for Chelsea, after only one hour of the four-hour play session. It is generally considered unacceptable to use out-of-game knowledge if it does not fit with the in-game context, or if it is otherwise used in an unrealistic manner, solely for the benefit of the individual, whether a player or game master. An argument began out-of-game between the game master and the players, who were disagreeing with the game master's choices and coming to Chelsea's defense. The game master staunchly defended his position, despite the protestations of the players, who then changed their tactics to protect Chelsea's character and defeat the foes as soon as possible, using some of their more powerful and limited abilities. The adventuring party was a little weaker after the encounter, but they successfully saved Chelsea's character, allowing her to fulfill her role as healer for the party during the rest of the play session. This incident set the tone for the rest of the play session, as the players worked together more intentionally to compensate for the antagonistic game master.

Failure as Education

While players generally work together in TRPGs to achieve their goals, things do not always go their way in individual encounters. Failure can be a strong motivator for behavioral change in TRPGs, as participants may try out new ways of approaching challenges or obstacles they face in and out-of-game. Even though people prefer to avoid failure in their real lives, they tend to prefer to play games in which failure is a possibility (Juul 2013). This is known as the "paradox of failure in games," in reference to the phenomenon that people actively seek out something in games that they would otherwise try to avoid (Juul 2013). One possible explanation for this is that the failure paradox is cathartic for players, as they enact scenarios they would hope to avoid in their real lives (Juul 2013). Another explanation makes the case that games offer a safe place for people to fail without fear of consequence in their real lives (Juul 2013). We feel that this provides a better framework for the analysis of failing in TRPGs, which are reliant on players entering and acting within a shared imagined space. Within this setting, players are free to act and make decisions as their characters, with minimal consequence to their out-of-game lives. They have the freedom to try out different behaviors within a social group, with limited repercussions in their personal relationships. It is possible for in-

game conflicts to bleed into out-of-game communication and interactions, but in general these are smoothed over with discussion and compromise, with some limited exceptions.

A related theory, known as positive failure feedback, refers to a complex set of emotions and reactions to failing in such a way that it serves to remind players of their own agency (McGonigal 2011). If players can associate a positive feeling with failing in a game, combined with a sense that they could do better in the future, then they are more likely to keep trying despite previous failure (McGonigal 2011). Positive failure feedback is partly dependent on the design of a game, and is not limited to games with structured win-lose conditions. TRPGs can offer this type of feedback through in-game story rewards and character leveling. As players progress through the story, their characters gain experience points that are used to level up, meaning that their characters grow in power and gain new or improve existing skills and abilities. The possibility of gaining these levels fuels many players' desire to continue despite failures and setbacks, because it means they may succeed where they have failed before. Participants may also receive other story-based rewards that encourage them to continue past their failures, such as gaining new allies or gear for their characters. Games provide a safe space for failing that is lacking in other parts of our culture (McGonigal 2011), with TRPGs providing another level of agency for participants, who can directly see the impact of their actions, and understand that what they do matters for the progression of the story.

TRPGs can be utilized to enhance applied anthropology education and gradually change the way participants conceptualize their own role in the learning process. The elements of certain games give players the opportunity to engage in transformational play, which is accomplished through the interconnections of player, content, and context (Barab et al. 2010). Transformational play does not occur with just any game, as certain elements are needed to engage the learner in this particular type of play, such as solving real world problems within a roleplay scenario in a safe environment where students would feel more comfortable taking risks (Barab et al. 2010). This gives students the opportunity to use their imaginations, in conjunction with new concepts they have learned in their coursework, to make important decisions and experiment with different communication strategies. More importantly, TRPGs can provide a safe space for students to learn without fear of failure, giving them more freedom to explore different approaches for applying their newly acquired knowledge.

Discussion: Lessons for Anthropology and Games Pedagogical Reform

Student engagement in the classroom and understanding the way people learn, at various levels of education, are common themes of inquiry within the anthropology of education. A common focus in this sub-discipline is the social aspect of learning, and the ways in which students and teachers can learn from each other through democratizing education and incorporating student voice (Cook-Sather and Alter 2011; Handler 2013; Kozaitis 2013; Niesz 2014). Researchers argue that teachers can learn from students through observing their use of space, understanding their interests, and through collaboration on projects and curriculum development (Cook-Sather and Alter 2011; Handler 2013; Kozaitis 2013; Niesz 2014). These types of collaboration are conceptualized as creative ways to engage students in the learning process. Utilizing student voice in educational reform and curriculum design is rooted in the idea that students can offer insights into how they learn best, in terms of pedagogical and environmental design (Cook-Sather 2002). On the other hand, it is equally important that teachers act as facilitators, tempering student's ideas with their own pedagogical knowledge and experience to create a robust curricular design.

Students have much to offer in the realm of curriculum design, especially considering the recent trend in academia toward a focus on how people learn. Following this path of inquiry, researchers focus on student experiences in education to better understand the learning process from their perspective (Cook-Sather 2002). Some strategies designed to utilize student perspectives include: the facilitation of student feedback to inform pedagogy, involving students in knowledge production, and authorizing student perspectives by including them in policy-making discourse and program development (Cook-Sather 2002). To keep academic disciplines relevant to student communities, some teachers and administrators track student interests, and act as advisors and facilitators for student-led initiatives or program development (Handler 2013). TRPGs can offer inspiration as models of collaboration for academic and research settings, if they are designed to encourage student autonomy.

Ideas from TRPGs for Collaboration

There are a few parallels between TRPGs and applied research that we would like to highlight here. The methods of learning and knowledge sharing in TRPGs we discussed function similarly to the way that multidisciplinary research teams do as they work collaboratively to solve real world problems. Much in the same way TRPG gaming groups plan their tactics from session to session, collaborative research teams plan for and adapt to field experiences in order to attain their goals. In general, individual researchers share knowledge they have gained with their fellow team members to ensure beneficial outcomes for all (Austin 2004; Lane et al 2011; LeCompte and Schensul 2010; Satish 2008), much like players do in TRPG gaming groups. Many researchers also collaborate with local communities to ensure their deliverables are relevant and applicable (Austin 2004; Azevedo and Robinson 2015; Jessee et al 2015; Lane et al 2011), much like players will consult and work with non-player characters they meet in-game as they progress through the story. Additionally, individual players fulfill roles and skill niches within a TRPG adventuring party in an equivalent manner to how individual researchers do in collaborative research teams. However, unlike the ephemeral nature of

actions taken in-game with TRPGs, the actions and decisions that collaborative research teams make often have a substantial and potentially lasting impact on real world communities.

As we thought about these parallels and differences, we realized that they have design implications for new directions in applied anthropology education. Roleplaying can be just as effective for practicing anthropologists and other applied researchers as it can be for educators, providing a useful tool for fieldwork preparation or student training. Some potential avenues in which TRPG gameplay methods may help innovate applied research pedagogy include: the creation of collaborative learning environments; adaptations to field school training techniques; and designing collaborative research forums. Roleplaying workshops could also be implemented by applied research teams, to allow members the space to practice working together before going into the field, which could help them discover innovative ways to work together. The intent would be the same for each of these designs: promoting tangential learning and knowledge sharing, strengthening group cohesion, and providing the space to explore and practice the prosocial behaviors that are essential to collaborative work. By including roleplaying games or scenarios, students and practicing researchers alike would have the space to fail and try again in ways that are effective for learning, while carrying little if any lasting impact in the real world.

Iterative Design Lessons from Games

Just like anthropologists, game designers rely on participant feedback and the contributions of partners and collaborators to handle the tasks they are not trained to complete. The applied anthropological literature is filled with examples that discuss the strength of similar collaborative projects. Within the social sciences, focus groups and similar community-based research methods are a widespread practice (see for example, Brighton 2011; Lane et al. 2011; Natcher and Hickey 2002; Sunderland and Denny 2007). Likewise, good game design relies heavily on playtesting (Fullerton 2014; Looney 2011; St John 2017; Woodruff 2011), an iterative approach in which a game goes through stages of design, where mechanics and elements are added and removed, individuals inside and outside the design team are asked to play the game and give feedback, that feedback is integrated into the continuing design, and the process repeats.

This is an area where game design and anthropology can heavily inform one-another. For starters, there is a valuable lesson for research design in the iterative nature of game design, insofar as the development and initial design of a study – a practitioner can conceptualize their design, then revise it based on feedback from colleagues and collaborators. This is hardly a revolutionary idea in anthropology today, but it is an important one to emphasize nonetheless. And while it is not always a realistic possibility to test a design in an actual field setting before beginning research, we should always be open to revising our research designs based on informant feedback. The individuals we are researching are, after all, the experts

whom we go to for data, and their contributions can be invaluable to designing better questions and instruments. This is also the case in game development. Selinker (2011) explores the myriad people involved in the entire process of game design and distribution, and the list sounds very much like a community research project in applied anthropology. Even in cases where a sole individual acts as the primary designer, there are many other people involved in the process, including playtesters, producers, manufacturers, and more.

Engaging our Audiences

The requirements for creating immersive deliverables will vary from one project to the next, but game design can provide many inspirations for creating engaging social science works. The creation of an educational game based on anthropological findings is one possibility, though this is a labor-intensive process and might be met with skepticism by some. This is by no means a denial of the enormous potential such a game could have to educate audiences, however, merely a caution that it should be approached in an appropriate context, and that it will likely require a particularly intense commitment of time and energy. As we stated previously, games can facilitate tangential learning, encouraging players take an interest in a subject and seek to educate themselves about it independently (Extra Credits 2012). Immersive projects will especially lend themselves to inspiring this kind of self-guided education, as audiences gain interest in the topics discussed in deliverables and want to learn more.

Anthropologically-relevant games can take a variety of forms, from small-scale projects like the TRPG we are working on with our collaborator – that aims to educate players about social movements and activism – to the creation of larger-scale endeavors such as the 2014 video game Never Alone (*Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*), which was developed in collaboration with Alaska Native people from a variety of tribes, and that recreates stories from Native mythology (Roberts 2017). Rudimentary efforts could also prove fruitful, depending on one's audience, such as simple card or board games created to include bits of relevant cultural data which are easy to digest by individuals outside of the social sciences. Short of actually creating a game based on a particular project or dataset, smaller-scale methods to increase immersion using game design could be implemented to a wide variety of social science projects.

To some extent, the design process of a given game may never be completely finished, in the same way that no cultural unit is ever completely documented. There can always be more research done, more studies that consider the systems at work in a given culture, and similarly, games can be constantly revised, updated, and replayed to discover new experiences. In this same way, playtesting does not necessarily end when a game has been produced, much in the same way that methodologies and theories do not become permanently set in stone once a report is handed to a client. Games are constantly updated and revised based on user feedback: bugs and errors are discovered, patches are created, tweaks are made, and the devel-

opment process goes on, sometimes indefinitely. People who play games are constantly creating their own rules and content, as evidenced by the nonstop activity within online modding (modifying) communities, for example, on the Steam Workshop - where users can post content they created for hundreds of existing games - and in the creation of 'house rules' and custom content like new characters or cards for popular tabletop games.

Much like culture, games are dynamic entities; people make choices that impact the culture around them, and players can influence game systems. Designers leverage this as well, with patches, updates, and expansions to what would otherwise be considered finished products. Additionally, the ways that people play a given game are constantly changing. Verhey (2017) discusses using playtesting to create new winning strategies for the collectible card game Magic: the Gathering, exploring how dedicated players often prepare for tournaments by playing matches with friends specifically to try out new card combinations and to fine-tune their decks to their exact needs and playstyle. Unlike the playtesting we discuss earlier, this is not about designing a new game, but rather using such testing to perfect a given strategy. This type of testing – conducted after the initial design is finished – can be extremely useful in anthropology, whether a researcher is returning to a field site, or when another investigator is building off the work of a social scientist who came before them.

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Feeding the Trolls: Strategies for Raising the Bar in Online Interaction

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ABSTRACT: *In olden internet times, a guiding adage was: "Don't feed the trolls!" They were considered unpersuadables who should be and could be ignored. Yet recent research challenges our cultural understanding and definition of internet "trolls." Trolls do not only constitute a subversive marginal group, but in many cases are articulating mainstream discourses of prejudices such as racism, sexism, and homophobia (Phillips 2015). Bracketing trolls—by not "feeding them" or more precisely ignoring them—arguably absolves participants from dealing with impactful, interactive harm. Trolling often reflects deep-seated prejudices that are gaining momentum in mainstream discourses in ways that wound and influence political decision-making. Emerging from a project on troll whispering, I analyze material from qualitative interviews to investigate participatory philosophies that offer alternative interactive dynamics. Strategies discussed in interviews with art and design students include crafting collective responses, deep listening, correctives, and examining one's own potential for engaging in trolling. These experiences indicate that creative new strategies may be necessary to change the timbre of contemporary digital interaction and provide pathways to achieving social justice.*

Key words: Trolling, digital ethnography, computer-mediated communication, problematic talk

Introduction

In olden internet times, a guiding adage among scholars and pundits was: "Don't feed the trolls!" (Bergstrom 2011; Binns 2012; Coleman 2014; Costill 2014; Mandel and Van der Leun 1996). Trolls often started arguments in a way that revealed them to be unpersuadable online participants who should be and could be ignored. Anthropologist Garbriella Coleman (2014:39) noted that within early groups on Usenet (an online, bulletin-board type discussion system) and today on website comments and mailing lists, participants are admonished to "stop feeding the trolls." When dealing with problematic talk online, early internet manuals noted that "The best defense against a ranter is starvation. If you don't feed them, they'll slink off elsewhere in search of sustenance" (Mandel and Van der Leun 1996:117). In a guide to internet "netiquette," Shea (1994:42) noted that flaming, or what she characterized as being "confrontational for the sake of confrontation" should be avoided. Since such persons seek attention, one is "best off not giving it" (Shea 1994:72). This advice echoes words of wisdom one might have received from one's parents long ago on a playground.

Yet research has complicated the notion of what trolls are and how to deal with them. First, what constitutes problematic behavior online is often negotiable; participants in a conversation may disagree about whether or not someone has merely received a strong opinion or has been "trolled." Second, cultural dynamics do not always regard aggressive communication in a negative light. For example, some people like to argue, and in certain cultural groups such argumentation is not only accepted but is seen as a ritualistic behavior between interlocutors who have interacted over time (Lee 2005). In addition, observation of online groups reveals that flaming, trolling, and other anti-social behaviors sometimes assist a community in understanding their boundaries and actually spurs group bonding and identification (Dibbell 1998; Lee 2005; Nip 2004).

Third, communications scholar Whitney Phillips (2015) convincingly argues that troll-like attitudes and behaviors are not limited to subversive marginal groups, but rather include articulations of mainstream discourses of racism, sexism, and homophobia that appear widely in mass media such as news programs and in political discourse. Fourth, hostile behaviors may alienate participants, and cause them to leave online spaces (Herring 1996; Lee 2005), effectively letting the "haters" win. Finally, as it happens, ignoring them *does not work*. Our society is rampant with seemingly troll-like behavior that arguably complicates productive discourse and pathways for social change.

A sea change is now occurring among scholars and young people that challenges avoidance therapy—at least in the case of less severe infractions. On a tactical level, scholars have noted that in discussion groups or community forums, significant "self-control" is often required to ignore offensive participants (Herring et al. 2002). Many people cannot bear to let such ideas run rampant in their digital milieus. Further, even if most people are able to ignore trolling behavior, such tactics do not work unless *everyone* in the digital space adheres to the policy. Even if one person engages with trolls and thus bestows attention, the effectiveness of collective social "shunning" is undermined (Herring et al. 2002).

On a moral level, if trolling statements reflect mainstream discourses, then to ignore them risks assisting in the circulation of their harmful messages. Even worse, ignoring troll-like behavior risks transmitting tacit acceptance of beliefs that threaten interpersonal civility, widespread diversity, and perhaps even democracy itself. Such behaviors might cause participants in online spaces to simply withdraw (Herring 1996; Lee 2005), thus potentially decreasing the positive sociality of the collective that remains. For all of these reasons, I am thus con-

cerned with analyzing strategies that young people use to deal with trolls to reduce their harm.

Real-Life Troll Whispering

My project was inspired by instances of troll whispering I have observed. I use the term *troll whispering* in part because it emerged from contexts such as *baby whispering*, *horse whispering*, and *ghost whispering*, which all refer to acts that employ effective but mysterious ways of dealing with the unruly behavior of enigmatic others. The term was also used to characterize Whitney Phillips, whose scholarly book focused on subcultural trolling (Eordogh 2015).

I believe we are witnessing a sea change from the conventional wisdom of ignoring bullies to finding collective approaches to deal with them. For example, one young person was recently profiled in the news for taking a stand in her school against classmates that used the word "gay" in a derogatory way (Ignant 2017). Twitter campaigns such as #DoSpeakUpNow also reflect contemporary attitudes that call for action rather than avoidance. These campaigns marshal resources both online as well as in person to reform prejudiced attitudes. Notably, troll whispering need not be limited to online encounters. A high-profile example of troll whispering is that of Daryl Davis, a blues musician who spent years meeting with Klu Klux Klan members to redress racism (Brown 2017). Davis learned as much as he could about the group's ideology. Working to find common ground of any kind, he talked with Klan members to build on their shared values while using logic to chip away at their racist arguments. Over time he received many robes from former members who were persuaded by his logic and left the group and its prejudices behind.

Clearly, not all examples of troll whispering are this extreme. As I discuss, many acts take the form of micromoves in which one person points out problems with another person's behavior. For example, in taking my class on *New Media & Civic Action*, although students were requested to refrain from intervening in troubled encounters online for assignments, students sometimes felt strongly motivated to take action. One student, whom I refer to by the pseudonym Sarah, engaged in her own troll whispering. She described an instance in which she saw an unfortunate joke about Muslims and bombings that was posted by a high school acquaintance of hers on Facebook. She "called him out" on his behavior and was encouraged to see many responses that backed up her position and expressed similar concerns.

Contrary to the popular imagination, the troll-like behavior that Sarah observed did not come from anonymous others, but rather from her own social network. Sarah told me that before taking my class, she would have probably let it go, but after learning about and discussing forms of online civic engagement, she felt motivated to mention that this behavior was "not cool" and she posted a corrective comment to the unfortunate joke. She excitedly showed me more than 60 responses of support and alignment for her position that were posted after she "called him out." This interaction arguably offered a meaningful teaching moment for Sarah and her friends, as well as a learning opportunity for the commenter who seemed surprised that his joke garnered such a strong negative reaction.

Inspired by these examples, I launched a project to study how college-aged students and alumni at my institution, California College of the Arts (CCA) in San Francisco, perceive and deal with trolling behavior and interpersonal tensions on social media. The goal was to find instances in which interlocutors turned the tide to make online conversations more productive. In short, the idea was to identify instances of *troll whispering*. Art and design students are encouraged to establish an online presence early in their careers in order to establish audiences for their work. Advising students to just stay offline could be detrimental to their future success and livelihood. As change leaders and activists, artists and designers tend to arouse emotions in their work, and must deal with public opposition to their new ideas. Further, many youth are living a substantial portion of their lives online and are working through their sociality in digital spaces. Thus, CCA students and their experiences provide rich material for understanding online conflict and potential pathways toward resolution.

After providing a brief definition of trolling as conceptualized in the scholarly literature, I describe my current project and discuss strategies that research participants have used, observed, or imagined, to deal with problematic talk in digital environments. I conclude by discussing why it might be important for people to "feed the trolls"—at least in particular contexts. Perhaps trolls of the dedicated, subcultural variety will be with us forever. However, student narratives suggest that trolls emerge from varied contexts and the appropriate course of action in digital spaces is not always clear cut. Interviewees themselves acknowledge having trolled others as well as being trolled. In these more negotiable instances, strategies might be deployed to achieve interpersonal insight and disruption of uncivil behavior. By bucking conventional wisdom, under the right circumstances it may be possible to take small steps toward addressing a seemingly intractable problem of persistent online conflict.

Perspectives on Problematic Behavior Online

Problematic talk has been a staple of mediated interaction for quite some time. Labels such as *flaming* (Herring 1996; Lange 2006; Shea 1994; Tannen 1998), *griefing* (Boellstorff 2008), *hating* (Burgess and Green 2008; Lange 2007; Reagle 2015), *trolling* (Hardaker 2010; Phillips 2015), and *e-bile* (Jane 2015) have been proposed to characterize problematic interaction online. Scholars do not always explicitly define these terms, sometimes intuitively drawing from their own observations and participants' experiences. Nevertheless, each term tends to exhibit assumed similarities and differences (Lange 2014). All of these terms refer to online interactions that wound, while differences may be exhibited with respect to the cultural connotations, time periods, and milieus within which each term is used. For example,

"griefing" tends to be used in gaming contexts. On YouTube, "hating" was used rather than "flaming." In my interviews for this project, young people often said they had never heard of the term "flaming."

The term *flaming* tended to be more commonly used in the 1990s. It emerged from early, technically-oriented internet groups. However, precise definitions in scholarly literature were sometimes elided. Linguist Deborah Tannen (1998:250) defined flaming loosely as "verbal [attacks]." In studying debates in an online academic forum, linguist Susan Herring defined flames as comments that were "derogatory" or "personally insulting" in ways that would be generally recognized as such (Herring 1996:149). Later work argued that what a researcher labels as a *flame* may or may not hold the same interpretations between participants and researchers or even between participants themselves, including both interlocutors and bystanders in a conversation (Lange 2006; O'Sullivan and Flanagin 2003).

In popular literature, one early manual noted that "on-line fanatics come in many different shapes and forms" (Mandel and Van der Leun 1996) and the reception to different levels of problematic talk has varied. For example, an early guide to the internet by Shea argues that flames are not necessarily all bad. According to Shea (1994:71), flames often have a purpose, which is to "teach someone something," or to stop them from engaging in unfortunate behaviors, such as "offending other people" (Shea 1994:71). She advises people to know their facts before flaming and provide forthcoming flame warnings. Nevertheless, she urges participants to avoid "flame-bait," which is a "public statement designed to provoke flames" (Shea 1994:72). What these scholarly and popular accounts reveal is that flaming designations are often interpretive, and in some cases shift according to one's alignment with or against a flamer's message.

More recently, other terms have replaced *flaming* in common parlance, although researchers do sometimes still use it (Jane 2015). In studying agonistic behaviors in the online, virtual world of Second Life, anthropologist Tom Boellstorff (2008:185) noted that participants used the term "griefing" to connote "participation in a virtual world with the intent of disrupting the experience of others." In some cases, griefing exhibits attempts to form sociality with like-minded troublemakers (Boellstorff 2008; Malaby 2006; Yee 2006). Boellstorff (2008:193) observed that griefing could facilitate social bonding, such that it was possible to identify a "griefer community." However, not all participants in Boellstorff's account embraced the usefulness of the term. Similar to Phillips' (2015) more recent work among trolls, Boellstorff (2008:188) found that griefing fell on a spectrum that was so wide as to be "useless" for some participants, as it was even watered down in some instances to the point of labeling a griefer as "anybody you disagree with."

In my study of YouTube, participants tended to use the terms "haters" and "hating" rather than "flamers" or "griefers" in their narratives about antagonistic interlocutors. YouTubers defined *haters* as people who posted negative or stereotypically mean-spirited commentary

that did not offer useful criticism or meaningful exchange (Lange 2007). *Hating* often included stereotypical phrases such as "go die." Haters' status among YouTubers varied. While some participants acknowledged them as problematic for the site, others were not bothered by them. One woman whom I interviewed for my ethnographic film *Hey Watch This! Sharing the Self Through Media* (2013) even saw them as part of a "community" of participants that was active in YouTube's early years, and helped constitute its unique reputation. The YouTubers whom I interviewed generally did not see *haters* as those who were trying to teach people something but rather referred to commenters who engaged in pointless and hurtful criticism (Lange 2007).

Intent is sometimes a demarcation point for differentiating these terms. A *troll* has been defined as a person "whose real intention(s) is/are to cause disruption and/or to trigger or exacerbate conflict for the purposes of their own amusement" (Hardaker 2010:237). Jane (2015) argues that *flaming* tends to involve "invective," "insults," and "negative effects." Although *trolling* may include these connotations, it additionally uses "deliberately inflammatory or off-topic material with the aim of provoking textual responses and/or emotional reaction" (Jane 2015:66).

Categorical diversity appears in analyses of trolling, which Phillips (2015:23) argues ranges in severity from "comparatively innocuous" teasing to behavior that meets the legal definition of harassment. While some trolls travel socially in packs, others do their work alone. A troll may engage in a single offense or exhibit persistent antagonism. A common thread that seems to underscore a variety of trolling behavior is the idea of deriving personal enjoyment from the activity. Herring et al. (2002:381) noted that "trollers appear to enjoy the attention they receive, even—and perhaps especially—when it is unremittingly negative."

Anthropologist Gabriella Coleman (2014) studied trolls in her ethnography of the amorphous collectives that have been termed *Anonymous*. According to Coleman, troll behavior ran rampant as early as the 1990s on Usenet and other mailing lists. *Trolling* referred to "people who did not contribute positively to discussions, who argued for the sake of arguing, or were simply disruptive jerks (intentionally or not)" (Coleman 2014:38-39). In her study, Coleman (2014:31) noted that trolls tended to see themselves as a kind of subculture of people who shared similar attitudes and values, particularly a love for the *lulz*. Coined in 2001, the term *lulz* traces its roots to the online acronym *LOL* or laugh out loud. *Lulz* refers to cruel pleasure rooted in "laughter at the expense or the misfortune of others" (Coleman 2014:31).

Phillips (2015) similarly studied *subcultural trolls*, or those online interactants who self-identify as such. Phillips (2015:20-21) acknowledges that the term *subcultural* is critiqued in fields such as sociology for connoting a "monolithic" group. In fact, similar to Coleman, she stresses the diversity of trolling behavior. Nevertheless, she emphasizes that the group she studied identified themselves as trolls who engaged in "stylized" behavior that is patterned, ideologically motivated, and often re-

cognizable to others who engage in similar types of trolling and humor. Phillips distinguishes trolling behaviors from what she refers to as more "mainstream" media practices that are crafted by corporations to sell entertainment. However, one of Phillips' (2015) main projects is to understand the relationship between trolls and mainstream media, which is more intertwined than many people appreciate. Phillips convincingly identifies obvious similarities between online trolls' racist, sexist, and homophobic remarks and discourses that are supported by and repeated in so-called mainstream media.

In Phillips' analysis, simply throwing out a flame message that attacks someone or ranting about a particular issue would not necessarily qualify someone as a troll. Trolls who self-identify within subcultural trolling exhibit a sense of ethical privilege by targeting people who violate particular ethics, namely, people who take things too seriously. As Phillips (2015:25) states, "Trolls believe that nothing should be taken seriously, and therefore regard public displays of sentimentality, political conviction, and/or ideological rigidity as a call to trolling arms." Like the flamers that Shea discussed, trollers are trying to teach the people whom they target a lesson about their ethics.

As this literature survey demonstrates, the study of problematic talk online is an intensely interdisciplinary space that involves contributions from researchers in communication, linguistics, anthropology, and media studies. Researchers across disciplines have received criticism for ignoring the recent rise of trolling, and for focusing too much attention on pinpointing definitions of terms rather than helping people who are the targets of trolls (Jane 2015:68). For example, despite the fact that trolling has arguably increased in recent years, Jane (2015) observed that in communication studies of online interaction, several prominent recent handbooks completely avoid the issue. Similarly, I noted that the last five years of the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*—the flagship scholarly journal for this discipline—contain no discussion of trolling or problematic talk online. The case is the same for the journal *Discourse Studies*. In the last five years, the journal *Pragmatics* had one article on rudeness online. The analysis concentrated on how participants used rudeness to negotiate in- and out-group construction. In addition, Jane (2015) argues that anthropologists' and other scholars' focus on studying subcultures of flaming and trolling has unwittingly supported trolls by producing overly-biased and sympathetic accounts of how trolls' behavior promotes intragroup sociality or provides counter-hegemonic discourse. She argues that even if individual studies in narrow contexts see social value in certain activist forms of trolling, the overall discourse across disciplines has ignored the hurtful effects of flaming and trolling, and should receive greater attention.

Although Jane (2015) finds fault with anthropologists and other scholars who have spent energy criticizing imprecision of prior terms, she herself rejects them as well. Instead, she prefers her own neologism of *e-bile*, which she does not define so much as generally invoke as

an umbrella term. According to Jane (2015:66) *e-bile* aims to "gather under one heading a variety of ostensibly variegated denunciatory speech acts that share characteristics and signal features, and so demand a broader field of inquiry."

By ethnographically studying trolling cultures, anthropologists such as Boellstorff, Malaby, and Coleman have contributed important information to the anthropological record. To say that studying subcultural trolls contributes to collective, scholarly insensitivity ignores researchers' framing of their work as engaging with difficult populations and situations. For instance, in his discussion of griefers on Second Life, Boellstorff (2008) emphasizes that he worked to understand the "cultural logics" behind their actions without condoning them. He underscores the fact that ethnography may be used "to understand the lifeworlds of the 'repugnant other' (Harding 1991); for instance, to explore how forms of racism or sexism are culturally reproduced over time in specific historical contexts" (Boellstorff 2008:193). If trolling and other forms of problematic talk online is complex, then it is important that the anthropological record reflect its varied, complicated nuances.

In contrast to prior anthropological and other scholarly work, the present study does not approach the terrain from the point of view of trolling culture but rather focuses on participants' everyday assessments of troubled talk online. My research follows in a tradition of cultural and linguistic anthropology that orients towards cultural emergence through interaction. In this tradition, language and culture are "dialogical" and therefore located in the "interstices between people" (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995:8). A foundational premise is that within each interaction, social, institutional, and historical forces "color the interaction at the same time as they are reshaped, to greater or lesser extent, by that interaction" (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995:9). It is thus vital to understand preconceptions that people bring to particular conversations in order to identify how acceptable interaction emerges. The anthropological record requires studies drawn from numerous points on a diverse spectrum. It is therefore important to analyze trolling interactions that are not necessarily straightforward and do not easily meet prior criteria but nonetheless cause pain and intense discomfort to both participants and observers.

An important aspect of this project includes studying the perspective of participants who do not necessarily agree on what is considered problematic talk, but must work through it interactionally. For example, in my past research, I have focused on moments in which one person accuses another of engaging in behavior such as flaming (Lange 2006) and the accused rejects this characterization of their participation. By-standers and others may end up supporting the accused rather than the accuser. My research revealed that in particular instances, *flaming* was an interactional achievement, meaning that its characterization was proposed and discussed rather than automatically agreed upon as such by all interlocutors. I have also researched behaviors on YouTube such as hating (Lange 2007), which exhibited shifting

definitions and levels of acceptance depending upon the severity of the infraction and the YouTuber's disposition on tolerating agonistic talk.

What is fascinating to observe is that in interviews, people who had not considered themselves trolls began to see how things they have said or done might be perceived by others that way. Jane (2015) accuses researchers of striving for analytical precision insensitively, and recommends that researchers reproduce and analyze the most graphic and profane types of trolling. While this is undoubtedly a valid and important project, it is also important to understand interactive nuances of everyday types of trolling. Such insights are crucial for crafting appropriate solutions and for helping individuals recognize the pain they are causing others, even though they do not consider themselves to be trolls. In this paper, I focus on trolling that is interpretively more uncertain and negotiative. In our current political environment, it is especially timely to understand varieties of trolling behavior and how people in one's own social network—or even oneself—may unwittingly engage in trolling, even when it is not graphic and obvious. Striving for self understanding and awareness of behavior in social networks are important steps in creating online environments that promote civic engagement, civil interaction, and self-expression.

This paper deals with instances in which either a participant or observer within a conversation has determined that someone is engaging in troll-like behavior that invites commentary and perhaps correction. In this paper, I do not address instances of trolling from people who self-identify as trolls (subcultural trolls), nor do I discuss trolls who engage in illegal or dangerous behavior. The focus of this study is on problematic talk, some of which participants identified as borderline or negotiable, but all of whom use it to identify trolls.

Clearly, research on highly contentious and obviously egregious behavior is important, in part to identify harassers and other individuals engaged in harmful and illegal activity. However, it is also the case that exploring more negotiable or uncertain instances of trolling opens a possibility for identifying moments in which engagement might be possible. Such instances are especially crucial in order to deal with hurtful prejudiced discourses that are not just expressed by fringe groups but rather are frighteningly prevalent in mainstream societal discourse and political arenas in the United States. Examining such instances reveals opportunities for discussing what might constitute productive interaction, and what interventions might be possible under the right circumstances.

Methodology

The idea for the Troll Whisperers project emerged from work I assigned in my class on *New Media & Civic Action*. The course investigates the benefits and limitations of using new media for civic engagement. One assignment drew from my long-term research interest in analyzing problematic talk online. The assignment required students to identify and analyze sequences of troubled interaction. Students were instructed to locate and

analyze encounters in which an intervention changed the tone of interaction. Alternatively, if no successful intervention occurred, students were tasked with reflecting on rhetorical strategies which might address interactive conflict. Students were instructed *not to intervene* in the conversation, mostly as a safety measure. Rhetorical strategies included offering counter-evidence for an unpersuasive position or asking questions to gain more information about the evidence used to create an argument. My project, which was approved by the Human Subjects Committee at my college, inspired the idea for the research. However, except for a few excerpts used with students' permission, most student work was not incorporated into the project, which was launched after the class concluded.

My project contained two parts. The first part was to interview students in order to understand their experiences in dealing with trolls in social media and online contexts. Recruitment principally included emails to former students and alumni who exhibited an interest in learning about digital cultures and new media. I sent emails to prior students in my classes on *New Media & Civic Action*; *Digital Cultures; Anthropology of Technology;* and *Ethnography for Design*. To avoid conflicts of interest, I did not recruit any students currently taking my classes. Additionally, I visited design and sociology classes taught by my CCA colleagues and described my project.

The second component included having students identify public instances of troll whispering online, some of which we discussed in interviews. I invited but did not require students to take screen shots of instances in which either troll whispering had occurred, or they had ideas about how the discourse might be improved. Students had the option to send me the screenshots via email or anonymously using a Google form along with their reflective commentary. Nearly all participants sent me screen shots in an identifiable email. During interviews, we discussed the strategies that were used or might be crafted to engage in troll whispering.

An interesting finding was that some people had thoughts about how they might intervene, but demurred or self-censored. The interviews formed an important line of data that revealed potential responses and the rationale for declining to engage. Such instances highlight the importance of multi-method approaches. If a study involves understanding dynamics such as self-censorship and interventionist impulses, such data may not always appear directly in online conversations, rendering it advantageous to supplement analyses of interactions with interviews.

My study draws from data obtained from 15 qualitative, semi-formal interviews with former students and CCA alumni whom I refer to using pseudonyms. I interviewed nine female and six male interviewees who were mostly college aged, although a few graduates and graduate students were older. I interviewed six undergraduates, two graduate students, and seven alumni, one of which had been a graduate student. Four interviews lasted about 30 minutes long; these interviews were conducted between class sessions, and interviews were kept brief so that students could be on time to their classes. The other

interviews generally ran about 50-60 minutes, with the longest being an outlier of about 90 minutes. With interviewees' permission, I recorded 13 of the 15 interviews and obtained transcripts executed by professional transcribers. Two interviews were obtained before I had a transcription recording method in place. The interviews were semi-structured and included questions about social media use, interviewees' definitions of trolls, and experiences of trolling and/or being trolled.

A primary goal was to obtain an understanding of interviewees' online social media preferences, in part to contextualize their observations and choices with regard to handling problematic interactions. In addition to content questions, I also asked students to answer demographic questions, specifically, their age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, major, and whether they were an international student. I explained to interviewees that one of my goals was to understand whether certain demographic groups experienced higher degrees of trolling than did other groups. I reminded all interviewees prior to the demographic questions that they need not answer them, and could pass on any question. In nearly all cases, students answered the demographic profile questions.

Beginning each session, I asked interviewees to define a *troll*. Students were sometimes hesitant to begin the interview until I had defined the term. However, I preferred to begin with their definition, rather than to bias them with my opinions. Their definitions were similar to those that have appeared in the scholarly literature. For example, Jeffrey, a straight, 26-year old male graduate student (who characterized his ethnicity as "American") stated: "I would define a troll as somebody who responds to a public post or a public expression, responds to a public expression, with criticism purely for criticism's sake, not to improve the conversation." Jeanette, a lesbian, female black alumna in her thirties defined them as those "who actively [engage] in hate speech online." She also characterized them as having qualities such as persistence, abusiveness, and threats of violence, whether the threats were empty or intended could be difficult to know. For Jeanette, intention seemed important for defining trolling. Sarah, a lesbian, Asian female in her 20s, noted that trolls tended to make fun of people; they like to talk but do not listen. I also spoke with a straight, 22-year old, male alumni named Robert who characterized himself as half Mexican and half Eastern European. Robert defined a troll in the following way:

> A troll in the internet is someone who, at least in my mind, is actively creating discord in like a conversation or a forum, some sort of communication channel, for their entertainment and to like kind of fulfill this catharsis of power, like a bully would when they push someone over in the lunchroom. They mainly do it for their own emotional reasons without any particular aim except to see more discord happen, bringing chaos to order, and they take pride in it oftentimes, too. Using their own success to like rile up someone or gaslight them and be like, "Huh, see you're really not as put together a society as you thought you were 'cause one person can undo you." That's what a troll is in my mind.

In some instances, time also permitted discussion of high profile instances of trolling that had occurred either on campus or in the news. We discussed interviewees' reactions to these events and the appropriate strategies to deal with them. While some participants had direct interaction and experiences of trolling or being trolled, others kept themselves at a distance from problematic talk, citing a general reluctance to engage in such encounters both online and offline. What I found fascinating were the varied strategies they discussed to deal with them, and the uncertainty that often emerged in their narratives about whether it was appropriate to deal with trolls or avoid them. Although avoidance remained an option for some, several narratives contained strategies to deal with trolls.

Troll Whispering Strategies

A major goal of this project is to understand people's attitudes about troll whispering and under what circumstances interventions are appropriate. The motivation for the project emerged from witnessing a sea change both in my classroom among young people and in journalistic accounts that emphasized increased interaction with rather than total avoidance of trolls. However, for some respondents, ignoring trolls was still considered a valid strategy; therefore, this section opens with a brief discussion of the circumstances that interviewees felt warranted ignoring trolls. Notably, interviewees in the present study did not pattern their ideas after digital literacies and proscriptive warnings such as "don't feed the trolls." Rather, they made their determination by drawing on their own interactions and observations of problematic talk.

Interviewees were well aware that engaging with trolls is highly risky, a fact underscored by scholars who have suffered at the hands of trolls. Anita Sarkeesian, a feminist media scholar who criticized female representations in games received thousands of threats for her activism (Lien 2016). Sarkeesian addressed these issues at a recent VidCon 2016 meeting, which is a large-scale annual conference devoted to making online video. Sarkeesian participated in a panel entitled, "Fighting for a Cause." She said that after dealing with such severe abuse online, she recommended that people either find a way to deal with it or avoid public activism online. She noted that for some people, a legitimate option is to leave, or at least find personal strategies to cope with harassment.

After briefly describing forms of avoidance, I analyze several proposed strategies for dealing with trolls in more detail, including collective responses, deep listening, and correctives. Collective responses aim to deal with categories of trolls and their behavior by having officials or other representatives engage in ways that distance individual targets from them. Another strategy involved deep listening, even to repugnant positions. That young people advanced this suggestion perhaps reflects a political climate in which emotions are running high and participants in various online contexts are beginning to, if not directly engage, at least exhibit a willingness to become more attentive to vastly contrasting opinions. Finally, I discuss interviewees' proposed strategies and methods for using

correctives or methods that aim to counteract harmful behavior to therapeutically repair interactional—and more broadly—societal breaches.

Ignoring Trolls

Notably, even if interviewees had not heard of the old adage of "Don't Feed the Trolls" (and most of them had not), ignoring trolls was nevertheless seen as a valid option for several interviewees who preferred not to engage. Such respondents described intervention as pointless, as trolls were perceived as uninterested in changing their minds. Part of the difficulty is that trolls and the contexts in which they operate are quite diverse and complex, necessitating "sensitive" and potentially individualized responses to particular interactive events and circumstances (Sanfilippo et al. 2017).

Scholars have even noted that whether online participants feel ideologically in tune with trolls, they might actually support what they have to say, rather than foreclose their contributions (Sanfilippo et al. 2017). Certain levels of mischief are arguably culturally acceptable in specific communities (such as overtly aggressive discussion groups and in some gaming contexts) (Kirman et al. 2012). Kirman et al. (2012) argue that instances of mischief may even be interpreted as forms of playful performance rather than as attempts at causing direct distress. Indeed, in their definitions some of the interviewees noted that intentionality was a factor in considering whether to label someone's behavior as *trolling*. Further, ignoring trolls was not always seen as a strategy that actually works, since as Robert pointed out in his interview, trolls are able to "manipulate any reaction, even the lack of one into what they want" to carry out their work.

In addition to pointlessness, interviewees also talked about the time commitments and the exhaustion that results from dealing with trolls. Jeanette said that, as a black lesbian artist, she engaged in so much attitudinal adjustment in daily life that it was far too taxing to continue it online. She told me that correcting people online amounted to "unpaid labor." Should someone be willing to pay her a decent salary with benefits to deal with such individuals "intelligently" and "compassionately," she said she might actually consider it.

Jeanette's framing of troll whispering as a type of job was fascinating. In some ways, her suggestion harkens back to established roles such as community administrators. However, her framing was intriguingly much broader. Although her narrative was situated around avoidance, it actually imagined an occupation rooted in emotional labor (Hochschild 2003) that could ultimately benefit society. Her suggestion opened a space to imagine a paid specialist who used specific skills to deal with difficult people online across contexts, perhaps intimating that society needs professional troll whisperers—complete with hazard pay and health benefits.

Collective Responses

Interviewees' narratives noted that at times, what is required is a collective response rather than an interpersonal entanglement with trolls. For example, Jeanette mentioned that a curator for an exhibition in which she participated felt the need to respond to highly critical online comments that had been leveled at the exhibition, which had included overtly political artistic content. The curator crafted a collective, public response that represented the artists in the exhibition. Jeanette explained that debates often ensue about whether overtly political material truly constitutes art. In a public interview, the curator dealt with these criticisms to defend the artistic merit of the politically-motivated exhibition. An advantage of such a collective response on the part of a representative is that it removes the burden and reduces the risk for individuals to singly engage with those who had posted aggressive forms of criticism.

Although several interviewees advocated ignoring trolling behavior, it was interesting to observe that at the same time, they also recognized the responsibility and necessity to engage with them, as did the curator of this exhibition. For example, I spoke with one undergraduate named Margaret, a 20-year-old, bisexual female who identified as of mixed Asian and white descent. Margaret stated during the interview that privacy was an extremely important issue for her, and engaging with trolls had the potential to increase her risk of violating her privacy. She characterized younger people as more "ballsy" and more willing to engage than she would be. Notably, although she admitted disinterest in engaging with trolls, she also discussed the limitations of ignoring them, as well as the value of trying to reach out, especially to trolls who are young (basically children), in order to guide them into reflecting on the opinions they are expressing.

Patricia: So what do you think about that motto, "don't feed the trolls"?

Margaret: I think there's a truth to a certain extent. But it's kinda like telling teenagers, "Don't do drugs. Don't drink alcohol." [chuckles] There are still gonna be people who are gonna do it, especially on the web. There's no way to control *millions* of users. So I think it's more about maybe facilitating or finding a more secure healthy way of facilitating those kind of behaviors instead of just saying, *"Don't do it!"* Actually like create a constructive method of again facilitating it. Like for instance, when I was in my chat room someone would come in and burst out on swear words, the admin of that would block them completely from our servers. So just someone who could be there to control the circumstances. There's a certain responsibility as well.

What is interesting about Margaret's response is that she acknowledges the responsibility of administrators or at least some participants to deal with unfortunate actions online. She noted the diversity of trolls, and believed that it was especially important to reach members of younger generations who are still learning to participate online, echoing prior ethnographic findings about the importance of teaching digital literacies (Ito et al. 2010). She believed it was important to find more "secure" and "healthy" ways of helping younger people to learn how to participate. Ultimately, even though she herself did not

care to intervene, she acknowledged the importance of, and the responsibility to assess who might be "reachable" and to design effective strategies for improved communication.

As in Jeanette's case, Margaret references a collective response that has been a long-term strategy for online communities. At the same time, however, it is also the case that administrators of online groups are sometimes reluctant to intervene, even when participants engage in behaviors that the group as a whole finds disturbingly unacceptable. A classic early case on a text-based social site called LambdaMOO was discussed by then-journalist Julian Dibbell (1998), who described how an unsavory clown character called Mr. Bungle used a "voodoo doll" programming code to force another character to violate herself with a knife. In this early well-known example, administrators, including those who had created the online space, expressed a preference for the society as a whole to deal with the situation, rather than act by fiat to ban or censor the person (or as it turned out, persons) who controlled the character of Mr. Bungle.

Concerns about how far administrators should go to censor participants are non-trivial and continue today. As the research progressed, I spoke with Heather, a straight, Chinese woman in her twenties who was part of a student-run site for CCA students to express opinions. The site received several controversial posts, including some that students found racist, politically offensive, or insulting. For example, after one post in which someone accused interaction designers of being the "laziest" major in the college, Heather and the other administrators "panicked" and felt it should be their job to "filter" the comments. But after posting an announcement that they would begin filtering comments, they received conflicting reactions to their announcement. Heather stated:

> The moment we've made that post [announcing an intention to filter comments], we've had teachers texting us saying, "Do not filter the post...because this is why we exist." We had students texting us saying, "Don't filter." And then we had a bunch of teachers and students who don't know us commenting, "This is why we support you and this is why you exist and this is why we appreciate you, but if you filter it then that defeats the purpose." And that's when we decided to not to filter at all, but that has also... And then when it comes to another controversial post people are like, "You're dumb in not filtering this, how dare you to let this stay up." And I just think they should probably make up their mind in terms of whether they want it filtered or not.

As in digital societies past, administrators even among young people today are sometimes unclear about appropriate steps to take amid community outrage, especially with regard to the extent that they should intervene. Heather expresses a wish, as have administrators in online societies of decades past, to rely on community members to decide acceptable limits. Examining instances of the past sometimes reveals that these negative posts result in stimulating bonding of members who share simi-

lar ideas and sentiments. For example, members of a past online forum for queer women in Hong Kong noted that when outsiders entered the conversation with insults, their actions could serve to tighten the bonds between the queer participants "clearly [showing] the perception of a boundary between 'them' and 'us'" (Nip 2004:241). Media and communication scholar Joyce Nip related how administrators observed that "opposition and insulting voices built solidarity" (Nip 2004:241).

Self Censorship

During interviews, I learned that participants do not always internally ignore trolls even if outwardly they refrain from visible disagreement. To ignore a troll is an active choice. Some respondents relayed feeling what I call an *interventionist impulse*. Yet, for identifiable or perhaps even reasons unclear to the participants themselves, they refrain from engaging. I would argue such self-censorship is different from ignoring a troll. Attention is paid, and consideration given to a response, even if the assumed troll never sees that response. For instance, Jeffrey said he considered posting a response to a comment posted to an entry on Arnold Schwarzenegger's public Facebook page regarding climate change. Jeffrey sent me a link to the post. One commenter made a statement accusing religious people of being ignorant of the reality and seriousness of climate change.

Upset by the commenter's criticism of religion, Jeffrey crafted a response explaining that the Bible makes references to "man being the steward of the Earth," which therefore implies that "good Christians" would indeed "stay informed and active" in environmental decisions. Although he himself is not religious, Jeffrey nevertheless felt an interventionist impulse because he was upset by the post's "blatant disrespect" toward religion. He elected not to post a response, saying: "I recognize that the accusation that [the commenter made] is 'silly' is trolling in itself, but I often get frustrated with people who treat the whole internet as though other people's beliefs are inferior to their own."

Jeffrey stated that he often finds himself composing posts on Facebook to respond to both friends and strangers, but ultimately he tends to delete rather than post his responses. He reflected on why this might be the case, suggesting that he might not have the "energy" or "mentality" to deal with the aggressive counter-responses that he anticipated receiving. He speculated that it might be fear of confrontation, a wish to avoid creating an echo chamber, or a preference to avoid the nuisance of engaging with trolls. Whatever the reason, Jeffrey did not always simply ignore them, but rather reflected on and even mentally composed responses to unfortunate commentary. His draft responses show an interventionist, troll whispering impulse. Future research should investigate interventionist impulses that emerge, the types of posts that prompt responses, and the reasons why people ultimately self-censor. It will also be interesting to explore the factors that prompt people to forge ahead even knowing that they must deal with their own exhaustion as well as future aggressive commentary.

Several respondents noted that if they knew the perpetrator of negative remarks, they would be more likely to engage with them. For example, Theresa, a straight, 21-year old Asian undergraduate female noted that if the troll was someone whom she knew, she might actually take the trouble to engage.

> Patricia: Right, do you think you might be more tempted to deal with the troll if it was somebody you knew versus just somebody you didn't know? Does that make a difference?

> Theresa: Oh yeah, definitely. If it was someone I knew, I would definitely try to change their views. But if it wasn't anyone that I knew particularly, they don't make a big impact on my life and I obviously don't either, so why bother. But towards people that I care about, I would really like them to have the same opinions and stuff. I understand that there will be differentiating opinions but when it comes to stuff that you shouldn't be opinionated on, then it's like, "I don't know if we can even talk anymore."

For Theresa, at some point individuals may even have to part company as friends if their opinions become painfully and unacceptably divergent. Her comments suggest that degree of social distance may be an important factor in determining interest in engaging with problematic talk.

Correctives

Citing a significant departure from conventional wisdom, Sarah discussed her view that trolls should be addressed. She proposed strategies of intensive "listening" and "correction," but "nicely." Mandel and Van der Leun (1996) once wrote that when ranters run rampant online, it is wise to avoid them. They state: "Old hands are wise to them, but ranters, always thirsting for new victims, often lie in wait for the clueless newbie to say the magic words, 'Exactly what do you mean by that.'" But in essence, Sarah believed it was important to do just that. She argued that inviting controversial commenters to say more and to show them *deep listening* would likely invite them to listen back. She also advocated catching one's own tone when responding. Similar to Jeffrey, who was concerned that his response might constitute trolling in and of itself, Sarah also advocated considering how one presented oneself online. Indeed, a few interviewees noted that they had been accused of trolling themselves, which they admitted was a fair characterization of their behavior. One respondent had trolled Wikipedia when in middle school and administrators traced the perpetrators' accounts to his school district, which was temporarily banned from using the site. Another interviewee noted that a mischanneled text to a friend against whom he had made a disparaging remark had nearly cost him the friendship, although the matter was ultimately resolved.

Comments about interviewees being accused of trolling themselves suggest a concern with dealing with an inner troll that may come out in all of us, and that particular deep listening and corrective approaches may significantly influence trajectories toward mutual understanding. During her interview, Sarah related a story of an Asian friend of hers who had grown up in Southern California. When he moved to Northern California, acquaintances began calling him a "racist." He felt that being called a "racist" was harsh and he would have been more open to their message if he could have been corrected more "lovingly." According to Sarah, he admitted to being ready for change, but only if it could be done in a way that was not "harsh." In circumstances in which individuals may not be aware of the pain they are causing, it might be beneficial to engage in tactful ways. Of course, such tactics might not work, and interviewees also exhibited similar stories that did not end with changed hearts and minds. Nevertheless, even those interviewees who were reluctant to intervene personally identified collective responsibility to begin identifying appropriate individuals for targeted intervention. Avoidance therapy was not universally accepted among the interviewees as the only or most appropriate form of action in all cases. As Sarah eloquently stated, perhaps our sea change in attitudes about trolling means that it is time to "tactfully take the trolls out to dinner," if we wish to begin raising the bar in online discourse.

Conclusion

The research presented here concentrates on a particular variety of troll who makes insulting remarks and often uses aggressive forms of expression for the sake of arguing or because they hold deep-seated prejudices and biases. However, trolls come in many shapes and sizes, and those participants online who engage in illegal, threatening, or harassing behavior arguably require different forms of intervention, including legal sanctions. This paper did not directly address trolls exhibiting this level of severity. Additional work would be required to identify and understand the strategies that are best suited for the more harassing, illegal forms of trolling.

Nevertheless, I argue in this paper that discomforting interactions that reproduce unfortunate biases and cause harm constitute a vital and necessary area of research, not only to supplement the anthropological record on subcultural trolling, but also to identify pathways of change. The research is also especially relevant in cases where trolling behavior is negotiative. It is important to recognize—contrary to the public imagination—that trolls are not simply anonymous others but appear in places such as one's own social milieu; possibly even within the self.

Interviewees proposed strategies such as collective responses, deep listening, and correctives, that suggested that pure avoidance was not necessarily an optimal response. Avoidance is especially undesirable given the fact that trolls often articulate widespread prejudices rather than expressing half-baked ideas limited to a few troubled individuals. Scholars are observing that troll-like behavior reflects mainstream discourses rather than isolated incidents of cyberbullying. Participants in this study may reflect a new *zeitgeist* in which ignoring prejudiced behavior is decreasingly becoming a viable course of action. Pundits now argue that with regards to in-person bullying, one of the worst strategies is to ignore it (Iliades 2011). Ignoring bullies reinforces their success and re-

peated behavior. In anti-bullying literature, it is considered a toxic response on the part of teachers to advise ignoring the behavior, as it creates an unsafe environment for the person who is attacked and emboldens transgressors. Rather than ignore such instances, proposed strategies include rallying support and gathering witnesses, documenting incidences, and reporting such behavior to authorities who are in a position to take action.

Several participants in the study noted that if they knew a perpetrator they would be more likely to intervene. Interviewees noted that the stakes were higher with regards to people whom they knew. They expressed greater incentive to engage and might feel more impacted when choosing to intervene with acquaintances in their social milieus who hold and publicly express hurtful views. Indeed, as mentioned in the introduction, stories of real life troll whisperers suggest that some people are willing to tackle seemingly broad-scale and intractable behaviors and beliefs such as racism by engaging with prejudiced individuals who are strangers to them.

Of course, whether one engages with trolls at all is a highly personal decision. It may not always be necessary to engage in an interpersonal way; collective responses may be safer. If one does, perhaps it is wise to start with acquaintances and friends where the risks are presumably lower, yet the incentive might be higher to achieve mutual understanding. Still, the astonishing and moving stories of real-life troll whisperers suggest that change, even among the most steadfastly prejudiced, may be possible. If participants wish to take back the internet from people who complicate discourse with unfortunate forms of trolling, we will all need to deal with comments that exist, as Reagle (2015) states, "at the bottom of the internet." Perhaps we are moving from the adage of "do not feed the trolls" to "pick your battles." We also need to realize instances in which we ourselves may be perceived as trolls due to deeply insensitive remarks that draw on prejudiced ideas and stereotypes. Future research should identify appropriate contexts within which to engage, and then deploy adequate strategies to reach mutual understanding. This paper has dealt with a certain type of troll and how people express themselves online. It is perhaps not possible to persuade unpersuadables, but the sea change I am observing among younger generations and in new scholarship suggests that it is perhaps advisable to take back the internet by engaging with one troll at a time.

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Transcendent Pandemonium: Reconnecting (the Americanization of) Yōkai Watch with Its Roots in Japanese Folklore

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ABSTRACT: *Surely everyone knows what a ghost is ... or do they? As media has become increasingly globalized its content can travel without its concomitant cultural context. Producers make localization decisions and audiences are unfamiliar with the media's original cultural context. These cognitive disconnections cause cultural confusion. Drawing on traditional folklore motifs of rural Japan, multi-media children's brand Yōkai Watch ('spirit watch') projects them into the country's cosmopolitan urban centers, where a boy both battles and befriends them. But to American audiences lacking familiarity with Japanese folklore, Yōkai Watch is perceived as a 'clone' of the Pokémon franchise. Some Christian conservatives have zeroed in on Yōkai's supernatural themes, casting the brand as another repository of satanic imagery. Contrary to these assumptions Yōkai's connection to Japanese folklore persists, enduring in the face of a modernized and westernized country. However, folklore is not merely the static remnant of a nostalgic past; it is also a vibrant product of the present. This paper challenges misinformed interpretations of Yōkai Watch by recontextualizing it within the framework of Japanese culture. There, we rediscover culturally constructed practices and beliefs that, despite their specificity, reflect a remarkable human tendency to define 'pandemonium' in familiar terms that can transcend time and place.*

Key words: Folklore, Japan, popular culture, globalization

Introduction

Surely everyone knows what a ghost is ... or do they? As media has become increasingly globalized its content can travel without its concomitant cultural context. Producers make localization decisions and audiences are unfamiliar with the media's original cultural context. These cognitive disconnections cause cultural confusion. One telling example is how the multimedia Japanese children's brand *Yōkai Watch* ('spirit watch') has been repurposed for American audiences. Drawing on traditional folklore motifs of rural Japan, *Yōkai Watch* conveys stories of spirits and ghosts into the country's cosmopolitan urban centers, where a young boy both battles and befriends them to diminish the pandemonium they create. But to American audiences lacking familiarity with Japanese folklore, *Yōkai Watch* is perceived as a 'clone' of the Pokémon franchise. In response, some Christian conservatives have zeroed in on *Yōkai's* supernatural themes, portraying the brand to wary parents as another repository of satanic imagery. Contrary to the presumptive interpretations of Christian conservatives, *Yōkai's* connection to Japanese folklore persists. While *Pokémon* and *Yōkai Watch* share the mechanics of battling and collecting "monsters," *Pokémon* models itself on the pastimes of children who collect and train insects while yōkai come directly from the folk traditions of Japan. However, folklore is not merely the static remnant of a nostalgic past; it is also a vibrant product of the present. This paper challenges misinformed interpretations of *Yōkai Watch* by recontextualizing it within the framework of Japanese culture. There, we rediscover culturally constructed practices and beliefs that, despite their specificity, reflect a remarkable human tendency to define

'pandemonium' in familiar terms that can transcend time and place.

The term 'pandemonium' carries several meanings within it. Foster (2009:8-9) suggests pandemonium as a loose English language equivalent to the term *hyakki-yagyō* (which translates to "night procession of one hundred demons") for two reasons. One is partially in reference to Pandemonium as the capital of Hell in the work of Milton; the second is for a literal "state of many demons" and the functional definition of pandemonium as meaning "a condition of riotous disturbance, chaos, and danger: exactly what one would encounter on a *hyakki-yagyō* night in Kyoto" (Foster 2009:8-9). As Foster 2009 and Foster 2015 inform the groundwork for this paper, I am adopting the term as well. As liminal beings, yōkai come in all shapes and sizes. Pandemonium and the allusion to chaotic *possibility* presented by these ambiguous beings, potentially all around you, is an apropos one (see end note for further additional discussion of terms).[1]

In order to facilitate this discussion on globalization and yōkai this paper has been organized into five sections. First, I briefly introduce yōkai, the theoretical framework from which I am working, and place Japanese folklore in historical perspective. Second, I discuss the contemporary depictions of yōkai and their role in *Yōkai Watch*. Third, I discuss the process and consequences of localization for the American market. Fourth, I examine how the disconnection of yōkai from their cultural and folk roots has resulted in a radical reinterpretation by Christian conservatives. I conclude by discussing how scholarship can both curtail the corrosive influence of ethnocentrism and promote a better relationship between scholars and the general public, which can be furthered by ethnographic fieldwork.

Yōkai and Japanese Folklore in Historical Perspective

Yōkai are liminal beings in a world awash with uncertainty. They can be beneficial, benign, or perilous, crossing over into human lives from the world of the gods. They occupy every corner of Japan, from its forest covered mountains to the oceans that surround it. Casal (1959:93) describes Yōkai as a category that encompasses a number of supernatural creatures: whether they be the foxlike *kitsune* who inhabit the rice-fields and are warily venerated as messengers of the rice-related deity *Inari,* to the raccoon-dog *tanuki* who jovially pester people and whose statues cheerfully adorn shop entrances for good luck, these 'spooky' creatures "give us an insight into the emotional consciousness of the people concerned."[2] Yōkai reflect a response to the perils and possibilities of life in the Pacific, rich with abundant resources and rife with disaster from tsunami, typhoon, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions.[3] Yōkai are manifestations of an uncertain world, embodying the gamut of human experiences and expression. They can also be manifestations of the best and worst of people: be it rage, joy, lust, compassion, avarice, and more. Yōkai reflect humanity.

From a theoretical standpoint, I am adopting the framework set forth by Foster (2015:14), who writes that "Yōkai begin where language ends." Thus we may understand yōkai as the manifestations of experiences that defy words. In some ways, they make the chaotic unknown knowable because they give it boundaries. Like the child who sees a monster in the shadows cast by the shapes in a closet full of clothes and toys, we project and craft symbols out of chaos in order to make sense of the world. Yōkai represent our attempt to assert order over chaos. Whether the product of stories, artwork, or in other forms, a yōkai "…is no longer just some vague mystery, but an identifiable mystery" (Foster 2015:26). Foster (2015) elaborates that by defining the undefined, we learn how to limit it. In this sense, Yōkai are the signposts of society. The types of yōkai and the theoretical ecology (the folklore) surrounding them tell us how that society operates. While folklore is often conceptualized as the product of rural villages, it would be a mistake to limit folklore or yōkai to these spaces. Produced by people, yōkai are not limited to a particular time and space. Despite early assumptions that they were relics of the past, it would become evident that wherever humans went, yōkai were sure to follow.

As Figal (2007) notes, early modern Japan's relationship with yōkai and folklore was one of duality – as a weird remnant of the quaint past contrasted against a progressively "modern" society. This tension is reflected in the ways in which yōkai resisted the future in some narratives[4] as well as how researchers themselves depicted and discussed yōkai and folklore. Early research often anchored Japanese folklore and the attendant yōkai to the countryside, produced by Japan's domestic *other* – the "folk" of Japan's rural past. In the Meiji era (approx. 1868-1912), Japanese folklorist Yanagita Kunio established the folk as the bedrock of all that was intrinsically Japanese, but also all that Japan was progressing away from.[5] Researchers like Richard Dorson, who adhered to romantic ideas of a national character, reinforced Yanagita's approach. Dorson (1961:401) even asserted Japan "has bred a long-lived, homogeneous folk culture." Oriented by a need to define a present as progressing away from the past, some researchers contrasted the "modern" against the agrarian imagery of rural folklore and yōkai.

Casal (1959) catalogued different 'types' of folk stories, attempting to categorize rather than analyze. Limited by their methods or political agendas, early folklore researchers sometimes lacked a critical edge. The work of scholars like Yanagita, whose attitudes were cultivated by government influence, sought to define a Japanese identity to carry the country into the modern world. Yōkai may have been the products of agrarian communities, conveniently homogenized for the benefit of a national identity, but yōkai nonetheless permeated both rural and urban Japanese culture. Yōkai were serious business, and while the pandemonium they wrought may well make a farmer's life difficult, the stakes were perilously higher for aristocrats who were responsible for dozens if not hundreds of farmers and their families.

Yanagita may have gone to the villages to study the folk, but yōkai were of intense interest in the cities as well. This information was recorded and shared in Edo (modern day Tokyo), blending myriad genres of poetry, pulpy genre fiction, philosophy, and encyclopedic anthologies, the quintessential example being "Hundred Demons' Night Parade" written by Toriyama Sekien.[6] One part entertainment, one part treatise, these yōkai encyclopedias seriously studied the ways yōkai affected Japanese life. While the *kappa (*or water-goblin with his sharp beak and turtle shell) is said to be the cause for dangers related to water, other yōkai like *ōkubi* (Giant Head) represent how "an excess of anything is scary" (Yoda and Alt 2016: 146). Yōkai act not only as explanations of phenomena, but also as expectations of behavior. As signposts of society, they delineate both a "how" and a "why" to those behaviors. While we might assume that the transformation of Japan from an agrarian world of rice paddies to expansive urban zones meant the destruction of folk beliefs, in reality it meant the transformation of those beliefs. Once the product of a natural world, yōkai became the inhabitants of the urbanized one. Not only did they exceed the boundaries of the natural world, yōkai transcended its destruction.

Contemporary Transformations of a Supernatural World

Foster (2015) establishes that yōkai manifest a key function of culture – learned and shared behavior – because the "practice of Yōkai entails people … actively engaging with them, changing them, and making them their own" (Foster 2015:27). And they can be transformed not just by individuals but by institutions – like commercial agencies (Foster 2015:77-79). Reider (2003) affirms how supernatural creatures like the *oni* have been transformed. The flesh eating *oni* or ogre, clad in tiger skins and festooned with fearsome horns, no longer only lurks in the mountains. Instead of menacing mankind, *oni* have become tamed as town mascots for revitalization

projects (Reider 2003). The *kawaii* (こわい) or "scary" in some cases have become *kawaii* (かわい): "cute" and cuddly. Yōkai are inescapable participants in Japanese culture. They were not just town mascots, but characters in sprawling multi-media properties like *Yōkai Watch.*

Starting in 2013 as a video game and manga series and in 2014 on television, *Yōkai Watch* tells the story of Keita, a young boy who discovers a mysterious capsule toy vending machine (called *gashapon* [ガシャポン] or *gachapon* [ガチャポン] in Japanese) in the woods outside of his hometown.[7] Upon placing money into the capsule machine and turning the knob, he discovers a wondrous device called the Yōkai Watch, which allows him to see yōkai. He also meets his first yōkai, named Whisper, who becomes his companion and guide. Together, Keita (Nate in the Americanized version) and Whisper uncover yōkai who are causing mischief and mayhem in their home town. One of the first examples is how two yōkai who have a domestic dispute spill over into Keita's home life, causing his normally loving parents to have a fierce argument over who ate the last "pudding cup." Keita and Whisper intervene, and convince the two quarreling yōkai to reconcile. In doing so, Keita's parents suddenly make up and wonder why they were fighting over something so trivial.

Such incidents are typical of yōkai both in the past and present – the inexplicable and scary is made concrete and containable. These supernatural beings suddenly become human because they too have very human relationship problems and arguments. The yōkai of *Yōkai Watch* even mirror historical yōkai: The 'mascot' of the property, Jibanyan, resembles the *nekomata*, a cat who has grown intelligent and now walks on two legs and has a forked tail. Just like Toriyama Sekien's "Hundred Demons' Night Parade" alludes to the perils of being out in the dark when a horde of yōkai roam city streets to "spirit away" the unwary, *Yōkai Watch* depicts a perilous 'midnight hour' in Keita's hometown. Keita and Whisper must cautiously navigate the streets while a surly and ferocious *oni* roams.[8] Despite contemporary imagery of *oni* as cheerful town mascots, the fearsome reputations of *oni* for pandemonium endures. These experiences resonate with Japanese consumers because of the connection they share to traditional Japanese folk beliefs. But as the product of people, yōkai rely on that context to endure. That is how they survived the transformation of Japanese society from agrarian to urban. It even allowed them to become quite successful in their commercial forms. But when their connection to culture is completely severed, the meaning and context they are created in is lost.

Localization and Loss

While commercialization is the process of crafting a product or service for profit, localization is the process in which a product or service is repurposed and repackaged for another market. For popular media originating in another country, this can be a tricky business. Mackey (2015) observes how marketing teams will often see to it that "cultural texture (is) sanded off a piece of media for the sake of making it more palatable." In some instances, the loss can be negligible. For example audiences may not miss much by not knowing that the character Pikachu in the hit children's property *Pokémon* has a pun in its name: *pika* (ぴか or ピカ), the Japanese onomatopoeia for "flash," a name quite appropriate for an electric mouse with a penchant for zapping his enemies. *Pokémon* creator Satoshi Tajiri has spoken of the game being inspired by his childhood catching bugs in the rural suburbs outside Tokyo (*Time* 1999). While missing these points of reference does not radically change the underlying appeal and ideas behind *Pokémon*, other shows like *Yōkai Watch* rely on more than nostalgia for a childhood spent traipsing through forests and fields looking for the next interesting critter to collect. They reach back further, into the stories and lore shared by generations of families. Without them, yōkai can be seen as merely another line of monsters to merchandise.[9]

From a purely pragmatic standpoint, there are times when localization is necessary. For example, it may be to avoid certain cultural taboos or facilitate approval by foreign agencies. Custer (2014) notes that game developer Blizzard Entertainment chose to revise skeleton imagery in *World of Warcraft* in order to avoid potential objections from Chinese censors. As Custer (2014) elaborates, Blizzard wasn't necessarily worried that Chinese censors would revoke approval of the game because it seriously promoted superstitious thinking;[10] it was politically expedient to simply remove the possibility of objections by removing the content ahead of time. Responding to political demands, businesses chose to alter the media to best suit the culture they were importing it to. As *World of Warcraft* is a pastiche of fantasy tropes and ideas, the removal or alteration of imagery and ideas does not necessarily jeopardize a connection to an underlying cultural heritage. There is no burden on *Warcraft* being the sole point of reference for its genre or tropes. For yōkai, however, the stakes are somewhat different. Despite the explosion of *anime* (cartoons), *manga* (comics), and other Japanese media, exposure to traditional Japanese culture is limited in the West. The assumption is that some things, well, might just be too *weird* for American audiences to understand.

While companies may think it necessary to jettison cultural context, Mackey (2015) argues that Nintendo of America (NOA) underestimates its audiences. Mackey cites audiences who enthusiastically embraced Japanese culture, evidenced in the explosive popularity of Hayao Miyazaki and Studio Ghibli's films, such as the Academy Award-winning *Spirited Away*, which was drenched in Shinto and folk references. In a press release NOA (2015) emphasizes a culturally stripped presentation of yōkai: "The Yo-Kai are based on common concerns kids have. By confronting these concerns, kids can learn to overcome them." *Yōkai Watch* game developer Level-5 further elaborates in NOA (2015), stating "We immersed ourselves in learning about situations confronting kids in their everyday lives. This world – a child's complicated, scary, confusing, exiting (sic) and very funny world – is the foundation of our IP." There is no mention of Japanese folklore, or any world, except for the vague suggestion of "children's world" and "children's lives," cast-

ing yōkai as "mischievous, mysterious pranksters who like to make trouble for you. Lose your homework, can't keep a secret or find yourself running late to everything? Yo-kai probably made you do it" (NOA 2015).[11]

The implicit assumption in the localization process is that children are incapable of accepting the unfamiliar. If media is left intact, children could come to appreciate how relatable and familiar problems could be given a different explanation. But rather than use yōkai as a moment to teach children about Japanese culture, Nintendo simply inserts them into the lives of young western consumers. Mechanically, Yōkai Watch and Pokémon are similar games – collect, train, and battle monsters. But unlike Pokémon, yōkai carry a certain cultural weight to them that is intertwined with Japanese culture, a weight that doesn't carry over to the West. Relying on some vague supernatural premises and a legacy of marketing, parents and onlookers are left to interpret yōkai in their own way. And thus, pandemonium ensues.

Through a Christian Lens, Darkly

The cumulative effect of this decontexualization of Yōkai is that people unfamiliar with Japanese culture, and more specifically Japanese folklore, will attempt to fit them into their existing paradigm. Others may even exploit it for their own ideological agenda. Take for example the "Satanic Panic" of the 1980s, when conservative Christian ideologues peddled fear and paranoia to wary parents, zeroing in on Saturday morning and afternoon children's television. This perception would be reinforced through the production and distribution of home videos like Greenwald and Phillips (1985), suggesting that supernatural and science fiction elements common to many shows of the time were in fact subversive and occult forces at work. Yet the analysis of Greenwald and Phillips (1985) is strictly limited by ethnocentrism, casting fear and doubt across a wide swath of children's programming. They go so far as to sinisterly suggest that one show (the American produced but Japanese animated *Thundercats*) is linked to Hinduism because of its "gymnastics and martial arts thrusting."[12] Greenwald and Phillips' (1985) analysis is not limited to one particular show, but rather a survey of children's programming, including *Scooby Doo, Transformers*, *Voltron, Star Wars*, and more. Phillips, a Christian conservative speaker and personality from Texas, asserts that there is a "vast movement in the toy and children's entertainment industry towards the occult" (Greenwald and Phillips 1985).[13] Because these toys are also a "mirror" back to the show, they create a cyclical relationship in which children are ultimately influenced by the themes and ideas within these different properties.[14]

Greenwald and Phillips (1985) discuss both incidental and thematic depictions of the supernatural, injecting words such as "satanic" and "demonism" into the narrative. Their associated works use evocative language like "spiritual warfare in your child" and "deception of a generation," casting their work and the concerns of the panicked parents who believe them as a "stand for righteous-

ness." Their argument draws not from scholarly work on psychology or an analysis of the marketing trends of these shows, but rather through the conservative lens of fundamentalist Christianity that jealously contests any 'God before God' (Exodus 20:3). From this conservative perspective, then, any supernatural force that is not an agent of God is therefore an agent of the Devil.[15] At the end of the 1980s, conservative Christian focus would shift to other areas (music, video games), but with a resurgence in popular children's brands from Japan like *Pokémon* and *Yōkai Watch*, anxieties would once again be cast in their direction.

Whereas the 1980s saw the proliferation of home video for conservative Christian ideologues, the internet is now home to various independent publishers. Operated by Douglas Overmyer, the website "Seers See Ministries" reconfigures similar sentiments as Greenwald and Phillips (1985). Overmyer (2017) states that his ministry explores the "concept of seeing the unseen world and provides insight into some of the supernatural occurrences many of us experience." Overmyer (2016) argues that *Yōkai Watch* trains "children to see and harness demons." This is a crucial sign as to the framework being used by Christian conservatives like Overmyer. To Overmyer (2016), yōkai are "ghosts," "demons," and "monsters" that are manifestations of "the spirit of a dead human" or "earth-bound evil spirits." The only possible explanation is one of nefarious intent. Indeed, an "undead" character appears in *Yōkai Watch*: Jibanyan, the spirit of a little girl's cat who was hit by a car, attempts to train itself to become strong enough to pummel oncoming traffic at the intersection where he died. While the feline yōkai is responsible for affecting unsuspecting pedestrians, Jibanyan is not trying to affect the human world in the long term. There is no sinister "war for souls" being fought. The story is that of a little girl's cat serving as a figurative human experience: that of grief, loss, and regret. Far from a demon in the Western sense, Jibanyan represents human anxieties. Befriended by the young boy Keita, Jibanyan finds a measure of peace and the pandemonium ceases. But that context is only captured with a wide enough lens.

Like Greenwald and Phillips (1985), Overmyer (2016) produces an ethnocentric interpretation of Japanese media through the lens of a specific splinter of Conservative Christianity, one that strongly believes in the presence of supernatural beings opposed to the Christian God. However, conservative Christian perspectives in the vein of Overmyer, Greenwald and Phillips seem content to measure *Yōkai Watch* against Judeo-Christian values, morality, and judgment.[16] Without any other context, people find simple answers that fit within their own cultural paradigm. This often results in defining unfamiliar things (the Other) as the opposite (bad) of the self (good). We fear pandemonium, and ignorance projects it onto the unknown.

Victor (1990) posits that people interact with their environment through informal discussions and explanations of the unexplained (i.e. folklore). More specifically, these informal explanations become "real" by mutual

validation, offering what seems to be a feasible explanation for people's concerns (Victor 1990:58-59). Victor emphasizes that "Others" (those outside the conception of the self) have people's concerns, fears, and unexplained phenomenon projected onto them. In this way, the "Satanic Panic" can be understood as a relatively typical expression of anxieties onto the outside world. Unlike the interpretation of yōkai as being the mercurial manifestations that reflect an uncertain natural world, this Judeo-Christian lens frames them as agents of a malevolent evil with an agenda. Presented in this context, elites within Conservative Christian circles thus limit and define permissible media through a tightly controlled range of sources.

Yet other Christian scholars and writers challenge such an evaluation of Japanese motifs using Judeo-Christian values. Christian gaming enthusiasts in particular write to concerned readers in much this way. Covel (2015a) describes Yōkai as "a fairly broad terms encapsulating a variety of mythical Japanese creatures and unexplainable occurrences… often tied to nature, ranging from animalistic shape-shifters to ogre-like brutes. While some Yōkai are benevolent and others malevolent, most fall into a morally gray area" (Covel 2015a). Covel reframes the discussion of yōkai in terms of "certain creatures of Greek mythology, such as the dryad… In other ways, yōkai resemble the baleful Fair Folk of European tales" (Covel 2015b). This analysis parses Yōkai apart from a term of satanic allegiances: while Yōkai are loosely qualified as "demons," they really don't neatly fit 'our' category of "demon," which typically are imagined as being agents of Satan. Covel (2015a, 2015b) reorients understanding yōkai from a Judeo-Christian to a European and even Indian mythical context. This pivots the reader from the unfamiliar to the more familiar, allowing them to define the production of pandemonium in more familiar terms. Covel (2015b) elaborates that she was a 'child of the 1990s, where her school (a private Christian institution) "banned (Pokémon) at the school on account of the series' demonic influence and focus on evolution." Covel (2015a) further argues that Christian erroneous assumed 'demons' in Eastern and Western lore are synonymous. Consequently, Covel (2015b) concludes the demonization of *Yōkai Watch* can be reduced to the "fear mongering of uniformed Christian consumers," another in a long line of scapegoats produced from Others.

Covel emphasizes how yōkai *can* be interpreted in a western context – like the unpredictable and inscrutable godlings and deities of the Greco-Roman world, yōkai reflect how people try to understand – and contain – an uncertain world. While not an academic, Covel stresses the importance of cultural context produced via a holistic examination of the world. Covel may not follow scholarly methods or have institutional credentials, but as evidenced by Dorson and Yanagita, even academic scholarship can be biased and flawed. And as a voice within Christian communities, Covel carries an agency that academics cannot – and presents an argument understood by non-academic audiences. Both types of interpretation can benefit from an ongoing conversation within a robust academic community. For those outside academia, stand-

ards can vary – some relying on paranoia, while others reflect a more nuanced approach. While operating outside of academic methodologies, public scholars like Covel provide a valuable opportunity to synthesize new academic approaches. The question is not whether Covel makes a contribution to the discussion, but how academic scholars can adopt some of Covel's approach and widen their own potential audience.

Bridging the Gap in Scholarship and Interpretation

As I have discussed elsewhere (2016a, 2016b), there is a valuable opportunity to integrate public scholarship within the academic discourse for altruistic and pragmatic reasons. Not only are we fostering a more inclusive and multicultural paradigm, but we are also prudently demonstrating value to both the public and our institutions. Brewer (2006) notes that folklorists have an important role to play in "mediating" relationships between the public and academic sectors. The public, which does not always have the critical or theoretical context to understand or interpret different cultures, can benefit greatly from someone who can help "broker" such meetings and conversations. Acknowledging topics of public interest and engaging in an open discourse demonstrates our value, and builds trust with public audiences. By fostering engaged participation and discussion of cultures, we can appreciate them and not just be "passive consumers of a spectacle or an 'infotainment'" (Brewer 2006:81). Put more simply, we should teach. The link between public accessibility and the academy is where 'the rubber hits the road.' Public interpreters, and by extension publicly accessible scholarly discussions, provide a critical link of meaningful influence and exchange. This link mediates and moderates communities' relationships not only with the subject matter but also with the scholars themselves. By actively engaging the public on topics of wide interest, academics can not only help prevent "caustic consequences" that arise from intentional and unintentional ignorance, but also justify their programs' own survival in a time when commercialization of higher education becomes increasingly prolific. One prime opportunity to foster such discussions would be through ethnographic fieldwork, engaging and examining how people produce, consume, and critique popular media. As this paper has discussed, analysis of media alone risks missing the cultural context(s) and clues uncovered through the process of interviewing and interacting with people. Future expansion of this research would benefit greatly from ethnography.

Conclusion

The stories we tell, whether they are produced by 'elites' or 'everyday' people, shape our worldview and values. Stories matter. They help us imagine the world around us and the world we want to live in. In *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind,* Harari (2015) discusses how "imagined realities" or the common values and ideas that specifically distill, and reinforce, a particular worldview produce the "mythical glue" that binds groups of people together. The question thus becomes one of

which stories we tell, and which we believe (Harari 2015). As Victor (1990) notes, these explanations are learned and shared behaviors in the form of stories that explain the unexplainable. Rather than rigidly defining the world by a singular viewpoint, academic scholars have an opportunity to help people understand that seemingly disparate experiences can be interpreted in familiar ways.

Whether raksha, dryads, yōkai, goblins or ghosts, each of these human creations seeks to define the pandemonium of an uncertain world. In an effort to turn back a tide of pandemonium we perceive from coming without, we cultivate a disconnect between cultures because we fail to see similarities we share. Ultimately, academic scholars can contribute much to the public good with an inclusive discussion that steps beyond the bound of academic discourse. Public scholars such as Covel (2015a, 2015b), and academic scholars such as Brewer (2006) demonstrate that there is a willingness on the part of general audiences to listen, and an opportunity for academics to become trusted brokers. By seeking to know the unfamiliar, we realize how much that pandemonium and the humans who create it are the product of experiences that transcend time and space.

NOTES

1. For the purposes of this paper, I've chosen to use 'spirit' as loose translation for Yōkai, as it lacks some of the moral implications of words such as demon. However Foster's decision to leave Yōkai untranslated and purposefully ambiguous in its definition, provides an apt way to sum up how Yōkai defy the ordinary. Foster also notes Yōkai has been "variously translated as monster, spirit, goblin, ghost, demon, phantom, specter…" and several other ways (2009:2). The term transcendent was chosen for this paper's title for its allusions to experiences beyond those of everyday human life and the ability of Yōkai to surpass the natural world (and its destruction). Additionally, 'transcendent' also alludes to the notion that Yōkai, despite their specificity, can also be related to by different groups of humans across time and space. While Yōkai are a Japanese configuration of ambivalence and anxiety towards an unpredictable world, the tendency for humans to cast their causes onto the supernatural is a common human behavior.

2. Like Casal, Nichibunken, or the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, maintains a similar database (in Japanese) on Yōkai. Worth noting, however, is the close ties maintained between Nichibunken and nationalist interests who pursue a racially and culturally homogeneous narrative of Japan. Ian Buruma, of the now defunct *Far Eastern Economic Review*, has spoken at length on such concerns (1987).

3. Recently published in English for the first time, *Japandemonium Illustrated* collects four works of Edo-period author Toriyama Sekien. Translators Hiroko Yoda and Matt Alt note that while Toriyama's work is rife with some references best understood by erudite nobles familiar with other texts of the period, it is an evocative sample and a collection of Yōkai lore and culture (2016).

4. See Foster's "Haunting Modernity: Tanuki, Trains, and Transformation in Japan" for a discussion on *tanuki* as resistance to change (2012). Aside from *tanuki* terrorizing travelers as phantom trains and as the ghost of a samurai's wife, contemporary depictions include Studio Ghibli's *Pom Poko,* where

urban developers in 1960's Japan run afoul of *tanuki* living in the forests outside Tokyo. Ultimately defeated, the *tanuki* of *Pom Poko* valiantly try to preserve their wilderness home by sabotaging and spooking residences and construction sites.

5. See Figal's discussion in *Civilization and Monsters Chapter Four: Desiring the Other (World): Yanagita's Turn Around Literature,* (2007). Folk traditions would later be assimilated by the Japanese government in the creation of a national mythic past. See Tai's excellent "Rethinking Culture, National Culture, and Japanese Culture" (2003) as well as Antoni's "Momotarō (The Peach Boy) and the Spirit of Japan: Concerning the Function of a Fairy Tale in Japanese Nationalism of the Early Shōwa Age" (1991) for more discussion on how Japan has crafted a national identity on the basis of myth, folk, and traditional beliefs.

6. See Yoda and Alt's discussion in the foreword to *Japandemonium* pages v-ix.

7. Worth noting is this machine sits beside a massive tree girded with a *shimenawa* (plaited rope) and *gohei* (prayer paper). The presence of these Shinto elements cue the audience in that this is a sacred space. For an informative Shinto Shrine guide see Mark Schumacher's extensive website (2013).

8. This 'midnight hour' changes the mechanics of the game version of *Yōkai Watch*, where players normally can roam about town. During these segments, players must evade the *oni*, using the buildings for cover and moving quietly. Once the *oni* notices Keita and Whisper, it swiftly chases them down and forces players into an unwinnable fight. Keita and Whisper wake up at home in a daze, and the players must replay the segment.

9. While Yōkai come with certain cultural attachments, it would be naïve to assume that the characters of *Yōkai Watch*, while evocative of folklore and folk culture, are not also the product of commercial interests designed to sell as many tchotchkes to young consumers as possible.

10. As we will see, this plays out in the reverse – and with serious objections – in the consumption of *Yōkai Watch* in America. Of little interest to political elites, American Conservative Christians would accuse it of corruptive intentions.

11. Ironically, NOA and the localizers assume people are too dense to appreciate or will be confused by Japanese culture… but that children will identify with the magical metaphor of "mischievous Yōkai." Similarly, some companies balk at the inclusion of colorful costumes and code names in superhero movies, because apparently people with laser vision and metal claws are less fantastical than yellow spandex.

12. *Thundercats'* broad premise involves humanoid heroic cats fighting an immortal mummy and his band of mutants who inhabit a vaguely Egyptian fortress on what could be pre-or-post historic Earth… blending science fiction and fantasy elements, the mishmash of imagery undoubtedly encouraged the Satanic Panic's sense of outrage at such outlandish Others. While *Thundercats* was in some ways a glorified toy commercial, it did attempt to embed a morality tale within its episodes.

13. Conservative Christian interpretations like "the Satanic Panic" are not limited to the 1980s, as a resurgence of similar fears appear at the turn of the millennium with similar work speaking out against *Pokémon* and *Yōkai Watch*.

14. Worth noting is that the idea of a cyclical relationship or the "projection" of the self into the toys/play related to the show is not unreasonable. While beyond the scope of this paper, this is a valid discussion point.

15.   These programs also acted as advertisements within the Christian community for these personalities, encouraging concerned Christians to 'send away' for additional materials with a small cash donation to Greenwald and Phillips' organizations/ businesses. In turn, viewers were 'blessed by God' in their 'stand for righteousness' (1985). In a setting arguably about saving souls, money and salvation became intertwined.

16.   Similar to Greenwald and Phillips, Overmyer's argument is melded with a certain entrepreneurial flair, scattering small snippets of text across eight separate pages, perhaps to drive click-based ad revenue. In addition, there are ads for his mailing list and an independently published book. One must wonder how much the "Satanic Panic" is built to line the pockets of those peddling the panic.

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The Meaning of Local: The Role of Language in Small-Scale Cooperative Movements

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ABSTRACT: *This paper examines a grocery cooperative community in the United States that seeks to respond to globalized food production with small-scale, local markets. The slogan "buy local" has become a ubiquitous evocation for the authentic, traditional food practices of our grandparents. This research contributes to an understanding of the extent to which the meaning of "local" represents cultural patterns that successfully challenge unsustainable practices and galvanize effective models of resistance to dominant food ways through the construction of food/morality associations. The research was conducted through semi-structured interviews with employees of an independent food cooperative and supplemented with a literature review of existing anthropological and interdisciplinary research on the small-scale food movement of the United States. A brief case study of one co-op affordability program is also presented. This research suggests that the meanings of words like "local," "organic," and "healthy" are co-created through the negotiation of expert and novice identities, are situated in the cooperative community's geographic locality, and are dependent on the cooperative principles of "self-help and self-responsibility." The result is that food qualities promoted by this community are deeply contextual and offer a rich backdrop for the study of group dynamics, materiality, and the intersections of food and morality.*

Keywords: Local, food, language, cooperative

Introduction

In this paper, I present an analysis of the constructed meaning of the word "local" as a food category and an examination of how the creation and maintenance of this meaning is enacted in the context of a small food cooperative community in northern Nevada. This research contributes to a rapidly expanding body of scholarship that examines the interplay between food and culture but focuses on a hitherto under-examined domain: the independent, small market setting of grassroots consumer food cooperatives which have been an almost invisible economic force in the United States for over a century. Food co-ops have a significant history of challenging dominant food paradigms and insisting on food policies that promote equity and health for the communities they serve and the environments they are situated in. This paper takes a closer look at the messages conveyed in the language of one food co-op as constructed both through published materials and during interviews with co-op managers. One of the underlying motivations of this research was to help uncover why food co-ops have largely escaped widespread appeal and continue to be sidelined in national food discourses that prioritize local and organic foods in favor of farmers' markets and CSAs (see Robinson and Farmer 2017, for example). Food co-ops can serve as valuable contexts for studying how power and inequality are negotiated through the semiotics and materiality of local food meanings in micro discourses. This research reveals that the meanings of "local" constructed in food co-op settings are complex and therefore can be difficult to navigate for new entrants to the discourse. As will be shown in a case study further on, some of the implicit ideologies in food co-op discourses are incongruous with explicitly stated ones. This research has implications within and beyond the food co-op com-munity as it improves our understanding of how consumption patterns are formed or reinforced around values that include environmental sustainability and personal health.

The research I have conducted has produced a rich variety of topics to explore, including the role that gender plays in the construction of local food meaning in cooperative discourse, the relation of nationalistic rhetoric to local food objectives, and issues of class in local food frameworks. However, in this paper, I will focus on two concepts that emerged as central to the community under study: the situated meaning of the word "local" in the context of the cooperative market, and the conflicting values apparent in one cooperative program that is aimed at increasing access to local foods.

The approach used in this research is consistent with the traditions of linguistic ethnography techniques including both interviews and textual analysis (Shaw et al. 2015). I am conducting this research from an emic perspective; I worked as a manager at two food co-ops serving two distinct market areas for eight years before returning to college. In that role, I attended national cooperative conferences that sought to strengthen cohesive strategies for positioning food co-ops as leaders in food system discourse. I also actively constructed narratives of identity for the food co-ops I worked for, either in internal organizational culture documents or in external marketing materials. The significance of linguistic material is not lost on cooperators (employees, managers, board directors, and members) and countless hours are spent on constructing the meaning of words like "local" at the micro-level of individual co-ops.

For this project, I conducted semi-structured[1] interviews with key stakeholders at a small food co-op in northern Nevada over the course of a semester. The co-op is located in the city's downtown area and adjacent to

an affluent historic neighborhood, the latter comprising most of the households that support the co-op. The downtown area is classified as a food desert by the United States Department of Agriculture's definition and has struggled to attract developers for a grocery store in part because the population consists of a high percentage of low-income residents (25 percent of the downtown population is living at or below the federal poverty line) (Higdon 2015). The participants in this study are generally representative of the demographic make-up of the co-op's shoppers, members and non-members alike. Participants[2] in this study include:

> Julia: Co-op wellness department manager, mother, and nutrition consultant; holds a master's degree in nutrition and is the co-op's former interim general manager; has worked for the co-op for 4 years; is married and has one young child.

> Jonathan: The local food and sustainability coordinator has worked for the co-op for 2 years; holds a bachelor's degree in biology and lives with his partner.

> Anna: Volunteer edible landscape coordinator and teaches garden workshops for co-op shoppers; has been an active co-op volunteer for at least 6 years; is a professional landscape architect and earned her master's degree studying edible landscapes at private schools; is married and has one adult son attending college out of state.

> Eddy: The co-op's board president; retired corporate professional, certified master gardener, and passionate home cook; lives with his wife.

These interviews consist of approximately 7 hours of audio material which was then transcribed; textual material, including the co-op's annual reports and guiding documents[3] (as published on its website), were also considered in my study. In particular, I conducted a more in-depth textual analysis on one co-op program that is aimed at increasing the affordability and accessibility of local, organic food. These two issues, affordability and access, are at the heart of the co-op's mission and are implicated in the applied use of the word "local" in this context. Finally, I also drew on published online materials from two national organizations that provide industry support to independent food co-ops, including the one in this study.

In analyzing my findings, I drew on interdisciplinary theory from a number of sources. I consider the construction and negotiation of expert-novice stances in the creation of the definition of local and the deference of some co-op managers to others (Jacoby and Gonzales 1991; Jacobs-Huey 2006). Although in this project I am not looking at conversation in action, I draw on aspects of Blommaert's sociolinguistic theories of discourse especially regarding the construction of identity and the identification of inequality in discourse analysis (2005) and combine this with approaches that examine the interaction of cultural food paradigms and morality within the

construction of the "healthy" food category (Grauel 2016; Karrebaek 2012, 2014; and Knight 2012; for example). This research is also informed by a considerable amount of interdisciplinary and multimedia material that examines various aspects of natural food construction, community building at farmers' markets, and the rhetoric of a local food movement in the United States (see Leitch 2013; Robinson and Farmer 2017; Robinson and Hartenfeld 2007; or Thompson 2012; among others). Overall, I follow the approach of linguistic ethnography, in combining traditional ethnographic methods with the theoretical underpinnings of applied linguistics (Cavanaugh et al. 2014; Copland et al. 2015; Rampton et al. 2015).

What Are Food Co-ops and Why Study Them?

Supporters have long viewed the food cooperative as a radical, proactive venue for subverting prevailing corporate food systems while promoting broad and equitable access to food security. Modern cooperatives trace their start to nineteenth century Rochdale, England. It was here that a small group of working class laborers pooled their financial resources to open a modest store that sold staple food items to member households at "honest weights and measures" (Cooperative Heritage Trust 2012). Eventually, this early cooperative experiment expanded to include other vital services such as housing, a library, and manufacturing facilities for Rochdale's members, often referred to as "the Pioneers" (Cooperative Heritage Trust 2012). Modern North American food cooperatives include this Rochdale historic narrative in their own histories and the explicit values of the Rochdale Pioneers form the basis for cooperative governance in the United States today (Thompson 1994). These values emphasize "self-help and self-responsibility" and originally arose as a response to the social dysfunctions resulting from industrialization in urban England in the nineteenth century (Cooperative Heritage Trust 2012). One of the aims of the Rochdale Pioneers was to provide affordable access to nutritious foods for Rochdale's proletariat class and this goal is almost unanimously echoed in the individual mission statements of modern U.S. food cooperatives. For example, the co-op in this study states increasing access to local and organic food as fundamental to its purpose and operates an outreach campaign specifically to engage low-income households, which may be interpreted as a reflection of the working class audience of nineteenth century co-ops. That there even exists formally recognized values to which all co-ops should adhere points to the susceptibility of the co-op community to associate morality with consumption practices.

In keeping with the critical and innovative advocacy of the early cooperative movement, today's co-ops are often vocal regarding the direction of national food policies such as organic certification and mandatory labeling for genetically modified foods. U.S. food co-ops can be seen as makers of meaning for progressive food platforms that drive national conversations about the future of our food systems. These food co-ops explicitly seek to increase access to affordable, healthy food but unlike the Rochdale co-op, they serve both members and non-

members.[4] I include this distinction because the results I will be presenting point to how the difficulty of appealing to these two separate audiences contributes to a fractured and overly complex discursive environment in food co-ops; this then can lead to muddled linguistic messaging that is difficult to parse for members and non-members alike.

Like the Rochdale cooperative, modern food co-ops typically begin as a grassroots collection of volunteers that each contribute financially toward opening a store-front. Most U.S. cooperatives have mission statements to articulate common goals that include a commitment to natural/local/organic food and the increased accessibility and affordability of this food. Also essential to food co-operatives is the ability of members to democratically participate in the management of the business by electing a board of directors and a mandate that the profits must be reinvested in the community or returned to the members through a patronage refund (Knupfer 2013). Non-members do not directly benefit financially from the co-op's profitability.

While some U.S. food co-ops operate more than one location, the majority tend to be single store, independent cooperatives each with slightly varying operational models and definitions. These circumstances make consumer food cooperatives a relatively underrepresented domain for consumption. They have diminished buying power and influence because of their independence. Though superficially they function as regular grocery stores with an emphasis on particular food categories, they also strive to serve as alternative business models in opposition to hegemonic capitalist market practices. Additionally, co-ops seek to convert casual, non-member shoppers into democratic participants with a stake in the cooperative and who would then also serve as ambassadors for the co-op's values.

The co-op environment is a rich semiotic landscape; for instance, the co-op considered in this study labels each product in the store with symbolic shelf tags that are designed to indicate the prestigious attributes of individual products: green for local items, orange for organic items, and white for "likely contains GMOs" items. Membership and educational materials regarding select food politics are also represented in co-op signage, though to a much lesser degree. The symbolic messaging creates an environment that is clearly intended to engage and educate the consumer but is not readily translated or self-explanatory. First time shoppers in the co-op who are uninitiated or unfamiliar with cooperative marketing paradigms would have difficulty making sense of the encoded messaging presented in differently colored shelf tags for example, and importantly, merely decoding[5] the color scheme of food qualities would not adequately explain the nuanced meanings behind the semiotic messages that the colors convey. For example, what of products that are both local and organic, or products that may contain genetically modified ingredients from local producers?

This research examines how members of the cooperative negotiate these, and other messages of the "local food" movement. Food cooperative speech communities are explicitly formed to offer an alternative means of consumption to dominant, globalizing, commercial supermarkets and the motivations and merits of this oppositional approach have been described by other researchers (Knupfer 2013; Robinson & Farmer 2017; and others) and documented by popular public personas (Joel Salatin or Michael Pollan, for example). The values-laden messaging of the cooperative and its emphasis on a hierarchy within that value system is consistent with existing theoretical work on ethical consumption and morality as it applies to food. Ethical consumption can be described as the social practice of enacting discretionary agency in the purchase of goods and services in order to minimize harmful consequences in humanitarian and/or environmental contexts and it requires that the consumer embraces a sense of personal responsibility for the outcomes of their purchasing decisions (Barnett et al. 2005; Grauel 2016). Here I show that food co-ops reflect the practice of ethical consumption by featuring products that mirror conventional counterparts but with the addition of an inherent "good," for example, local or organic status (Grauel 2016). In addition, attributes such as "local" are strongly associated with a moral hierarchy. The co-op in this study uses a pyramid model of food qualities with local and organic products at the very top and non-local, conventional items at the bottom. The pyramid shape of this model also emphasizes the relative scarcity of highly preferred food items. Ethical consumers may choose the most preferred and least available foods to signal their concern for the consequences of their purchasing. Karrebaek has shown that narratives regarding food consumption can be instruments for promoting preferred cultural practices and at times convey moral assessments of the actors in a given context (Karrebaek 2012, 2013, 2014). This is also an apparent subtext of the research I conducted and we see later that the practice of preferring "local" products to other items is viewed by the participants of this study as a moral good that promotes positive outcomes for themselves and for their immediate communities, while also responding to the negative effects of globalism. Moral assessments and preferred cultural practices are especially apparent in my examination of a co-op program designed to encourage low income households to dedicate more of their grocery spending to the co-op.

Complex Meanings and Messaging: Expert-Novice Negotiations on the Meaning of Local

The word "local" in the context of food values does not have a universal definition and the meaning of the word widely differs across contexts. Outside of the United States, local food as an indicator sometimes invokes a nationalist recognition of the particular food item's geographic origin and therefore has political overtones. For instance, the European Union offers legal protection for the origination and manufacture of food and agricultural products historically representative of particular regions (DeSoucey 2010). In the United States, and particularly in the arid high desert where this research was conducted, local food has much less to do with the traditional foods originating in the region and more to do with the address

on the item's shipping label. Any food item is fair game for local status so long as some portion of its manufacture or cultivation was conducted within near geographic proximity of the consumer regardless of how exotic the origination of the food item. For example, coffee beans can not be cultivated locally anywhere in the continental United States but one can purchase "local coffee" that is in some way altered (either roasted or brewed) from its original state by a local business. Furthermore, the boundaries of the geographical proximity that "local" represents are highly subjective. For example, the organic industry leader Whole Foods defines local as within the same state as the nearest store. Co-ops have taken up the role of crafting a meaningful definition that is situated in the community in which the co-op operates. The food co-op examined in this study, like food co-ops across the country, has constructed unique parameters of "local food" status. This co-op defines these foods as those "sourced within our food shed" which is comprised of "the three closest river systems." This equates to an irregularly shaped field of area that is roughly 130 miles east/west and 160 miles north/south of the co-op. Foods grown or produced outside this geographic area are considered regional, national, or more distant. This definition was arrived at cooperatively as a result of numerous lengthy discussions between co-op volunteers in the early days of the co-op's formation. In this case, the meaning of local seems easy enough, but my interviews with co-op managers revealed additional layers of meaning as well as partiality and deference to expert identities within the co-op management.

The co-op employs a local food and sustainability coordinator whose job it is to promote local foods cross-departmentally and to educate the co-op's community about the importance of choosing local foods. In the following excerpt, Jonathan discusses the local status of one product, a fruit bar produced nearby (within the co-op's watershed and less than 50 miles from the store) and distributed internationally. He describes how even though this item is produced by a local business, it actually doesn't qualify as local to the co-op because it is distributed through a regional distribution center.

> There have to be direct relationships. They ship their bars over the mountains, through the snow storms to a different watershed to the warehouse in Rocklin and then they move 'em on to a different truck and ship them back on the *exact* same road, I mean they probably drive right past our store on the way out there. So those products aren't local. The bars on the grocery shelves in the package aren't local. The ones in the *bulk* set, which they ship direct to us, are. Same company, different method of distribution, and at the co-op we actually *do* define them as being different products in that regard.

The local company described in Jonathan's example distributes their product globally and relies on a large natural food distribution company to deliver their products even to stores like the co-op that are less than an hour's drive from the production facility. The product travels from the production site to a regional depot in Rocklin, California, which is just over 100 miles from the co-op but is also, crucially, "through the snow storms to a different watershed" thus eliminating the local status of the product for the co-op community. The local, or non-local, status of this product is constructed via insider knowledge that is not readily transparent to shoppers. The co-op constructs local status as at least partially dependent on the privileged position of staff who have more information on which to base decision-making than the general public.

Jonathan also constructs the co-op as a specialized domain that recognizes a finer understanding and application of the local food category than other retailers. While the bars in question would be granted local status at our area's Whole Foods store based on their production within the same state, the co-op community rejects this categorization: "we actually *do* define them as being different." This positions the co-op as more selective than larger retailers regarding which items are authentically local; this increased selectivity also indexes the co-op as more authentic and prestigious to experts like Jonathan who value the more exclusive construction of the meaning of local.

This multi-faceted construction of local situated in the cooperative community is much more nuanced than the superficial meaning produced through mass-marketed product badges and advertisements. The meaning referred to by Jonathan is formed after acquiring intimate knowledge of the business processes that deliver this particular food item to his community cooperative. Numerous writers in national narratives that describe local food, celebrated authors Michael Pollan or Barbara Kingsolver for example, have further illustrated this deeper application of the local food category. Recently, anthropologists recognized seven distinct qualities of "local" food: they are temporal, healthful, small-scale, accountable, environmentally sustainable, concerned with multiple systems, and oppositional (Robinson and Farmer 2017:11-19). Several of these features are observable in the applied use of local as described by Jonathan above; however, what is most compelling about these nuances is that they seem to defy the existence of any singular definition of "local," instead supporting the argument that there are several situated meanings of the word dependent on the experience of the speaker, the proximity of the product's origin to the user's community, the implicit qualities of the item, as well as subjective qualities assigned by the interlocutors in local food discourse.

While this fact may be accepted by co-op shoppers and even seen as an advantage to shopping at a co-op where many of these negotiations are handled 'behind the scenes' by co-op managers like the local food and sustainability coordinator, there are constructed distinctions between expert and novice stances even among co-op managers that are problematic. Linguists describe the expert-novice relationship in discourse as stemming from "asymmetries of knowing" (Jacoby and Gonzales 1991:152) and argue that the relative knowledge of individuals is fluidly displayed during interaction to develop

dynamic status among individuals (Jacobs-Huey 2006, Jacoby and Gonzales 1991). In this research, each of the participants is a categorical expert in relation to the wider co-op community in that they are employed to make knowledgeable decisions regarding what qualifies to be a co-op product; however, not all co-op leaders perform the expert identity and frequently defer to others as more competent. In the following excerpts, a department manager reveals that she defers to others on the management team as more qualified experts to interpret meaning in co-op discourse and she describes the discomfort that these dynamics cause.

Below, Julia, the Wellness Department Manager, defers to Jonathan as the co-op's expert voice on what is local:

> I really want you to interview Jonathan, because I can have my opinions and stuff like that but he is so well versed at this and his brain just thinks about everything amazingly, so you're gonna throw away everyone else's interviews.

Though the literature suggests that expert-novice stances are typically negotiated through dynamic conversational exchanges (Jacobs-Huey 2006, Jacoby and Gonzales 1991), I did not observe interactions between Julia and Jonathan. However, Julia's statements were used to qualify her own opinions as novice, or "less-knowing," in comparison to the "more-knowing" expert, Jonathan (Jacoby and Gonzales 1991:152). The construction by Julia of these comparable stances further illustrates the fluid nature of the meaning of local which can have various levels of interpretation that require practice (for example, as in "he is so well-versed at this") as well as innate ability ("his brain just thinks about everything amazingly"). Julia voluntarily constructs Jonathan as expert relative to her own status, based on her conclusion that he has a superior understanding of the meaning of local compared to others, including herself.

In another excerpt, Julia speaks about her discomfort when interacting with her fellow cooperators:

> I also feel uncomfortable sometimes when I'm with my supremist [sic] friends at the co-op who … if it's not organic, then they don't eat it. And if it's not this, they don't eat it. And I've kind of slowly tried to embrace what I feel comfortable with in myself where I do like the 85/15 or the 80/20 … I do feel uncomfortable sometimes with them because I feel like … I'm not as pure. I'm more compromising. But it is a very, very much to be honest, a sense of stress in my life. And I think it's just the community, the food co-op community. And I appreciate them, and I respect them, and I think they're always trying to push people ahead and push the movement ahead and so there needs to be that sect of the population that's doing that and that's super core and committed to it. And I respect it, it's just, it's not me. And I mean, if you were to compare me to like anybody, a lot of other people, I would still be in this like 90 percent

threshold but I'm not a 98, you know what I mean? And I'm with people who are a 98 and I feel that eight percent difference.

This lengthy segment of our interview serves to illustrate in greater detail how Julia identifies as a novice in the co-op's community of practice. Julia characterizes experts in the community as those who insist on a strict diet of exclusively organic foods while she admits to achieving only 80-85 percent organic consumption. Further, she seems to suggest that expert status is not attainable for her personally when she says, "it's just, it's not me" and seems to distance herself from "that sect of the population" that in her view constitutes the "super core" experts who are more qualified to define the parameters of meaning in the context of local within the co-op community.

These insights are especially revealing when considering that Julia holds a master's degree in nutrition and has worked at the co-op about twice as long as Jonathan (four years versus two). They both claimed that they do all of their household grocery shopping at the co-op and prefer local, organic products to other options. Yet Julia refers to her statements as her "opinions and stuff like that," while privileging Jonathan as "so well-versed at this" in comparison to her. These statements construct Jonathan as more qualified to evaluate individual products' authenticity within the local food paradigm while disqualifying Julia's own assessments. Jonathan is constructed as an expert even among other relative experts ("I would still be in this like ninety percent threshold but … I'm not a ninety eight"). This reveals the complexity of identifying what is local (and organic) "enough" as well as the challenging nature of navigating an identity that feels competent conducting this identification. Among co-op employees, identities seem to reflect what Blommaert refers to as "extremely nuanced and fine-grained categories for that which is closest to us." Blommaert theorized that these subtle categories give way to "simple stereotypes exuding incapacity to perceive all kinds of difference as soon as we move away" (Blommaert 2005:207). I believe this hierarchical construction of stances that prefers some managers' contributions to the meaning of local to others, implies a moral hierarchy that assesses individual food choices on a spectrum of purity that will be even more apparent in the subsequent case study at the end of this paper. Julia perceives her own food consumption as less pure than Jonathan's and therefore this entails that she is less good when performing the local identity in the domain of the cooperative.

How these expert identities are qualified is not completely clear from this research, yet Julia is able to describe how she feels about it, "to be honest, a very, a sense of stress in my life" and "I'm with people who are a 98 and I feel that eight percent difference." Julia admits that though she has a high degree of access to understanding and contributing to the meaning of local, she sometimes feels that she is not "as pure" as others that co-construct this meaning with her. How does this appear to the wider community? True novices in local food discourse in the co-op domain may experience this same sense of "stress," or of displacement ("it's just, it's not

me"). This sense of ambiguity about one's ability to appropriately decode the highly structured co-op lexicon may be a source of conflict, guilt, or embarrassment for community members and thus likely creates difficulties when forming a coherent "identity repertoire" (Blommaert 2005:207). This insight becomes especially salient when widening our view to include non-member shoppers who can be assumed to have fewer resources for displaying competence in local food discourse.

Food cooperators both insist on rigid, morally charged, and uniquely crafted definitions of semiotic constructions of hierarchical food attributes—and still sometimes confuse these carefully constructed food qualities in conversation. For example, the attributes local, organic, and healthy are each carefully articulated as having distinct meaning in the co-op literature, yet they were frequently used interchangeably in my conversations with co-op employees.[6] Cooperators are critical of corporate sources of marketed food qualities that make claims similar to their own (e.g. the definition of local used by Whole Foods). They distrust the authenticity of the food labeling at major retailers while emphasizing that their own independent labeling is trustworthy. Anna explains what many in the co-op community see as distinctive to profit-driven capitalist food producers and retailers below:

> The system that these companies work off of is to always increase profit. They always have to have that rate of return for their stakeholders so at some point that is more important than the product they offer. Those [local] practices go on the wayside because it's way more important to make your stakeholders happy than actually make sure your product is this premium quality for the farmer, for the animals, for the consumers. So, I'm sure [principles] get watered down and there would be practices allowed that I probably wouldn't support.

Here Anna positions the local food genre, and the companies that support it, as oppositional to mainstream, conventional food sources. She problematizes profitability as inherently incompatible with her sense of moral good when she states "there would be practices allowed that I probably wouldn't support." However the co-op also must remain profitable to continue offering what is apparently viewed as a more ethical venue for consuming food products, and in fact, later in the interview Anna expresses her support of what she views as ethical ("small") companies growing and becoming increasingly profitable:

> You want a small company that has this brilliant idea to expand and be able to support their employees and they might at some point decide to sell to a bigger company or choose a bigger distributor … I'd rather in that model a conventional product gets taken off the shelf and an organic one gets added because at least that farmer takes care of the land for future generations.

These conflicting stances make for a complicated local food category that is constructed through multiple layers of meaning that are not easily deciphered; distance or geographic features are not as revelatory as might be suggested by the co-op's official discourses due to the variation in definitions between retailers. Negotiating the co-op's linguistic landscape requires a subtle contemplation of individual products on a case-by-case basis as well as an appreciation for exclusivity and an awareness of the moral superiority of preferred food production practices. As discussed earlier, co-ops strongly position accessibility as central to their missions. This begs the question: if accessibility is an aim, how can it be accomplished through small alternative consumer venues like food cooperatives that are premised on exclusivity?

The following case study sheds some light on the dynamics of navigating the tension between accessibility and exclusivity. The program examined below is designed by co-op experts (in fact, the co-op's General Manager is credited with creating and implementing the program) to bridge the gap between insiders—who possess the competence to identify and the resources to purchase local food items—and the stereotyped "other," who in this case are low-income, non-member occasional co-op shoppers. The program addresses the expert-novice divide by offering educational courses and a temporary supplement to the personal resources of individual candidates for inclusion in the co-op community. The candidates self identify by choosing to complete an application for the program, thus signaling their novice status in much the same way that Julia defers to another manager above. In both instances, our novice is already interacting discursively with the community but senses disconnect between the explicit moral hierarchy of the co-op linguistic environment and their own ability to perform an identity that satisfactorily expresses this morality. Karrebaek noted a similar disconnect in Danish classrooms when minority children would self-correct themselves during lunchtime encounters to signal their acceptance of cultural norms that might otherwise exacerbate their marginalization (Karrebaek 2012). In this way, individuals who are viewed or who view themselves as outsiders to the co-op community establish a means of gaining access to an identity of belonging.

Case Study of the "Round Up for Food Justice Program"

There is a perception within the co-op community that the most prestigious foods (foods that are both local and organic) are also more expensive in relation to their conventional counterparts. Each of the people interviewed for this project articulated something along the lines of this statement from the co-op's board president, Eddy: "when you see people who are on limited incomes … they are going to maximize their return with the dollars they have and organic [food] is not on their agenda." When asked if he thought groceries at the co-op were more expensive than comparable foods from other outlets he replied, "Oh! Absolutely!" This constructs local foods as more premium consumer goods, which are sometimes

perceived as out of reach for people with limited economic resources. Each of the people interviewed revealed that they employ strategies to offset the higher cost of their preferred foods; for example, growing some of their own produce, comparison shopping among multiple grocery retailers, and buying food and household items with employee discounts. In the following excerpt, Jonathan describes a strategy of sacrifice and prioritization that was similarly expressed by Julia:

> I think [cost is] more of a perceived barrier than a real one. I think it's really easy to set up your values to reflect the life you want to lead. It comes down to what we're choosing to prioritize … The level of poverty that prevents people from eating organic and local food is rare. It's more rare than people think. I consider owning a TV a huge indulgence and for a lot of people that is just a necessary thing you need to have in your house. I don't have a wireless in my house. I don't have Internet. And to me that's an indulgence and I'm probably one of ten people in the country that thinks that. I mean that's an expectation for most people.

Jonathan asserts that he prefers to place priority on purchasing relatively expensive foods as opposed to purchasing the "indulgences" of a television or Internet service. Julia mentioned that her strategies include "go[ing] on vacation once a year; I get recycled clothes." The purchase of the more expensive food items is positioned as a choice that is consistent with the prioritization of one's values and in opposition to purchasing other items perceived as more mainstream and less desirable to members of the co-op community. Local food choices are situated as values-oriented decisions that are more ethical than the "indulgences" of shoppers who do not make the same choices. People from outside the co-op domain who do not make buying local a priority are framed as ignorant of the social, environmental, and health consequences of eating a conventional diet. Cooperative leaders believe that through exposure to educational materials (for example, regarding nutrition or environmental impacts), the desirability of local and organic food will increase and shoppers are then expected to reprioritize spending to include these higher priced items in their household budgets. This reprioritization is an example of the "self-help and self-responsibility" principles inherent to cooperative organizations.

One of the methods that this co-op uses to explicitly educate low-income non-members is the Round Up for Food Justice Program, or RUP. This program encourages all co-op shoppers to "round up" their purchase to the nearest whole dollar by making a donation to the co-op's Round Up Program (RUP). The difference between the total purchase and the next whole dollar are donated to a fund managed by the co-op and then dispersed to community members who apply to participate in the program.[7] Applicants must demonstrate that they are experiencing financial hardship by indicating that one or more of their household's members qualifies for federal welfare assistance. The stated goal of this program is "to reduce the perception that cooking with organic whole foods is inherently expensive, time-consuming, and difficult." To this end, participants are required to attend eight weekly, two-hour classes that will "demystify healthy eating and support and encourage one another in adopting a healthier diet" (Round Up Program 2017). Vouchers worth twenty dollars are given to each participant at the end of each class and can be spent in the co-op on "approved items" selected by co-op staff. The RUP promotional materials state that each class is designed to:

> …[I]ntroduce participants to easy and delicious recipes that can be prepared with nothing more than an electric rice cooker. Meals are designed to cost less than $5 per serving, and are made only with organic and nutrient-dense ingredients.

The target audience for this program includes people who have visited the co-op but were turned off by the unfamiliar product mix, the prices, or both. The program is advertised on the Co-op's website (where the application materials must be downloaded) and on flyers posted in the store or on an outdoor bulletin board. The program is described as successful: "[o]ur participants currently range from ages 9 to 65, and are showing an encouraging level of interest and commitment to the program and what it has to offer" (Round Up Program 2017). The RUP is used as a vehicle to present information that will convert non-shoppers into regular shoppers and potentially into members of the co-op.

Casting non-shoppers of the co-op as ignorant enables the co-op to sidestep directly addressing the shopping public who might be informed but choose not to purchase relatively expensive, local, food items. In the RUP literature, local foods are confounded with the attributes "healthy" and "nutrient-dense." These foods are also constructed as expensive, though perhaps inadvertently; the program claims that: "meals are designed to cost less than $5 per serving." This price may not be considered affordable to people on limited incomes. Federal food assistance programs such as SNAP[8] are based on the U.S. Department of Agriculture's "thrifty meal plan" which estimates a cost of $1.80-$2.15 per meal while still emphasizing a nutrient-dense diet (United States Department of Agriculture Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion 2017). The co-op's *per serving* cost of five dollars "for families on tight budgets" is more than twice as expensive as the federal food program's *per meal* estimates. The construction of local food as relatively expensive seems to be reinforced by the Round Up Program rather than diminished.

Further, the RUP vouchers must be used on products pre-selected by the co-op staff and participants in the program are not granted any membership rights. These circumstances reinforce the RUP participants' status as "others," or as outsider/novices who are not considered competent by co-op insider/experts to navigate the landscape of local food products available to members in the co-op environment. Local food in this context is presented as unaffordable and difficult to identify without insider knowledge. The goals of the RUP program also imply

a moral (re)conditioning that seeks to reposition local foods as a high priority in participants' households while distrusting these participants to make appropriate choices for themselves when choosing among products in the co-op.

Conclusion

The ability of food co-ops to guide mainstream discourse regarding food politics is affected by issues of exclusivity, un-accessibility, and un-affordability that appear to be inherent in the meaning of the word "local" in this context. In this analysis, I have examined the nuanced meanings of the word local in the context of food cooperatives which are a specialized domain that privileges particular food values as interpreted in products prioritized from within a narrowly defined geographic area near the cooperative community. These meanings are a reaction to the post-modern era of globalization in the sense that they are a call for more connected communities that use their consumer power to support sustainable economic, social, and environmental initiatives, what many researchers are calling "ethical consumption" (Barnett et. al. 2005; Grauel 2016; for example). However, as this research has shown, the local food community may be prone to creating moral assessments of various actors within the community and can revert to the stereotyping of "others" (non-members). This research contributes to our understanding of how individuals view themselves and others as having agency to affect the humanitarian and environmental distress they perceive in the world around them; they do this in part by responding to it with the construction of personal identities that idealize certain consumption practices.

The complex meanings of local also construct differentiated identities for co-op members who view themselves as more educated and better able to prioritize moral values over meaningless indulgences than others, especially low-income families and non-member co-op shoppers. Individual food attributes are hierarchically rated in a complex assessment requiring insider knowledge. Actors within the co-op community are similarly placed on a moral hierarchy with some viewed as more competent or "pure" than others. As Julia and Jonathan have shown, this privileged status is emotional and challenging, even for co-op members who might be considered experts. Rather than supporting more competent identities, Karrebaek argues that this sort of socialization which emphasizes the critique of food consumption patterns further marginalizes individuals who already have limited ability to perform the dominant norm, in this case consuming local and organic goods (Karrebaek 2012:16-17). This critique of personal food choices reminds me of another common slogan of the health food movement, "you are what you eat." When particular food items are assessed against a moral backdrop of ethical evaluations, individuals are correspondingly placed under pressure to extend those evaluations to their personal identities.

My research suggests several avenues for additional research. For example, how do non-members view the co-op's culture and meaning-making? Are there alterna-tive definitions for the word 'local' even within the co-op domain between producers and management, members and non-members? How does the local category intersect our perceptions of health foods and our performance of a "healthy" identity? The implications of research on the language of communities that support the local food movement are intricately connected to a greater understanding of the cultural practices of ethical consumption and the construction of morality as it is expressed with regards to matters of food production and consumption.

NOTES

1. "Semi-structured" in this paper means that I prepared questions in advance of the interview but approached the interview session as a conversation, intentionally inviting the informant to contribute to the direction of the conversation.

2. All names are pseudonyms.

3. Co-ops in the United States each draft so-called guiding documents that commonly include a purpose or mission statement, bylaws, and buying guidelines that outline banned ingredients and preferential hierarchies for choosing what to carry on their shelves amongst all available products.

4. Few co-ops in the United States are "member-only" co-ops, meaning that they enforce a policy requiring shoppers to support the co-op by purchasing a share in the cooperative. This means that most co-ops must appeal to at least two tiers of shopper engagement: the member-owner who supports the mission of the co-op enough to become an active fiscal partner, and the non-member who is a less engaged participant without a voice in the co-op's governance.

5. Co-op shoppers can use posted color code keys displayed in various locations around the store to educate them selves on what the shelf tag color represents. This information is also available on the co-op's website.

6. These meaning are confused in many settings. See Knupfer (2013:191) or Adamson (n.d.) for example.

7. Round Up Programs are fairly common to food co-ops in the U.S.; however, often co-ops distribute the funds via donations to local food banks, or other member-nominated charities, rather than administering distribution on their own.

8. SNAP stands for Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program and is widely referred to as food stamps.

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The Limits of Shaping Ethnic Perceptions

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ABSTRACT: *Tourism provides host cultures with opportunities to pursue various goals and opportunities. However, host cultures also have limits and challenges as they interact with the tourism endeavor. This paper examines how Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers are afforded opportunities to pursue various goals through their businesses. However, it also highlights how they also feel caught in the middle between those various goals. The Kashmiri militancy, changes in the tourist clientele, behaviors identified as cheating, and tourist practices all contribute to this sense of feeling caught in the middle between their various goals.*

Key words: Kashmir, tourism, goals

Introduction

Travelling alone, I walked out of the airport in Srinagar and was lured into a taxi by a local guide and taken to a houseboat on what is referred to as the front line of houseboats in Dal Lake. The houseboats, often decorated in traditional Kashmiri wood-carvings, Kashmiri crewel, and other Kashmiri handicrafts, largely serve as hotels and guesthouses for tourists who desire to stay in a beautiful and unique setting. The main road immediately adjacent to the lake, known as the Boulevard, is marked by countless tourism-related shops selling a wide array of goods, but mostly traditional Kashmiri handicrafts that are often referred to by locals as "Kashmir Arts." Restaurants, hotels, and guesthouses catering to the throngs of tourists that visit this beautiful Himalayan valley are mixed in among the shops. During the busy tourist summer months, the Boulevard is filled with tourists, or potential shoppers, particularly in the evenings when the sun is going down and the heat of the day is over. Most tourists come from other parts of India, who being unused to the cooler temperatures in this mountainous region are typically decked out in winter attire, seeking warmth underneath their shawls, sweaters, and jackets. Walking down the Boulevard, tourists are bombarded by shopkeepers asking them to "come and take a look," or saying "looking is for free" in a smattering of languages. Once a customer is in the shop, Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers employed various strategies in order to make a sale. This scene is repeated multiple times a night for days on end.

Within this context, the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers pursue various goals that they have as they engage in their businesses. In attempting to achieve their goals, the Kashmiri shopkeepers of this study often feel caught in the middle between various business objectives and their desires to project Kashmiri identity in positive ways. This paper will examine the literature surrounding the intersection of tourism and culture, which largely focuses on the ways that host cultures have limited responses to tourism or ways that they employ agency in reacting and shaping the tourism experience. The article will explore the literature on ethnicity, identity, and power, which will be understood in the context of tourism exchange.

This paper argues that tourism provides the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers of this study opportunities to pursue a multiplicity of goals through their businesses; however, they often feel caught in the middle between various goals. In exploring tourism in Kashmir, it is important to discuss the Kashmiri militancy in order to understand the context of the study, even though the militancy is not the focus of this paper. Understanding more fully a few of the outcomes of the militancy on the shopkeepers aides in demonstrating the ways in which the shopkeepers in this study often feel caught in the middle between various goals that they are uniquely afforded through their tourism-related businesses. As intermediaries between tourist cultures and their own culture, the shopkeepers pursue goals partly due to conflicting perceptions of the militancy. The militancy, the changing tourist clientele, shopkeeper behaviors identified as cheating, and tourist behaviors all contribute to a sense of feeling caught in the middle and will be explored in this paper.

Tourism and Culture

Significant research has been done on the intersection of tourism and culture. Some contend that tourism, by its very nature as a leisure activity, fosters a power differential between the tourist culture and the host culture, which leads to tourism functioning as a collaborative, imperialistic endeavor (Nash 1989; Whittaker 1997). In these arguments, host cultures have little power to shape the encounters that they have with tourist cultures or with their tourist clients. Graburn (1989) argues that tourists partake in imperialistic goals because they strive to memorialize their "sacred" vacation experience through the purchase of souvenirs. Different types of tourists will want and demand different products that serve as symbols of their time among a particular ethnic culture.

Other research suggests that host cultures are not merely "passive recipients of a tourist dynamic," and focus on the intersection, overlap, and distinction between hospitality and engagement in tourism businesses (Chambers 2010:3-4). One way that host cultures employ agency in the tourism endeavor is that it is through their interactions with tourists that they are able to foster the perceptions that outsiders have about them (Stronza

2010). Tourism provides necessary economic benefits to host cultures, but it can also be a repetitive, monotonous task to repeat similar actions and similar conversation with each group of successive tourist customers (Smith 1989). Host cultures often have limited significant interaction with tourist cultures and can benefit from these interactions through improvements of self-perception (Smith 1989). Adding to this, Tucker (2016) acknowledges that empathy and cultural understanding are often desired outcomes of tourism, but there are limits in tourism's ability to produce these outcomes. For example, face-to-face encounters that are limited in scope, as most interactions between hosts and tourists often are, can lead to senses that one group fully grasps the other without really doing so.

Some studies reveal how tourism can reinforce cultural values and cultural practices among host cultures (Abbink 2010; Crystal 1989; Duggan 1997; Fisher 2010; McKean 1989). Hitchcock (1997) argues that working in tourism can expose workers to the ways of the broader world, but it can also magnify poverty and inequality within their own cultures as well. Through engagement in globalized, capitalistic endeavors, including tourism, there does seem to be the provision of some degree of agency for people who are understood to be marginalized (Green et al. 2017). Indeed, it seems plausible that host cultures often feel that they are obligated to take advantage of tourists in their interactions and exchanges with them (Nuñez 1989). These studies indicate the complexity of interactions between host cultures and tourist cultures, specifically focusing on the ways in which host cultures interact with or respond to tourism. This discourse seems to center around ways in which tourism is either oppressive and imperialistic, or ways that tourism emphasizes agency and provides opportunities for host cultures to shape their lives and the tourism exchanges they are involved in. While these studies indicate greater complexity in the exchange, host cultures often face competing goals and objectives while engaging in tourism.

Hasan Dogan (1989) provides a more complex, theoretical framework with which to understand interactions between host cultures and tourists. He claims that there are five responses, which he identifies as: resistance, retreatism, dependency, cultural revitalization, and cultural adoption. Dogan's framework adds a layer of complexity to the discourse, but stills seems rather simple. It might be possible to place most host cultures into Dogan's categories in attempting to understand their relationships with tourism, but it does not provide complex understandings of the ways in which different aspects of culture, notably ethnicity, gender, or power intersect with tourism. This discourse seems to examine host cultures in their entirety as they intersect with tourism. It does not seem to fully recognize that host cultures may have a multiplicity of goals, which makes it difficult to box many cultures into these categories.

Research reveals that images and perceptions of tourism areas are often promoted, encouraged, and satisfied by host cultures (Salazar 2014) Thus, it is important for workers in tourism to "mirror the imaginations tourists have" about the area, and that "two different logics are at

work simultaneously: a logic of differentiation that creates differences and divisions; and a logic of equivalence that subverts existing differences and divisions" (Salazar 2014:117). Host cultures, thus, find it advantageous to mimic back to tourists perceptions that others have about them, while at the same time balancing closeness to the tourist culture within the context of differentiation. Tourism workers often interact with different phantasms and imaginaries, speaking to ways in which people label the same behavior in different ways based on the identities of the persons involved (Favero 2003). The emphasis here is on the fluidity of identity; that in being able to shift one's identity, one is actually employing power and creating identity. These studies provide greater complexity to examinations between hosts and tourists in tourism interactions.

The Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers of this study employ agency within their tourism activities (Chambers 2010). In fact, they seem to emphasize their choices and their abilities, in particular the ways in which they feel they are empowered through tourism to shape outsiders' perceptions of Kashmir and Kashmiris (Stronza 2010). Through these interactions, the shopkeepers also seem able to improve images of themselves (Smith 1989). While there are examples of shopkeepers attempting to mimic tourist expectations, the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers in this study do not seem to practice mimicry, as Salazar (2014) suggests. This paper argues that one shopkeeper goal is to correct misperceptions that tourists feel about Kashmir and Kashmiris. If they are successful, it demonstrates how tourism affords them the opportunity to pursue financial goals, as well as goals of reestablishing positive images of Kashmiris.

On the surface, the shopkeepers seem to be engaging in some play with their identities in order to achieve various goals (Favero 2003). They would routinely speak other languages that they really do not know in order to connect with tourists in an effort to make a sale. These behaviors may speak to self-perceptions of being more cosmopolitan, but the argument of this paper is that the shopkeepers are not necessarily creating new identities, but rather they are attempting to reestablish an identity that they feel is being lost or challenged. Thus, one of the goals that the shopkeepers have for their tourism-related businesses is to attempt to reestablish their identities.

Ethnicity, Group, and Power

Ethnicity, understandings of the group, and power relationships aide in understanding how host cultures respond to, interact with, and relate to tourism and tourists. Ethnicity provides people with a sense of belonging for insiders to a group and provides distinctions between connect with tourists in an effort to make a sale. These behaviors may speak to self-perceptions of being more cosmopolitan, but the argument of this paper is that the shopkeepers are not necessarily creating new identities, but rather they are attempting to reestablish an identity that they feel is being lost or challenged. Thus, one of the goals that the shopkeepers have for their tourism-related businesses is to attempt to reestablish their identities.

Ethnicity, Group, and Power

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> It must be remembered that not only do we name ourselves, but, crucially, the "other" names us too. So while individuals can claim a particular social or cultural identity for themselves, the way in which individuals/groups are represented in the social order is a product of discursive formations that are constituted by public and legal discourses [2004:21].

Different parts of identity are interconnected, particularly ethnicity, gender and class (Yelvington 1995). Identities are formed in the context of power and in relationship to difference, which often occurs within processes of economic production and exchange (Yelvington 1995). Power relationships seem critical in attempting to understand interactions between various cultural groups, particularly when one group expresses sentiments of oppression or domination by another group.

It is helpful to understand resistance as a way to understand power (Abu-Lughod 1990). In resisting, there seems to be indication that the power is indeed working and accomplishing some of the objectives of the powerful. Purcell (1993) examines how individuals use cultural symbols in order to create and employ power, and attempts to understand how people react to these culturally created symbols. He argues that people employ their identities and their ethnicities in different ways in attempts to gain power, or for cultures that have histories of subjugation, to use them in attempts to achieve equality. Thus, the creation of new identifying symbols may be understood as a form of resistance against power.

Some people might employ strategies of creating and fostering images, that may or may not be fully real, in order to survive (Newell 2012). Some "took not only prestige but real profit from their target in a successful deceptive transaction" which is understood as "both an art and a means of survival" (Newell 2012:5). This act of "bluffing," as Newell describes it, is used as a way to build and maintain social relationships that are required

in order to economically thrive, but acts of "bluffing" are not understood as being disingenuous actions. Rather, they "saw the difference between the 'look' people were able to project and their material position in life as a positive transcendence of their surroundings rather than an artificial put-on" (Newell 2012:5).

The Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers in this study have a goal of challenging the way others "name" them and fostering a more positive image among their tourist clients as they pursue multiple goals through their businesses (Stronza 2010). There is sense that they are "creating" identity through the creation of cultural symbols as Purcell (1993) suggests, but the "creation" would more accurately be labelled an attempted reestablishment of identities that they feel are being challenged. The reestablishment of Kashmiri identity, which is one goal that is afforded the shopkeepers through tourism, could be understood as a form of resistance because it refutes and challenges perceptions that tourists, among others, have about them (Abu-Lughod 1990; Yelvington 1995). In fact, tourism interactions and the power differential that is felt by shopkeepers contributes to their need to reestablish their identities. In a sense, the shopkeepers do seem to be "bluffing" their way to a perceived historical reality of *Kashmiryat*, or Kashmiri-ness, that they feel used to exist (Newell 2012). In some ways, they are trying to display Kashmiri-ness in ways that are perhaps less than real, but the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers in this study are aware of and acutely feel the tension between their claims on identity and outsider perceptions of their identity. In pursuing various goals afforded them through tourism, the shopkeepers often feel caught in the middle, which means that they feel forced into choosing particular goals in particular moments in particular exchanges. While Newell (2012) argues that "bluffing" is not deceit, the shopkeepers in this study seem to acknowledge it as such, even if they want it to work. The shopkeepers seem aware of and dislike the ways in which they feel they are negotiating their identities, but they also feel as though they have limited choice. While the shopkeepers of this study emphasize their power and capabilities in engaging with tourists, the tension they feel recognizes that in some ways they feel powerless and limited in doing so (Nash 1989; Whittaker 1997).

Methodology

The fieldwork for this study occurred during the summer of 2014, primarily in "Kashmir Arts" shops on or near the Boulevard in Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, India. Initially the shopkeepers were content to let me sit in their shops, observe them as they interacted with customers, and in general treated me in the traditional ways that Kashmiris would treat a guest, because as a white, American man that is most likely how I was viewed. Having spent considerable time in Srinagar and Kashmir prior to that summer, this frustrated me because I had known the vast majority of the study participants for years and consider them friends. A turning point in the study occurred when I travelled with one shopkeeper to a mountain hill station to work in his brother's shop for a

couple of days. In the evenings, the shop was extremely busy and I both offered my service and was accepted as a helper and salesperson, particularly with tourists who came into the shop who were not South Asian and it was assumed spoke English. After this experience, the shopkeepers routinely asked me to participate with them.

The majority of the shopkeepers in this study were in their twenties and thirties. All of the men in this study identified as being ethnically Kashmiri and as Muslim. There were seventeen formal participants and approximately fifteen others that were involved as well. Pseudonyms have been used to protect their identities.

Kashmir and the Militancy

Kashmir is a lush, green, valley surrounded by the Himalayas. It has been politically divided between India and Pakistan since the British left South Asia in the 1940s, leaving Kashmir largely caught in the middle between these two powers. A significant amount of research has been done on the history of the conflict and factors that have contributed to Kashmiri militancy (Chenoy 2002; Mehta 2010; Punjabi 1990; Rahman 1996; Schofield 1996; Wirsing 1994). The Indian government promised a referendum of self-determination in Kashmir, but this never occurred. In 1987, a local election in Kashmir was largely interpreted as unfair, which allowed for separatist groups to gain in popularity and support among Kashmiris (Chenoy 2002). It is argued that militaristic actions often "arise and base themselves on the alienation and grievances of local people; they mobilize and build their ideology along the lines of ethnic or religious identity; and in most cases they construct an 'outsider' as the enemy" (Chenoy 2002:128). For many Kashmiris, the Indian government is understood as an enemy of Kashmiri goals of self-determination. The militant struggle has contributed to distinctions in ethnicity between Kashmiris and all other groups residing in India as "Indian." Militarization impacts all aspects of culture and "demonstrates how gender, class, race, nation, ethnicity, fundamentalism, and globalisation intersect, and connect up with militarism and each other to form a grid of oppressions that are mutually supportive" (Chenoy 2002:3). For Kashmiris, the struggle has also negatively impacted their major economic activities including agriculture and tourism.

Many Kashmiris, most of whom live under Indian control, are exceptionally proud of their beautiful home and their ethnicity (Punjabi 1990; Wirsing 1994). The shopkeepers in this study routinely make comments about Kashmir being a "paradise" or "heaven on earth." They also connect being Kashmiri with a sense of place, and the beauty of the Valley they call home contributes to their sense of being a unique and exceptional people. The "Kashmir Arts" also contributes significantly to the pride that Kashmiris feel (Savasere 2010).

The focus of this paper is not on the militant struggle that Kashmiris have been pursuing against the Indian government since the late 1980s, but it does affect how Kashmiris view themselves and other groups around them. Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers in this study

articulated clear distinctions between ethnic Kashmiris and other groups. The shopkeepers also made it exceptionally clear, sometimes even to Indian tourists, that they were not Indian. In one bartering exchange, an Indian tourist said, "We are all Indians. You are an Indian. I am an Indian. Why are you asking so high a price?" The shopkeeper responded by forcibly saying, "Who says we are Indian? I am not Indian. We are Kashmiri!" This demonstrates a resistance to the power of the Indian state and the assumption that being under its control then makes one Indian. It also indicates that the power of the state may be working in shaping perceptions of Kashmiri-ness, which explains why the shopkeepers have a goal of reestablishing identity through their tourism businesses. (Abu-Lughod 1990; Yelvington 1995). This also reveals an act of agency on the part of the shopkeepers to shape how the tourist customers view them, however limited that power may actually be (Green et al. 2017; Stronza 2010).

The militancy, however, contributes to a problem for the shopkeepers in this study. For many Kashmiris, the militancy is understood as a way to defend Kashmiri ethnicity from outside influences and control, thus reestablishing a sense of self that is at least partially being undermined by the Indian occupation. The militancy might be understood as a symbolic, and real, attempt to reestablish Kashmiri standing against a dominant Indian presence (Purcell 1993). The way that Kashmiris respond to these symbols is dramatically different from the ways tourists in Kashmir do. Tourists generally understand the Kashmiri militant uprising as a Muslim terrorist movement. This perception of the militancy further enhanced a need for shopkeepers to defend their ethnicity through their interactions with their customers in their shops. The shopkeepers felt as though outsiders failed to accurately understand the militancy or the motivations behind it. One shopkeeper said, "Indian customers believe what they see on the media, but the media does not tell the truth. They think that every Kashmiri is a terrorist." (Ishfaq, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, June 19, 2014) Another echoed a similar sentiment, "Indians say that Kashmiris are terrorists. Terrorists are also in other parts of India, but they do not make a big deal about those problems. They only make a big deal about terrorism in Kashmir" (Ubaid, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, August 3, 2014). This reveals how the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers in this study feel caught between conflicting perceptions of identity. In some ways, interactions with tourism forces them into consistent interactions where alternate perceptions of Kashmiri-ness are articulated and thrust upon them, which contributes to the creation of their goals (Smith 1989). It also provides them with opportunities to reestablish perceptions of Kashmiri-ness that they feel are more accurate.

Adding to the problem of conflicting perceptions, the tourism shopkeepers clearly encountered financial challenges because of the militancy. One shopkeeper claimed that the militancy

impacts us because if something goes wrong any-where in Kashmir, then the tourists will not come here. If there is a problem anywhere in Kashmir, maybe two hundred kilometers away, not here in Sri-nagar, then tourists will not come here. The TV chan-nels want their ratings to be high, so they show small things that happen and make them seem very big. Many customers tell us that they were afraid to come here. After they come here, they see that there is not any problem and they are glad that they came. They see that they can trust us [Adil, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, August 6, 2014].

This shopkeeper felt as though outside perceptions of the militancy were exaggerated and that there was a mo-tive on the part of the Indian media to portray things in Kashmir as worse than they really were. Media portrayals of the militancy fostered feelings of fear among tourists that affected how many tourists made the journey to Kashmir, which obviously impacted the shopkeepers' financial goals in negative ways. They felt victimized by these perceptions and often expressed a need to challenge or refute negative understandings of themselves and their homeland. This shopkeeper also demonstrated how per-sonal interactions through tourism enabled them to chal-lenge negative perceptions tourists may have associated with the militancy (Green et al. 2017; Stronza 2010). In claiming that tourists "can trust us," the shopkeeper im-plied that outsider perceptions of the militancy as a ter-rorism movement fostered a sentiment of fear and dis-trust. This is explained by the reality that people only have assumptions and stereotypes about a particular peo-ple to determine trustworthiness when they are in new environments (Tobin 2011). That being said, if all Kash-miris are terrorists, then the tourist customers are hin-dered in their ability to trust the shopkeepers because, as a group, they are understood as untrustworthy or unsafe.

According to the shopkeepers, the reality of the situ-ation on the ground in Kashmir and the reality about Kashmiris themselves was far different from that por-trayed in the Indian media. Through shopkeeper interac-tions with tourist customers, they felt empowered to re-fute the stereotype of Kashmiris as terrorists, and were able to foster feelings of trust and mutuality. In this way, by proving themselves to be trustworthy, the shopkeepers had some power on how tourists viewed them (Green et al. 2017; Stronza 2010). Of course, the tourist had to be willing to overcome the image of Kashmir as dangerous and Kashmiris as terrorists or untrustworthy in order to visit in the first place. Also, the tourist had to happen into a particular shop in order for the shopkeepers to really have an opportunity to build trust and overcome those negative ethnic perceptions. This highlights how the shopkeepers emphasized their ability and agency in try-ing to overcome negative tourist perceptions, but they were also frustrated and limited in their attempts to do so (Nash 1989; Whittaker 1997).

The militancy highlights this conundrum for the shopkeepers. It is viewed among insiders as an attempt to reestablish identity that is challenged through political marginalization, but they are consistently on the defen-sive with their tourist customers regarding what they re-gard as a freedom struggle. In attempting to foster posi-tive perceptions of Kashmiri identity, the militancy has actually challenged and limited the shopkeepers' ability to do so despite the fact the shopkeepers routinely em-phasized their role as "ambassadors of Kashmir." The shopkeepers were truly able to succeed if they were able to shape how tourists viewed the Kashmiri people. While the shopkeepers were clearly caught between two con-flicting perceptions of self, if they were able to alter the negative perception of the tourists it resulted in prestige, a recognition of the "true" value of Kashmiri culture, and potential success in business because more tourists would come and be willing to buy from them.

Changing Tourist Clientele

Another factor contributing to a sense of feeling caught in the middle for the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers as they attempted to achieve many goals through their businesses, were changes in the tourist cli-entele. The militancy is one of many factors that has con-tributed to the change in tourism, with shopkeepers ex-pressing that before the militancy it was foreigners, those from outside of India, who were largely coming to the area. Prior to the 1980s, they were interested in the "Kashmir Arts" and wanted to buy authentic, handmade handicrafts. The militancy limited foreign tourist num-bers and forced Kashmiris working in tourism to make adjustments. At the same time, the Indian economy grew in the 1990s and 2000s and more Indians could afford to make the journey to Kashmir, but they travelled in far different ways than foreigners did. The shopkeepers often discussed how the "Kashmir Arts" business had changed. One claimed that, "before the militancy, the art was val-ued. The art was valued and it was hidden. People took pride in what they were selling because it was art" (Ali, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, June 24, 2014). Ali added, "We are selling shawls from Punjab made by ma-chine. Real quality shawls are very expensive. These In-dian tourists cannot afford them. Most shopkeepers are now selling machine made shawls and suits. Hand-work is too expensive" (Ali, Interview by Stephen L. Winter-berg, June 24, 2014). Highlighting how the shopkeepers felt their own actions were negotiating Kashmiri identity, Ali said,

The name on the shops say Kashmir Emporium, but nothing is Kashmiri. They sell only Punjabi machine made things, from Amritsar, Ludhiana, not Kash-miri. It makes me very unhappy that this is what we are doing. We are killing our own art. We are doing it. Hindus are also selling this art, our art. I am proud to be Kashmiri, but we are allowing this. It makes me very unhappy, very sad (shaking his head) [Ali, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, June 24, 2014].

Shopkeepers attempted to justify these actions by saying that the pattern or style was Kashmiri, even if the work was not done by a Kashmiri. They also argued that

Indian tourists had far lower buying-power than foreign tourists did, which forced the shopkeepers into manufacturing handicrafts in the style of Kashmir from factories in other parts of India in order to bring down prices. This made handicrafts more affordable and accessible to Indian tourists, but because Kashmir Arts are linked with Kashmiri ethnicity as Savasere (2010) suggests, this adjustment also fostered a sense of ethnic threat among the shopkeepers. In order to pursue their goal of making money through their businesses, the shopkeepers were willing to negotiate the products that they sell even though the products fostered pride. As a result, they needed their product "bluff" to work, even if they were bothered and disturbed by the ways in which their own negotiations are contributing to negative perceptions of Kashmiris (Newell 2012).

This reveals how the shopkeepers experienced tension between various goals that they have in their tourist businesses. Tourism provides them with an opportunity to make money and an opportunity to reestablish pride, but at times, they feel caught in the middle because in pursuing one goal they are in effect undermining another. In negotiating the products they sell, they are able to satisfy their goal of making money through tourism, but they negotiate their goal of being good "ambassadors" of Kashmir to their customers in the process. In this, they "mirror the imaginations" that tourists have about "Kashmir Arts" because tourists want cheaper products (Salazar 2014). However, in making product negotiations the pride associated with the art of Kashmir handicrafts, what is linked with Kashmiri-ness is challenged. In other ways, labelling goods as "Kashmiri" is a "bluff" that the shopkeepers know is not truly authentic (Newell 2012). The shopkeepers publicly want the "Kashmir Arts" bluff to work in order to sell, but privately they are discouraged, frustrated, and feel trapped into performing this "bluff." What would be preferable, would be for tourists to value the art and be willing to pay higher prices for authentic, pure "Kashmir Arts," but the changes in tourist clientele leave the shopkeepers with little choice but to play the "bluff" in order to make a sale, which in essence undermines their goal of ethnic reestablishment. In this, the shopkeepers acknowledge their choice to undermine their attempts to shape how others view them through their tourism-related businesses.

Cheating

Behaviors identified as cheating by the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers reveal that they had choice and power as they pursued various goals through tourism; but these behaviors also highlight how they felt caught in the middle between these various goals. The shopkeepers indicated that "everybody" was involved in behaviors they identified as cheating, but they also rarely admitted to participating in these activities themselves. Engaging in these activities, the shopkeepers are able to more effectively achieve their financial goals, but they are also undermining their attempts to reestablish Kashmiri identity.

One behavior that the shopkeepers described as cheating was the previously mentioned negotiations around the purity or authenticity of the "Kashmir Arts"

products they sell. Comments such as "I think that nobody is selling pure Kashmir Arts" were common, thus acknowledging widespread practice of this behavior. As "ambassadors" of Kashmiri ethnicity, the shopkeepers were the face of this negotiation. In labelling machine-made products as "Kashmiri," there was an attempt to display their ethnicity in a more favorable light; however, the shopkeepers themselves were largely disturbed by the process in which they felt compelled to partake. One shopkeeper said:

> I told you that a bad salesman shows you one thing, but gives you something else. If he shows you pashmina and he gives you something else, say a Kashmiri shawl, then this is bad. The customer does not know what he is buying. He trusts the salesman and he trusts you when you give him the products. If the customer ever finds out that he has been cheated, then this is very bad for the salesman and his business [Adil, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, August 6, 2014].

In describing the "fake" shawl as a "Kashmiri" shawl, this shopkeeper acknowledged an attempt to reconcile the product negotiations they are making. They recognized that they were limiting their goal of reestablishing perceptions of identity through lying about the products, but in many ways they felt as if they had little choice. The shopkeepers hoped that they were indeed, pulling the pashmina over their customers' eyes, but the shopkeepers often recognized their realities. They were acutely aware of outside perceptions of Kashmiris as cheaters. In fact, a 2014 television advertisement for an Indian cellular service provider depicted Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers as liars who were selling "fake" pashmina shawls. While the shopkeepers most often expressed frustration with this stereotype of Kashmiris, the economic realities of shopkeeper interactions with tourists was ever present for them.

Another form of cheating that the shopkeepers often described was the practice of commission. At times, a local Kashmiri "guide" would come into the shops with tourist clients and ask in the Kashmiri language for a commission from the shopkeeper if the customers chose to buy something. Later, the "guide" would return to the shop to collect his commission for bringing the tourists into that particular shop. The shopkeepers all expressed how this was a dishonest practice in which they felt obligated to partake. They often discussed how the practice was dishonest and made their collective image look bad to outsiders. In order to make a profit, the shopkeepers felt forced to sell their goods to tourist customers with "guides" at higher rates, which the shopkeepers thought of as a form of cheating.

Commission was something that challenged the shopkeepers' ability to shape how tourists perceived them, but their disapproval of the practice is far more complex. One shopkeeper described the following:

> The violence has changed everything. Before houseboat owners would never allow Indians to stay on their boats. Now they cram Indians onto their boats.

Now they need to get commission, so the foreigners that do stay on the boats they take to shops to get commission. It is not good. Houseboat people are doing everything. They sell shawls. They are guides. They bring customers to our shops and want commission. It is not good. All they want is money. They think that all of the money should go to them. All they want is money. That is all they think about, money, money, money. This is rubbish [Ali, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, June 24, 2014].

This indicates that while shopkeepers may be concerned about the way outsiders perceive them, the practice of commission also reveals the intense competition that they feel with other Kashmiris. There is only so much business to go around and they feel as though others are wrongly moving in on their business, revealing a significant level of competition (Banfield 1958; Bowman 1989; Favero 2003; Foster 1967). As a result of this competition, the shopkeepers are able to shift responsibility for the practice of commission off of themselves and on to others. Prentice (2009) describes how despite collaboration and cooperation involved in a particular behavior, people still think of those activities as the actions of an individual. In this case, the shopkeepers clearly thought of the immoral act of commission as the problem of the "guides" receiving the commission, not their own. Despite multiple layers of disapproval for the practice of commission, the shopkeepers expressed how this act of cheating undermined and challenged their ability to pursue the goal of reestablishing perceptions of their identity among tourists. They argued that commission and lying about the products they were selling were behaviors that made Kashmiris look less than exceptional, which did not align with their own self-perceptions or the image they were attempting to display. The financial realities they encountered made the shopkeepers feels as though they had little choice when it came to negotiating between various goals.

Tourist Behavior

Certain tourist behaviors also contributed to the sense that the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers were caught in the middle between various goals they had in their businesses. The shopkeepers recognized that their own actions and behaviors factored into outside perceptions of their ethnicity; however, they also held the view that tourist behaviors challenged their attempt to reestablish identities that they feel are being challenged. In many ways, they often felt powerless when they encountered tourist behaviors that "named" them and undermined their goals (Rodan 2004). In similar ways that they discussed political issues and the militancy, they extended feelings of marginalization onto behaviors from tourists in their shops. Most significantly, tourists participated in what the shopkeepers labelled "over-bargaining." In trying to drive down the price for a good that they wanted to purchase, it seems obvious that the tourists were frustrating a shopkeeper's financial goals, but this same practice challenged the shopkeepers' goal of reestablishing Kash-

miri identity. Shopkeepers described how the tourist practice of "over-bargaining" demonstrated a lack of trust and confidence in the shopkeeper and in his product, thus undermining their attempts to create symbols of identity in efforts to employ power (Purcell 1993). Tourist behavior had the potential to undermine the "bluff" they were engaging in, and thus was understood as risky for shopkeepers (Newell 2012). While bargaining was expected and considered normal, "over-bargaining" was offensive and led to feelings of victimization. This indicates that the shopkeeper endeavor to shape tourism was limited, despite an emphasis on their ability to control what happened in their shops.

Identities are thought to contain types of capital, which can be employed strategically (Yelvington 1995). Favero (2003) adds:

Regardless of what and how phantasms are evoked and of the content of the evocations themselves, the very fact of being able to play with these images (and shifting positions they afford) is already in itself a statement of identity. The capacity to play with phantasms and to let them bounce against one's own identity is a symbolic capital to be deployed and an exercise of power that in itself provides subjects with an identity [2003:571].

For the Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers of this study, the tourist behavior of "over-bargaining" placed them in between goals that they had. They were trying to control the images of identity that others had about them through their businesses, but their control was complicated by the actions of others. If the tourist were to succeed in driving down the price through "over-bargaining," it was understood as a failure on the part of the shopkeeper, both in their goal to make money and in their goal of reestablishing Kashmiri ethnicity and identity. This type of behavior then presented shopkeepers with a complicated dilemma. If they sold an item too cheaply to a customer, it actually made them out to be a failure, which reflected negatively on Kashmiris. On the other hand, the shopkeepers routinely discussed how they viewed Kashmiris as having unique skills and abilities as salesmen. As a result, in the context of "over-bargaining," the shopkeepers also faced a dilemma if they failed to actually sell something to a tourist. In failing to sell, not only did they lose out financially, but it also reflected negatively on the shopkeeper's ability to sell, thus threatening ethnic pride. As a result, this made the practice of "over-bargaining" particularly challenging for the shopkeepers. They needed to sell to their customers in order to be good, Kashmiri salesmen. This, of course, allowed them to achieve financial goals, but it also allowed them to display the Kashmiri people in a positive manner because Kashmiris understood themselves to be adept salesmen. However, if they sold too cheaply or they didn't sell at all both their financial goals and their desire to enhance the perceptions outsiders had of them were challenged. This explains why the shopkeepers were particularly disturbed by the tourist practice of "over-bargaining."

One shopkeeper responded to "over-bargaining" by yelling, "See how these customers are cheating us!" (Ubaid, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, June 19, 2014). This shopkeeper further explained that he had lost one-hundred rupees (US$1.67) in an argument with a customer adding, "See how they take from us! They just keep bargaining. That customer stole one-hundred rupees from us. He paid less than what we paid for the item" (Ubaid, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, June 19, 2014). Another example of frustration with "over-bargaining" was when a shopkeeper failed to make a sale, he leaned over to a colleague and said in Kashmiri, "They expect us to give them things for free" (Jehangir, Interview by Stephen L. Winterberg, June 6, 2014). Both of these shopkeepers indicated an "us" versus "them" mindsight in their interactions with non-Kashmiri tourist customers (Eriksen 2005). Even though they were both individually frustrated by tourist behavior, in particular in achieving their financial goals, both shopkeepers articulated that tourist actions were aimed at a particular group. Perhaps the "us" in the shopkeepers' sentiments were the group of men working in one particular shop, but it seems more likely that they were referring to Kashmiris as a whole since ethnicity is so significantly interconnected with the "Kashmir Arts" business (Savasere 2010). In some ways, it seems that the shopkeepers felt a need to deflect from their own failure to sell or their failure in selling their goods too cheaply by shifting the blame onto the behavior of tourists. In these examples, the tourists were thwarting the shopkeeper goals of making money and of being a distinctly, good Kashmiri salesman. As a result, the tourist behavior hindered the complex goals that the shopkeepers had for their tourism-related businesses, and enhanced perceptions of feeling caught in the middle.

Another aspect of these interactions is the previously mentioned notion of trust. In "over-bargaining" or "trying to get something for free" from the Kashmiri shopkeepers, the tourists were demonstrating their lack of trust in shopkeeper pricing strategies. On the one hand, this distrust might seem to enhance the image of Kashmiri salesmen as being particularly cunning, shrewd, and capable in their business activities. On the other hand, it seems to support the idea that Kashmiris were portrayed and understood to be cheaters and untrustworthy. "Over-bargaining" then, while understood by the shopkeepers as a threat, could also be seen as a potential opportunity to maximize their financial gain and potentially allow them to demonstrate their ability to be a good Kashmiri salesman. It was only in particular cases, however, that both financial goals and their desire to shape the ways tourists viewed them converged. On the rare occasions that the shopkeepers were able to engage in bargaining and make a good sale, the shopkeepers understood these actions as opportunities where financial and identity goals could be achieved simultaneously. The problem was, those occasions were relatively rare which left the shopkeepers relatively frustrated by the tourist behavior of "over-bargaining."

Conclusion

In conclusion, considerable research indicates that host cultures in tourism have the ability to shape the tourist exchange (Chambers 2010; Green et al. 2017; Stronza 2010). The Kashmiri tourism-related shopkeepers of this study clearly articulated and demonstrated some ability to shape the tourism endeavor, partly through the establishment and pursuit of various goals that they hope to accomplish through their businesses. However, they also feel confined and restricted by a number of different factors that foster a sense that they are caught in the middle. The methods available to them in pursuing their goals are often enmeshed with other factors that they understand to be beyond their control. For one, they often feel caught between their own self-identities and the ways in which others "name" them (Rodan 2004). This reveals that host culture interactions with tourists are complex in their pursuit of a multitude of goals. It seems a stretch to suggest that the Kashmiris would interpret tourism as a form of imperialism as Nash (1989) suggests, but the shopkeepers have clear limits in their ability to shape their interactions with tourists, despite their emphasis on being able to do so.

The identity of Kashmiri-ness that the shopkeepers were trying to enhance, was clearly produced in the context of power (Yelvington 1995). It is hard to determine if the identities that the shopkeepers desired to display were truly new symbols or not; however, they clearly articulated these images in the context of a glorified past that they feel has been challenged (Purcell 1993). In some ways, the shopkeepers were "bluffing," but it is argued that, at least regarding a sense of Kashmiri pride, the shopkeepers were clearly trying to compensate for perceived and real shortcomings (Newell 2012). They did not view these behaviors as fully genuine and often discussed how their own actions, or perhaps the actions of all other shopkeepers, undermined images of Kashmir and the Kashmiri people. While the shopkeepers clearly wanted the "bluff" to work, the "bluff" also felt threatening and contributed to concerns about how they perceived themselves and how others understood them. Thus, perceptions of the Kashmiri militancy, changes in the tourist clientele, shopkeeper behavior identified as cheating, and the tourist behavior of "over-bargaining" all contribute to this sense of feeling caught in the middle between the various goals the shopkeepers have as they work in their tourism-related businesses.

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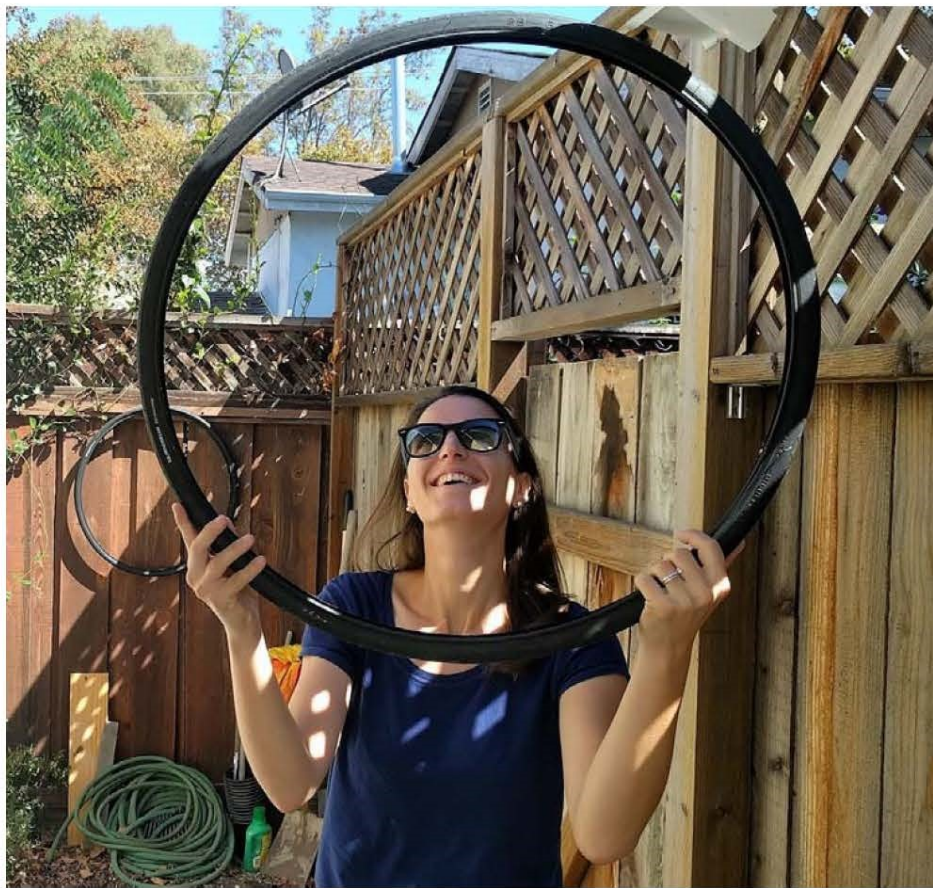
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