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# Reports on Completed Research for 2020



*“Supporting worldwide research  
in all branches of Anthropology”*

## REPORTS ON COMPLETED RESEARCH

The following research projects, supported by Foundation grants, were reported as complete during 2020. The reports are listed by subdiscipline, then in alphabetical order. A Bibliography of Publications resulting from Foundation-supported research (reported over the same period) follows, along with an Index of Grantees Reporting Completed Research.

### ARCHAEOLOGY

WOLFGANG ALDERS, then a graduate student at University of California, Berkeley, California, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Settlement History in the Plantation Landscapes of Central Zanzibar, AD 1500-1850,” supervised by Dr. Lisa Maher. This project investigates the landscapes of inland Zanzibar over the course of the second millennium CE. The project aims to understand settlement patterns of small-scale Swahili communities up to and during the development of the capitalist clove plantation economy, which burgeoned in the 19th century and dramatically altered the socio-political landscape. The team carried out shovel test-pit surveys in 22 different areas across different ecological zones. Over 50 sites were identified from the 11th to the 20th century. Results point to an early to mid-2nd millennium phase of expansion into inland areas by communities living in small earth and thatch homesteads and linked into networks of Indian Ocean trade. These earlier areas are spatially overlapped by the expansion of sites in the 18th and 19th centuries, concurrent with the clove plantation economy. While large 19th-century towns and plantations are attested from the historical record, survey results from this project suggest that many smaller, ephemeral homesteads were involved in rural agricultural production. Survey data also provided dense record of local and imported ceramic forms from Unguja, Zanzibar, which are uniquely useful for creating a detailed typology of ceramic types on the island that will be beneficial for research to come.

WILLIAM ANDERSON, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on “Multitemporality and the Persistence of Practice in the South Caucasus Highlands.” Agropastoral farming communities who combine transhumance with settled cultivation have shaped the highland Caucasus landscape into a mosaic of villages, droveways and terraced fields. The formation of this landscape over long timespans -- through varied social and environmental conditions -- has involved people engaging with the knowledge and material fabric of societies from the distant past. Archaeological investigations in the mountains of Samtskhe-Javakheti province, Georgia, examined how interactions with ancient places and objects by successor populations shaped settlement and land-use practices. The project focused on Varneti, a complex of sites along a ridge of the upper Kura River valley, where occupation spans more than six millennia. Excavations on the summit of Tavghalo Hill revealed monumental, Classical-era structures of the 5th to 2nd centuries BC that overlay Late Bronze Age occupation; nearby tracks and enclosures were formed in the late antique and medieval period, from which time settlement transferred further downhill. Classical and medieval Varneti maintained its earlier significance as a strategic interface between valley and upland pasture, but shifting usage of the place was accompanied by subtle changes in the topographic and elevational focus. Rather than replicating prehistoric modes of land use, the material past was referenced and reconfigured for contemporary purposes.

NUNO BICHO, University of the Algarve, Faro, Portugal, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “Stone Age Archaeology in Machampane Valley, southern Mozambique.” The project focused on the emergence and development of anatomically modern humans in south-central Mozambique and specifically addressed the transition between MSA and LSA in the region. In June 2019, test excavations and surveys were carried out for MSA and LSA sites in the Machampane and Elephant River valleys (Massingir), in the Limpopo river basin. Nine new MSA and LSA sites were identified, three of which were tested: the lower sequence of Txina-Txina, Machampane 1, and Mapa. Various samples were collected for dating and are awaiting results. The team also analysed the materials from Txina-Txina and Machampane and are currently analysing the collections of Mapa and Txina-Txina rockshelter. The artefact analyses from both organzi and stone tools from Txina-Txina suggest that there are some similarities with the general sequence of southern Africa, namely with the Later Stone Age, including materials that can be integrated in the early LSA phase, Robberg, and Wilton phases. MSA materials seem to show more differences when compared with the traditional chrono-cultural sequence seen in southern Africa.

BRIANA N. DOERING, then a graduate student at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, received funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Leaving the Subarctic Behind: Evaluating Interplay of Social and Environmental Dynamics in the Process of the Athabaskan Migration,” supervised by Dr. Brian Stewart. The research goal was to critically evaluate social and environmental explanations of the late Holocene Northern Dene/Athabaskan migration out of the Subarctic and to offer an archaeological contribution to on-going anthropological discussions of migration. After living in the Subarctic for thousands of years, genetic and linguistic evidence suggest that Northern Dene/Athabascans rapidly moved into Alberta and the US great plains between 1000-2000 years ago. While anthropologists had proposed that this sudden out-migration and several associated in-situ behavioral changes were the result of a massive volcanic eruption that decimated caribou populations in the region, material remains recovered through the funded research project showed evidence for increasing territorially and population pressure associated with a population increase. Specifically, evidence recovered during excavations document important Northern Dene/Athabaskan behavioral changes before the massive volcanic eruption, such as the earliest use of copper and fish storage documented in the region to date. These material indicators provide evidence for a gradual transition motivated by increasing population pressure, suggesting that the Northern Dene/Athabaskan migration south resulted from social rather than environmental factors. The results of this research have implications for models of hunter-gatherer behavior and migration.

KRISTINA DOUGLASS, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania, received a grant in April 2017 to aid research on “Testing Models of Cultural Change through Archaeological Survey and Oral History among Mikea Forager-agropastoralists of SW Madagascar.” This project investigated the 17-18th century migration of cattle herding communities into southwest Madagascar's dry, deciduous forest, a region known today as the Mikea Forest. The goal was to see whether the cattle herders who migrated into the Mikea Forest several hundred years ago maintained their ancestral cultural practices as they adapted their livelihoods to life in the dry forest. Today the communities in the Mikea Forest are widely considered to be foragers, though their oral histories clearly trace their ancestral roots to cattle herding clans. Through archaeological survey and excavation of ancient sites in the forest and extensive oral history interviews with Mikea historians, the study identified important vestiges of cattle herding culture deep in the forest, suggesting that Mikea communities retained important aspects of herding culture. At the same time, the oral

historical and archaeological records suggest that persistent insecurity in the forest linked to warfare during the reign of the Andrevola kings, colonial encounters during the period of French colonialism and the politics of natural resource use in the Mikea National Park, has impoverished Mikea communities and threatened their ability to maintain their ancestral traditions.

S. ANNA FLORIN, a student at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, received funding in April 2016 to aid research into “50-60,000 Years of Plant and Landscape Use at Madjedbebe (Malakunanja II), Australia: An Ethnobotanical Approach,” supervised by Andrew S. Fairbairn. Funding allowed for the grantee to complete ethnobotanical research and plant reference collection with the Mirarr peoples in the Alligator Rivers region of northern Australia. This research was conducted over seven field seasons, the grantee and senior traditional owners, collecting and processing different plant foods from a range of environments (open forest and woodland, monsoon vine forest, and freshwater) over several seasons. The modern plant reference collection was used to identify the plant macrofossil remains (including underground storage organs, palm stem, fruits, nuts and seeds) recovered from Madjedbebe, the earliest known archaeological site in Australia. And the ethnobotanical research has allowed for its ongoing interpretation with the Mirarr, through the development of ethnoarchaeological processing models, defining the material signature and handling return rates of different plant-processing techniques used in this region. This research has allowed for the understanding of changes in land use, diet breadth and food processing techniques at Madjedbebe from 65,000 years ago until present.

JENNIFER C. FRENCH, University College London, London, United Kingdom, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2018 to aid research and writing on “Palaeolithic Europe: A Demographic and Social Prehistory.” Knowledge of Palaeolithic demographic variation is vital to understanding humanity’s long-term population history and the substantial socio-cultural developments that occurred during this period, including the origins of art and the colonisation of new environments. “Palaeolithic Europe: A Demographic and Social Prehistory” (under contract with Cambridge University Press) weaves together archaeological, palaeoanthropological, and genetic data, alongside ethnographic data on recent foragers and demographic models of extant subsistence-level societies, to develop a demographic prehistory of European Palaeolithic populations approximately 1.8 million to 15,000 years ago. This demographic prehistory of Palaeolithic Europe comprises four stages: visitation, residency, expansion, and intensification. It is a prehistory produced by multiple species of humans, all of whom, with the sole exception of *Homo sapiens*, are extinct by the end of this nearly two-million-year period. It is a prehistory that is both biological and social; one in which within the physiological constraints on the processes of fertility and mortality, social relationships -- particularly large-scale ones -- provide the key for enduring demographic success. Most importantly, it is a prehistory concerned with the big picture of human evolution, but which is firmly grounded in the day-to-day realities of Palaeolithic people -- their families, their children, the way they lived and died.

KACEY GRAUER, then a graduate student at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, was awarded funding in October 2017 to aid research on “Human-Water Relationships during Drought at Aventura, Belize,” supervised by Dr. Cynthia Robin. This project examined the relationships between humans and water during drought at the ancient Maya city of Aventura, Belize. Aventura’s heyday was from 750-1100 CE, a time of severe regional drought. This project employed archaeological excavation and paleoenvironment reconstruction through

microbotanical analysis to investigate water management features within the city. Excavations and microbotanical analysis revealed that the water management features in the city contained standing water when the drought was at its peak, and eroded in and dried up relatively recently. Excavations on the edge of the water management features indicate they were being modified by humans before the onset of drought, suggesting humans were being proactive and not reactive to changing environments. Additionally, excavations provided evidence of ritual activity, particularly ancestor veneration, indicating these water management features were as important for their social aspects as their ability to provide water for biophysical needs. These water management strategies employed by people at Aventura occurred in the context of relational ontologies that did not drive a hard wedge in between humans and the environment and instead integrated all aspects of cosmology in to one life world. The findings from this project indicate relational ontologies were beneficial during episodes of drought.

KATHERINE M. GRILLO, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Rangelands and Resilience: Archaeology and Paleoecology at an Early Pastoralist Site in Tanzania.” This project examines the intersection between environmental shifts and initial pastoralist occupation at the largest and southernmost Pastoral Neolithic settlement in Africa: the recently discovered site of Luxmanda, north-central Tanzania, dating to c. 3000 years ago. New archaeological excavations took place at Luxmanda in July 2018. Researchers can now assess Luxmanda’s environmental context, its site formation history, and the mobility and social strategies employed by its pastoralist occupants. The study also discovered two previously unknown circular features composed of dozens of large lower grinding stones. These features are unprecedented at Pastoral Neolithic sites in eastern Africa. This work reveals a much more complex site structure than initially recognized, suggesting that the site was not occupied as an ephemeral campsite by a highly mobile group, but rather represents either relatively permanent occupation or repeated occupation over a substantial period of time, perhaps by a sizable group of people. Numerous research questions remain, particularly in terms of Luxmanda’s relationship to its surrounding landscape, and in terms of how ancient pastoralist social networks stretched across Kenya, Tanzania, and beyond.

DI HU, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2018 to aid research and writing on “The Fabric of Resistance: Textile Workshops and the Rise of Rebellious Landscapes in Colonial Peru.” With this funding, the grantee completed the book manuscript as well as a co-authored article manuscript entitled “Prosperity and prestige: Archaeological realities of unfree laborers under Inka imperialism” with Dr. Kylie Quave. The book manuscript has passed peer review and will be published by the University of Alabama in 2021. The journal manuscript is under a second review after revisions request at the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*. Both manuscripts explore the complexities of unfree laborers’ collective action or lack thereof under imperialism. The book manuscript traces the evolution of identity, resistance, and labor organization from the Inka to the late colonial Period in Peru. The book manuscript showed how Native Andeans overcame the divided social landscapes imposed by the Inka over a period of three hundred years. They engendered cosmopolitan social landscapes that were conducive to the massive indigenous-led uprisings of the late colonial period as well as the Wars of Independence.

LAURA WAI NG, then a graduate student at Stanford University, Stanford, California, was awarded a grant in October 2018 to aid research on “Transpacific Chinese Villages and California Chinatowns: The Archaeology of Chinese Transnationalism, 1878-1943,” supervised by Dr. Barbara Voss. This project seeks to understand the late nineteenth- and

early twentieth-century transnational linkages between Chinese living in their home villages in southern China and migrants living in Chinese settlements in the United States. Specifically, the work examines two diasporically connected areas: two Chinatowns in the Inland Empire region of California, and Wo Hing, a new village in Taishan County, Guangdong, China that was established in 1902. From 1850 to 1943, thousands of Chinese from Taishan County immigrated to America to labor as miners, railroad workers, cooks, farmers, laundrymen, and merchants. Both the Riverside Chinatown (1885-1930s) and San Bernardino Chinatown (1878-1920s) were populated by migrants from Wo Hing. This study uses multiple lines of evidence -- artifacts collected from archaeological survey, museum collections, architecture, archival documents, and oral histories -- to examine how the transpacific movement of people, goods, money, and ideas impacted Chinese living in the Inland Empire and villagers in Wo Hing. The research creates a more complex picture of Chinese migration from Guangdong by exploring the material impacts of transnationalism at both the home site and diasporic sites. The results of this project will contribute to refining anthropological theories of diaspora and transnationalism, which have often overlooked the materiality of migration.

ANNA PRISKIN, then a graduate student at Universidad Aut3noma de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain, was awarded funding in April 2017 to aid research on "Late Bronze Age Subsistence Economy in South-East Hungary: A Macrolithic Approaches," supervised by Dr. Roberto Risch. In the Hungarian Late Bronze Age (1350-1100 BCE) in the southeastern part of the Carpathian Basin, researchers can reconstruct a hierarchical settlement system of fortified settlements and the attached open settlements. Based on settlement archaeological research it is possible to determine the size and structure of these settlements; the excavated finds also provide information on the character of the prehistoric subsistence economy. More information on LBA food production can be collected through the multifaceted analysis of macrolithic implements, primarily grinding stones. With the help of this grant the grantee identified a LBA house through non-destructive methods; the study was able excavate a large portion of the house, and collected artefactual evidence for LBA occupation, zoological remains, and soil samples for botanical, geochemical and micromorphological analyses. The typological spectrum of the finds is limited, as expected for such a small excavation, but seem to represent everyday activities such as grinding for food preparation, pottery manufacture, bone, timber and leather working. Raw materials are also limited in contrast to large central settlements. This may indicate limited access to distant sources and a control by the elite of the exchange of exotic materials.

ELIZABETH A. SAWCHUK, Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, New York, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Frontier Dynamics Across Turkana: Tracing the Social Lives and Deaths of Eastern Africa's First Herders." The first herders in eastern Africa constructed elaborate "pillar site" cemeteries around Lake Turkana approximately 5000 years ago as the environment transformed and the economy shifted from foraging to herding. Pillar sites represent the earliest monumental architecture in sub-Saharan Africa, and raise many questions about early herder social structure and the initial development of pastoralism in the region. The two earliest pillar sites -- Jarigole and Lothagam North -- are key to understanding the underlying social, cultural, and biological forces that led to their creation during this time of profound change. Previous excavations revealed these places to be communal cemeteries created by early herders, where men, women, and children were interred with elaborate ornaments, Nderit pottery, and zoomorphic artifacts. However, many questions remained about architectural, material cultural, and biological-mortuary similarities between the sites, in part because of shallow excavations at

Jarigole. New excavations at the site in 2019 resolved major queries about Jarigole's construction and use, but raised other questions about mortuary patterns and biological and cultural relationships around (or across) the lake. This research paves the way for new investigations into early mobile pastoralists in eastern Africa and the way this frontier developed and was experienced by people transitioning to food production.

KATIE TARDIO, then a graduate student at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Roman Conquest and Changes in Animal Economy in the Northeast of the Iberian Peninsula," supervised by Dr. Benjamin Arbuckle. This project focuses on zooarchaeological assemblages to test models of continuity and change in the Iberian animal economy associated with the Roman conquest of northern Spain. Through a contextual analysis of animal remains from the ancient city of Tarraco and its rural villas, the study evaluates how Iberian economies and foodways adapted to Roman influence including changes in husbandry, continuity or disruption of economic practices, and shifts in food preferences. Specifically, the research targets evidence for the reconstruction of systems of production, distribution, and consumption from this zone from the 3rd century BCE to the 3rd century CE. Within Tarraco, sampling strategies target well-dated urban contexts, in order to address changes to the animal economy across socio-economic and cultural/functional areas within the settlement. Rural villas provide a sampling of the extra-urban animal economies, as well as possible supply chains for the city. They demonstrate the shifting demands of the growing city on the hinterland's husbandry and distribution schemes, along with possible "improvements" and intensifications taking place as northeastern Spain became more connected with the broader Mediterranean world. Through investigating both urban and rural components of Tarraco's animal economy, this project addresses the changing role of animals in this growing Romano-Iberian provincial capital.

CAMERON C. TURLEY, then a graduate student at City University of New York, New York, New York, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on "Ethnogenesis at Alluitsoq Fjord: Inuit Negotiations of World Systems Changes in Colonial Era Greenland," supervised by Dr. Thomas Howatt McGovern. The Alluitsoq Project supports research for multiple MA and PhD archaeology students in the United States and Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland). Their research is contributing to a multi-sited study of mission life in early-modern Greenland and to the North Atlantic Biocultural Organization (NABO), North Atlantic Encounters, and RESPONSE projects' investigations of millennial-scale environmental and social changes in the region. These research activities have garnered international attention, including endorsements as sponsored activities in the UNESCO BRIDGES pilot program, building an international coalition of institutions, scientists, and local stakeholders to address environmental and societal threats in the 21st century. Wenner-Gren support funded phases of the Alluitsoq Project that introduces expanded local collaboration and knowledge co-production to these research programs. This is accomplished on three levels: 1) collaboration and knowledge co-production between American and Greenlandic junior scholars to build a relevant and ethical archaeology in Greenland; 2) collaboration and knowledge co-production with Alluitsoq's descendent elders through ethnographic work so their knowledge builds the archaeological narratives; and 3) archival research to provide colonial-period reference points. Ethnographic and archival analyses are demonstrating strategies for negotiating colonialism, modernity, and changing environments in politically and ecologically uncertain times, and suggest support for Turley's PhD hypotheses of active, long-term Greenlandic ethnogenesis.

TERRANCE M. WEIK, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, was awarded funding in April 2016 to aid research on “An Archaeological Landscape Biography of Chickasaw and Enslaved African Identities in 19th Century Mississippi.” This project explored the relationship between landscapes, cultural biography, and identity practices related to Levi Colbert’s Prairie (LCP), an archaeological site created by people of African descent and indigenous Chickasaws, in northeastern Mississippi. The study examined the nature of experiences, interactions and qualities of action (e.g. subjective or socially-constructed) that connected people, land features, and animals that were embedded within contexts of racial slavery, nationalistic settler expansion, Chickasaw removal, and frontier political economy. This research employs critical cartography theory to interrogate maps, ethnographic records, and material culture in order to uncover the limitations, interests, rhetorics, and spatial logics shaping landscapes. One major finding is that livestock care facilitated the (re)negotiation of spatial boundaries (e.g. as enslaved and free people followed livestock over long distances), land uses (e.g. for crops or pasture), and work priorities (e.g. slaveholder choices about tasks involving agriculture, built environment, or household duties). Published results are building on the culpability theme in Samuels’s landscape biography theory by making visible animal subjects and experiences, which derive from tensions created by interactions with humans and by the impacts of artifact use. Metal detection surveys at LCP have provided important new findings related to the configuration of the settlement, such as the fact that the built environment is at least 40,000m<sup>2</sup> larger than what is suggested by a U.S. “Chickasaw Cession” map and surveyor notes. Excavations have recovered over 9,000 artifacts and many features that demonstrate that geophysical anomalies are indeed cultural products (as opposed to remnants of natural processes or animal behaviors). Several excavated test units have uncovered basin-shaped, multipurpose pits that were used in house construction (e.g. mining daub for house insulation), food preparation (fire pits), and trash disposal.

ANDREW ZIPKIN, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on “Isotopic Provenience of Ostrich Eggshell Beads to Uncover Social Networks of the Past.” Ancient and recent hunter-gatherers and pastoralists used ostrich eggshell (OES) beads to make valued personal ornaments that were gifted to underwrite relations of mutual support that increased resilience to environmental, demographic, and social pressures. The distance between the geographic origin and deposition points and the diversity in origin for beads in an object (e.g. a necklace) can be used as proxies for the scale of social networks. This research was the first phase of a multi-year project focused on provenience analysis of OES beads in the Kalahari Desert of Namibia. Using 111 modern plant samples collected in the Kalahari study area in 2019, the project constructed a spatially explicit predictive model of strontium isotope ratio ( $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ ) variation on the landscape.  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  results showed significant differences when categorized by their associated bedrock formation, indicating that strontium available for uptake through ostrich diet and incorporation into OES is predominantly locally derived from bedrock weathering. In addition, minimally destructive laser ablation mass spectrometry was demonstrated to be an effective method for collecting  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  data using modern ethnographic OES ornaments. These findings demonstrate that strontium isotope-based provenience analysis of OES in this study area is a viable approach.



## PHYSICAL/BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

KATHERINE R. AMATO, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, was awarded funding in October 2017 to aid research on “A Comparative, Evolutionary Context for Human-gut Microbe Interactions.” Among other factors, human brain expansion is believed to have depended upon a shift in energy allocation from the gut to the brain as well as increased fat stores to buffer against energy shortage. Gut microbes may have partly facilitated these metabolic changes since they degrade dietary fiber to produce a range of short-chain fatty acids (SCFAs). SCFAs provide energy to host tissues and alter metabolic programming. Reduced fiber intake alters the gut microbiome (GM) and favors production of SCFAs that fuel non-gut tissue and promote fat deposition. The reduction in fiber intake over human evolution therefore could have supported human brain expansion by altering human metabolism via the GM and SCFAs. To explore this hypothesis, here we compared the GM of humans and wild non-human primates consuming both high- and low-fiber diets. Humans exhibited distinct GM composition from other primates regardless of diet, but non-human primates consuming low-fiber diets had GMs that were more compositionally similar to those of humans. Assays are currently being completed to describe patterns in GM SCFA gene content and production. However, these data suggest that the relationship between fiber intake and the GM is critical for understanding the evolutionary trajectory of the human GM and its impact on human physiology.

AINASH CHILDEBAYEVA, then a graduate student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was awarded a grant in October 2017 to aid research on “Epigenetic Signatures of High-Altitude Adaptation,” supervised by Dr. Abigail Bigham. High-altitude adaptation is a classic example of natural selection operating on the human genome. Physiological and genetic adaptations have been documented in populations with a history of living at high altitude. However, the role of the epigenetic gene regulation (including DNA methylation) in high-altitude adaptation is not well understood. The research focuses on the Andean Quechua to determine what epigenetic factors are associated with high-altitude adaptation and high-altitude adaptive phenotypes. An epigenome-wide DNA methylation study was performed in Peruvian Quechua with differential lifetime exposures to high altitude. The study identified significant differentially methylated positions (DMPs) and differentially methylated regions (DMRs) associated with high-altitude developmental and lifelong exposures. These positions and regions are associated with hypoxia-inducible factor pathway, red blood cell production, blood pressure, and others. DMPs and DMRs associated with exhaled Fractional exhaled Nitric Oxide (FeNO) were also identified. Based on a GWAS in a larger cohort of Peruvian Quechua, a significant association between EPAS1 methylation and EPAS1 SNPs was found. Results also show that EPAS1 methylation mediates the relationship between altitude acclimatization and hemoglobin. Lastly, research found that individuals with the longest lifetime exposure to high altitude showed accelerated epigenetic aging compared to participants born at low altitude.

ELIZABETH CHO, then a graduate student at University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Influence of Climate and Population Structure on Morphological Variation of Asian Body Form,” supervised by Dr. Libby W. Cowgill. Human body form is diverse around the globe and the specific evolutionary forces attributing to variation and the magnitude of their effects in certain geographic regions remain unclear. This project examines how climate factors and population genetics influence the size and shape of the skull and body of individuals throughout Asia. Skeletal data from both sexes was gathered from thirteen collections in seven different countries to represent an expanse of

environmental conditions and populations. Pelvic data suggests body breadth increases with latitude, particularly in males, and that differences in the dimensions of the bony birth canal associate with changes in latitude. Lower latitude populations had more notable differences in pelvic proportions between the sexes. The continued research of this project will combine measurements of the head and body with weather and autosomal genetic data to determine if morphological variation in populations is adaptive and under selection once population relatedness has been considered, and further evaluate levels of sexual dimorphism throughout the body within and between populations. This will enrich understanding of human global diversity, and the methodology will meaningfully quantify proportional differences resulting from climate variables in a way not possible with past climate studies.

ALYSSA CRITTENDEN, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Nevada, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on “Changing Diet in a Changing Landscape: Diet Composition and Food and Water Insecurity among the Hadza of Tanzania.” Despite widespread interest in the diet composition of foragers, few detailed data are available on the process of sedenterization. The Hadza of Tanzania are currently experiencing large scale ecological and nutritional changes. Here, baseline data on these changes are documented from two residential groups: 1) a bush camp located 100km from a market town; and 2) a village camp located within 1km from a market town. Diet composition and degree of food and water insecurity were measured for a sample of 69 adults. Preliminary results suggest that all individuals experienced food and water insecurity. Those residing in the village reported a diet of mainly domesticated foods from donated and purchased sources, while those in the bush reported a mixed-subsistence diet including both wild foraged foods and domesticated foods from donated and purchased sources. Individuals in the bush exhibited the greatest degree of water insecurity and reported sharing their watering holes on a daily basis with neighboring pastoralist groups and livestock, over 650 animals. Those in the village who walked to town each night to sleep at the base of a water tank exhibited the least amount of water insecurity. The village had three sources of drinking water, all potable, while the bush had four sources of drinking water, none of them potable. In both locations, storage of water in drinking containers reduced water quality. These data offer the first empirical data on the shifting nutritional and ecological landscape of the Hadza.

JENNIFER M. CULLIN, then a graduate student at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Biological Normalcy and Fat Bodies: Investigating Relationships between Obesity Prevalence, Fat Stigma, and Allostatic Load,” supervised by Dr. Andrea Wiley. This project used comparative and biocultural approaches to understand how body phenotypes are understood in US cultural context, and how these cultural understandings may contribute to biological disparities among adolescents and young adults. Allostatic load (a measure of low-level chronic stress) was measured to assess biological impacts of perceived weight stigma in various epidemiological contexts. The work addressed complex relationships among phenotypic norms, social stigma, and co-morbidities of obesity in a vulnerable section of the US population, at a time when there is high prevalence of obesity, perceived weight stigma, and weight discrimination. This research used mixed methods (questionnaires, biomarkers, ethnographic interviews) to compare populations across the state of Indiana varying by obesity prevalence. The project was framed around the concept of biological normalcy, which refers to the ways human societies develop understandings of what a “normal” human body is -- normal referring to normative ideas about what bodies “should” be as well as statistical distributions of different phenotypic traits. This framework was used to address: 1) how cultural beliefs about what constitutes a “normal” or healthy body are related to statistical biological norms within a

population, and 2) how normative beliefs influence the statistical distribution of biological traits in a population.

NICOLE A. FOURNIER, then a graduate student at Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, was awarded a grant in October 2018 to aid research on “Childhood in Times of Change: A Diet and Life History Reconstruction from San Francisco Bay,” supervised by Dr. Shannon Tushingham. This study took an interdisciplinary approach to studying childhood during significant environmental and social changes in the past, specifically how diet, health, and life history patterns of San Francisco Bay Area children were impacted by the Medieval Climatic Anomaly (MCA) and socioeconomic changes (e.g. transition to terrestrial economy, sedentism, increased social inequality) that began during the Middle Period and intensified during the Late Period. By reconstructing the diet and health profiles of 45 juveniles from five prehistoric Bay Area sites (CA-SCL-134, CA-SCL-215, CA-ALA-329, CA-SCL-623, and CA-SCL-870), individual diets were studied, as well as patterns observed in life history milestones relating to diet (e.g. weaning age and age at which children begin independent foraging) within the sample. Results suggest that the aforementioned changes could have influenced weaning behavior, based on a decrease in the mean age of the start of weaning during the Late Period. However, independent foraging appears to be a typical part of childhood and not simply a consequence of stress. This study contributes to the important anthropological discussion of the facultative nature of childhood and life history.

MARIA C. FOX, then a graduate student at University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, was awarded a grant in April 2017 to aid research on “The Biomechanical Consequences of Body Size Differences in Humans,” supervised by Dr. John D. Polk. This research examined how body size influences human morphology and behavior in four areas: 1) scaling of linear anthropometric dimensions; 2) scaling of stiffness, force, displacement, and leg spring angle during running; 3) quiet standing postural sway and stance characteristics; and 4) variability and scaling patterns in bone microstructure of the femur. The first study indicated that most of the anthropometric dimensions studied scale uniformly with body size within sexes. The second study suggested that size-varying humans in this sample had similar movement patterns (i.e., dynamic similarity) when running at the same relative speeds. The third study revealed that stance characteristics were strongly related to sex and some extent body size, and that postural sway metrics were dominated primarily by stance characteristics. The fourth study indicated large variability in bone microstructure and indistinct scaling patterns in the properties analyzed when examined across the joint surface of the distal femur. Each study revealed slightly different results for how body size influenced the parameters tested, but all indicated a large amount of variability in the observed patterns. Humans are highly variable in morphology and behavior, but this variability appears to affect relationships with body size differently on the macro- and micro-scale.

KRISTIN KOVAROVIC, Durham University, Durham, United Kingdom, was awarded funding in October 2016 to aid “Bones of Ol Pejeta: Neotaphonomic and Ecological Survey (BONES).” The remains of fossil animals represent an abundant dataset by which to address a variety of important questions relating to human evolution, including the ecological conditions in which our hominin ancestors evolved. However, because of the multitude of processes that modify or even remove remains from the fossil record, analytical techniques that utilize them cannot assume that the once living mammal species are represented accurately by their fossil bones. “Bones of Ol Pejeta: Neotaphonomic and Ecological Survey” is a long-term field study dedicated to understanding the processes that transform a living mammal community into a fossil assemblage through an investigation of these transformative

processes at Ol Pejeta Conservancy, Kenya. Preliminary analyses indicate that its bone community is largely representative of the composition and abundances of the living mammal community, with as-of-yet unexplained differences in the warthog population. Additional data on carnivore damage has been collected, which will lead to a greater understanding of how the damage inflicted by predators biases the resulting bone community. Finally, measurements of antelope bones that can be used to predict the habitats they exploit, have been taken to provide a test case for demonstrating how biases may affect ecological interpretations.

LAUREN M. LEDIN, then a graduate student at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, was awarded a grant in October 2018 to aid research on “Revisiting Lineage: A Life Course Approach to Relatedness at the Late Shang Capital of Yinxu,” supervised by Dr. Alice Yao. This project explores how viewing kinship as a process rather than a structure can provide a potent theoretical move capable of changing the narrative of early Chinese society. The Shang period (ca. 1600-1050 BCE) -- cited as the wellspring of Chinese civilization -- saw rapid material and ideological change, but is portrayed as being completely organized according to an unforgivingly rigid patrilineal lineage kinship structure. Taking a cue from modern ethnographic work in China that finds other important processes of “relatedness” alongside lineage membership, this project reexamines kinship in early China through the lens of post-Schneiderian kinship theory to locate important currents of change within kinship that have evaded identification by previous studies of formalist structures. It uses life course theory to look beyond biological relatedness, connecting extant mortuary data for early China with novel bioarchaeological data collected over ten months in the field. The research for this project took place in Henan Province, China, at the site of the last Late Shang capital of Yinxu (c. 1200-1050 BCE), for which there is the most information on the time period. The broader project is designed to contribute to ongoing anthropological discussions of kinship theory, mortuary theory, and the life course.

CHRISTINE LEE, University of California, Los Angeles, California, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in August 2017 to aid research and writing on “Leprosy, Footbinding, and Trauma in China and Mongolia: An Exploration of Ethnic and Gender Identities.” In the time period allocated for the Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship, three papers have been published, one book chapter has been published, one paper is under review, one symposium was organized, two book proposals were discussed with potential publishers, and two more were in preparation at the end of the fellowship. The grantee was only able to get their schedule reduced to half time with their university, which meant the grantee was still teaching two classes each semester as well as university service and mentoring graduate students. As a result, all of the proposed research within the timeframe was unable to be completed.

KATHARINE M. LEE, then a graduate student at University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, was awarded a grant in October 2017 to aid research on “Life History Tradeoffs Affecting Bone Maintenance and Development in Premenopausal Polish and Polish-American Women,” supervised by Dr. Kathryn Clancy. This project compares bone density and markers of bone turnover in rural Polish women and urban Polish-American women. Lifestyle factors such as physical activity affect bone through multiple pathways during the life span. This research uses inter- and intra-population comparisons to understand how life history and lifestyle factors independently and interactively contribute to bone health. Previous work at the Mogielica Human Ecology Study Site in rural Poland demonstrated that women in this region have a later age at menarche, lower circulating reproductive hormones, and higher physical activity levels than in the US. Understanding bone health in women as both a function of

earlier life experiences -- as well as a reflection of current reproductive status and physical activity patterns -- will distinguish the key factors that explain variation in bone properties and health. This research is among the first to combine markers of bone turnover with measures of bone density at both locomotor and non-locomotor sites to understand how bone varies with age, physical activity, and life history. Integrating life history traits, biological measurements of current reproductive and bone-related status, and current nutrition and physical activity habits allows us to understand bone health as a function of biological and cultural contexts.

CARRIE MILLER, then a graduate student at University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Does Paternity Certainty Elicit Protection and Support of Offspring by Male Gelada Monkeys?” supervised by Dr. Michael Wilson. Since the advent of DNA fingerprinting in the 1980s, researchers have been repeatedly surprised by the variation in the rate of extra-pair or extra-group paternities (EPP and EGP) among mammals. Primates, including humans, exhibit a variety of mating systems. The diverse social and ecological features of primate populations under long-term study provide opportunities to gain insights into factors affecting the mismatch between apparent and actual paternity. EGPs may vary across social systems, but the extent of such variation has focused largely on socially monogamous species living in small groups. This project provided an opportunity to contribute to this literature by examining evidence of EGPs in gelada monkeys (*Theropithecus gelada*) -- a species living in large, complex, multi-level societies -- as well as how EGPs occur in this species. Results indicated that leader-males acquired most paternities within their unit. This suggests that, despite the occurrence of some extra-group paternities, leader-males are generally successful at monopolizing mating access to unit females. Seasonal variation in visibility and parity seem to be the best predictors of EGPs. This represents an essential first step towards understanding the variation in paternal care and male reproductive strategies in gelada monkeys.

JOSHUA M. SCHROCK, then a graduate student at University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, was awarded funding in October 2017 to aid research on “Parasitic Infection, Sickness Behavior, and Immune Function among Shuar Forager-horticulturalists of Amazonian Ecuador,” supervised by Dr. J. Josh Snodgrass. Humans often experience low mood (e.g., fatigue, sadness) when sick. During infection, low mood may help the sick host prioritize immune function by reducing the energy spent on physical activity, thereby leaving more metabolic resources available for immune function. Inflammation-related immune pathways play a key role in generating changes in mood and behavior during infection. Experimental studies have demonstrated that acute inflammation can induce low mood. Previous studies have reported that individuals with chronic systemic inflammation are more likely to exhibit depressive symptoms (including low mood), though other studies have been unable to detect associations between inflammation and depressive symptoms. These inconsistent findings raise questions about the dose and chronicity of inflammation needed to induce low mood in real-world environments. This study tests whether greater systemic inflammation is associated with stronger feelings of fatigue, sadness, and sickness in a sample of Shuar forager horticulturalists in the Northern Amazon. Adjusting for key covariates, greater systemic inflammation was associated with stronger feelings of sickness but not fatigue or sadness. These findings suggest that systemic inflammation may generate internally detectable cues (i.e., feelings of sickness), even when the dose and chronicity of inflammation is insufficient to generate low mood.

ZANETA M. THAYER, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2018 to aid research and writing on “Intergenerational Impacts of Racial Discrimination in Aotearoa/New Zealand.” How does an individual’s social environment and lifetime experience of stress, including racism, affect their health? Can these effects be inherited across generations? These questions were addressed through a series of articles that fall into three threads of scholarship. First, several review and original theoretical arguments were produced that described why and how fetal development is sensitive to maternal environmental experience of stress. Second, two primary research articles utilizing data from a birth cohort in New Zealand were written that addressed specifically how one particular type of stressor -- racial discrimination -- can impact the health of offspring. It was found that among indigenous Māori women the experience of racial discrimination was associated with giving birth to children earlier and with lower birth weight when compared to Māori women who did not experience discrimination. These same women’s children also had shorter telomere length at four years of age, indicating accelerated biological aging. Finally, during the writing fellowship the COVID-19 pandemic occurred. In response a research project was developed and publications were generated that addressed how the pandemic had affected U.S.-based women’s experience of prenatal care, stress, and mental health. Subsequent work will investigate the impacts of COVID-19-associated maternal stress on offspring health.

AMANDA WISSLER, then a graduate student at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Death and Survival in the Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Frailty and Resiliency,” supervised by Dr. Jane Buikstra. This project investigated the role of pre-existing frailty and resiliency in contributing to increased mortality during the 1918 influenza pandemic. The 1918 influenza pandemic was one of the deadliest global outbreaks of disease since the Black Death. According to popular knowledge of the time, “healthy” young adults could contract and die of the virus in a matter of days. Little is known about this phenomenon and whether all young adults were equally susceptible or those who died had an invisible underlying frailty. Funds supported the collection of osteological data from the Cleveland Museum of Natural History. Skeletal indicators of frailty were collected from individuals who died during the 1918 influenza pandemic. Data on the presence or absence of these skeletal indicators were analyzed using hazards analyses to determine if individuals with frailty markers were more likely to die during the pandemic than those without. Preliminary results show there was an increased risk of death for non-frail individuals during the pandemic compared to non-pandemic years, suggesting that the 1918 virus disproportionately killed healthy young adults.

ALEXANDRA J. ZACHWIEJA, then a graduate student at University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, was granted funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Climate, Environment, and Competition Shaped Human Movement During the Initial Peopling of Australia,” supervised by Dr. Laura Shackleford. Ecological niche models (ENM) are a relatively new method in paleoanthropology. Predictions of hominin niches in Europe and Central Asia have shown that key predictor variables are temperature, precipitation, and access to fresh water. However, recent work has called for including biotic (species-interaction) data to construct more comprehensive models. Here, for the first time, researchers included estimates of human-carnivore competition from Late Pleistocene sites in ENM. Traditional environmental predictors were applied to Australasian landscapes during the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM) and validated using known fossil human occupation sites ( $n = 20$ ) to construct human land preference maps in Maxent. Sources of assumptions and error became apparent in applying ENM to this long-standing temperate region. Only “distance to freshwater” remains an

important traditional variable in this temperate context, followed by “slope”. Though competition across test sites was high, biotic data produced vague models, suggesting the need for additional species interaction data across the region. Despite well-fitting models (AUC = 0.891, AUC = 0.924), overall land preference estimates remain too broad for disentangling human dispersal routes in this region. Future analysis should focus on additional variables that may disproportionately affect human movement in temperate spaces (e.g., vegetation type and cover, sea-crossings, etc.)

## LINGUISTICS

HANNAH CARLAN, then a graduate student at University of California, Los Angeles, California, was awarded a grant in October 2017 to aid research on “The Semiotic Life of Empowerment: Multilingualism and Development Practice in North India,” supervised by Dr. Alessandro Duranti. Retitled “‘No One is Poor in Himachal’: Language and Development in the Rural Himalayas,” this dissertation traces the linguistic life of rural development in the densely multilingual Himalayan state of Himachal Pradesh, India. Situated at the nexus of linguistic and sociocultural anthropology, the project demonstrates how state bureaucrats, NGO workers, and rural farmers use their multilingual communicative repertoires to reproduce or contest the ubiquitous claim that Himachal is an exceptional developmental success -- a place where “no one is poor.” Widely lauded as India’s newest leader in “inclusive growth,” the state’s dramatic rise in the development indexes has been simultaneously accompanied by declining agricultural productivity, record-high unemployment, and increasing climatic instability. The dissertation engages such paradoxical claims of developmental success amidst rising economic and environmental uncertainty by asking: How is such exceptionalism maintained? That is, how do bureaucrats and NGO workers cultivate, establish, and interpret developmental success through their everyday work? Based on 21 months of ethnographic fieldwork, the grantee argues that Himachal’s exceptionalism emerges through the sustained linguistic labor of development workers who reproduce narratives of developmental success in their everyday interactions with villagers. This process exacerbates existing precarity amongst farmers in Himachal who are continuously positioned as “not poor” and thus undeserving of state care in the form of material entitlements.

PATRICIA G. MARKERT, then a graduate student at Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York, was awarded a grant in October 2018 to aid research on “Combining Archaeology and Linguistic Anthropology to Study Migration and Place-Making in Alsatian Texas,” supervised by Dr. Ruth Van Dyke. This project combined linguistic anthropology and archaeology to examine place-making in two towns that emerged from a 19th century migration from Alsace to Texas. Despite a shared historic migration, the towns developed into distinct places in the present, particularly in their built landscapes. As such, they present an important case study for understanding how migrations impact place, history, landscape, and identity through time. Since place-making processes involve both material and narrative strategies, the grantee drew methods and theories from archaeology and linguistic anthropology to investigate the intersections between the discursive and physical aspects of place. Using archaeological mapping and GPS, photogrammetry, oral history, narrative analysis, and participatory mapping, the project examined the various ways Alsatian migrants, their descendants, and other residents of the towns related to the historic migration through the built landscape, historical narratives, and community decisions about space and identity. While analyzing the archaeological and linguistic data collected during the project, Bakhtin’s “chronotope” concept (1981) provided a framework for understanding how material and

narrative practices create, maintain, and challenge conceptions of place and migration through time. The combination of archaeological and linguistic approaches informs broader anthropological inquiries into human migration and place, particularly as anthropologists work alongside invested and impacted communities.

LIA M. SIEWERT, then a graduate student at University of Texas, Austin, Texas, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Disjunctures and Narrative Discriminations: The Role of English and Ojibwe in an Indigenous Community Theater,” supervised by Dr. Anthony K. Webster. This research asks what effects generationally stratified language change and linguistic disjunctures have on how both Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe language) and English are categorized and performed, and the implications of these effects on the future of heritage language maintenance. Social categories such as “elder,” “speaker,” youth,” and “non-speaker” influence how participants relate to the concept of language loss; this study looks at how these categories inform language performance in a situation of stark, generationally marked language shift. Participants of this study include elders and youth -- speakers and non-speakers -- of an Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) community in Canada, with special focus on verbally creative performances by youth at a local community theater. Participants produce performance texts (scripts) using a synthesis of European and Indigenous North American clowning creation and performance traditions. Participants use clowning to complicate social boundaries that demarcate which texts they are authorized to voice. Through these texts, performers negotiate and reposition intellectual authority and linguistic prestige as construed within hegemonic theoretical frameworks. This research contributes a study of emergent notions of a what entails a language “expert” and competent performance in a context where rethinking language teaching and learning are understood as vital to the maintenance of intergenerational heritage language exchange.

## **SOCIAL/CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

MARINA ALAMO-BRYAN, then a graduate student at Columbia University, New York, New York, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “The Bodies and the Archive: Bureaucratization of Violence and Communal Exhumation in Mexico,” supervised by Dr. Nadia Abu El-Haj. This research project attempts to understand what it means to find a murdered body in Mexico today, and what it means for it to become evidence. Building on anthropological scholarship on bureaucracy and forensic evidence, this doctoral dissertation project examines the encounters of communities searching for the disappeared and state authorities. Through an exploration of existing regimes of justice and their evidentiary practices, it interrogates how bodies in the ground are translated into terms legible to the law, and how their existence as evidence is transferred to documents and forms of representation within archives. Thus, the project looks at social processes of public truth production by bringing into conversation forensic and humanitarian exhumations, alongside recent critical perspectives on bureaucracy, bearing in mind longstanding approaches to the anthropology of death and the anthropology of the state, to address how dead bodies become evidence and how truth claims circulate around and through them.

ALEXIA ARANI, then a graduate student at University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, California, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on “Queering Care: The Politics of Care in U.S. Queer and Trans Communities of Color,” supervised by Dr. Saiba Varma. Funding allowed the researcher to conduct twelve months of ethnographic field research on



how queer and trans people of color (QTPoC) in San Diego, California, navigate, create, and challenge care systems through everyday survival practices and sociopolitical activism. The researcher conducted participant-observation with eleven QTPoC, accompanying research participants to medical appointments, social services offices, and organizing meetings, and participated in collective care practices, such as crowdfunding and other forms of mutual aid. The researcher also volunteered with a local LGBT community center, and interviewed eight professional care workers employed in nonprofit agencies and biomedical institutions. These forms of research were supplemented with digital ethnography through the archiving and analysis of social media posts, memes, and articles that explored topics of self and collective care. The fieldwork enabled the researcher to collect ample data on the care networks the research participants utilized, and the challenges, limitations, and tensions of these networks in the face of overwhelming need and limited resources.

ANA M. BACIGALUPO, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "The Subversive Politics of Sentient Places: Climate Change, Collective Ethics, and Environmental Justice in Northern Peru." As climate change and extractive industries wreak havoc in Peru, contributing to socioeconomic inequality and structural violence, poor mestizo communities have increasingly re-engaged Indigenous sentient landscapes -- mountains (apus), lakes, and Indigenous monuments (wak'as), which have the capacity to sense, feel, and act -- to advocate for the environment. Since poor mestizos feel that government, extractive industries, and the Catholic Church have failed them, many see re-engagement with these Indigenous sentient landscapes, who maintain relationships with curanderos (local shamans), as the only way to counteract the moral and environmental crises of the neoliberal world and the devastation caused by gold-mining companies. The grantee has researched how and why poor mestizos and curanderos engage specific sentient apus, wak'as, and lakes in the northern regions of La Libertad (Moche and Chicama Valleys, Huamachuco), Lambayeque (Tucume), and Piura (Huancambamba), to promote diverse models for collective ethics and environmental justice. These range from demands for pure intentions and the value of life and water to the exchange of offerings for sustenance and health to punishments for misdeeds, corruption, and greed through suffering, death, and mudslides. When mining breaks relationships between humans and sentient landscapes, these landscapes become intentional actors in the struggle to counteract environmental devastation.

NAOR H. BEN-YEHOYADA, Columbia University, New York, New York, was awarded funding in April 2015 to aid research on "Figuring the Mafia Out: Evidence, Expertise and Conundrums of Justice in Sicily." The study focuses on the doubts and disputes that arise at the intersection of different forms of inquiry by magistrates, journalists, investigators, and politicians into the mafia in southwestern Sicily. The debate about what the Mafia is and how to fight it has historically vacillated between alternative models: is it an array of multidimensional and potentially ubiquitous power relations, or a bounded criminal organization? Could it be both? The development of anti-Mafia laws and prosecution methods since the 1980s secured a sense of certainty about the Mafia's existence and actions, which nowadays seems increasingly diminished. This project examines how different professional actors encounter this dilemma. It does so by following the recent trial regarding the 1988 murder of a journalist and several related key criminal cases, all of which, people still assume, involved the Mafia. These cases pit the verdicts' image of the Mafia -- this official historiography of culpability -- against the alternative professional perspectives, which continue to see as responsible those people whom the official verdict exonerated. Ultimately this study analyzes how the tensions between magistrates and other actors turn criminal justice

inquiry into a moving site of the struggle over the relationship between law, society, and the state.

SARAH BESKY, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2018 to aid research and writing on “Market Qualities: Indian Tea and the Composition of Value.” The book based on this project explores the place of quality in contemporary capitalism through attention to the one of the world's most recognized and popular products: mass-market black tea. In the Indian tea industry, the term “quality” has two meanings. First, quality indexes taste. Second, quality refers to social relationships, including market transactions. The book traces how contemporary tea industry reformers have mobilized notions of quality in attempts to refit a colonially rooted product and industry for a 21st century global democracy. Attention to “quality” at a time when India is trying to secure a place as a global economic leader shows how, together, the materiality of plants and aesthetic and technoscientific practices mediate—and perhaps impede—economic and political reform. The book examines how quality became a discrete category of knowledge from the final decades of British rule in India to the early years of Indian independence. This historical work is paired with ethnographic research both on plantations and among an array of Indian experts, from soil scientists and chemists to professional tea tasters and traders.

ANISHA CHADHA, then a graduate student at New York University, New York, New York, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on “Biodesign and Medtech Innovation: Studying Health Entrepreneurs in Globalizing India,” supervised by Dr. Rayna Rapp. This dissertation research studied the emergence of Indian doctors, engineers, and designers forming startups to create novel medical devices, or “medtech.” As biomedical devices produced through “Silicon Valley” inspired business models are being increasingly used to manage and monitor health, and the current Indian administration shifts the burden of “hacking” public health burdens onto citizen inventors, the grantee undertook research to probe tensions between elite, predominantly male, medtech entrepreneurs’ universalizing technocratic imaginaries and their locally designed products. This multi-sited study was grounded in medtech start-ups in Bangalore, India, as well as “biodesign” laboratories across other Indian urban hubs (Delhi, Bombay, Chennai) and the US Bay Area through which entrepreneurs form teams, identify health needs, and experiment in device invention before entering the market. Participating firsthand in the medtech sector for fifteen months -- brainstorming ideas, sourcing raw materials, testing prototypes, and marketing products with various startups -- illuminated shifting cultural relationships between inventors, experimental test subjects, public health imperatives, and healthcare materialities. Research findings suggested that widely presumed North-South logics of technological innovation and biocapital flows are upended when medical devices are envisioned for and created within the Global South, as well as through Indian techies’ own migration between globally salient sites.

VIVIAN Y. CHOI, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in August 2017 to aid research and writing on “Disaster Nationalism: Tsunami and Civil War in Sri Lanka.” The Fellowship gave the grantee the opportunity to complete a draft of their manuscript, *Disaster Nationalism: Tsunami and Civil War in Sri Lanka*. In particular, the fellowship provided time to refine the introduction and three chapters of the book and also complete the first chapter, which was the most underdeveloped one at that moment. This chapter, entitled “Preemption” provides more historical depth to the development of disaster nationalism in Sri Lanka, prior to the 2004 tsunami. The complete manuscript draft was sent to Duke University Press for review. While waiting for the reviews, the newest chapter was workshopped with writing groups and given as a talk at other

institutions. As the fellowship year drew to an end, the grantee received their reader reports and was able to devise a clear revision path, with the happy result that the book is now under contract.

JOCELYN LIM CHUA, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was granted funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Chemical Warfare: Psychiatric Medications and Soldiering in America’s Post-9/11 Wars.” This grant supported ethnographic research on the uptake and lived effects of psychiatric medication use in counterinsurgency soldiering in the context of the post-9/11 US-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Today, with the US all-volunteer military stretched thin by prolonged and repeated deployments in the “global war on terror,” military officials have embraced the easy dispensability of psychiatric medications as an efficient means of enabling more troops to remain “mission-capable” without dismissal from operational roles. Through ethnographic analysis, this project interrogated three research questions: How have psychiatric medications been assimilated into the operations, infrastructures, and ethical regimes of post-9/11 US counterinsurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan? How do soldiers understand and experience the use of psychiatric medications in war? How does military use of psychiatric medications impact the legal, moral, and cultural landscape of soldiering and military suffering in the US? This project suggests the experiential dilemmas, moral quandaries, and operational questions that arise for soldiers and military care providers when psychiatric medications are used in deployment settings. Findings from this research offers new ways to theorize relationships between war making, medicine, and the global mobility of pharmaceuticals.

M. KAMARI CLARKE, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada, received funding in October 2017 to aid research on “New Technologies, Social Media and The Politics of New Evidence.” Today the militarization of various sub-Saharan African and Central and Latin American states has produced some of the most violent deaths since World War II. In response, citizens and non-governmental organizations are becoming involved in the management of violence through use of various satellite technologies to procure evidence. Such mobilizations are changing the terrain of governance in post-independent states. These new digital technologies may be creating a “human rights technology revolution” but how are they transforming socio-legal worlds? This research project proposes to advance scholarly understandings of technology and the body as they relate to international law and justice in the fields of legal anthropology and interdisciplinary studies of law and social sciences. It reflects the recognition that contemporary technology is transforming the micro-workings of institutions and the knowledge foundations of judicial decision-making. As international justice mechanisms continue to evolve in the new millennium, lawyers, diplomats, politicians, civil society members and families are becoming increasingly engaged in finding solutions to regional problems. The imbrication of lawmakers, technology developers, scientists and civil society may be leading to disjunctures in what constitutes appropriate evidence and how best to procure and represent it for varied purposes.

CHARLES R. COBB, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on “Contesting Assimilation at the Charity Hall Mission to the Chickasaws.” Researchers from the Florida Museum of Natural History conducted archaeological investigations at the site of Charity Hall, a Presbyterian mission and boarding school for Chickasaw children in Mississippi. Charity Hall, in operation from 1820 to 1830, was the first of five missions to the Chickasaws built by the Presbyterian denomination in the 1820s. The central objective of the project has been to address attempts by 19th-century missionaries to impose “civilizing” practices on Native American peoples in the southeastern

United States, as well as Indigenous responses to those efforts. Four weeks of field work carried out in July and August 2020, focused on the subsurface remains of the schoolroom and the kitchen/dining room buildings. These investigations identified linear soil features related to the building foundations and recovered over 4,000 artifacts, including pottery fragments (mainly English industrial slipwares), cut nails and glass shards, personal objects such as buttons and clothing buckles, slate tablet fragments, and an abundance of brick and burned clay fragments from chimneys. Preliminary analyses of the artifacts and layout of the mission complex, combined with ethnohistoric research, suggest that the missionaries attempted to immerse Chickasaw children in a Western ideology of standardized work practices and daily living routines.

LAURA COPPENS, University of Bern, Bern, Switzerland, was awarded a Fejos Postdoctoral Fellowship in Ethnographic Film in October 2018 to aid filmmaking on “Taste of Hope.” Taste of Hope is a feature-length observational film about a workers’ cooperative in the south of France. This fellowship was spent working on the editing and post-production of the film and on the analysis of workers’ self-management and the economy of hope. In 2010, Unilever announced the closing of the profitable Fralib tea processing and packaging plant in Gémenos. After 1336 days of resistance, the workers celebrated their victory against the giant multinational and became owners of the factory. Now, with the take-over of the company and production under workers’ control, a new struggle has begun. Can this alternative project be viable within an oversaturated, highly competitive market? Where idealism clashes with harsh reality, the filmmakers observe the factory workers as they face inevitable challenges. Between general assemblies, cash-flow problems and negotiations with potential clients, deception, and conflict emerge. Ultimately, the documentary poses the question: How do we need to work today so we might live in a better world tomorrow? Based on over two years of fieldwork, the film makes a critical contribution to the field of the anthropology of morality as well as to key debates around the economy and hope. You can view the film trailer at <https://vimeo.com/361658439>

SAMUEL DINGER, a graduate student at New York University, New York, New York, received funding in April 2019 to aid research on “No Country for Young Men: The Lives and Livelihoods of Syrian Shabāb in Lebanon’s Beqaa Valley,” supervised by Dr. Gianpaolo Baiocchi. This research examines the processes through which the dilemmas of everyday life in exile contribute to the emergence of novel forms of moral community and ethical selfhood among young male refugees with no links to humanitarian NGOs. Specifically, it asks how masculine vocabularies, practices, and aspirations are and are not reconfigured when the violence of war and exile upset gendered life-course expectations around labor, domesticity, marriage, and family. The project consists of eighteen months of ethnographic research focusing on the ethical and interactional dimensions of everyday domestic and economic life among young and formerly middle-class Syrian men displaced by the civil war in their homeland. By combining life history interviews with ethnographic observations of young male refugees’ income-generating practices, social networks, and improvised domestic spaces, this research tests hypotheses regarding relationships between downward class mobility, separation from kin, unsettled future horizons and the emergence of distinct new forms of masculine moral community and identity.

ELIZABETH A. DURHAM, then a graduate student at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “The Post-Asylum Good Life: Patients, Families, Materia Medica, and the Pursuit of Wellbeing in Cameroon,” supervised by Dr. Joao G. Biehl. In Cameroon, a country of 24 million people, there is one

full-service psychiatric institution: Jamot Hospital, located in the capital of Yaoundé. Supported by Cameroon's new National Mental Health Policy (2017-2027) and Global Mental Health, Jamot operates a psychoeducation campaign that teaches patients and families about biomedical frameworks of “mental illness” and “mental health” and associated practices of “mental hygiene,” including psychopharmaceutical use. This project interrogated this particular psychiatric vision of “a good life” by following patients and their families upon discharge from Jamot back to their homes and neighborhoods within the city. It asked: how do former patients and families think with, against, or otherwise in relation to these hospital experiences in their pursuit of affective stability and a good life after the disruptive experience of the asylum? How is the agentive work of delineating and nurturing wellness distributed among former patients, families, and *materia medica*? How do post-asylum life projects interpellate broader sociopolitical circumstances in Cameroon? Through such questions, the project conceptualized affective “wellbeing” in its own right -- as more than the background counterpart to productively critical notions of affective distress and illness -- and the place of health in a life well-lived.

HILARY O. FAXON, then a graduate student at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “Making Myanmar: Struggles for Land on Asia’s Last Frontier,” supervised by Dr. Wendy Wolford. Months after Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi took power in Myanmar, international media declared the resolution of land conflicts a litmus test for democratic rule. Today, Myanmar’s almost 40 million farmers remained mired in land disputes, displaced by armed conflict or military-era acquisitions, or without ownership documents, even as the new government promises unprecedented prosperity through integration with global markets. This study explores struggles for land at a frontier of agricultural development and ethnic territory in Myanmar’s northwest, examining the historical constitution of the material and social landscape, the ways in which land claimants represent themselves and their ties to land, and the proliferating paper and digital forms of evidence that circulate among farmers, activists, developers, and officials to analyze how claims to land hail new political subjects and reshape the Myanmar state. Based on interviews, participatory research, and ethnographic engagement, this project contributes to anthropologies of the state, land, and documents and digital media in conversation with scholarship on peasants, rural life, and political authority in Burma and Southeast Asia.

MARIANA GARCIA ARIAS, then a graduate student at New School for Social Research, New York, New York, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “The Most Transparent Region: An Ethnography of the Politics of Air in Mexico City,” supervised by Dr. Lawrence Hirschfeld. Air quality in Mexico City has been a long-time problem and a constant social, technological and political challenge. Once considered the most polluted city in the world, Mexico City’s air improved dramatically becoming a worldwide example of how, with political will, the adequate investment, and the most advanced scientific knowledge, pollution could become a thing of the past. However, in the last few years, high pollution levels have been present in the capital’s air for most days of the year and, according to health officials, respiratory illnesses tripled. Currently, with the unexpected arrival of the global pandemic, the city’s air has become more relevant than ever. What things does the air set in motion in this city? This ethnographic project tracked Mexico’s City air across technological and social regimes in order to understand the object that is being created, the ways it is being rendered legible, the relationships it helps produce, as well as to comprehend the social impact of the technologies used for its control. Through the exploration of archives, healthcare systems and technological infrastructures, this project positioned itself as an

ethnography of urban environmental knowledge practices in the face of what seems to be an ever more damaged -- and damaging -- environment.

PABLO GARCIA, Independent Scholar, Elizondo, Spain, was awarded funding in October 2019, was awarded funding to aid research on “Temporalities of Andean Heritage Landscapes.” This project addresses the conflicting temporalities of Andean heritage landscapes subject to processes of patrimonialization and “puesta en valor” (enhancement) for tourism consumption. More specifically, it is an ethnographic inquiry into the Quechua category of *muyuy* with reference to how time is understood through the material world and use of space in the community of Chinchero (Cuzco, Peru). Moreover, it looks at *muyuy* and its potential to destabilise current mainstream models of heritage conservation deemed inadequate on the grounds of their discrepancy with native sensitivities towards heritage, history, and material culture. The concept of *muyuy* encodes notions of rotation, circulation and alternation, and can therefore be useful in developing new models for the management of archaeological sites in this iconic region of the Andes. Above all, it can help site/project managers to conceptualize these spaces differently, by departing from mainstream paradigms and practices of heritage conservation that do violence to indigenous views and understandings of time and space.

OVIYA GOVINDAN, then a graduate student at University of California, Irvine, California, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Rising Tides: Making Property and Value on Urban Coastal Chennai,” supervised by Dr. William Maurer. Hurricanes over the past decade have devastated coastal regions, decimated thriving economies and made life on the coast risky and vulnerable. At the same time, governments and private companies are investing billions of dollars in infrastructure projects along the coast, building massive power plants, tax-incentivized factories, and upscale sea-facing housing. This project examines an urban region: the densely built coastal city of Chennai, where different groups of people navigate property relations around the moral economy of fishing, real estate, and industrial infrastructure. At the present historical juncture social life on the coast and contestations over property relations need to reckon with processes like erosion, accretion, and sea-level rise and the shifting coastal terrain. This project uses the lens of property relations to study how fishers, bureaucrats, environmental and other community organizers narrate the changes to the coast, plan for its future, and engage in practices that shape its built form in ways that may amplify the effects of extreme weather events. Set in the aftermath of devastating hurricanes around the world, this study contributes to anthropological thinking about how value on the coast is co-produced through oceanic and human social processes.

ZAREENA GREWAL, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, was awarded funding in April 2015 to aid research on “Is the Quran a Good Book? Tolerance and the Muslim Question in the US.” American political interests in Islam are complex and neither uniformly negative nor always in service of state power. Tracking what Arjun Appadurai terms the “social life” of the Quran as an iconic and, the grantee argues, racialized text-object in American culture deepens our understanding of the complexity and diversity of Americans’ contemporary political and cultural investments in Islam. The Quran can be a trace, tracking American Islamophobia and Islamophilia (or, more specifically, Quranophobia and Quranophilia) in the polarized national debates termed the “culture wars.” Simply put, the Quran is a racial object that non-Muslim Americans “need,” in James Baldwin’s sense. By examining U.S. state policies, popular cultural and artistic representations of the Quran, and ethnographic interviews with those at the center of a series of national moral panics over the Quran, this study shows the wide range of political meanings assigned to the Islamic scripture by non-

Muslim Americans deeply invested in it. Most Quran-burning protests are out-sized by counter-protests but the grantee also found a striking resemblance between Americans' (racial) performances of Islamophobic repugnance and Islamophilic attraction towards the Quran. As the political and cultural stakes in the Quran have become higher, American Muslims' religious practices around their sacred text are profoundly impacted.

SHANA L. HARRIS, University of Central Florida, Orlando, Florida, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on "The Last Resort: Medical Travel and Drug Treatment with Ibogaine in Mexico." In the US, drug treatment options are limited to twelve-step programs, therapeutic communities, and medication-assisted treatment. Yet many people find little or no long-term success with them, and some look for drug treatment abroad. This project is an ethnographic study of one alternative treatment program that utilizes a psychedelic called ibogaine. Derived from a Central African plant, ibogaine produces dream-like visions that last up to 24 hours. It is known as an "addiction interrupter" because it can reduce cravings and withdrawal symptoms after one dose and is a tool for self-reflection about one's addiction. Ibogaine, however, became illegal in the U.S. in 1967. As a result, drug treatment centers offering ibogaine proliferated in Mexico, where it is unregulated. These centers capitalize on their proximity to the US to attract Americans that want legal ibogaine treatment. This project examines the use of ibogaine at a treatment center in Baja California, Mexico, in order to understand how treatment is pursued, provided, and experienced. It highlights the multiplicity of experiences associated with this treatment, the role of medical travel in seeking and offering this treatment abroad, and the socio-structural factors that affect people seeking treatment and the provision of this form of care.

NAFIS HASAN, then a graduate student at University of California, Los Angeles, California, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Techno-politics of ICTs: Investigating Practices and Social Relations in Indian Bureaucracies," supervised by Dr. Akhil Gupta. Pursuing a research interests in the emerging digitization of public bureaucracies in India, the grantee conducted research among technologists and bureaucrats involved in the production of digital artifacts for government. Guided by the question of transforming expertise and knowledge required to introduce new forms of material changes to the working of bureaucracies, in-depth interviews and observations were conducted at the National Informatics Centre, a government owned technology organization and Telebu, a technology startup in Bangalore, India. Here the grantee interviewed a range of technologists from the director to contracted software developers and observed the functioning of the data center, a key institutional site for the introduction of digital systems. Through a three-month internship at Telebu, the grantee observed the techno-social relations among people, technology and communicative practices. Since the desire to use technology to "reform" public bureaucracies is an intrinsic part of the history of the modern state in India, archival research at the National Archives was conducted to historicize present findings. Perusing records from the 1970s highlights differences in the conceptual and organizational elements of technological mediation for public bureaucracies, providing an opportunity to critically analyze the shrill rhetoric of techno-utopia that accompanies present interventions.

JOSE HASEMANN, then a graduate student at University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on "Mosquitoes and Moral Worth: Viewing Public Health Programs through the Lens of 'Deservingness,'" supervised by Dr. Merrill Singer. The grantee conducted fourteen months of ethnographic dissertation research in Comayagüela, Honduras. The research examined the effects of public health prevention campaigns for Aedes control on the lives of low-income urban residents. In this

project, public health prevention programs for vector-borne infectious diseases were conceptualized as one manifestation of a system of governance intended to guide experience, shape social relations, and reinforce ideas about which population groups were deserving (or not deserving) of careful, health-promoting (rather than disease-containing) governmental policy. The research produced data on how practices associated with neoliberal economic and social agendas impacted vector-control campaigns and target recipients' perceptions of the extant public health system. Participants' relationship with and perceptions of the public health system affected the local implementation of preventive practices and health-seeking behavior. The grantee employed quantitative (household surveys) and qualitative (participant-observation, semi-structured interviews, open-ended interviews, and photovoice) methodologies to collect the data for this dissertation project.

ZAHRA HAYAT, then a graduate student at University of California, Berkeley, California, was awarded funding in April 2017 to aid research on "Intellectual Property's Futures and the Limits of Law: Access to Cancer Drugs in Pakistan," supervised by Dr. Cori Hayden. During the research period, the grantee carried out ethnographic fieldwork in the Pakistani cities Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad. Key sites were the Drug Regulatory Authority of Pakistan (DRAP); the drug courts, intellectual property court, and High Court in Lahore; pharmaceutical companies; and a cancer hospital. The evidence gathered at these sites enabled the grantee to hone in on the central research question, emergent during fieldwork itself: what are the key vectors determining consumer access to medicines in Pakistan? Drug price, quality and intellectual property status emerged as the main determinants of access. Key findings included an unexpected relation between price and access: in many instances, prices that are too low, instead of too high, impede consumer access to medicines, by reducing pharmaceutical companies' incentive to manufacture and market these drugs. At the same time, prohibitively high prices for certain categories of drugs -- anti-cancer drugs, in particular --impede the ability of public hospitals to offer them, and of patients to buy them independently. This has resulted in complex, crisscrossing networks of access to cancer drugs, which most patients are ill-equipped to navigate. In relation to drug quality, the study is articulating questions of evidence and the body, to capture the minimal regulation of drug quality before drugs appear in the market, and the interpellation of patient bodies as providers of evidence of drug quality, after their ingestion. Vis-à-vis intellectual property, a case study of Sovaldi, a revolutionary hepatitis-C drug, shows how Pakistan's financial insignificance as a market for Big Pharma became an unexpected guarantor of Pakistanis' access to a brand-new, lifesaving therapy.

GIITHIKA ILANDARI DEWA, then a graduate student at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, received a grant in October 2017 to aid research on "Buddhist Nationalist Terror-Making in Today's World," supervised by Dr. Anne M. Blackburn. This study explored the recent emergence of a militant, ultra-nationalist Sinhala Buddhist movement in Sri Lanka. The grantee considers a collective perception -- a constructed imaginary that treats an increasing Muslim population, their businesses, and cultural practices as a form of Muslim fundamentalist terror. This imagined terror of Buddhist militants informs the practical experience and consciousness of ordinary citizens leading to real consequences that interrupts state sovereignty as a mode of governance. The existing literature on the relationship between the recent Buddhist militancy and the state in Sri Lanka argues that violence is enacted by these groups with state support and, as such, demonstrates a failure of the modern Sri Lankan state. However, this ethnographic research shows that there are deeper mechanisms and techniques at play at local levels where there is no state apparatus involvement as such. It reveals that the prominence of anti-Muslim sentiments (a rise of "cultural passions") cuts



across social classes rather than between them. Data collection involves participant observation, textual and discursive analysis, and in-depth interviews with the people of village donor and business organizations, leaders and monks of the movement and people who are members of the ultra-nationalist parties.

BRADLEY M. JONES, then a graduate student at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “Cultivating Skill, Growing Knowledge: A Comparative Study of Skilling Institutions in U.S. Alternative Agriculture,” supervised by Dr. Glenn D. Stone. This research ethnographically examined how U.S. alternative farmers develop, exchange, and apply agricultural knowledge in their efforts to cultivate alternative agrarian futures. Alternative farmers -- rarely raised on farms or trained in agricultural colleges -- frequently find that a lack of knowledge and farm management skill is an enormous obstacle to running a sustainable operation. As such, an extraordinary variety of institutions are emerging to meet skilling needs. Funding supported a comparative study of knowledge infrastructures in Central Appalachia and the Hudson Valley of New York that examined questions related to how alternative farmers construct and engage with institutions to acquire agricultural skill, how power relations impact the skilling process, and what forms of technical and cultural knowledge are mediated through these infrastructures, with what effects. Research findings offer important theoretical contributions on the dynamics of agricultural knowledge, the social relations of expertise, and the anthropology of apprenticeship while also offering significant practical contributions to the burgeoning alternative agricultural sector and movements for food sovereignty. Research shows that while U.S. alternative farmers routinely struggle in the face of myriad obstacles, emerging skilling infrastructures facilitate the reproduction of agricultural labor and knowledge, influencing processes of repeasantization and agrarian change while also impacting smallholder viability and human/environmental relations.

SIDRA KAMRAN, then a graduate student at New School University, New York, New York, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “Infrastructures of Intimacy: The Social Lives of Working-Class Women in Urban Pakistan,” supervised by Dr. Rachel Sherman. This research explores how working-class retail and beauty workers’ participation in the new interactive service economy produces emergent infrastructures of social and economic relations among women in Karachi. Drawing on participant observation in two workplaces, Meena Bazaar and a contemporary department store, and interviews with beauty and retail workers and managers, it explores non-kin relations among women and emerging norms of gender and sexuality. In the absence of support from the state and male head of household, these workers form complex social ties with their co-workers that are simultaneously: 1) economic and intimate; and 2) passionate yet fleeting. These contradictory social ties are shaped by the classed and gendered exigencies of urban life, managerial regimes, and cultural and patriarchal norms. Retail and beauty workers frequently experience stigma due to the moral, social, and physical taint associated with their occupations and because they transgress gender norms by leaving their homes to work. Workers and managers resist this stigma by drawing distinctions between various types of workers and cultivating an aspiration towards respectable femininity which, in turn, hinders the proliferation of non-kin ties among women. This research contributes to the literature on class, gender, space, intimacy, and labor.

GEORGE KARANDINOS, then a graduate student at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, received funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Drug Treatment Courts and the Biocarceral Contradictions of the Opioid Crisis,” supervised by Dr. Arthur Kleinman. Drawing on ethnographic research on an open-air heroin, crack, and cocaine selling block in

inner-city Philadelphia, this dissertation focuses on the intersection of criminal justice involvement, poverty, violence, disability, care, and biological citizenship to explore how processes of private accumulation extract profits from and through the bodies of the poor even as their capacity for formal wage labor becomes increasingly superfluous to the needs of capital. In particular, the dissertation examines rising rates of physical and psychiatric disability qualifying poor residents for public assistance as a partial exception to the broader retrenchment of less-selective forms of welfare that powerfully intersects with the corporate interest to pharmaceuticalize socially produced suffering, as is evident in the rapid growth of the markets for opioid painkillers and psychiatric medications. To understand these processes, this dissertation proposes a theory of “accumulation through citizenship” that renders visible a method by which claims on the state made in the name of vulnerable populations are manipulated by private interests for financial gain while also facilitating partial access to otherwise restricted state resources for the poor. This dissertation argues that this concept is consequential both for understanding new dynamics of accumulation in an increasingly post-wage-labor era as well as the neoliberalization of citizenship that places commodity consumption at the center of political belonging.

OZGECAN KORKMAS, then a graduate student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, received a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “The Search for a Good Life: Change, Politics, and Ethics in Rural Kurdistan,” supervised by Dr. Webb Keane. As the Turkish state becomes increasingly more authoritarian, the Kurdish dissent emerges as one of the major components of the socio-political scene of the country. Yet dissent is fraught with risks and uncertainties when governments assert all sorts of restrictions across domains of critical discourse. This project investigates how Kurds’ active engagement with ethics help them navigate the conditions of authoritarian rule. It understands dissent as a linguistic affair, proposing that the way dissent is organized cannot be detached from the available understandings of ethics- the moral principles that systematize and defend concepts of right and wrong. The project is built on extensive ethnographic research in Turkey’s Kurdish majority Southeast region (Kurdistan), focusing on towns and villages, into the manners in which Kurds communicate dissent, which culminate in answers to the following questions: 1) In what ways does dissent shape and reconstitute social relations in Turkey’s Kurdistan? 2) What can broader models of ethical conduct reveal about the rules of conduct that govern critical discourse? 3) How does authoritarian power affect individuals’ understandings of their own work within larger political contexts? Ultimately, it aims to provide a vocabulary for describing the organization and principles of political communication in Turkey’s Kurdistan.

MARSHALL M. KRAMER, then a graduate student at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois was awarded funding in April 2017 to aid research on “The Growing Wilds: Harvesting Chinese Medicines in Farthest Myanmar,” supervised by Dr. Julie Y. Chu. Funding 21 months of fieldwork in the Myanmar Himalaya, this grant enabled an investigation into the global supply-chains of Chinese medicine markets. Employing a diversity of methods from participant observation and oral history documentation to landscape surveys and botanical specimen collection, the supported-study offers a view into the social and ecological contexts from which these “wild” medicines are procured and brought into global circulation. Tracking how key trade species are entangled with regional histories of frontier settlement, militarization and resource extraction, the project finds that these plants are not just valued trade items but long-used medicines that have supported life and extractive labor in this hinterland. The project further documents how many trade medicines are gathered from human-modified landscapes or cultivated, calling attention to a lively industry transplanting that sees many “wild” medicines undergoing propagation in secondary forests

and urban gardens. In conclusion, the study draws attention to the central figure of the apothecary in this rural economy as exemplified by successful Lisu harvesters and traders. Far from obsolete, this study considers how the knowledge, practices, and social status of this pragmatic healer-merchant vocation affords Lisu a unique ability to negotiate the social and environmental challenges of Chinese market frontiers.

PATRICIA KUBALA, then a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, California, was awarded funding in May 2019 to aid research on “The Medicine World: Healing and Ethics in Psychedelic-Assisted Psychotherapy,” supervised by Dr. Stefania Pandolfo. This project studies the recent revival of interest in the United States and around the world in the therapeutic potential of psychedelics. It is based on fieldwork with San Francisco Bay Area healers, patients, and consciousness explorers who incorporate what they call “medicine” -- MDMA, “magic” mushrooms, and other psychoactive substances -- into their practices of psychotherapy and self-cultivation. The grantee explores practitioners’ claims that this “medicine work” is a transformational and even transgressive kind of healing with the capacity to resolve deep-rooted traumas of the past and open human consciousness to a new reality and way of life. These somatic and sensory-rich practices have their roots in a complex intertwining of indigenous, postcolonial, and countercultural histories, and the study investigates the ambivalent yet generative legacy of these histories in the context of the current “renaissance” of interest in psychedelics in American society. The grantee argues that within these spaces of healing and hope for a better and different world, interlocutors find themselves caught in the continued paradoxes, tensions, and dilemmas of living in the ongoing conditions of settler-colonial society and in the aftermath of violence against the very kinds of healing traditions and relations with non-human others that they are working to resurrect.

PING-HSIU ALICE LIN, then a graduate student at Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Spiritual Objects, Affective Practices, and Contested Values: Islam and Gemstone Networks in Peshawar, Pakistan,” supervised by Dr. Gordon Mathews. This multi-sited ethnography examines the making and valuing of gemstones extracted from the Hindu Kush mountains as they move from mines and markets located along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to international trading hubs in Bangkok, where gatekeepers of scientific knowledge and a set of market aesthetics jointly determine a mineral’s worth. Decades of neocolonialism and militancy in Afghanistan and parts of northern Pakistan have intensified such extractive economies and movement of peoples, giving rise to Peshawar’s place as a mineral trading hub. The “gem” quality stones that are transported across borders and seas then encounter a different regime of classification and valuation determined by actors and institutions with a formalized knowledge of minerals. Drawing on fifteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Thailand, and Hong Kong, as well as historical work, the research explores notions of quality and value in minerals through the lives of gem dealers and cutters of Peshawar and the material culture of the region. The research offers an insight into the socio-cultural implications of the homogenizing forces of scientific and technological knowledge of the global North to the lives of gem-producing areas.

JING JING LIU, then a graduate student at University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, was awarded funding in April 2017 to aid research on “The Predicament of Mobility: The Experience of West African Economic Migrants in China,” supervised by Dr. Michael Lambek. West African traders in China mostly view China as a temporary stop, necessary on their journey to achieve their economic goals, through the export of “Made in China”

consumer goods, but always with a future planned for back home or elsewhere. They build lives in China and back home that are shaped by and through a sense of temporariness driven by a desire to live elsewhere. This thesis argues that African migration to China is an explicit experiment of and in time, drawing on fourteen months of ethnographic research with West African traders in Yiwu, China, between August 2016- September 2018. Yiwu is home to the infamous “Futian Market,” a complex of 75,000 shops, declared by the UN to be the “largest small commodity wholesale market in the world” and the undisputed epicenter for the purchase and export of “Made in China” consumer goods. Through accounts of time experimentation as a collective project, rather than time expenditure as a private matter, West African traders ‘play’ with clock and calendar time, and thereby engineer new possibilities of time, and in time, documented through their temporal experiences of circuitous futures, forestalled presents, and eruptive pasts.

ETHAN B. MANELIN, then a graduate student at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Making Superutilizers: Care and Neo-Welfarism in Late Capitalist Los Angeles,” supervised by Dr. Arthur Kleinman. This research examined the design and implementation of Whole Person Care-Los Angeles (WPC), a program of the county health system that seeks to manage “high-needs, high-cost” patients in order to reduce costs and improve care. WPC and similar “complex care management” programs are predicated on the observation that a small fraction of patients account for a large proportion of healthcare spending. These patients typically have severe medical and psychiatric illnesses as well as complicating social factors like homelessness, addiction, and incarceration, so WPC provides non-healthcare resources and services, such as housing, cash benefits, system navigation, and peer support. This work asked three central questions: 1) What is the political economic terrain on which WPC was implemented, and what were its effects on this terrain? 2) Who are “high need, high cost patients,” from both conceptual and ethnographic perspectives? 3) What forces shape “care” on the front lines of complex care management? Thanks to support from both budget hawks and progressive reformers, WPC experimented with integrating traditional social service methods into the healthcare system, as well as with a new type of care work at the crux of this integration that emphasized shared “lived experience” with patients.

VICTORIA M. MASSIE, then a graduate student at University of California, Berkeley, California, was awarded a grant in October 2017 to aid research on “Assembling Genetic Ancestry: Race, Return, and the Materiality of Home in Cameroon,” supervised by Dr. Cori Hayden. This dissertation examines how Cameroonians recoup African Americans as kin through genetic reconnection programs as an investment in a future untethered to the histories of slavery, colonialism, and neo-imperial extracted that have shaped and sustain Cameroon’s borders. Drawing on eighteen months of multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork between the United States and Cameroon, this project uses a transcontinental analysis of how diaspora is mobilized to transform postcolonial formations of sovereignty in the era following 50 years of independence. The project theorizes “genetic reconnection” by way of how genetic ancestry enables African Americans and Cameroonians to mutually constitute utopic horizons of possibility in an effort to relate to one another and to the place they each call home. Through reconfigurations of biological citizenship, national heritage, and autochthony, this project demonstrates attempts to reiterate how ancestry is not endowed but is made. By attending to different configurations of labor practices binding African Americans and Cameroonians together through genetics, this project aims to use genetic reconnection as a site to diagnose Cameroon’s emerging place-in-the-world, particularly as new modes of kinship become

critical points of intervention to mitigate and subvert forms of racialized predation unfolding in Cameroon today.

TANYA R. MATTHAN, then a graduate student at University of California, Los Angeles, California, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “The Monsoon and the Market: Finance, Technology, and Risk in Rural India,” supervised by Dr. Akhil Gupta. Drawing on fourteen months of fieldwork, this dissertation research focuses ethnographic attention on lived experiences of uncertainty in Malwa, a predominantly agricultural region in central India. Broadly, this work asks what narratives and experiences of risk reveal about the precarity and possibilities of agrarian capitalism in the era of climate change. It approaches risk as an ethnographic object and an analytical lens through which projects of governance, accumulation, and claim-making can be traced. In particular, the research focused on uncertainties of weather, water, and price among cultivators, and the working of state-driven programs such crop insurance and price supports aimed at the management of these risks. It considered how farmers -- alongside insurers, traders, and government agents -- confront uncertainty, and the political and moral economies of risk and responsibility that emerge in this context. Following the specific decisions and strategies of differentially situated cultivators (across class, caste, gender, and generation), and the anxieties and aspirations that shape them, it found that a range of ecological and social conditions, from access to irrigation to caste-based knowledge networks, shape everyday practices of engaging -- assessing, avoiding, capitalizing on -- risk. Further, it shows that emerging risk-management mechanisms might actually create new uncertainties and exacerbate inequalities among farmers. Moving between farms and homes, produce markets and government offices, this research analyzed the making of economies of risk across multiple scales, and their specific effects on agrarian life-worlds.

HANNAH MAYNE, then a graduate student at University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, was awarded a grant in April 2019 “Female Piety and Sacred Space in Israel/Palestine: Jewish Prayer at the Western Wall,” supervised by Dr. Michael Lambek. The project involves an investigation of the ongoing struggles at the Western Wall in Jerusalem between feminist, orthodox, and ultra-orthodox Jewish worshippers. In considering this conflict, and documenting changing trends in women’s ritual practice, the study aims to offer an account of debates about female subjectivity and power within a patriarchal religious tradition and within a contested landscape. Using ethnographic fieldwork at the Western Wall and in various denominational settings, the research examines how women pray before God and human others; how they, and those to whom they give authority, re-invigorate or invent certain norms and practices, and prohibit others; and, how liturgical utterances at the Western Wall, and the arguments in which they take part, rely upon and elevate a notion of Jewish unity that effaces Palestinian presence and history. By focusing on prayer practices as both devotional rites and means of protest, this study contributes to current theories in the anthropology of prayer. It also considers the possibilities and limits of innovation in worship within anthropological scholarship on gender and ritual. Finally, the findings are situated within larger discussion on biblical spatiality and the politics of sacred sites in Israel/Palestine.

EMILY McKEE, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Narratives of Plenty: Desalination, Techno-Optimism, and Palestinian-Israeli Waterscapes.” Around the world, governments are looking to desalination to solve current and anticipated water scarcity problems. What hopes, plans, and fears does this relatively new technology inspire for the water users being asked to embrace it? Based in Israel and Palestine, where capital and rhetorical investment in desalination is quickly gaining

intensity, this project uses ethnography, with a strong focus on narrative analysis, to understand what happens when the optimistic narratives circulated by desalinations' proponents travel away from centers of government and industry and into more marginalized communities. First, how do Israeli and Palestinian residents interpret, accept, and resist dominant narratives of desalination as a techno-environmental fix? Second, building from the understanding that the stories we tell about future benefits and risks of new technologies profoundly shape how we interact with them in the present, how do people's visions of a desalinated future affect their engagement with contemporary water justice and water conservation campaigns? This study combines textual analysis with interviews and participant observation to compare the perspectives of water specialists, governors, and residents across lines of nationality, career, place of residence, gender, and generation.

SOUVANIK MULLICK, then a graduate student at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Transport Democracy: Small-Scale Transport Operators and Political Action in Delhi," supervised by Kaylyana Sivaramkrishnan. How do democratic processes in the postcolonial mega-city enable and shape the political action of small-scale transport operators? This study undertook a historically informed, ethnographic investigation on the legal and political processes by which these transport operators -- the erstwhile hackney carriage drivers, the motorized auto-rickshaw drivers, manual cycle-rickshaws and new electric rickshaws -- become political agents in Delhi. The project examines the political action of small-scale transport operators as a window to studying urban democracy. It studies both formal and informal politics to examine the full range of street politics, legal engagements, and bureaucratic encounters, through which the urban working poor participate in postcolonial democracy in contemporary India. Examining the political engagement of a spectrum of small-scale transport operators shows in full variation the modes and significance of the working urban poor's political action on a mega-city. The study is based upon ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Delhi, along with case-law and other governmental records-based research from 1911 onwards, to study existing and emergent forms of democratic engagement in the transport sector. In its study of democracy, the project brings center stage the claims for inclusion and recognition that the urban working poor make through their political action.

LAUREN C. NAREAU, then a graduate student at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on "From Invasive Species to Burgeoning Commodity: Marabú's Transformation into Cuba's New Hope," supervised by Dr. Christopher Townsend Middleton. This dissertation examines how Cuba is (re)negotiating its relationship to the environment -- and its past -- through the commodification of an invasive plant called Marabú. Rising out of the ruined soils of the past and into the present, Marabú stands as a ghostly reminder of what is left over from colonial sugar production. Long considered a plague, Marabú's fate has taken a remarkable turn. Transformed from invasive weed to sustainable energy commodity, this study examines how perceptions of Marabú's invasiveness are being negotiated among those who labor and live with this invasive species. Challenging historical, scientific, and cultural definitions of what it means to be "native," the case of Marabú puts forward a thorny, but pertinent question for living in the Anthropocene: will embracing invasive species help create livable futures for both humans and non? The checkered and potentially redemptive story of Marabú provides a unique opportunity to study the shifting relationships between humans and invasive species. By showing how Marabú is woven into the social fabric of Cuban society, just like sugar and tobacco centuries before it, this work explores how Marabú is currently in a process of transculturation, that is, the process of becoming a Cuban plant.

POOJA NAYAK, then a graduate student at University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on “Between Rust and Ferns: Ecological Security and the Politics of Value in India,” supervised by Dr. Lisa Mitchell. How do communities reconfigure value when attempts at ecological security displace profitable industrial work in deindustrial zones? This project seeks to illuminate the politics of value around ecological securitization practices and the emerging “bioeconomy” in the Kudremukh region in south India, where a state-owned profitable iron-ore mine was decommissioned and incorporated within a “biodiversity hotspot” after activists’ petitioned for the mine’s closure. As more than 2000 employees lost their livelihood and the celebrated industrial township decayed, the region’s endemic flora and fauna found tenuous security. Yet, even this biodiversity appears to be under threat from an invasive species of fern. Grounded in ethnographic methods and archival materials, this project engages with communities (such as ex-mine employees, biologists, conservationists, and entrepreneurial residents), practices (such as biological experiments with bats, crickets, and ferns), and with textual sources like protest letters, geological essays, and district gazetteers. Situated at the interstices of industrial closure, markets, and biodiversity, my project seeks to contribute to analyses of ecological future-making projects, and their power to make and unmake new multi-species communities.

ANGELA OKUNE, then a graduate student at University of California, Irvine, California, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Research in and for Africa: Anthropological Dilemmas and Contributions,” supervised by Dr. Kim Fortun. Despite decades of research aiming to “solve Africa’s problems” and billions of dollars in funding, many of those studied see little change in their everyday lives. Particular communities such as groups in Kibera, an infamous “slum” in Kenya’s capital city of Nairobi, demonstrate survey fatigue, falsified responses, and even feelings of being exploited by global processes of scientific knowledge production. This project examined how qualitative research -- carried out by a tangle of private, academic, and non-profit organizations -- is designed, performed, and contested in “research-busy” Nairobi. Ethnographic sites included three research organizations in the city. Data was collected through ethnography, archival research, and utilization of an instance of open-source software -- the Platform for Experimental, Collaborative Ethnography -- to draw research interlocutors into collaborative effort to understand and begin to build decolonized qualitative data infrastructures. Through such processes, the project revealed that collaborating on data not only refreshes the social contract of qualitative work, it can also enhance its robustness and validity. At a time when open approaches to knowledge production are becoming increasingly mandated by governments and funding agencies, this study advanced thinking about the politics of qualitative data, unraveling normative content like “ethics” and “transparency” by both examining existing data practices and modeling alternatives.

YASEMIN OZER, then a graduate student at City University of New York, Graduate Center, New York, New York, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Syrians in a Turkish City: Improvising Care Beyond the Refugee Camp,” supervised by Dr. Karen Strassler. This ethnographic project investigates the emergent social relationships and care networks forged between Turkish citizens and Syrian nationals in the working-class neighborhoods of Istanbul that currently host the largest Syrian population in the country. Using participant observation and open-ended interviews, this research traces the ways historically and morally charged social categories such as “guest,” “neighbor,” and “Muslim kin” are deployed by Turkish nationals and Syrians to study the emergent social networks that link Syrians to each other and to Turkish citizens. It explores where and how care materializes

in this context, and examine if a new kind of urban citizenship is being formulated in the process. By placing questions of care -- ethical concerns over who matters, to whom, and why and how they matter -- at the center analysis, the project moves beyond “the bare life/camp” paradigm and opens up a space for analyzing modes of relationality between citizens and refugees, solidarity networks formed between them, and new forms of social life flourishing at the peripheries of the city.

CHRISTIAN PACHECO GOMEZ, then a graduate student at City University of New York, Graduate Center, New York, New York, was awarded a grant in October 2018 to aid research on “‘Tijuana without Borders’ and Deportees: Spatial Seclusion and Criminality in Borderlands,” supervised by Dr. Leigh Binford. This ethnographic research was conducted over fifteen months in Tijuana (Baja California, Mexico). Through participant observation, life histories, semi-structured interviews, and archival consultation, this research examines deported Mexicans’ livelihoods as they attempted to resume their lives in the United States during the reinforcement of the Mexican-U.S. border and the ongoing tourist “Tijuana without borders” project. Analysis of the data resulted in three major findings about the impact of Tijuana’s tourist redesign through public security targeting deported persons’ circulation around border zones and peripheries. First, the accelerated arrival of migrants identified as asylum seekers -- moving mainly from the Global South -- has resulted in the displacement of deported persons from the humanitarian market. Second, the development of up-scale plazas in selected zones is producing a mode of vertical accumulation of capital accompanied by surveillance over and exclusion of newcomers, such as deported persons and asylum seekers. Social exclusion draws on stigmatized labels for deported migrants widely disseminated in the United States. Lastly, this research found the convergence of selective re-development and the humanitarian market in Tijuana involves an accelerated process of economic growth and the concentration of migrant populations circulating to and deported from the North in humanitarianized geographies.

RIMA PRASPALIAUSKIENE, an independent scholar, Oakland, California, received a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in April 2019 to aid research and writing on “Enveloped Lives: Caring And Giving In Lithuanian Health Care.” The Hunt Fellowship supported progress towards completion of a book manuscript, *Enveloped Lives: Giving and Caring in Lithuanian Health Care*. This book is an ethnography of how people practice health and care by engaging in ambiguous practices that some would define as informal and corrupt. It examines the relationship between caring, things and money. It focuses on how informal payments -- “little white envelopes” -- that the patients or their relatives give or feel compelled to give to doctors before or after treatment, sustained and maintained public health care in the times of economic shortages during socialism and during the fundamental transformations to capitalism in post-socialist Lithuania. Based on two years of fieldwork research, this book follows these envelopes as complex doctor-patient transactions, the nexus of relations, to learn about health and care at the intersection of neoliberal reforms and socialist fragmentations. *Enveloped Lives* traces the genealogy of the health care reform since 1990s, exploring how patients, doctors, and caretakers encounter, perceive and carry out these ambiguous practices. This ethnography shows how envelopes became a form of care embedded in social relations and driven by webs of obligations. These practices are productive in sustaining the lives of doctors and have affective value for patients and doctors alike. They supplement public health care while making doctors reliant on patients’ generosity. While the envelopes do not reduce social inequalities, they slow down significantly the transformation of public health care from the social function of the state to a business matter. Therefore, they might preclude the emergence of new inequalities that appear with the adoption of private health care and insurance regimes.



YICHEN RAO, then a graduate student at University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on “Surviving the Ruins of Hope: Life under China’s P2P Lending Crisis,” supervised by Dr. Gonalo Santos. In the past ten years, Chinese people of different social strata swarmed into the Peer-to-Peer (P2P) lending industry as lenders and borrowers. Meanwhile, stories circulated across the media about desperate investors who lost their life’s savings on these lending platforms, many of which turned out to be Ponzi schemes. This ethnographic research presents a failed-yet-influential social experiment of digital finance in the world’s largest developing economy. By following the stories of lenders/investors, borrowers, industry employees and regulators, this research seeks to answer: 1) What are the market mechanisms and regulatory patterns that produce the rise and fall of China’s P2P lending or “internet finance” industry and the financial inclusion experiment? 2) What do the industry participants think, feel and dream about along their work, investment, and borrowing trajectories? What financial subjectivities are produced in this financial inclusion experiment? 3) How are “credit,” “risks,” and “crises” constructed and interpreted by different parties during the expansion and collapses of the P2P platforms? How do different people react to, live with, and reflect upon the “crisis” and the continuous collapses of P2P platforms as partially intervened by the government?

SCOTT ROSS, then a graduate student at George Washington University, Washington, DC, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on “The Early Warning Radio: Humanitarian Infrastructures and Networks of Protection in the Congo,” supervised by Dr. Sarah E. Wagner. This project focuses on an early warning radio network in northeastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, where humanitarians have appropriated existing high-frequency radio technology to collect and disseminate information about armed groups active in the region. Originally used commercially and by churches, the humanitarian iteration of the network connects rural communities in an area marked by poor communications and transportation infrastructure and low-level insecurity. The dissertation research involved ethnographic and archival research that asks how “insecurity” is defined and by whom, as well as how rural villagers respond to an array of actors including humanitarians, park rangers, pastoralists, rebels, and soldiers that are involved in such insecurity. The research also explored how intervention is shaped by and shapes politics and conceptions of the political (e.g. what does it mean for humanitarians to be “apolitical?”), how the history of the HF radio influenced its current forms, and how the technology’s possibilities and limits affect the network. Through an ethnography of a unique intervention in a marginal region, the research speaks to the politics and ethics of innovation and intervention in humanitarianism, counterinsurgency, conservation, and immigration.

ELIZABETH H. RUBIO, then a graduate student at University of California, Irvine, California, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Undocumented in Multicultural America: Racialization, Solidarity and Place in Korean American Immigrant Rights Organizing,” supervised by Dr. Eleana Kim. The 1992 L.A. uprising served, for many Korean Americans (KA), as a rude baptism into U.S. racial hierarchies and motivated progressive KAs to engage more deeply in racial justice work. In 1994, Korean Resource Center (KRC), a longstanding progressive KA voice in Southern California, joined with KA organizers across the country to create the National Korean American Services and Education Consortium (NAKASEC). Rapid growth in undocumented KA migration after the 1997-98 Asian financial crisis, brazen protest strategies, commitment to multiracial movement solidarity, and a conceptualization of immigrant justice that decenters legalization and rights-based equality, have made KRC/NAKASEC increasingly influential, yet controversial figures

in immigrant justice worlds. Through two years of ethnographic research with KRC, NAKASEC, their allies and opponents, this research argues that in deliberately mobilizing their construction as “model minorities” and “DREAMers,” and challenging assumptions about the desirability of state recognition, NAKASEC/KRC’s work reveals how categories and goals of liberal democracy are being contested in contemporary U.S. politics. In examining the projects these organizers undertake in pursuing justice outside of legalization, this research shows how growing disillusionment with electoral politics has brought immigrants to turn away from the state and towards each other for material survival.

LILIANA GIL RUSSO DE SOUSA, then a graduate student at The New School, New York, New York, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Make-do Innovation: Reconfiguring Technological Improvisation in Brazil,” supervised by Dr. Hugh Raffles. The main goal of this project is to conduct ethnographic research about practices and discourses of improvisation in contexts of technological production. Attending to the centrality of improvisation in recent debates about innovation from the global South, the project focuses on the specific case of Brazil, building upon its rich intellectual traditions and material practices engaging “making-do” as a socially and politically saturated phenomenon. Drawing on conceptual and methodological tools from anthropology and science and technology studies, the project details how improvisation has been contextually (and at times contradictorily) thought, performed, and valued by a range of actors: staff and users of a community-oriented fabrication laboratory; activists engaged in repair rights and digital inclusion; policymakers invested in promoting innovation; and technicians working on electronics maintenance and manufacturing. By examining the relationship between improvisation and technological production across spheres of expertise, this project offers a critical reflection on technological improvisation as both a material practice and a contemporary political-economic project with implications for scholarly and public debates on sustainable design, inclusive innovation, repair economies, and (un)skilled labor.

SAHAR SADJADI, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in September 2017 to aid research and writing on “Beautiful Children: Medicine and the Future of Transgender Identity.” The Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship supported the completion of a book manuscript based on an ethnography of clinical practices that have emerged around childhood gender nonconformity in the United States. This book analyzes how the clinical field has come to define children’s Gender Dysphoria (previously, Gender Identity Disorder), and chronicles transformations, as well as continuities, in the development and expansion of the clinical field in the early 21st century. Based on research at pediatric gender clinics, this book shows that understanding and treating children’s gender troubles is currently shaped by the cultural and scientific appeal of innate and interior origins of identity and difference, and by imagining the child as a site for tracing the origin of adult identity and authenticity. It situates current scientific conceptualizations of the brain as the location of gender identity, in relation to the Western metaphysical conceptions of the body and the soul and the modern accounts of ‘the self’ as interiority and psychic depth. Beautiful Children explores the development of new medical treatments such as puberty suppression for transgender children and the anticipatory rationale and sentiments that guide these interventions. The book suggests holding open a space in which young trans and gender-variant life is valued and can unfold along multiple trajectories, some of which might be novel beyond what is known and available to us today.

CHINA SAJADIAN, a graduate student at the CUNY Graduate Center, received a grant in October 2018 to aid research on “From Migrants to Refugees: Histories of Migration and

Agricultural Labor in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon,” supervised by Dr. Mandana Limbert. This ethnographic project was conducted for eighteen months in the Syrian-Lebanese borderlands, including daily labor among Syrian refugee-farmworkers, immersion in the everyday life of refugee camps, and archival research in periodicals and private holdings. It examined how a loss of cross-border mobility for Syrian farmworkers throughout the Syrian war has reconfigured agrarian relations in the region. Findings show that shift from seasonal to forced migration generates new inequalities that subtly intersect with a moral economy of long-standing idioms of obligation. Facing the dual loss of social benefits from the Syrian welfare state and an independent source of seasonal subsistence from their land in Syria, displaced farmworkers have become increasingly dependent on hierarchical bonded labor arrangements to cope with the higher cost of living in Lebanon year-round. Combining insights from agrarian studies and migration studies, the research recasts the classic “agrarian question” as a “migrant question” to develop a broader theory about agrarian transformation and mobility in times of war.

MARCEL A. SALAS, then a graduate student at New York University, New York, New York, received funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Total Market American: Race, Digital Space & the Advertising of Consumer Citizenship,” supervised by Dr. Arlene Davila. For over a half century, multicultural advertising in the United States has materialized into a collection of agencies, marketing departments, consumer research firms and consultancies that specialize in producing advertising targeted towards specific racial and ethnic groups -- namely Latinx, African American and Asian American consumers. Multicultural advertising exists due to the distinction that brands and media companies have created between marketing to nonwhite consumers and what is called the “general market” -- a term used to refer to the nation as a marketplace that while seemingly unmarked by race and ethnicity, has tacitly become synonymous in industry discourse with white consumers. The significance of multicultural advertising has become ever the more pronounced since the 2010 U.S. Census, which projected that by the year 2044, the Latinx, African American, Asian American, and indigenous populations will together comprise the majority of the United States’ population. Yet at a time where one might presume that multicultural advertising’s future would be even more secure, the industry teeters on the edge of obsolescence. Based on twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork at multicultural agencies and key industry events, this dissertation examines how multicultural advertising professionals theorize about identity, and what their knowledge production practices reveal about the contemporary cultural politics of race, ethnicity and national belonging.

DANIEL SCHNIEDEWIND, then a graduate student at University of California, Santa Cruz, California, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on “Politics of Belonging and More-Than-Human Practices in the Hudson Valley,” supervised by Dr. Andrew Mathews. The more-than-human landscape of the Hudson Valley region in New York state bears the enduring marks of racial slavery and ongoing colonialism. Everyday practices involving nonhumans in the present day are both continuities and disruptions of what came before. Invasive species managers confront the biological fallout of long-term ecological disturbance and global commercial circulation. Small-scale animal farming practices replicate the impacts on native plant communities that resulted from their introduction centuries earlier. Entwined with these practices in the present is the generation of social belonging that is also connected to deep histories of genocide and enslavement. Ethnographic fieldwork with anti-invasive species practitioners and small-scale animal farmers, combined with archival and field ecology methods, enables a rich account of patterns and discontinuities that evidence the

inseparability of nonhumans and landscapes from the realms of politics and self-making over the long term.

SERTAC KAYA SEN, then a graduate student at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “Fostering Vitality through War-Making: Militarized Development in Turkey,” supervised by Dr. Matthew Gutmann. This project seeks to understand how military bases and defense allocations impact socioeconomic life at a community level through fieldwork in a Turkish military-personnel city, Corlu. It investigates the military’s role in transforming the local economies and host societies adjacent to where they are stationed through participant observation, interviews, and archival research. Defining militarized development as a vision of positive social change that is contingent upon militarization, this research focuses on the production of militarized development by both civilian and military populations, and its socioeconomic consequences along the interrelated categories of gender, class, and ethnicity. Findings indicate that daily social and economic relations that the dynamic patterns of national defense posture, foreign policy, political regime, and military organization enable between the civilian and military populations of the city propel the belief that the nation-state’s chief instrument of war-readiness and violence can bring positive social change to people. Therefore, civil-military relations in the capillary rather than in the classical sociological sense lie at the root of the persistence of militarized development.

ELENA SOBRINO, then a graduate student at Massachusetts Inst. of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on “Corroding Evidence: Toxicity and Conflict in Flint, Michigan,” supervised by Dr. Christine Walley. This project explores environmental and economic transitions in the deindustrialized Great Lakes region of North America, with a focus on Flint, Michigan, and the ongoing water crisis there. Flint is surrounded by approximately twenty percent of the world’s freshwater supply in the five Great Lakes. But the Flint water crisis reveals a counterintuitive reality: geographic proximity to abundant natural resources does not necessarily guarantee water potability, access, or security. This project examines the cultural, political, and scientific projects that make the quotidian toxicities of racial capitalism more visible, and consequently more open to interventions that advance justice and sustainability. Using ethnographic methods of participant-observation and interviews, this dissertation documents how organized labor, environmental justice activism, and green chemistry offer different approaches to ameliorate past, present, and future toxic harm. What do each of these spheres of action have in common, what differentiates their strategies, and how do they untangle or re-connect environmental and economic struggles? This project argues that the alleviation of toxic risk is tied not only to technological forms of remediation, but to the elimination of policies and practices that uphold structures of inequality and racism.

AMY ELIZABETH STAMBACH, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, was awarded a grant June 2018 to aid research on “How Do People Manage Water on Mount Kilimanjaro: Kinship May be Key.” Standing at 19,000-plus feet above sea level, just a few degrees south of the equator, Kilimanjaro Mountain and its coffee-growing environs have made northeastern Tanzania one of Africa’s most economically productive regions. Yet eighty percent of Kilimanjaro’s glacial cover has disappeared in as many years, and coffee production fluctuates erratically, depending on water availability. This research project on water management in Kilimanjaro Region examined how people who self-identify as Chagga use water to regulate social interactions, to connect religious and moral domains of life, and to demarcate and adjudicate conflicts. To learn about water use and resource sustainability

from the perspectives of coffee farmers, the research combined participant observation, oral history methods, and interviews to document irrigation routes, community management of these irrigation routes, and ritual and everyday uses of water under conditions of climate change and out-migration of labor to cities. Research focused on the everyday articulations of multiple social domains in which water is used, including religious, legal, and economic institutions. A book, research articles, and conference papers based on this research are in process.

STEFAN TARNOWSKI, then a graduate student at Columbia University, New York, New York, received funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Syria: The Image in Revolution, Revolution in the Image,” supervised by Dr. Nadia Abu El-Haj. Funding provided the grantee the opportunity to conduct fieldwork on the employment of new media technologies in the Syrian Revolution and war. This took me to Turkey, Lebanon, France, and Germany to carry out participant observation in a number of media offices and civil society organizations. Interviews were also conducted with a range of (current and ex-) citizen journalists, activists and funders. This research spans a historical period when discourses around new media have polarized, from the optimism that they drive democratic engagement, to the pessimism that they undermine the foundations of democracy. These shifts coincide with the changing fortunes of the Syrian revolution, from the promise of the popular overthrow of the Assad regime to the horrors of internecine and international war. Instead of retreating into either of these two poles, this project investigates the practices and discourses of those actively engaged in funding, producing, circulating, and archiving content with new media technologies, with the aim of understanding how these practices and discourses have developed from 2011 until the present day.

SAQUIB A. USMAN, then a graduate student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on “Sensation and the Production of Space in Mauritanian Frontiers,” supervised by Dr. Andrew Shryock. This research focuses on processes of place making rooted in society through ethnography in and out of Dali Gimba, a village in the Saharan hinterlands between Mauritania and Mali, renowned for the plurality of its villagers who are genealogically tied through congenital blindness, many of whom possess extrasensory compensations used for social functions. The phase of research funded by the foundation involved engaged ethnography starting November 2018 to October 2019 and hovered around three foci. Firstly, it analyzes the sensory dynamics in domains such as the interactions and local face-to-face communications in the village, involving blind and sighted participants, practices of knowledge transmission, and local histories that inform the semiotic production of blindness and sight. Secondly, drawing upon extensive interactions with blind water dowser, this ethnography investigates wells as a critical site of mediation at the nexus of various processes of historical, economic, and cultural production. More generally, it studies the circulation of water as a vital substance crucially involved in the mediation of social, material, and divine relationships in a society where life is especially characterized by the precarity of water. Lastly, the research examines the processes that lead remote places like Dali Gimba to draw the gaze and ambitions of strangers, journalists, developers, epidemiologists, and even anthropologists through representational practices across local, regional, national, transnational, and global scales.

LOUISE VELING, then a graduate student at National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Ireland, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on “Producing Humans: An Anthropology of Social and Cognitive Robotics,” supervised by Dr. Mark Maguire. This research takes an Anthropological perspective on social and cognitive robotics, with a specific

focus on humanoid robots. By building and modifying robots, robotics researchers are reflecting, reproducing, and challenging core assumptions about what it means to be human and the nature of intelligence. In the era of the Anthropocene, the need for a critical examination of the relationship between humans and the world is increasingly urgent. Taking the production of human intelligence in robotics research as its core focus, this report focuses on fieldwork undertaken at two US robotics research sites: an extended human-robot interaction study at a retirement community, and a robotics institute at a US university. This study builds on existing studies of AI and Robotics, as well as contributing to, and extending, contemporary debates in posthumanist theory. This is done using core concepts from phenomenological philosophy, particularly emphasizing the body as a site of knowing the world, as well as the Anthropological concept of “the fetish.” Like the fetish, the robot reveals itself to be a material fact, while also acting as a mediator between social realities and personal experience, thus revealing something universal about human entanglements with others and with the world.

CLAIRE I. WEBB, then a graduate student at Massachusetts Institute for Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was awarded funding in April 2017 to aid research on “Technologies of Perception: Searches for Life and Intelligence Elsewhere,” supervised by Dr. David Kaiser. Funding allowed the grantee to perform in-depth, immersive anthropological fieldwork with communities of scientists who search for extraterrestrial life. Primary research sites were: 1) Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence (SETI) Institute, where the grantee interacted with longtime interlocutors (the organization’s founders) and astrobiologists; 2) the Breakthrough Listen team at U.C. Berkeley, where the grantee has since been hired as a Research Associate; 3) Research stations at NASA Ames and the Green Bank Telescope in West Virginia. The grantee visited scientific facilities, attended social events (such as the Drake Awards), contributed to professional workshops (such as Breakthrough Discuss), conducted formal interviews, and organized an ongoing series of Making Contact Workshops that drew a wide range of interdisciplinary scholars. Using an astronomy research background, the grantee was trained in two observation protocols at the Green Bank telescope and the Parkes telescope in Australia. Topics that arose during fieldwork included the nature of extraterrestrial forms of life and intelligence; analogies to non-human Others; commensurability; perceptibility/sense-ability of Others; exotic forms of life; and imaginations of advanced civilizations’ values, desires, and technologies. These interactions with astronomers, telescope operators, data scientists, and facility administrators aimed to address the following research questions: What are the technical processes, and by what epistemic mandate, do astronomers engage “listening” and “looking” to do scientific research? How do exoplanetary astronomers and SETI scientists work toward an undiscovered object? What kinds of scientific selves surface within a research agenda of the missing object?

KRYSTAL E. WEISS, then a graduate student at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on “Admissions: International Students, Higher Education, and Immigration Governance in the United States,” supervised by Dr. Damien Stankiewicz. In the United States, political rhetoric and public discourse portray immigration governance as a battle between legality and illegality waged at the border. However, the responsibility and power to manage rapidly growing foreign populations have been increasingly located away from the border in private, localized spaces like institutions of higher education. Every year, one million international students enter the United States with nonimmigrant status to access higher education and citizenship. The nonimmigrant to immigrant adjustment process constitutes a complex legal rite of passage,

embedded in local communities and practices, through which nonimmigrants can be made into immigrants. Through twelve months of ethnographic research deeply rooted in four tertiary education settings, the researcher conducted participant observation, interviews, and participatory interpretive policy analysis with international students, higher education staff, and local policymakers to examine local processes of immigration adjustment and subjectivity formation. Specifically, this research investigated how non-state actors craft, administer, and enact local policies that throw light on the unrecognized legal, social, and embodied manifestations of the nonimmigration system and render legal, national citizenship accessible, though in uneven ways, to individuals otherwise prohibited from immigrating.

ANN KATHRYN WILKINSON, then a graduate student at University of California, Irvine, California, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “Securing the Family: Gender, Sexuality, and the Transnational Pro-Family Movement in Mexico,” supervised by Dr. Kristin Peterson. Decrying “gender ideology,” anti-gender backlash movements that reject social constructivist theories of gender and related right claims have emerged as a key feature of rising right-wing populisms across Europe and Latin America, including in Mexico. This project draws on one year of ethnographic research with Mexican anti-gender activists working to “secure the family” to ask: how has “gender ideology” come to be represent the greatest threat to the Mexican family and nation, and how does the spectacular emergence of Mexico’s profamily/anti-gender movement since 2016 -- in the midst of twin crises of democracy and security -- relate to emergent forms of right-wing populism globally? Following three interrelated lines of inquiry into security, gender, and scale, the project ethnographically examines how anti-gender activists securitize the family to do political work; what “doing gender” (as theorized by three decades of feminist scholarship) does in the world; and how right-wing movements articulate across national and transnational scales. Through ethnography’s pairing of social analysis and deep listening, this study compels understanding of the role played by “gender” in cohering an emergent “transnational Right” that connects daily lives on a global scale.

TAYLOR PAIGE WINFIELD, then a graduate student at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, received a grant in October 2018 to aid research on “Inscribing Identities on Uniformed Bodies,” supervised by Dr. Robert Wuthnow. Using the ethnographic data collection at the United States Military Academy Preparatory School, this research investigated the (re)socialization of civilians into soldiers and how ethnic, gender, class, sexual, and religious identities shape the resocialization process. Full integration into the military unit and duration of the study allowed the researcher to examine how formal, explicit displays of power and subtle, implicit power were exercised on a daily basis within the institution and how individual soldiers complied with, resisted, or rebelled against institutional norms. Research findings indicate that military resocialization is far from the homogenous process. The data builds upon embodiment and knowledge literature to show what happens to identity when individuals are forced to change their physical and mental techniques, and how rebellion and resistance to standards can be intentional or a result of structural inequalities. Findings also demonstrate how racial, sexual and class-based ideologies function within in the institution and contribute to what it means to look and behave like a good soldier and future officer.

VANESSA WIJNGAARDEN, an independent scholar, Nieuw-Vennep, The Netherlands, was awarded a Fejos Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2017 to aid filmmaking on “Meeting ‘the Other’ In Maasailand: How We See Them, How They See Us.” Tourism is a fruitful space to interrogate the interplay between mental images of “the other” and interactions with this

“other.” This research employs innovative methodological and reflexive tools to study encounters between Tanzanian Maasai and Dutch tourists at a small cultural tourism project, illuminating cross-culturally shared (re)construction processes behind persistent imagery of “others.” Through the combined analysis of ethnographic and audiovisual data, the researcher found that these images are recreated despite contrasting experiences. In a long-term dialogical effort, the researcher returned to the field to film the sharing of her analyses with her respective participants, confronting them with their utterances and behaviors as well as with the surprise of how “the other” actually sees them. This reflexive, double-sided, multi-layered research project is a collaboration with Maasai Paulo Ngulupa, and challenges dichotomies of “self” and “other,” ethnographer and informant, modern social science and lay or local knowledge. Partly constructed as a video-messaging conversation across continents, the resulting documentary feature unveils surprising details of attitudes towards “the other.” It informs theoretical insights about the central position of the dynamic and empathic reflexive agent in the interplay between images and interactions, whilst promoting critical and reflexive dialogues between people who consider each other “other.” Film title: “Maasai Speak Back.” Trailer: <https://vimeo.com/441949526>

JENNIFER A. ZELNICK, then a graduate student at University of California, Irvine, California, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on “Deported ‘Home?’: Cambodian-Americans and the Limits of Legal Permanent Residency,” supervised by Dr. Leo R. Chavez. What does it mean to “return” to a country one doesn’t remember, or where one has never lived? Since the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in 2002, 757 Cambodian-American refugees who were legal permanent residents of the United States have been deported to Cambodia. Unlike most deportees who return to countries where they previously resided, and have citizenship and family ties, Cambodian-Americans are exiled to Cambodia without citizenship, largely unfamiliar with their “homeland.” This project examines how legal mechanisms, social and political histories, transnational flows, networks and absences of kin, and geopolitics of inclusion and exclusion complicate anthropological theories of migration, removal, and “return.” How does the emergence of “deportable refugees” challenge extant notions of transnationality, migrant precarity, documentation, and illegality? How does the removal of Cambodian-American LPRs problematize notions of refugee futurity alongside notions of return that invoke the past? Research consisted of twenty months of transnational ethnographic data collection among deportees, their friends and family members, policy makers, activists, Cambodian government officials, and community-based organizations in Phnom Penh and Battambang, Cambodia and Long Beach, Los Angeles, and the Bay Area, California.



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