REVITALIZING ANTHROPOLOGY

Let's Focus the Field on Benefiting Others

Graduate Student Visions

from

Australia, Canada,
China, Guatemala, Japan,
the United States
and Zimbabwe

EDITED BY

Robert Borofsky

What 28 anthropologists from 16 countries say about *Revitalizing Anthropology*

Please read these blurbs carefully. They provide a context for exploring ideas in the book's various chapters. Compare and contrast various statements. Ask yourself: What do the blurbs (a) foreshadow regarding the book's message, (b) suggest concerning the perspectives of anthropologists from different places around the world, and (c) imply about the state of anthropology today?

Revitalizing Anthropology is a timely, thought-provoking, and insightful book. Through a careful analysis of the various possibilities of anthropology to stir practical action for the benefit of people in meaningful ways, the contributors to *Revitalizing Anthropology* open up new avenues for research and public engagement.

ELIAS ALEMU BEDASSO
Assistant Professor of Social Anthropology, Vice President for Academic, Research, Technology Transfer and Community Services, Jinka University, Ethiopia

What are the challenges facing anthropology today? They involve improving the quality of research while promoting an anthropological engagement that accounts for the real needs of society. These issues are critically addressed by the authors—a new generation of graduate students—who interrogate the scope of the discipline by mobilizing anthropology to public spheres, thinking against the grain in solving real problems, questioning the structural constraints imposed by academia, but above all, bridging the ethical gap and commitment that we owe to our collaborators.

HORTENSIA CABALLERO-ARIAS
Investigadora en Antropología, Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas, IVIC, Caracus, Venezuela

An exciting bouquet of inspiring and encouraging essays by a bunch of young scholars, which indicate the deep humanizing effect of the discipline as well as the potential of anthropology to be relevant in the post-colonial and neo-liberal world. These essays address a range of environmental, political, economic, and identity-based issues that engage a transnational and multi-sited global arena of knowledge, production, and application. It offers a wide range of suggestions for anthropologists, especially in the next generation, regarding their overlapping roles as academics and activists.

SUBHADRA MITRA CHANNA
Professor (Emerita) of Anthropology, University of Delhi, India
Senior Vice president, International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES)

Revitalizing Anthropology is a tour de force for anyone committed to rethinking the field. From assessing the exclusivity and insularity of the field, to questioning the relationship between publication output and knowledge production, to challenging the efficacy of academic institutions in producing actual change, the book leads the way in shifting the focus from anthropological critique to real-world problem solving by asking students to consider what the field could be. This book takes a different approach and offers a refreshing possibility.

KAMARI MAXINE CLARKE
Distinguished Professor, University of Toronto, Canada

Revitalizing Anthropology offers an important new roadmap for how our discipline can be kinder, more sensitive, and more self-aware. Graduate students from around the globe offer refreshing perspectives regarding how we can reshape anthropology not just to understand the human condition as an intellectual exercise but also to also help improve the lives of others. The insightful critiques and nuanced recommendations confirm that our students are pushing the discipline into much-needed directions and we should all be listening.

JASON DE LEON
Professor of Anthropology and Chicana/o Studies, UCLA, USA
Executive Director of the Undocumented Migration Project

This is a unique book. Curated by Robert Borofsky but written by thoughtful, engaged, knowledgeable students of anthropology, this collection shows why the world needs anthropology and quite a lot of it; but it also identifies the obstacles on the way. This lively book is a treasure trove of ideas, suggestions, and perspectives, showing the way toward a world where anthropology truly matters.

THOMAS ERIKSEN
Professor of Anthropology, University of Oslo, Norway

The future of anthropology has always depended on its collective ability to nourish and respond to the visions of its students. This book is a crucial step along the way. It is an ideal book to foster debate among graduate students and faculty about where anthropology is today and, critically, where it might be headed. It offers much food for thought. Read it and see why.

JOSH FISHER
Professor of Anthropology, Western Washington University, USA
Editor of *Exertions* (Web Publication of the Society for the Anthropology of Work)

This collection is a great idea. In a period when both the world and universities seem to be in serious fragmentation, having a new generation of anthropologists write about the possible future of the field is uplifting. The essays and comments range from issues of how to keep the discipline alive to suggestions that expand the ways in which anthropologists should engage in the world that they study. Whether or not one agrees with the suggestions, the very existence of such a forum is welcome and should be encouraged on a regular basis.

JONATHAN FRIEDMAN
Directeur D'études Emeritus, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France
Distinguished Professor of Anthropology Emeritus, U.C. San Diego, USA

This is a wonderful book because for the first time in the history of anthropology, graduate students from different countries in the world speak their minds. Unlike the "penguins on the edge of an ice sheet afraid that something in the water will eat them," in Fredrik Barth's phrasing, these daring graduate students threaten to push out the elites of the discipline from their comfort zones. The book has shaken me in India, a country in which public anthropology has a root long forgotten in the present.

ABHIJIT GUHA
Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, Vidyasagar University, India.

Like performers, anthropologists may yearn for audiences. Like development workers, anthropologists may yearn to do well for themselves by doing good for others. Like activists, anthropologists might aspire to change the world. But like anyone, anthropologists may encounter a chasm between their dreams and reality. *Revitalizing Anthropology* is a lively conversation between generations about anthropology: what it is, what it could be, and where to go from here. The strength of this volume is the voices of the graduate students showcased here, who offer to the discipline not only a wealth of practical ideas for building public outreach but also a strong dose of hope and purpose.

HOLLY HIGH
Associate Professor, Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Australia

As the planet is endangered by unsustainable economies and accelerating exclusions, anthropology runs the risk of replicating dominant, extractive, and utilitarian logics in their relationships with collaborating communities, as well as with its own practitioners, particularly graduate students. This book constitutes a moral refusal of such logic and inspires us to renew our commitments to reciprocities and inclusions that can renew the discipline's

potential to promote more caring, sustained, and transformative practices for a world in peril.

MICHAEL D. HILL
Profesor de Antropología, Universidad San Francisco de Quito, Ecuador

CONSUELO FERNÁNDEZ-SALVADOR
Coordinadora de Antropología, Universidad San Francisco de Quito, Ecuador

Read this short and important book! It is a vital intervention on how anthropology students seek to revitalise the discipline and its purpose. Today, given the diverse neoliberal stresses both students and faculty are under, it is refreshing and invigorating to read how graduate students from around the world plan to use the anthropological tool kit to carve out spaces for action. They argue for a hopeful future, and with an ethos of mutuality, for a more caring anthropological encounter with the world(s) we study and live in.

GERHARD HOFFSTAEDTER
Associate Professor of Anthropology, The University of Queensland, Australia

This is an extraordinary and seminal intervention/contribution in Rob Borofsky's career-long insistence on making anthropology literally beneficial to others. He taps into the spirit and motivating impulses of current graduate student projects in several locations globally. In so doing, he provides a much-needed resource for teaching introductory graduate program seminars, especially in the leading departments of the classic metropole.

GEORGE MARCUS
Chancellor's Professor and Chair, Department of Anthropology,
University of California, Irvine, USA

This remarkable book consists of the voices of anthropology graduate students discussing their hopes for an anthropology that is not based only in the accumulation of professional publications but more in the betterment of people's lives across the globe. These students offer ideals for the discipline that many professors immersed in their professional worlds may have forgotten. For the sake of the future survival and flourishing of our discipline, I fervently hope that the ideals of these students may indeed be realized—the future is theirs, and if these essays are any guide, that future is in good hands.

GORDON MATHEWS
Research Professor, Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, People's Republic of China, Chair-Elect, World Council of Anthropological Associations

The *Revitalizing* collection is remarkable. It involves a younger generation of anthropologists calling for real and substantive change within the field. The

authors' bold visions inspire us to move beyond the institutional structures that emphasize critique and self-aggrandizement. They ask us to refocus our efforts on benefiting others. They challenge us to fulfill anthropology's potential for fostering meaningful change—change that benefits communities around the world. Please read these papers and heed the authors' calls!

TAD MCILWRAITH
Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, Canada

Revitalizing Anthropology taps into a wide array of anthropology graduate students from around the world to answer the question of how to revitalize anthropology and what would such a revitalization look like? And they do not disappoint! These young authors are challenging us and our discipline to create a new vision for the discipline that centers on the needs of the people we study. That means our publications should be written initially in a way that proposes and supports societal change, not just theorize about it. The 21st century demands that anthropologists rethink who we are and what we do. As one author challenges us, do we have the personal courage to do so? These graduate students surely do!

YOLANDA T. MOSES
Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology
Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity, Excellence and Equity, UC Riverside, USA

Revitalizing Anthropology makes a heuristic departure from the canonical production of anthropological knowledge. The book calls for a kind of anthropology that does not merely offer abstract theorizations and narrative epistemologies but one that opens gates for activism and demonstrably improves people's lives in very pragmatic and meaningful ways. In a very novel fashion, the authors attempt to rediscover a new paradigm of anthropology by offering possibilities for rethinking, reframing, and retooling the discipline toward an anthropology of benefaction.

SAIBU MUTARU
Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana

This volume captures a key moment of transition in the discipline when graduate students become colleagues. The voices of rising anthropologists represented here reflect a vibrant and international cohort of scholars sharing with us their commitments to and expectations of an anthropology they know can do better.

ANDREW ORTA
Professor of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

Revitalizing Anthropology is a beautiful example of the different ways of doing anthropology, how our discipline is essential in transforming society, and that academic life is much more than an individual task. Based on students' experiences from different parts of the world, the book is a central piece to reflect on our work.

MARIANO D. PERELMAN
Investigador CONICET, Investigador Instituto Gino Germani (UBA)
Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Building on Borofsky's *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, *Revitalizing Anthropology* draws us into the dynamics of how anthropologists construct our collective future as a fluid set of interactions and hopes. It lets those of us outside of "the West" construct new futures for equality and justice beyond the more traditional forces that tend to dominate the discipline.

LENIN PIRES
Professor de Antropologia e Métodos Qualitativos, Departamento de Segurança Pública
Universidade Federal Fluminense, RJ, Brasil

Revitalizing Anthropology moved me in ways I had not anticipated. This collection of provocations shines light on the pedagogical, institutional, and structural inadequacies of the anthropological endeavor, globally shared yet unequally borne. A book of this kind is an invaluable resource that interrupts decades of cyclical movements that amounted to little transformation within the fields of anthropology. The authors are bold, prepared, and poised in their ambition to contribute creatively and generatively to the trajectory of the discipline. What is offered is a clarion call that invigorates how we understand the interconnectivity of our worlds, how we care for one another in these worlds, and how we attend earnestly to the health of all of our worlds.

EFUA PRAH
Associate Professor of Medical Anthropology, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

Revitalizing Anthropology is a hopeful look at anthropology's future, with essays revealing the power of anthropological perspectives to rethink the discipline in ways that bring politics, collaborations, and engagement to the center of what anthropology does. This collection showcases our next generation of anthropologists undertaking collaborative forms of fieldwork, politically engaged projects, and new ways of unifying theory and action to breathe important new life into anthropology. This is an important book that will be widely taught.

DAVID PRICE
Professor of Anthropology, St. Martin's University, USA

In celebrating human and biological diversity, anthropology helps us develop key skills necessary for living in plural societies. But such skills are often not stressed today in anthropology syllabi around the world. Rather, the focus is on a few dominating intellectual perspectives. The graduate students, with their diverse backgrounds and skills, renew this focus on difference, thereby opening up alternative ways for valuing and viewing the field.

SUBHO ROY
Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, India

Against the background of increasing retreat by academics from meaningful public engagement, this book provides a timely and refreshing reminder of why anthropology matters and who it should benefit most. Through a series of critical and reflexive essays by anthropology graduate students, *Revitalizing Anthropology* is both a manifesto for change and a treasure trove of ideas about how to use anthropological thinking for the wider public good. This is one of the best books I have read that truly gives voice to students' perspectives on the meaning of anthropology, where the discipline should be going, and the practical measures that can be taken to renew it. It shows how insights from other people's cultural worlds continue to offer solutions to the problems of our own and to the world at large. For this we owe a debt of gratitude to Borofsky for leading this excellent project.

CRIS SHORE
Professor of Anthropology, Goldsmiths University of London, UK
Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Finland

In the 1970s, anthropologists reacted strongly against the colonialist dimension of our discipline; it had been used by empires and nation-states to first understand and then "modernize" local populations. Anthropologists retreated to theorization and critical analysis, while "applied anthropology" work became suspect. This publication, midway between a book and a working document, makes the case for the anthropologist's return to an engaged but still critical anthropology. Here, graduate students from around the world help us envision forms of locally involved anthropological praxis that may use the lessons and avoid the pitfalls of our discipline's colonial past.

GABRIELA VARGAS-CETINA
Profesora Investigadora Titular C en Antropología Social,
Universidad Autonoma de Yucatan, Mexico

By re-centering topics and voices too often unheard, *Revitalizing Anthropology* offers up powerful insights and action plans suitable for solo ethnographers as well as universities and graduate programs. In reflecting on the social-structural forces that mark contemporary anthropology, the contributors serve as pathfinders—challenging the entrenched hegemonies that can limit anthropology's potential to achieve good in the world. The contributors' meditations serve as sources of inspiration for anthropologists across the career spectrum, while inviting the anthropological community at large to engage in much-needed revisioning of our discipline.

EMMA VARLEY
Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Anthropology, Brandon University, Canada
President of the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA): 2022-2023

Revitalizing Anthropology is a courageous call by anthropology students to rebuild their discipline. While the neoliberal university abandons its social mission, academics often shelter in place, leaving anthropology to burn. In this book, graduate students chart a course of resurgence that makes the most of the discipline's methodological focus on rich and varied data, its relentless reflexive mode, and its deep commitment to advocating for others across our differences. It is an inspiring book.

CASEY WALSH
Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara, USA, Managing Editor, *Journal of Political Ecology*

REVITALIZING ANTHROPOLOGY

REVITALIZING ANTHROPOLOGY

Let's Focus the Field on Benefiting Others

Graduate Student Visions
from Australia, Canada, China, Guatemala,
Japan, the United States, and Zimbabwe

ROBERT BOROFSKY, editor

CENTER FOR A PUBLIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Center for a Public Anthropology
707 Kaha Street
Kailua, HI 96734

ISBN: 978-1-7322241-0-0 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-7322241-0-0 (ebook)

Printed in the United States of America

For the Spanish edition of *Revitalizing Anthropology*, please click here.

To Paul Farmer, Jim Yong Kim, and Ophelia Dahl,
medical accompagnateurs to the less fortunate

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

ROBERT BOROFSKY

As you are about to see, this is a different book than you are used to.[1] First, it involves graduate students from around the world writing on how to revitalize anthropology. It includes students from Australia, Canada, China, Guatemala, Japan, the United States, and Zimbabwe.[2] Second, it focuses on how to draw anthropologists toward actions that benefit others rather than, under the guise of advancing knowledge, actions that often seem oriented toward advancing individual careers. Third, the papers focus on the broader structural constraints that limit anthropology from effectively addressing a host of problems in the

1 I wish to express my appreciation to a number of colleagues without whose help the Revitalizing Anthropology Graduate Student Challenge would have not been possible: Philippe Bourgois, Nina Brown, Jean Comaroff, Thomas Ericksen, Josh Fisher, Neyooxet Greymorning, Laurie Hart, Nicole Hayward, Holly High, Kathy Kawelu, Thomas McIlwraith, Juliet McMullin, Worku Nida, Andy Orta, David Peattie, Mariano Perelman, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Claudia Seymour, Amy Smith, Magda Stawkowski, Jennifer Trivedi, Casey Walsh, and Thomas Yarrow as well as Nancy Schildt, Amelia Borofsky, and Robyn and Sam Vierra.

2 Readers should note the specification of students' countries is somewhat problematic. These are the countries the students specified. A number of them are in graduate school at North American universities and have emails related to that. Some students, such as Silvia Sanchez Diaz, grew up outside North America but now reside in the United States. Phillip Thebe studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong but views Zimbabwe as his home.

world beyond the discipline. The goal is, if not completely overcoming these constraints, to at least soften and subvert them.

The papers derive from the Revitalizing Anthropology Graduate Student Challenge sponsored by the Center for a Public Anthropology in 2021. With its in-depth research techniques and broad comparative insights, anthropology can make a difference—a real difference—in the lives of many people around the world. At its best, cultural anthropology represents an antidote to hate, provincialism, and despair. In stressing the fluid nature of group identities through time and space, cultural anthropology helps soften ethnic violence. In valuing cultural diversity for how it enriches our world, cultural anthropology fosters tolerance of difference. In emphasizing how context shapes behavior, it encourages people to reshape the contexts needed to reshape their lives.

Unfortunately, graduate level education in anthropology often focuses on critiques and reviews of the anthropological literature, not on solutions to broader problems. The Revitalizing Anthropology Challenge draws a new generation of students to focusing on the concerns of those beyond the discipline. The Challenge seeks to empower graduate students as problem solvers. It tasks students with answering: **How can we realize—in actions (not just words)—the very real potential of anthropology to facilitate change that demonstrably improves other people's lives in meaningful ways to them?**

The Challenge did not specify a set of solutions. That remained for graduate students to ponder, articulate, and advocate for as they saw fit. Still, it encouraged students to reflect on the structural constraints that frustrate moving beyond the academic status quo. In this regard, students were encouraged to be reflexive—viewing anthropology in the same analytical way as we study other groups. In Gregory Bateson's phrasing, today's graduate students can be the difference that makes a difference. To encourage students to offer innovative solutions, several anthropologists—from a variety of backgrounds and perspectives—presented possibilities that the students might ponder as they formulated their essays. The anthropologists were Philippe Bourgois and Laurie Hart (UCLA), Neyooxet Greymorning (University of Montana), Holly High (Deakin University), Kathy Kawelu (University of Hawaii at Hilo), Tad McIlwraith (University of Guelph), Worku Nida (UC Riverside), Mariano Perelman (University of Buenos Aires), Jennifer Trivedi (University of Delaware), and Thomas Yarrow (Durham University).

The submitted essays were evaluated by Kathy Kawelu, Juliet McMullin (UC Irvine), Magda Stawkowski (University of South Carolina), Tad McIlwraith,

Claudia Seymour (SOAS University of London), Josh Fisher (Western Washington University), Holly High, and Thomas Eriksen (University of Oslo). The judges awarded $1,000 each to the top three essays—by Silvia Sanchez Diaz, Phillip Thebe, and Ivan Levant. These essays will be honored by being published in the Society for the Anthropology of Work's open-access journal, *Exertions*.[3] Because two other essays—by A J White and Jessica Bradford—were close runners-up in the Challenge, their essays are being published in full here as well.

Revitalizing Anthropology suggests a variety of possibilities for refocusing anthropology toward helping improve other people's lives. It offers a public way for graduate students from various countries and schools to articulate ideas for others to ponder without getting caught up in the standard academic hierarchies. Thirty students submitted essays. They listed their countries as Australia, Brazil, Canada, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Serbia, United States, and Zimbabwe. A larger cohort of 120 graduate students initially expressed interest in the project before dropping out for one reason or another. Their countries included Ethiopia, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Solomon Islands, Sweden, United Kingdom, and Venezuela. In an introductory essay about the Challenge, I set out four points for students to ponder. What I find impressive is how the graduate students reframed and developed these points in various subtle and thoughtful ways.

Is Anthropology an Equal Opportunity Employer and Publisher?

The *first point* for students to ponder suggested academic anthropologists operate within a relatively elite structured patronage system oriented toward exclusiveness rather than inclusiveness. This raises the question of whether such exclusiveness inhibits a deeper appreciation of others' vulnerability and suffering and how to effectively address them. In principle, any PhD student can apply for a position at any university and expect to be taken seriously. In actual fact, however, data suggest faculty hiring involves an elite patronage system that parallels broader inequalities in North American societies.[4]

In 2018, for example, Nicholas Kawa, José A. Clavijo Michelangeli, Jessica Clark, Daniel Ginsberg, and Christopher McCarty suggested: "In US academic

3 The Center very much appreciates the support of Josh Fisher, the editor of the Society for the Anthropology of Work's journal, for his help in this matter.

4 Wellmon and Piper (2017). See also Flaherty (2022).

anthropology, a small cluster of programs is responsible for producing the majority of tenured and tenure-track faculty in PhD-granting programs, with a very select few dominating the network." They write that "the top ten programs produced 2.5 times more faculty than the second ten programs, and programs ranked 11–20 produced 1.5 times more than those ranked 21–30."[5] More than forty years earlier, Beverly McElligott Hurlbert reported a similar pattern in anthropological hiring.[6] She wrote that "few prospective graduate students in anthropology need to be told that it helps in job hunting to have a degree from Michigan, Chicago, or Berkeley."

This pattern extends beyond anthropology. As Chad Wellmon and Andrew Piper report: "Several recent studies have shown a high degree of concentration of academic hires from a small number of PhD-granting institutions. . . . Only 25 percent of institutions produced 71 to 86 percent of all tenure-track faculty. And the top ten institutions produced 1.6 to 3.0 times more faculty than the second ten."[7] Just this year, for instance, K. Hunter Wapman, Sam Zhang, Aaron Clauset, and Daniel Larremore reported: "Our analyses show universal inequalities in which a small minority of universities supply a large majority of faculty across fields, exacerbated by patterns of attrition and reflecting steep hierarchies of prestige. We identify markedly higher attrition rates among faculty trained outside the United States or employed by their doctoral university. Our results indicate that gains in women's representation over this decade result from demographic turnover and earlier changes made to hiring, and are unlikely to lead to long-term gender parity in most fields."[8]

Data suggest a similar pattern holds for academic publishing. As Wellmon and Piper observe, faculty at high-status universities have more papers accepted for publication in prominent journals than faculty at less prestigious universities. They write: "When, as our data show, Harvard University and Yale University exercise such a disproportionate influence on . . . publishing patterns, academic publishing seems less a democratic marketplace of ideas and more a tightly controlled network of patronage and cultural capital."[9] Fitting with this assertion, a recent *Chronicle of Higher Education* headline reads: "Few Black, His-

5 Kawa et al. (2018:18).
6 Hurlbert (1976:283).
7 Wellmon and Piper (2017).
8 Wapman et al. (2022). See also Flaherty (2022).
9 Wellmon and Piper (2017). See also Brainard (2022).

panic, and Native Researchers Are Getting Published."[10] The *Economist* recently reported that in a study submitted to the *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Finance*, 77 percent of more than five hundred reviewers accepted a particular paper when it solely had the name of a Nobel Laureate in economics; 35 percent accepted the same paper when it solely had the name of a PhD candidate; and 52 percent accepted it when the authorship was anonymous.[11]

In responding to this first point, Sanchez Diaz writes:

> According to [Rial] Nolan, anthropology expanded quickly after World War II, when higher education was growing. In 1950 there were twenty North American PhD programs; by 1975 there were eighty-seven. . . . These trends guaranteed secure employment in higher education for anthropologists for decades at a time when many were discouraged from pursuing careers in government for fear of contributing to American intervention abroad, such as during Guatemala's counterrevolution. . . [Today] as anthropology departments churn out more PhDs than ever before, fewer tenure lines spur cutthroat competition among graduates. A recent survey by Robert Speakman et al. (2018) estimates that 79 percent of US anthropology doctorates do not obtain university tenure-track positions . . . precarious adjunct employment has skyrocketed.

And Bradford comments: "According to the American Anthropology Association, four hundred PhDs are awarded each year to American anthropologists alone, but 'as many as 80 percent of graduate students will be something other than a tenure-track professor.' "[12] Within Europe, of those who are currently academically employed in social anthropology, more than two-thirds are in a state of employment precarity.[13]

Thebe observes that "anthropology is the least offered and enrolled program in developing countries because it neither promises lucrative jobs nor guarantees entrepreneurship." Yet, he continues,

> the skills gotten from a study of anthropology (for instance, speaking, writing, relational, critical, analytical, cultural, observational, and organizational skills) are priceless assets with which anthropologists can penetrate various sectors or start global organizations. Notwithstanding the anthropological lens of education that

10 Long (2022).
11 Economist (2022:68–69).
12 AAA (2021); and Platzer and Allison (2018:1).
13 Fotta et al. (2020).

> is broad and lifetime-based, its curriculum must connect the discipline to actual practice for students to envision themselves as public workers. . . . Our methodologies mean we can produce the best detectives solving serious crimes, the best marketers and advertisers selling products, the best NGO/government specialists doing research and providing solutions for different public issues, and yes, the best academics etc. Our methods and approaches must not be sold only to graduate students and other academics within the locus of the discipline but extended to these other disciplines and practices to contribute to the production of best policies, initiatives, and projects for the betterment of humanity.

What Does a Plethora of Publications Produce?

The *second point* for students to ponder queried whether producing a host of publications aimed at advancing knowledge regarding a particular problem—as a way of addressing it—is as effective as commonly claimed. Do more publications really produce more knowledge, especially when the data in these publications are rarely cross-checked by other researchers with different perspectives? Do they, instead, mostly produce unsubstantiated assertions of uncertain, ambiguous value? It remains unclear. This ambiguity adds potency to Eric Wolf's assertion that "in anthropology, we are continuously slaying paradigms, only to see them return to life, as if discovered for the first time. As each successive approach carries the axe to its predecessors, anthropology comes to resemble a project of intellectual deforestation."[14]

The anthropologist Philip Carl Salzman elaborates on this point:

> A well-known and occasionally discussed problem is the fact that the vast multitude of anthropological conferences, congresses, articles, monographs, and collections, while adding up to mountains of paper . . . do not seem to add up to a substantial, integrated, coherent body of knowledge that could provide a base for the further advancement of the discipline. L. A. Fallers used to comment that we seem to be constantly tooling up with new ideas and new concepts and never seem to get around to applying and assessing them in a substantive and systematic fashion. John Davis, over two decades ago in *The Peoples of the Mediterranean*, seemed on the verge of tears of frustration during his attempts to find any comparable information in the available ethnographic reports that might be used to put individual cases into perspective and be compiled into a broader picture. Nor is there

14 Wolf (1990:588).

> confidence in the individual ethnographic reports available: We cannot credit the accounts of I. Schapera, because he was a functionalist, or that of S. F. Nadel because he was an agent of colonialism, or J. Pitt-Rivers because he collected all his data from the upper-class señoritos . . . or M. Harris because he is a crude materialist, etc. etc. So we end up without any substantive body of knowledge to build on, forcing us to be constantly trying to make anthropology anew.[15]

The following three points make me uneasy about routinely equating more publications with more knowledge in cultural anthropology. I asked the students and I ask you, the reader, if they make you uneasy as well. First, because anthropologists rarely visit the field sites of the work they review, they are often forced to rely on contextual factors to assess a work's validity. Cultural anthropologists may assess an author's credibility by whether the author is familiar with certain references. An author's data are expected to seem "reasonable" to other anthropologists familiar with the ethnographic region. The author should also convey a familiarity with the indigenous language to emphasize the author linguistically understood the group they worked with.

Yet, as noted in *An Anthropology of Anthropology,* there are numerous cases of social scientists fabricating their results.[16] In anthropology, *The Teachings of Don Juan* is an intriguing case. Despite a host of accusations against the work, it remains unclear whether the book—which has sold over twenty-five million copies—is a fabrication.[17] We might ask: What distinguishes the knowledge claims presented by cultural anthropologists from the knowledge claims various "authorities" present on the internet?

Second, cultural anthropologists frequently claim to refine earlier work while altering two variables—the research location and the research topic. If an anthropologist went back to the same field site as another anthropologist, or, in moving to a different site, addressed the same exact problem, we might gain a reasonable sense of how one study relates to another. But anthropologists tend to select a new locale and a related, but slightly differently framed, research problem. As a result, we are often unsure how the two studies relate one to another—the point Salzman noted above.

Third, the fact that anthropologists frequently cite other scholars in their publications suggests they are building on earlier work. But appearances may be

15 Salzman (1994:34).

16 See Borofsky (2019:53–60).

17 See Borofsky (2019:58–59) for details.

deceiving. Using the Social Sciences Citation Index (now ISI's web of science) as a guide, I examined citations by authors in several well-known anthropological journals in the work of twelve prominent anthropologists. If we look at to what degree the authors of these articles made sustained attempts to develop the work of the cited figures—specified as involving at least three sentences of discussion—we get these percentages regarding citations for the following prominent figures and their works: Elman Service (1962/71) 4 percent, Roy Rappaport (1968/84) 5 percent, Marvin Harris (1968) 0 percent, Claude Lévi-Straus (1969) 18 percent, Victor Turner (1969) 6 percent, Clifford Geertz (1973) 5 percent, Michel Foucault (1977/79) 0 percent, Eric Wolf (1982) 0 percent, Marshall Sahlins (1981/85) 2 percent, James Clifford and George Marcus (1986) 0 percent, George Marcus and Michel Fischer (1986) 0 percent, and Marilyn Strathern (1988) 7 percent. These data suggest that most anthropologists rarely discuss in any depth their citations to prominent figures and their key works. They mainly refer to them in passing. They do not systematically build on them.[18]

Rather than demonstrating an increase in knowledge, such data suggest—at least to me—that many publications involve an abundance of unsubstantiated assertions of uncertain, ambiguous value. We remain puzzled as to their validity, as we are with *The Teachings of Don Juan*. Many of the publications are thoughtful. Many are insightful. But do they *build on* or *refine* previous work as these two terms are generally construed in cultural anthropology? Do they help to effectively address a significant problem in a way that benefits others? Do they have pragmatic value for others beyond the discipline? Instead of elaborating on this critique, the graduate students looked at the broader function publications ideally serve.

Thebe writes: "Intelligible publications are produced on public issues, but the summit of success should be turning these into social projects through the communication of results with relevant stakeholders (including study communities), especially using these findings and recommendations for policymaking and public action."

Levant suggests:

> Analytic prose is the language best fitting the detached way of knowing the world that is the hallmark of colonial Eurocentric epistemology.[19] Yet anthropology is

18 See Borofsky (2019:41–121) for an elaboration of this point.

19 Mbembe (2015).

not just science, it is a form of art.[20] Anthropologists are writers. And if anthropology is to have a greater impact on the world, it would help if people with backgrounds outside the field of anthropology would want to read it. Just imagine if nonanthropologists fell in love with how anthropologists write! The reality, as it was intimated to me by several anthropology students, is that there are very few works that constitute an enjoyable read.

Sanchez Diaz emphasizes:

> When traveling to unfamiliar locations, student and faculty ethnographers do not only produce rich scholarship but they create relationships. Indeed, establishing trust is an essential ingredient of ethnographic research, and transnational networks of friendship are important outcomes of anthropological work. These networks include anthropologists, scholars in multiple disciplines, community leaders, research assistants, and other collaborators. Besides carrying out research projects, transnational networks of trust can support each other through emergencies and life challenges . . . Ethnographers care deeply about the well-being of their collaborators. Carrera learned that Maya communities faced structural challenges that prevented them from meeting their basic needs . . . He wielded his nuanced, community-based knowledge to improve their lives, yet he also cared about teaching Maya people the international discourses on human rights. Carrera believed that ethnographers should not simply extract ideas from communities without sharing new ideas in return.

Facilitating Change Involves More Than Waiting for Godot

A *third point* for students to ponder, related to the first two, asks why few anthropologists play key roles in facilitating social change that significantly benefits others in meaningful ways. Many anthropologists hope to speak to broader audiences in captivating ways that facilitate change. Few succeed. Often, interactions with politicians and policy makers are one-off events with limited follow-up. What is needed, to make their messages more effective, I suggested, is for anthropologists to be affiliated with groups that direct their messages consistently and persistently to relevant audiences.

There are times, certainly, when a particular message spontaneously resonates with public audiences. Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*, a com-

20 Madden (2017).

parison of Samoan and American sexual practices, became widely popular after its publication in 1928.[21] It stirred public debate. But such cases are relatively rare in anthropology. For most anthropologists, publishing a book containing important ideas is a bit like "waiting for Godot." They wait for their ideas to be seriously discussed by policy makers and politicians. Unfortunately, for many anthropologists Godot never comes—despite the relevance and significance of their research.

I suggested that ideas espoused by anthropologists—no matter how insightful, how valuable—are unlikely to become part of a larger, public conversation without social structures beyond the discipline that persistently and consistently support their message. The key to getting readers to take an anthropologist's ideas seriously, I suggested, often lies less in what an anthropologist espouses than to whom the anthropologist presents their information. Anthropologists must target their information to the organizations and people most interested in it while being sure to present it in a form these parties can readily understand and, importantly, use. The value of targeted transparency—providing institutions with truthful, public information they need to enhance themselves and/or discredit their competitors—is that there is a ready group of individuals committed to publicizing it.[22]

As an aside, I noted that reaching out to nonacademic groups not only attracts social and political support but often allows anthropologists to soften the control academic administrators have over their careers. Outside collaboration draws in other players with voices that, depending on the contexts and parties involved, need be listened to by university administrators. In this way, in helping others, anthropologists can at times also help themselves.

The graduate students explored various ways to reach beyond the academy. White, for example, suggests "that all anthropology departments require public outreach in their PhD programs. Specifically, departments should require a 'public outreach plan' that is incorporated into or provided alongside a research plan or prospectus as part of the doctoral candidacy process. The public outreach plan would serve a similar function to the 'broader impacts' section of National Science Foundation (NSF) grant proposals. Although some NSF-funded proj-

21 Mead (1928).

22 See Borofsky (2019:181–193).

ects may ultimately fall short of their proposed impacts, [applicants] are at least forced to consider the public in their research."[23]

Thebe asserts it comes down to a sense of personal courage. He writes:

> Recognizing anthropological works that contribute to the public is one way of motivating practitioners in the discipline. Recognition may or may not involve material benefits, but anthropologists need to be given a reason to focus on the public issues. Seminars, conferences, campaigns, academic publication forums, and student competitions with themes related to public anthropology can also be good initiatives to sensitize anthropologists.
>
> Nevertheless, over and above, an anthropologist must not need a "big push" or incentive to feel obliged to serve the public, nor should they hide behind the systemic complexities of the discipline. It must be a personal and inherent moral persuasion [by the anthropologists themselves].

Levant focuses on constituting groups of mutual mentorship: "Fostering environments that nourish the diversity of the people involved is conducive to increasing epistemic diversity. . . . Mutual mentorships create collegiality as well as opportunities to collaborate and exchange knowledge. Mutual mentorship allows people to experience professional, artistic, and personal interactions in a gentler way than the traditional mentor–mentee model."

And Bradford suggests: "Building rapport and networking, as we know, takes time and effort. However, meeting the right people can occur by going into the right spaces, such as action-oriented conferences, especially if community members are willing and able to attend too. Surprisingly, these spaces are often filled with decision makers, lobbyists, and concerned citizens, but few scientists or social scientists. Anthropology could be quickly noticed within these spaces through action-oriented pitches that communicate the problems (or solutions) to an audience that facilitates change."

Is It Possible to Subvert the Academy's Hegemonic-Like Structures?

A *final point* for students to ponder emphasized that broad structural constraints, while appearing to espouse change, in fact often seek to perpetuate the status quo. In *An Anthropology of Anthropology*, I termed these structural constraints

23 Borofsky (2019).

that focus on the appearance of change that claims to enhance the broader good, while ultimately reinforcing the status quo, *hegemonic-like structures*. Antonio Gramsci uses the concept of hegemony to refer to "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group."[24]

Despite my suggestion that the production of more publications does not necessarily mean the production of more knowledge, for example, many cultural anthropologists would affirm that it does. The incessant demand for publications allows dominant administrative powers within the academy to soften disruptive change that could threaten those who financially and politically support the academy. The demand for publications often keeps faculty too busy to seriously organize challenges to the status quo. No one is threatened by affirming more publications produce more knowledge. It raises academic statuses without threatening anyone. This is how structural constraints operate within the academy. They dominate by seeming reasonable. They focus on appearances more than producing change that helps others in meaningful ways. Not much changes for those the research was supposed to help.

The students took this perspective to heart in a number of interesting ways. Bradford, for example, writes:

> I aim to demonstrate in this paper some immediate and short-term actionable steps that can be instituted within the academic infrastructure, despite hegemonic barriers, as well as longer-range steps that may require more time, resources, and buy-in to implement, that directly push back against this dominant infrastructure. . . . In this essay I have offered a wide range of actionable steps that can be implemented within an existing university system, using existing outlets and vulnerabilities in hegemonic control. . . . This essay offers potential avenues for an instructional redesign that forefronts engagement in undergraduate and graduate instruction, sets priorities on action in preliminary and dissertation research design, and offers avenues of better research dissemination in ethical and community-approved outlets to be worked on concurrently.
>
> The strength of such a proposal is that these measures are quicker to implement than [a] complete hegemonic barrier breakdown.

Thebe focuses on personal motivation: "There is a need to fuel conviction among anthropologists so that . . . moral questions together with pressing public

24 Gramsci (1971:12).

issues inform their research topics, field sites, and public programs as the discipline moves 'beyond evangelizing public anthropology' toward 'commitment.'[25]

"The question that remains is *how*, given the hegemonic-like structures that normally superimpose anthropologists' functioning [can we recognize] anthropological works that contribute to the public [as a way] . . . of motivating practitioners in the discipline."

Levant holds out the hope that academic structures that limit change can be undermined and overcome by a push for mutual mentorship. He writes:

> A single student cannot evoke a profound structural change; there must be a collective. Yet alone is how new future anthropologists may find themselves in a contemporary Australian university, where the students only occasionally share a class. Even if the class is shared, once it ends, living under the dictatorship of time, people scatter to get on with their lives. How can one expect to create new situations, collectivities, let alone change institutional structures from such a place?
>
> I, along with a few other students, have cofounded the UQ Anthropology Society (UQAS) to bring together the anthropology community at the University of Queensland. The idea behind UQAS was to foster camaraderie among anthropology students at the UQ and to fill in the gaps in our education left by the neoliberal cutting of the anthropology courses.

Sanchez Diaz suggests three ways to confront structural constraints by widening opportunities for collaboration:

(1) We should strengthen the long-term transnational networks built through anthropological work. In the 1930s, when Carrera was a student at the University of Chicago, anthropology departments were highly specialized in a geographical region.

(2) We should do group ethnography more often. . . . Group ethnography would enhance the opportunities of using research data to improve the lives of our collaborators. A group of ethnographers can divide the work and expand the realm of their impact.

(3) We should expand the collaboration between anthropologists working within and outside higher education. Anthropologists have different forms of employment and areas of expertise. We implement our knowledge in different ways, but we need to work together more often. One concrete step toward

25 Nyamnjoh (2015).

> strengthening the relationship between academic and practitioner anthropologists would be to incorporate apprenticeship opportunities into anthropology graduate programs.

White considers how to avoid the bureaucratic entanglements that limit change.

> The most challenging way for a public outreach plan to be implemented would be adding it as a benchmark requirement for the PhD degree. . . . This pathway encounters multiple hegemonic-like structures that make success unlikely. For one, it would need the department's consensus before going to the academic senate or graduate dean. While many professors might support an outreach plan, many others may believe that it distracts from research progress and be unwilling to support a change.[26] Even if a department was able to propose such a change to the academic senate or graduate dean, it would face scrutiny from individuals who may not understand the need for greater outreach in anthropology. For these reasons the best approach is to include public outreach plans in qualification materials.

As these extensive quotes hopefully make clear, the students took issues raised in the introductory paper and reframed them in their own way—offering innovative insights for how anthropologists could more effectively move toward benefiting others. That is what makes their essays important. They offer possibilities for rethinking and reframing the discipline so that it helps others in more meaningful ways. They deserve to be taken seriously.

It is common practice in an edited book to provide brief summaries of the chapters that follow. Let me do that here, not only for the five essays but for the abstracts as well. Silvia Sanchez Diaz begins her paper by exploring the connections between American anthropologists (especially at the University of Chicago) and Guatemalan anthropologists as well as how these connections offer a model for future work. She recommends four ways for improving our research through collaboration. "(1) We should strengthen the long-term transnational networks built through anthropological work. . . . (2) We should do group ethnography more often. . . . (3) We should expand the collaboration between anthropologists working within and outside higher education . . . [and] (4) downsize the for-profit academic publishing industry" by emphasizing open-access publishing that is freely available material. Agreeing with John Watanabe

26 Sabloff (2011).

(1995), Sanchez Diaz asserts that "anthropologists should focus on empowering real people, rather than focus on imagining others through text.[27]"

Phillip Thebe explores better ways to use "anthropology's *methods and approaches*…to the public's benefit." Anthropological understandings of Indigenous knowledge systems, he emphasizes, can be mobilized in collaborations with outsiders to build trust and more lasting solutions to local problems. Success should be assessed by the way publications are turned into social projects that are meaningful to the relevant stakeholders. He writes that "one can discuss pedagogy, theory, disciplinary strengths, communication, myths and so on, but revitalizing the discipline begins with revitalizing individuals. Do anthropologists feel the urge to make a public difference? Anthropologists need to ask themselves uncomfortable moral questions about their practice. Will my research contribute to the betterment of society?"

Ivan Levant seeks to diversify the ways anthropologists write about their research. He asserts that "analytic prose is the language best fitting the detached way of knowing the world.…Yet anthropology is not just science, it is a form of art.[28] Anthropologists are writers. And if anthropology is to have a greater impact on the world, it would help if people with backgrounds outside the field of anthropology would want to read it." Building on what he terms "mutual mentorship," Levant wants to "foster epistemic diversity through…artist–anthropologist mutuality. [He hopes] we can nurture cooperation among poets, theater-makers, filmmakers, and anthropologists in the creation of anthropologically informed works, making anthropology into a vibrant experience that captures people's imaginations that may lead to profound personal and worldly transformations.

"Yet, a distinction between an artist and an anthropologist may be fluid or simply nonexistent: we can be both—artists and anthropologists, critically creative and creatively critical."

Jessica Bradford focuses on undergraduate and graduate pedagogy as a way of increasing public engagement

> [through] a wide range of actionable steps that can be implemented within an existing university system, using existing outlets and vulnerabilities in hegemonic control. This essay does not address the complete dismantling of publication barriers or granting agencies but has hopes to complement such changes.…This essay

27 Borofsky (2021).

28 Madden (2017).

> offers potential avenues for an instructional redesign that forefronts engagement in undergraduate and graduate instruction, sets priorities on action in preliminary and dissertation research design, and offers avenues of better research dissemination in ethical and community-approved outlets to be worked on concurrently.
>
> The strength of such a proposal is that these measures are quicker to implement than complete hegemonic barrier breakdown.

Bradford suggests "through reintroducing the potential of action and theory at the foundation of all subfield instructions, the mindset and ability to conceptualize, look for, and enact change can be instilled at the start."

A J White proposes that all anthropology departments require public outreach in their PhD programs:

> A public outreach plan [would serve] two purposes: it asks students (1) to identify outreach goals and products and (2) to determine how these goals and products would be accomplished. The scale of outreach should be at the discretion of the student and their committee, constructed around each individual's strengths and interests. . . . A public outreach plan could be implemented in multiple ways in universities around the world. The simplest way would be for qualifying exam committees to require graduate students to include public outreach plans in their qualification materials, such as in a prospectus. By my understanding, this track would not necessitate formal changes to a department's degree benchmarks as the plan would be incorporated within documents already required by the department. Qualification committee members could also ask graduate students about their plans for including public outreach as part of their questioning during oral qualifying exams.

The Abstracts

Let me turn to the abstracts. As noted, thirty students submitted essays. Those who the evaluators ranked below the above top five were encouraged to submit abstracts of their essays. Seventeen did. Here are brief summaries of their abstracts. If you find them interesting, please write the students directly for further elaboration (their email addresses are listed at the end of this introduction).

Jose Alvarez: "This paper is argues that the future of anthropology depends on the future of our undergraduates being successful in careers outside of academia and encouraging more students to see the value in an anthropology degree. I will be examining various . . . ways that students are being prepared for a career outside of academia."

Joshua Babcock: "If we fail to confront our investments in whiteness—in the hierarchizing logics that assign some groups, some bodies, some identities, some knowledges to a superior position and others to a subordinate, even subhuman position—we will continue to reproduce discipline rather than transforming ourselves and imagining new, changeable worlds. . . . [The solution?] Begin learning new habits—in how we teach, read, write, cite, advise, mentor, acknowledge, collaborate, and hold ourselves accountable to the impacts of our individual and collective actions in the world."

Ashley Baeza: "The world cannot and will not implement the methods anthropology has to offer when the world does not know what anthropology is or its value. To combat this, I suggest (1) infiltrating the K–12 education system, (2) attracting new readers and researchers by writing to a broader audience, and (3) providing easier access to our work."

Harleen Bal: "I offer several potential initiatives geared at directly countering anthropology's disciplinary structural challenges. These actions include launching a community public anthropology speaker series as well as a departmental 'guidepost cooperative' aimed at providing mentorship and mutual aid among graduate anthropology departments as scholars navigate and counter convoluted hegemonic structures of scholarship."

Kaori Otera Chen: "Anthropology makes us believe that creating a kinder, more empathetic, and more compassionate society is possible. When anthropologists make real connections with people, they will learn to develop pathways to materialize this potential. . . . Anthropology can challenge the systematic institutional structure[s of academia] by demonstrating the power of creating strong ties with the people in their communities. Anthropology begins with people."

Yuhao Ding: "The ethical practice and thought of natives in Daqing [China] echoes practical concern about conflict resolving and compromise making in anthropology. When people in conflicts have different social references, they are involved in a competition of devotion to decide whose standard should be accepted. The one who takes more responsible actions and goes further beyond their own standard to respond to the demands of others can get their standard accepted as the moral rule in judgment."

Charles Downey: "Anthropology at its core is the study of people. . . . Anthropologists have the potential to improve the lives of people everywhere. . . . [In applying new paradigms,] anthropologists are freer to study and present not what will garner publications but what is important[;] they can then engage

more thoroughly with other ideas to generate complete pictures of culture to support the original goal of fighting intolerance."

Mollie Gossage: "I put forth four major suggestions specifically focused on graduate training. First, graduate programs should include more hands-on training in methods via research mentorships or community-based projects. Second, graduate research should be fundamentally collaborative. . . . Third, anthropology departments should actively build local cultures and regional networks based on anthropology as a mission. . . . Fourth, anthropologists should be prepared to engage with the world beyond the university . . . [to] enter a wider professional market."

Samira Khabbazzadeh-Rashti: "To address a growing institutional structure of neoliberalism in academia, efforts should be focused on a graduate educational program centered on praxis. This can shift the values in our academic culture and encourage a legacy of work that uplifts our communities rather than simply ourselves. . . . Greater time and energy should be spent engaging in online forums to encourage constructive conversation with a public audience."

Benjamin Kolb: "While universities cannot be immediately extricated from a capitalist model, some examples of public outreach and resistance are considered here. Labor organizing, public archaeology, and autonomous organizations such as the Black Trowel Collective are discussed as instances of ethical anthropology and possible models for future action."

Kyle Morrison: "I demonstrate how the methods commonly used in anthropology are crucial for generating the types of conversations that make possible solutions to sociopolitical problems. I stress the need to focus our attention on the members of the political center rather than following habitual trends of research that focus on political outliers."

Kyle Riordan: "We must uplift systems of knowledge organization that have been predominately marginalized, belittled, othered, or silenced. . . . [The revitalization of anthropology] requires learning how to effectively center ideological fields of relationality such as kinship, temporality, epistemology, ontology, axiology, and pedagogy that diverge from what professionals in our field are trained to use. This redresses our work to benefit people we research on their own terms, while simultaneously growing the field of anthropology."

Peteneinuo Rulu: "This paper explores gender disparities in present-day Nagaland and examines the current predicament faced by Naga women in politics. . . . This paper brings forth various arguments from an anthropological perspective to help shed light on the system in which people engage with different

policies and contexts in various local, regional, and national bodies. As policies work as instruments of political intervention and social change, it is important to weigh the viewpoints of both the governors and the governed, thus making it innately an anthropological task."

Emily Fjaellen Thompson: This paper "asks what it would look like to enact things like empathy, solidarity, and care rather than adopting a virtual 'anthropology as usual.' In this moment of precarity and uncertainty, what if we recognize the underlying weight of anthropological research and commit ourselves to transforming it? What would emerge in the wake of such a rupture? What would fall away?"

Erin Victor: "My research seeks to contribute to the closing of the gap(s) between the current predominantly linear economic systems toward circular systems. . . . I attempt to contribute to the always-already reimagination and renegotiation of questions around *What is anthropology?* And *How does one do anthropology?* In the end, I find that 'thinking with circles' and teasing apart the various meanings of the words *to mind* and *gap*, I was able to interrogate aspects of the English language that I often overlook and illuminate just how easy it is for things to get lost in translation."

Alice Xu: "The pedagogical concern that is taken into consideration here is the issue of inconsistency between the theoretical and actionable teachings of anthropology . . . particularly in relation to calls to engage students in some form of a decolonial anthropology. In response, I propose three possible strategies to go about improving the teaching efforts . . . (1) expanding the reading horizon, (2) incorporating different kinds of evaluations, and (3) inviting your own interlocuters."

Mengge Zuo: "With the concern of how anthropology in mainland China could reach the public more engagingly, this paper provides my observations on how anthropology has been increasingly known by Chinese, especially well-educated young people, over the past few years. . . . Facing the demands among the people who are desperate to understand what is going on in our world, particularly in this precarious time, I draw attention to this public engagement process by rethinking the scholarly way that both content and the media forms of communication need to be considered."

For some years now, I have been exploring how to draw anthropologists toward focusing more on benefiting others in ways they find meaningful.[29] Compos-

29 Cf. White House (2022); Mega (2022).

ing scores of publications advocating for disciplinary change, while sounding exciting, often seems to reinforce the status quo. Below the surface, behind the appearances, not much really changes. I wondered if an alternative approach might prove effective at fostering change. That is why the Center for a Public Anthropology created the Revitalizing Anthropology Challenge—asking how the discipline might reorient itself toward focusing more on helping others. I wondered: Who would participate in such a challenge? And would it make a difference?

I felt a bit like Indiana Jones in *The Last Crusade*. Having gone through various trials and tribulations in a search for the Holy Grail, Indiana Jones eventually comes to a steep chasm with no apparent way across. Through a combination of faith (in what his father's notes suggest) and desperation (in having no alternative), Indiana Jones steps off the cliff into thin air. Fortunately, a bridge appears, and he is able to cross over to the other side of the chasm.

This book represents such a leap of faith. Holding an essay competition focused on facilitating change offered possibilities. I limited the competition to graduate students in the hope that they were less committed than faculty to the existing academic system and thus more open to perceiving and advocating for new possibilities. Based on the suggestion of various faculty and students, I decided to offer three $1,000 prizes hoping to draw substantial student contributions.

Opening up the competition to graduate students from around the world and offering three $1,000 prizes, I thought a few hundred students might submit contributions. As noted, only thirty did. This led me to wonder how many people submitted essays to prominent prize competitions in the United Kingdom and the United States. A preliminary investigation suggested the thirty submissions the Challenge received, while not outstanding, was respectable. It was my naivete that suggested the Revitalizing Anthropology Challenge would generate hundreds. To save time and money, the Revitalizing Anthropology Challenge website was built on publicanthropology.net's undergraduate Community Action Project. Still, it took some months to refine the computer code and draw in the above noted faculty. I am most grateful to them for their help.

Eventually I discovered the $1,000 prizes were not the great motivators I thought they would be. Many students seemed more interested in getting their ideas out to a broad audience. Many wanted a wide public hearing of their ideas. That is what this book has tried to do. Instead of only publishing three winning papers, two runner-ups are being published as well. The other students,

who ranked lower than the top five, were given the opportunity to have their abstracts published.

Archibald McLeish famously wrote: "A poem should not mean but be." This book tries to follow that ideal. Its message of fostering change is realized not just in five printed essays of graduate students nor in the seventeen published abstracts of other students. It is realized, I believe, in the thirty graduate students engaging with the Revitalizing Challenge—pondering how to frame and express their ideas about revitalizing anthropology, how to make it more beneficial to others. In exploring new disciplinary possibilities—even without necessarily putting their ideas to paper—the graduate students are helping to revitalize the field as they set out on their careers.

Might I ask a favor of those reading this introduction? As you go through the essays and abstracts, if you find an idea that you would like to follow up on, please write the relevant student (or students). Their email addresses as well as the countries they listed for themselves are listed below. I suspect they would be glad to open a conversation with you.[30]

Jose Alvarez	jalva041@ucr.edu	United States
Joshua Babcock	jdbabcock@uchicago.edu	United States
Ashley Baeza	ashleyn.baeza@yahoo.com	United States
Harleen Bal	harleenbal214@gmail.com	United States
Jessica Bradford	jbrad044@ucr.edu	United States
Kaori Otera Chen	kchen3@albany.edu	Japan
Yuhao Ding	ding236@wisc.edu	United States
Charles Downey	charles.downey@usm.edu	United States
Mollie Gossage	gossage@wisc.edu	United States
Samira Khabbazzadeh-Rashti	samira.khabbazzadehrashti.746@my.csun.edu	United States
Benjamin Kolb	bkolb1@binghamton.edu	United States
Ivan Levant	mailto:anthropoetically@gmail.com	Australia
Kyle Morrison	morrik17@mcmaster.ca	Canada
Kyle Riordan	riordan.26@osu.edu	United States
Peteneinuo Rulu	prulu@umass.edu	United States
Silvia Sanchez Diaz	silviasanchez@ku.edu	Guatemala
Phillip Thebe	thebephillip@gmail.com	Zimbabwe

30 This list only includes the five who submitted revised papers and the seventeen who submitted revised abstracts for publication.

Emily Fjaellen Thompson	ethompson@berkeley.edu	United States
Erin Victor	erin.victor@maine.edu	United States
A J White	ajwhitesemail@gmail.com	United States
Alice Xu	alice.xu1@uwaterloo.ca	Canada
Mengge Zuo	zuoge819@gmail.com	China

References

Borofsky, Robert

2019 An Anthropology of Anthropology: Is It Time to Shift Paradigms? Kailua, HI: Center for a Public Anthropology. https://books.publicanthropology.org/an-anthropology-of-anthropology.html.

2021 Revitalizing Anthropology . . . with Your Help: A Study in Public Anthropology. Unpublished manuscript. https://revitalizing.publicanthropology.net/static/pdf/revitalizing-anthropology-with-your-help.pdf (accessed September 6, 2022).

Brainard, Jeffrey

2022 Reviewers Award Higher Marks When a Paper's Author Is Famous: "Matthew Effect" Is Powerful, Unusually Large Study Finds. Science, 377 (6612). www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.ade8714 (accessed September 28, 2022).

Economist

2022 Peer Pressure: An Influential Academic Safeguard Is Distorted by Status Bias. The Economist, September 17. Pp. 68–69.

Flaherty, Colleen

2022 Prestige Hiring across Academe: Prior Research Demonstrates Insular Faculty Hiring Practices within Certain Disciplines. A New Study Finds Them across Fields. What Does That Mean for Knowledge Production? Inside Higher Ed, September 23. www.insidehighered.com/news/2022/09/23/new-study-finds-80-faculty-trained-20-institutions.

Fotta, Martin, Mariya Ivancheva, and Raluca Pernes

2020 The Anthropological Career in Europe: A Summary of Findings and Recommendations. European Association of Social Anthropologists Precarity Report. https://doi.org/10.22582/easaprecanthro (accessed August 2, 2022).

Gramsci, Antonio

1971 Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. Edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers.

Hurlbert, Beverly

1976 Status and Exchange in the Profession of Anthropology. American Anthropologist 78:272–284.

Kawa, Nicholas C., José A. Clavijo Michelangeli, Jessica L. Clark, Daniel Ginsberg, and Christopher McCarty

2018 The Social Network of US Academic Anthropology and Its Inequalities. American Anthropologist, December 26. https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/aman.13158.

Long, Chelsea
2022 Few Black, Hispanic, and Native Researchers Are Getting Published. Chronicle of Higher Education, April 25. www.chronicle.com/article/few-black-hispanic-and-native-researchers-are-getting-published.

Madden, Raymond
2017 Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography. London: Sage.

Mbembe, Achille
2015 Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive. Rozenberg Quarterly: The Magazine. Amsterdam.

Mead, Margaret
1928 Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization. New York: William Morrow.

Mega, Emiliano Rodríguez
2022 Chile's Indigenous Peoples Seek Fairer Partnerships with Scientists. Science, 376, no. 6598 (June 7). www.science.org/content/article/chiles-indigenous-peoples-seek-fairer-partnerships-with-scientists.

Nolan, Riall
2017 Using Anthropology in the World: A Guide to Becoming an Anthropologist Practitioner. New York: Routledge.

Nyamnjoh, Francis B.
2015 Beyond an Evangelising Public Anthropology: Science, Theory and Commitment. Journal of Contemporary African Studies 33(1):48–63.

Platzer, David, and Anne Allison
2018 Academic Precarity in American Anthropology. Society for Cultural Anthropology. https://culanth.org/fieldsights/academic-precarity-in-american-anthropology (accessed August 2, 2022).

Sabloff, Jeremy A.
2011 Where Have You Gone, Margaret Mead? Anthropology and Public Intellectuals. American Anthropologist 113(3):408–416. Wiley Online Library.

Salzman, Philip Carl
1994 The Lone Stranger in the Heart of Darkness. In Assessing Cultural Anthropology. Edited by R. Borofsky, pp. 29–39. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Speakman, Robert, Carla Hadden, Matthew Colvin, Justin Cramb, K. C. Jones, Travis Jones, et al.
2018 Market Share and Recent Hiring Trends in Anthropology Faculty Positions. PLoS ONE 13(9): e0202528.

Wapman, K. Hunter, Sam Zhang, Aaron Clauset, and Daniel Larremore
2022 Quantifying Hierarchy and Dynamics in US Faculty Hiring and Retention. Nature. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-022-05222-x (accessed September 28, 2022).

Wellmon, Chad, and Andrew Piper
2017 Publication, Power, and Patronage: On Inequality and Academic Publishing. Critical Inquiry. Updated October 2. http://criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/publication_power_and_patronage_on_inequality_and_academic_publishing/.

The White House
2022 OSTP Issues Guidance to Make Federally Funded Research Freely Available Without Delay. August 25. Press Release. https://www.whitehouse.gov/ostp/news-updates/2022/08/25/ostp-issues-guidance-to-make-federally-funded-research-freely-available-without-delay/ (accessed September 28, 2022).

Wolf, Eric
1990 Facing Power—Old Insights, New Questions. American Anthropologist 92:586–596.

PAPERS

REVITALIZING OUR LEGACY

Anthropology, Higher Education, and the Importance of Sustained Ethnographic Research Abroad

SILVIA SANCHEZ DIAZ

Introduction

Do you hope for a personally fulfilling career that offers tangible contributions to society through ethnographic research abroad? Me too. I study anthropology because I want to help find solutions to important societal problems through learning about the variations and commonalities of our human experience. Through this essay I recount historical examples of anthropological work in Guatemala to illustrate the legacy and potential of anthropological research abroad. Then I discuss how current trends in higher education obstruct anthropologists from realizing this potential. Last, I offer four recommendations to revitalize our field through collaboration and rigorous research. I hope to encourage faculty and students to continue prioritizing ethnographic research abroad.

The Legacy and Potential of Anthropology

Numerous Guatemala scholars trace their legacy back to Sol Tax and Robert Redfield, who collaborated in training multiple generations of ethnographers at the University of Chicago in the 1940s and 1950s. Focusing on the study of isolated villages in Mexico and Guatemala, this community of American schol-

ars built an important body of knowledge on Mesoamerican history, languages, and cultures. At around the same time, Guatemalan intellectuals were interested in acculturating Indigenous peoples into national societies through modernization, an initiative they wrongfully framed as the "Indian Problem." Antonio Goubaud Carrera, a master's student of Tax and Redfield and a childhood friend of members of the Generación de los 1920s, embodied the interests of both American and Guatemalan academics regarding the futures of Indigenous peoples. He became the director of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional de Guatemala* (IING).

Researchers at the IING were not armchair anthropologists but fieldworkers dedicated to documenting pressing issues on the ground. For example, Goubaud Carrera conducted research on nutrition and education to improve the livelihoods of Q'eqchi' Maya and Ch'orti' Maya people who were facing extremely precarious living conditions. He helped realize the new Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología (National Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology) and taught anthropology at the Universidad de San Carlos (USAC). Before the American Anthropological Association (AAA) accepted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Goubaud Carrera had already translated the document into multiple Mayan languages and distributed copies across rural Guatemala. According to Abigail Adams, IING's most important contribution under Goubaud Carrera's leadership was "the recognition of Indigenous people as professionals, collaborators, and representatives of their own experience."[1]

What can we learn about anthropology's potential from this example? First, ethnography sets our discipline apart. Ethnographic research relies on ground truth: data collected and contextualized in a specific place. As Riall Nolan explains, cultural anthropologists strive to find connections between the patterns we document (holism); to suspend our personal judgment (cultural relativism); to generate data based on specific case studies (inductive reasoning); to understand things from an insider's perspective (emic viewpoints); to compare case studies for general conclusions (ethnology); and to contextualize in history (diachronic and synchronic views).[2] The outcomes of our research cannot be reproduced in a laboratory setting; rather, they represent the history and culture of a particular place from the perspective of our interlocutors. As such, ethno-

1 Adams (2016:85).

2 Nolan (2017).

graphic knowledge is truthful, contextualized, and aware of human commonalities and differences.

Second, when traveling to unfamiliar locations, student and faculty ethnographers do not only produce rich scholarship but they create relationships. Indeed, establishing trust is an essential ingredient of ethnographic research, and transnational networks of friendship are important outcomes of anthropological work. These networks include anthropologists, scholars in multiple disciplines, community leaders, research assistants, and other collaborators. Besides carrying out research projects, transnational networks of trust can support each other through emergencies and life challenges, often mobilizing knowledge and resources across borders. Transnational collaborative networks may find innovative solutions to pressing societal problems.

Third, ethnographers care deeply about the well-being of their collaborators. Carrera learned that Maya communities faced structural challenges that prevented them from meeting their basic needs, and he was familiar with the history that led to such circumstances. He wielded his nuanced, community-based knowledge to improve their lives, yet he also cared about teaching Maya people the international discourses on human rights. Carrera believed that ethnographers should not simply extract ideas from communities without sharing new ideas in return.

Finally, Carrera's example proves that anthropologists are not exempt from personal and professional biases. *Indigenista* researchers at the IING had good intentions as they documented cultural continuity and change, but they erroneously assumed that Indigenous cultures would disappear. More than half a century after the height of *indigenismo*, Indigenous peoples continue passing down their ancestors' legacies and anthropological work remains relevant. The world is more interconnected than ever, but it faces urgent environmental threats while the social fabric seems to be fraying in developed and underdeveloped countries alike. From my perspective, anthropologists are uniquely trained to confront these issues while striving for social and environmental justice.

Anthropology and Higher Education

In recent decades, anthropology has suffered a precipitous downturn from the lofty position it once held in American universities. Historically, anthropologists have prepared students to thrive in any liberal arts field through a unique education grounded in history, a global perspective, and qualitative methods.

In turn, universities have offered anthropologists the opportunity to continue conducting fieldwork while involving students. According to Nolan, anthropology expanded quickly after World War II, when higher education was growing.[3] In 1950 there were twenty North American PhD programs; by 1975 there were eighty-seven. Disciplinary specializations such as medical anthropology, political anthropology, and economic anthropology proliferated in the 1960s alongside the emergence of interdisciplinary area studies centers focused on world regions like Africa, East Asia, East Europe, and Latin America.[4] These trends guaranteed secure employment in higher education for anthropologists for decades at a time when many were discouraged from pursuing careers in government for fear of contributing to American intervention abroad, such as during Guatemala's counterrevolution.

The 1980s witnessed the decline of anthropology's engagement abroad. The focus on culture as text and theoretical critique to the development industry drove anthropologists' attention away from the potential societal impacts of ethnographic research and discouraged scholars and practitioners from collaborating with one another. As the discipline grew more theoretical and less practical, departments placed emphasis on publications for tenure and promotion, leading to the slash-and-burn of paradigms in anthropology. The accelerated pace of theoretical innovation is evidenced by academic job offers. Ilana Gershon and Dafna Rachok (2021) find that many topics of expertise like psychological anthropology and environmental anthropology that were popular in the 1990s have fallen out of favor. Instead, many departments now hire topical experts in subjects like human trafficking and the Anthropocene.[5] The trend toward specialization makes it more difficult for contemporary anthropologists to maintain their inherited transnational networks given that their closest colleagues work in other departments or institutions.

Senseless budget cuts, rising tuition rates, bloated administrative salaries, and the "adjunctification" of tenure lines have made social science disciplines like anthropology less attractive to students. As anthropology departments churn out more PhDs than ever before, fewer tenure lines spur cutthroat competition among graduates. A recent survey by Robert Speakman et al. (2018) estimates that 79 percent of US anthropology doctorates do not obtain university tenure-track positions, while those who graduate from foreign institutions or higher-

3 Nolan (2017:41).

4 Borofsky (2019:18).

5 Gershon and Rachok (2021).

ranked programs (90th percentile) have a much greater competitive advantage in the job market.[6] Tenured employment is often tied to a "publish-or-perish" mentality, while precarious adjunct employment has skyrocketed. Those who do land a tenure-track position now dedicate more time to administrative tasks. A consequence of this conundrum is a declining quality of anthropological research. As Robert Borofsky (2021) mentions, publications offer concrete reference points that convey an appearance of accountability, but they do not guarantee intellectual merit. In fact, many theoretical frameworks that initially appear new may be variations on older ones.

Today it seems as if academic anthropologists must navigate a world of upside-down priorities, where their job is to turn a profit for their university rather than serve the community. Graduate students are especially vulnerable to such circumstances. In a given semester, we complete our coursework, teach classes, and serve on student organizations and committees. As we advance on our degrees, we meticulously prepare our research proposals, conduct fieldwork, attend conferences, and rewrite multiple versions of our dissertation chapters while swimming in an ever-deepening ocean of peer-reviewed literature to read. We feel uncertainty toward the labor market because everyone around us is overaccomplished, but few land tenure-track jobs. How can we possibly contribute to our field, to broader society, and to the communities that offer their knowledge and friendship to us?

Taking Action

"Revitalizing" means infusing something with new vitality without changing its essence. Our effort to revitalize anthropology should be focused on two priorities: improving the quality of our research and restoring our level of engagement with social change. To this end, we can work individually and collectively, within and outside higher education. I propose four recommendations for revitalizing anthropology:

(1)

We should strengthen the long-term transnational networks built through anthropological work. In the 1930s, when Carrera was a student at the University of Chicago, anthropology departments were highly specialized in a geo-

6 Speakman et al. (2018).

graphical region. They attracted students and faculty mentors belonging to the same transnational collaborative network. Today many faculty members have moved in new intellectual directions that separate them from their colleagues, and departments gather specialists in diverse topics and geographic regions.[7] Diversity within anthropology departments offers an important advantage: faculty can teach a greater scope of anthropological knowledge to students. Yet this also means that members of the same transnational collaborative network live thousands of miles away from one another.

Today most faculty members conduct research in isolation. Working alone under a publish-or-perish mentality, faculty have fewer opportunities to advance anthropological theory or collaborate in applied projects. We must seek academic collaborations beyond our department affiliation. One way of developing new networks would be to invite scholars from related disciplines to participate in virtual seminar discussions around a theme or framework that is relevant for doing research in their region. Faculty leading these sessions could rotate to share the responsibility for the group. When the content discussed is accessible and available in a lingua franca, local collaborators and practitioners could also be invited to participate in these sessions. The purpose would be to generate ideas around a particular topic in the hopes of creating future applied research projects.

(2)

We should do group ethnography more often. Nolan observes that tenured faculty face pressure to develop a record of research, publication, and teaching early in their careers.[8] This pressure is part of the reason why publications do not add up to a substantial, integrated, coherent body of knowledge.[9] The best scholarship in any field requires seniority because ethnographers who have implemented a theory and tested its scope and limitations for years are better able to establish guidelines for how to continue using such theory. Working in groups would allow young scholars to learn from senior mentors as they move the field forward. It would allow anthropologists to publish together more often. Furthermore, group ethnography would enhance the opportunities of using research data to improve the lives of our collaborators. A group of ethnographers can divide the work and expand the realm of their impact. They can alter-

7 Borofsky (2021).
8 Nolan (2017).
9 Borofsky (2021).

nate fieldwork seasons and maintain a presence on the ground. Importantly, group ethnography should be carried out by experts in the same regional area. It is often best to work with socially constituted groups, especially those respected by many of your informants.[10]

(3)

We should expand the collaboration between anthropologists working within and outside higher education. Anthropologists have different forms of employment and areas of expertise. We implement our knowledge in different ways, but we need to work together more often. One concrete step toward strengthening the relationship between academic and practitioner anthropologists would be to incorporate apprenticeship opportunities into anthropology graduate programs. This would allow faculty and students to expand their professional network and include institutions in different sectors of the economy. The AAA should advertise jobs in think tanks, government agencies, nongovernmental organizations, museums, and private companies. Furthermore, academic journals should welcome publications from practitioner anthropologists. They should not require a university affiliation to publish an article. If an anthropologist has the training and data to contribute to a body of knowledge, they should be able to participate in the academic conversation. Theoretical discussion often revolves around practical, concrete questions.

In addition, we should continue rewarding efforts to improve the lives of our collaborators. Support for public, engaged, and applied anthropology can be offered in funding, awards, and recognition. In our efforts to bring together applied and scholarly anthropology, we should keep in mind that the job of practitioners is judged not by peers but by bosses and clients.[11] Therefore, enhancing collaborations between academic units and practitioners might require us to negotiate the criteria we use to evaluate good work. Assessment metrics could include intellectual merit and benefits to society as well as degree of involvement of local collaborators.

(4)

We need to downsize the for-profit academic publishing industry. Most academic presses make much of their profit by selling books to students who are

10 Borofsky (2021).

11 Nolan (2017).

required to read them as part of a university course.[12] Academics manage to produce more publications in less time by lowering their standards of intellectual merit. In short, the academic publishing industry favors quantity over quality. Anthropologists can do a lot to mitigate the effects of these trends. As educators, we can use open-access texts in our classes. As authors, we can cite fewer publications while offering each citation greater depth of engagement. We can submit our work in open-access and foreign academic journals, and we can prioritize publishing in accessible newspapers, magazines, and other media. As peer reviewers, we can ask authors to reduce their number of citations.

Closing Reflection

In Guatemala the counterrevolution halted much of the anthropological work conducted by American and Guatemalan ethnographers through IING. Carrera was killed in Guatemala City in 1951 after changing his career path to international diplomacy. In 1954 the interim director of IING was imprisoned, and the work of IING declined throughout the 1960s. Yet American and Guatemalan ethnographers continued supporting engaged research and applied projects for generations. In the last few decades anthropologists working in Guatemala have been instrumental in supporting postwar efforts toward transitional justice. Many anthropologists accompanied war refugees and survivors during the genocide. Others have produced knowledge from archival research, forensic research, and oral history to bring the perpetrators to justice in court. Anthropologists who have contributed to revitalizing Maya have offered health-care services, educational opportunities, and knowledge that empowers communities. I admire these efforts for their commitment to the well-being of their collaborators.

To be sure, anthropological practice in Guatemala is far from perfect. However, the people participating in these projects make a conscious effort to resolve the political asymmetries of ethnography. For example, John Watanabe argues that anthropologists should focus on empowering real people, rather than focus on imagining others through text.[13] He criticizes postmodern literary theory because it frames the crisis of anthropology as a problem of representation rather than injustice in the real world. I agree that anthropologists doing work

12 Borofsky (2021).

13 Watanabe (1995).

in Guatemala should address power asymmetries with their collaborators. In the future I would like to work with Maya researchers and collaborators who demand the return of their heritage, their history, and their identity.

I believe that benefiting others must be a priority if we are to realize the full potential of anthropology. Our discipline has a lot to offer when it comes to tackling global problems of poverty, injustice, and climate change, but we often encounter obstacles. Our pasts are marked by colonialism, the institutions that support us are weakened by neoliberalism, and our allies are often imperfect. Yet, from our individual positionings, we can achieve social change in unique ways. Recognizing and creating opportunities to enact this potential requires us to look inward for our motivations and skill set, and outward for collective strategies and institutional changes that challenge the status quo.

Through this exploration I found that I needed a dose of hope and a dose of innocence to believe in the potential of the discipline and imagine what can be accomplished. I found a lot of inspiration in the legacy of Guatemalan anthropology. The big limitation of this reflective essay is my restricted knowledge of the field, both in terms of its theoretical body of knowledge and my personal experience navigating the professional social network. Some of my suggestions might be impractical to implement or might produce side effects I did not anticipate. Nevertheless, I wanted to share what, in my view, would be the best of all worlds. I hope to continue learning and testing some of my own recommendations in the future.

References

Adams, Abigail E.

2016 Relocating the Contributions to Ethnography and Public Anthropology of Antonio Goubaud Carrera (1902–1951), Guatemala's First Official Indigenist. In Ethnographic Collaborations in Latin America: The Effects of Globalization. Edited by June Nash and Hans Buechler, pp. 67–88. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Borofsky, Robert

2019 An Anthropology or Anthropology: Is It Time to Shift Paradigms? Kailua, HI: Center for a Public Anthropology. https://books.publicanthropology.org/an-anthropology-of-anthropology.html.

2021 Revitalizing Anthropology . . . with Your Help: A Study in Public Anthropology. https://revitalizing.publicanthropology.net/static/pdf/revitalizing-anthropology-with-your-help.pdf (accessed September 6, 2022).

Gershon, Ilana, and Dafna Rachok
2021 Hello to Tristes Tropes. Anthropology News, September 16. www.anthropology-news.org/articles/hello-to-tristes-tropes/.

Nolan, Riall
2017 Using Anthropology in the World: A Guide to Becoming an Anthropologist Practitioner. New York: Routledge.

Speakman, Robert J., Carla S. Hadden, Matthew H. Colvin, Justin Cramb, and K. C. Jones, et al.
2018 Market Share and Recent Hiring Trends in Anthropology Faculty Positions. PLoS ONE 13(9): e0202528.

Watanabe, John M.
1995 Unimagining the Maya: Anthropologists, Others, and the Inescapable Hubris of Authorship. Bulletin of Latin American Research 14(1):25–45.

AN ANTHROPOLOGY FOR THE PEOPLE

Delving into Systemic and Practical Issues

PHILLIP THEBE

Public anthropology is "an anthropology engaged with the public, real-life problems and issues. [It is] socially relevant, theoretically informed, and politically engaged [with set] academic standards, collaborative aspects, critical theory, problem-solving or policy prescriptions, and/or a genuine involvement and location in a public domain. [It] is thus an academic project as much as an applied one [which] works to relieve human suffering."[1] Nevertheless, *Anthropos-logos,* originally meaning the study of (and not service to) humanity, has influenced the discipline's greater orientation to academics than practice. How then can we realize—in actions (not just words)—the very real potential of anthropology to facilitate change that demonstrably improves other people's lives in meaningful ways to them? In this paper I delve into pedagogical issues, theoretical biases, disciplinary strengths, and other systemic and functional issues to address this question. I argue that revitalizing the discipline begins with revitalizing individuals to increase their political will (or should I say, public will). First up, pedagogical issues.

1 McGranahan (2006:256).

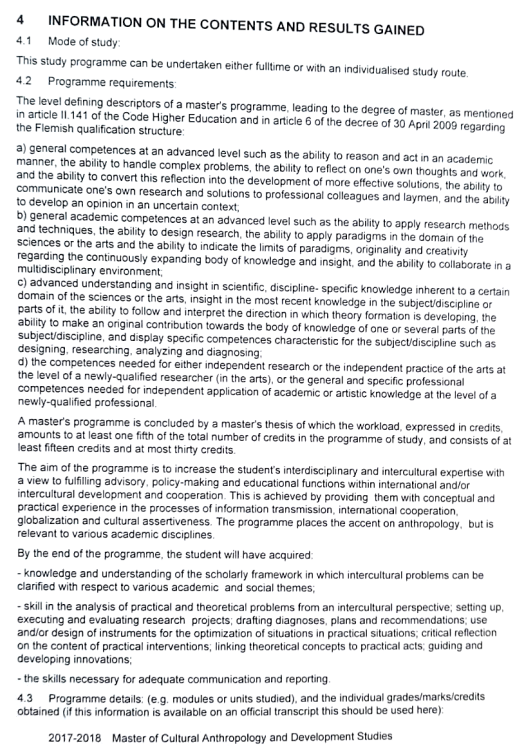
Pedagogical Issues

Anthropology departments must move away from teaching academics to teaching change actors and torchbearers who solve global conundrums. When I did my undergraduate degree, agriculture students were proactively doing chicken and other agricultural projects. Political science students were involved in university politics and joined youth structures of national political parties. Development studies students were registering grassroots organizations and seeking donor funding. Meanwhile, most anthropology students are either confused about their futures or their hopes lie in graduate studies, postdocs, and faculties. Anthropology is the least offered and enrolled program in developing countries because it neither promises lucrative jobs nor guarantees entrepreneurship. Yet the skills obtained from a study of anthropology (for instance, speaking, writing, relational, critical, analytical, cultural, observational, and organizational skills) are priceless assets with which anthropologists can penetrate various sectors or start global organizations. Notwithstanding the anthropological lens of education that is broad and lifetime-based, its curriculum must connect the discipline to actual practice for students to envision themselves as public workers.

Credit to initiatives such as the Cultural Anthropology and Development Studies (CADES) program run by KU Leuven's Anthropology Department, which partners with Global South universities to train Global South students earmarked to serve in their countries of origin. The CADES curriculum puts development in conversation with anthropology toward addressing conundrums in poverty, health, conflict, gender, environment, and so on. Students have the chance to intern or conduct ethnographies in partner development organizations, making it possible to learn the real needs of society and contribute to solving those problems. Their certificates and transcripts thoroughly explain to potential employers how graduates can be of use.

Theoretical Biases

Some theoretical doctrines and epistemological positions that promote othering and discourage public engagement need revision. I use the theory of animism as an illustration. Animism inherently seeks to "liberate objects from human ownership and control" but becomes nefarious for denying humans resource



4 INFORMATION ON THE CONTENTS AND RESULTS GAINED

4.1 Mode of study:

This study programme can be undertaken either fulltime or with an individualised study route.

4.2 Programme requirements:

The level defining descriptors of a master's programme, leading to the degree of master, as mentioned in article II.141 of the Code Higher Education and in article 6 of the decree of 30 April 2009 regarding the Flemish qualification structure:

a) general competences at an advanced level such as the ability to reason and act in an academic manner, the ability to handle complex problems, the ability to reflect on one's own thoughts and work, and the ability to convert this reflection into the development of more effective solutions, the ability to communicate one's own research and solutions to professional colleagues and laymen, and the ability to develop an opinion in an uncertain context;
b) general academic competences at an advanced level such as the ability to apply research methods and techniques, the ability to design research, the ability to apply paradigms in the domain of the sciences or the arts and the ability to indicate the limits of paradigms, originality and creativity regarding the continuously expanding body of knowledge and insight, and the ability to collaborate in a multidisciplinary environment;
c) advanced understanding and insight in scientific, discipline- specific knowledge inherent to a certain domain of the sciences or the arts, insight in the most recent knowledge in the subject/discipline or parts of it, the ability to follow and interpret the direction in which theory formation is developing, the ability to make an original contribution towards the body of knowledge of one or several parts of the subject/discipline, and display specific competences characteristic for the subject/discipline such as designing, researching, analyzing and diagnosing;
d) the competences needed for either independent research or the independent practice of the arts at the level of a newly-qualified researcher (in the arts), or the general and specific professional competences needed for independent application of academic or artistic knowledge at the level of a newly-qualified professional.

A master's programme is concluded by a master's thesis of which the workload, expressed in credits, amounts to at least one fifth of the total number of credits in the programme of study, and consists of at least fifteen credits and at most thirty credits.

The aim of the programme is to increase the student's interdisciplinary and intercultural expertise with a view to fulfilling advisory, policy-making and educational functions within international and/or intercultural development and cooperation. This is achieved by providing them with conceptual and practical experience in the processes of information transmission, international cooperation, globalization and cultural assertiveness. The programme places the accent on anthropology, but is relevant to various academic disciplines.

By the end of the programme, the student will have acquired:

- knowledge and understanding of the scholarly framework in which intercultural problems can be clarified with respect to various academic and social themes;

- skill in the analysis of practical and theoretical problems from an intercultural perspective; setting up, executing and evaluating research projects; drafting diagnoses, plans and recommendations; use and/or design of instruments for the optimization of situations in practical situations; critical reflection on the content of practical interventions; linking theoretical concepts to practical acts; guiding and developing innovations;

- the skills necessary for adequate communication and reporting.

4.3 Programme details: (e.g. modules or units studied), and the individual grades/marks/credits obtained (if this information is available on an official transcript this should be used here):

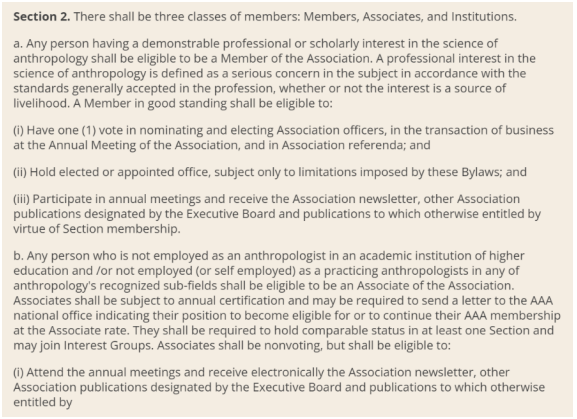
2017-2018 Master of Cultural Anthropology and Development Studies

FIGURE 1: KU Leuven's diploma description

ownership rights.[2] There is no way you will resolve resource-based conflicts in Africa with this doctrine or convince Robert Mugabe to distance himself from the land he got through the barrel of the gun. I concur with Franz Boas that sometimes we need to collect facts before theorizing or theorize correctly to avoid "bad theories" that limit social responsibility.

As a prototype, instead of citing grand theories or "genuflection by citation," Carolyn Nordstrom has traced the genealogy of ideas she elaborated to her research participants in war zones.[3] She argued that their "theories of life are as vibrant as any scholar's," whose theory is sometimes "bloodless" and "missing its lifeforce."[4] Nordstrom outlined vernacular philosophies lived and expressed by

2 Mawere and Nhemachena (2017:53).
3 The phrase "genuflection by citation" is in Brodkin (2011 [2009]:21).
4 Nordstrom (2011 [2009]:35, 40).



Section 2. There shall be three classes of members: Members, Associates, and Institutions.

a. Any person having a demonstrable professional or scholarly interest in the science of anthropology shall be eligible to be a Member of the Association. A professional interest in the science of anthropology is defined as a serious concern in the subject in accordance with the standards generally accepted in the profession, whether or not the interest is a source of livelihood. A Member in good standing shall be eligible to:

(i) Have one (1) vote in nominating and electing Association officers, in the transaction of business at the Annual Meeting of the Association, and in Association referenda; and

(ii) Hold elected or appointed office, subject only to limitations imposed by these Bylaws; and

(iii) Participate in annual meetings and receive the Association newsletter, other Association publications designated by the Executive Board and publications to which otherwise entitled by virtue of Section membership.

b. Any person who is not employed as an anthropologist in an academic institution of higher education and /or not employed (or self employed) as a practicing anthropologists in any of anthropology's recognized sub-fields shall be eligible to be an Associate of the Association. Associates shall be subject to annual certification and may be required to send a letter to the AAA national office indicating their position to become eligible for or to continue their AAA membership at the Associate rate. They shall be required to hold comparable status in at least one Section and may join Interest Groups. Associates shall be nonvoting, but shall be eligible to:

(i) Attend the annual meetings and receive electronically the Association newsletter, other Association publications designated by the Executive Board and publications to which otherwise entitled by

FIGURE 2: AAA'S membership qualifications

kids and other survivors on the frontlines of war. She argued that upon simplifying abstract theoretical concepts to them, they "talked back" to scholars such as Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben on themes such as power, bare life, and sovereignty. They even echoed what "western epistemologies lack[ed]."[5]

Some scholars dismiss Nordstrom's theory as "unreal," maybe according to Western standards of prestige and intelligibility, but it potently emerges from co-participation and collaboration with the public. The point here is that lived and practical experiences of our study communities must inform our theories in an inductive manner rather than us theorizing and forcing our ideas to their situations, thus predisposing the discipline to public rejection.

Infiltrating Workspaces outside Academia

Some anthropology graduates employed in "nonanthropological sectors" are peripheralized. For instance, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) considers them "associates" with fewer privileges compared to members.[6] Yet we need to recognize/celebrate graduates who diffuse anthropological influence into public spheres. Our workshops and seminars must not only dwell on grand theories and anthropological ancestors but unpack anthropological careers, recruitment, and development strategies. Departments must link up with different stakeholders and have their students intern or even get early career vacan-

5 Nordstrom (2011 [2009]:40–41).

6 AAA (2015).

cies. Not just museums but government departments, NGOs, and the private sector. The Chinese University of Hong Kong's Department of Anthropology invites students into job talks where candidates present on certain topics, and interact with the students, and these students are requested to send through their feedback and thoughts on all potential candidates. This allows students to have a grasp of the recruitment processes in the department and familiarize themselves with what an anthropological academic vacancy looks like. Such efforts must be extended to other nonacademic sectors through recruitment fairs and seminars organized in collaboration with anthropology departments.

We need to provide honorary qualifications, at the graduate level or otherwise, or any other form of recognition, to our former students that are making it big in other spheres outside the discipline to claim their successes and showcase that our discipline is outreach oriented. We must invite them to our rituals, ceremonies, and activities as primary guests (not "associates") and see them as equally important to the public responsibility of the discipline. This way, "anthropology and anthropologists [can] effectively address problems beyond the discipline—illuminating the larger social issues of our times as well as encouraging broad, public conversations about them with the explicit goal of fostering social change."[7]

Utilizing the Strengths of Anthropology

Anthropology does possess strengths and opportunities. I will discuss a few. As *relational experts*, anthropologists are equipped with the ability to implore locals' absorption of exogenous knowledge. For instance, at a time when COVID-19 ravages the world, anthropologists are needed to conscientize the world about the disease and the vaccines amid perpetuated falsehoods and misinformation slowing down the progress of eradicating the pandemic. Of course, this needs to happen within a participatory framework of co-collaboration and not ethnocentrism (see next paragraph). Anthropologists should also contribute to *cross-cultural transmission* due to their cultural intelligence.[8] They must be interpreters and explainers of exogenous cultures to local places and carriers of local cultures to outside places. Cross-cultural transmission can bridge the gap between science and society by alleviating COVID-19 conspiracies and mistrust

7 Borofsky (2000:30–33).

8 Sillitoe (2007:158).

in the society and frustrations of the medical fraternity on the low uptake of scientific approaches and initiatives.

Anthropologists' intelligence in Indigenous knowledge/systems (IKS) must be used to deal with global challenges.[9] Here, anthropologists must be facilitators as locals chart their paths. As researchers and development workers, anthropologists must not abuse privileged positions. Anthropologists paid the price for acting according to the parameters of colonial administrators; they became suspect colonial spies and sniffers. Anthropology must show "responsiveness [to real and not perceived local problems], critical awareness, ethical concern, human relevance, a clear connection between what is to be done and the interests of mankind."[10] The discipline can offer the best advice and advocate for local cultures against capitalistic vultures. David Mosse did this in India, becoming the central critic and researcher of the INDO-British organization he previously worked for.[11]

There is a public engagement opportunity in "native or indigenous anthropology" and "doing anthropology at home." These to a degree aid a better understanding of and trust from the locals and must be harnessed and advocated.[12] They somewhat stand a far greater chance to utilize IKS for the lasting solution of local problems. This also speaks to the devolution of centers of knowledge and practice.[13] Anthropology must be supporting alternative discourses—for example, through deconstructing and criticizing straightjacket scholarship and initiatives or projects that exploit recipients.[14] The discipline must be supporting bottom-up initiatives and knowledge and studying from the bottom up and from within. Robert Chambers says we must aim for the difficult—"putting the first last" instead of "putting the last first." Here, "those who are powerful have to step down, sit, listen and learn from and empower those who are weak and last" to avoid "errors, omissions, delusions and dominance."[15]

Anthropology's *methods and approaches* can be used to the public's benefit. As an all-"inclusive human science," using qualitative and quantitative methods, being attentive to all detail, and thickly describing situations can valorize gov-

9 Sillitoe (2007:157).
10 Hymes (1974:7).
11 Mosse (2005).
12 Fahim (1982); see also Jackson (1987).
13 Comaroff and Comaroff (2012).
14 Cornwall and Eade (2010).
15 Chambers (1997:2).

ernments and private entities.[16] Our methodologies mean we can produce the best detectives solving serious crimes, the best marketers and advertisers selling products, the best NGO/government specialists doing research and providing solutions for different public issues, and yes, the best academics and so forth. Our methods and approaches must not be sold only to graduate students and other academics within the locus of the discipline but extended to these other disciplines and practices to contribute to the production of best policies, initiatives, and projects for the betterment of humanity.

According to Boas, "anthropology illuminates the social processes of our time and may show us, if we are ready to listen to its teachings, what to do and what to avoid."[17] It can interpret world problems by telling us "how we got where we are and suggest how we might get out."[18] With project cycle management used as a vital tool for public action, it is only natural to see how anthropologists can make the best project formulators, implementers, monitors, and evaluators. We gain this strength from our theoretical rigor, ethnography, and location or positionality close to and among the marginalized. Therefore, Sondra Hausner says that "ethnography can tell programmers stories they did not know existed [and] demonstrate links and connections that no questionnaire could have dreamed up."[19]

Anthropological *theories*, when theorized right, carry so much potential to address public issues. Clark Wissler's theory of diffusion explaining the social change in North America became one of the most respected earlier theories.[20] The importance of theory has continued through various theoretical turns to the present. As Gunnar Myrdal wrote: "Facts come to mean something only as ascertained and organized in the frame of a theory. Indeed, facts have no existence as part of scientific knowledge outside such a frame."[21] So, when the world is bedeviled with questions on happenings and existentialism, anthropology with its available theories and theory-building abilities must jump at the opportunity to supply answers.

16 On "inclusive human science," see Ember, Ember, and Peregrine (1990:3); and Geertz (1973).

17 Boas (1928 [1911]:11).

18 Bodley (2001:11).

19 Hausner (2006:318–342).

20 Wissler (1923).

21 Myrdal (1957:164).

Disciplinary/Research Communication

According to Francis Nyamnjoh: "Anthropology and its methods have certainly served to foster imperialist appropriation of Africa, but as a discipline, it has undergone critical self-appraisal and re-orientation that should be instructive for communication research, other disciplines, and fields of study…, especially in the age of flexibilities and contestations of essentialisms."[22] Why then does it seem like we are lagging? There is a need for better communication of our research and our discipline to the world.

Recently, the discipline is emphasizing a culture of more elaborate, interesting, and simple writing styles, easily accessible to laypersons.[23] The discipline must lure the public against reading the *New York Times* on topics it has better acumen to communicate. At least there is an (in)disciplinary evolution toward a reduction of in-text citations and more emphasis on the presentation of fieldwork findings or stories rather than shrouding our writings with grand theories and difficult-to-read language and text. There is a need for the discipline to promote, for instance, vernacular ethnographies written in local languages—the Chinese are doing well to translate their works.

We need more of these to bring our work down to the grassroots level. Real-time blogging or podcasting of fieldwork results has helped in the provision of immediate communication of issues as they happen in their contexts. Equally impressive is the increasing uptake in visual and sensory approaches that incorporate innovative methods, not just writing, listening, and observing, but the use of (a) multiple (and social) media; (b) art and painting, documentary films, and photography; and (c) including those things people won't say nor anthropologists see.[24] With so many breathtaking stories we find in fieldwork, we must be the frontline writers and producers of best-selling dramas and movies on Netflix and in Hollywood. Anthropology needs to shake off its reputation of somewhat "boring and actionless" documentaries stored away in museums and showcased to a handful of sympathetic spectators. We need to think bigger. We need to think entrepreneurially.

The tendency of belittling certain academic journals over others must end within the discipline. We have moved "from publish or perish" to "publish and perish" as so much anthropological knowledge gathers dust on shelves with or

22 Nyamnjoh (2006:12).
23 Brodkin (2011 [2009]).
24 Pink (2015).

without attempts to publish due to demotivating stringent measures.[25] On the contrary, it's extremely exciting to watch how scientific disciplines have publicized their COVID-19 studies before peer review or official journal publication. No wonder vaccine production and rolling out was swift, yet anthropology is still debating how to contribute to COVID-19 obliteration.

Similarly, the academic culture in 2022 must not favor tenureship, professorship, and professional headway based solely on publication and teaching records, and allegiance to funders, deans, chairs, supervisors, and the academic community.[26] As N. S. Jansen Van Rensburg declared, "anthropologists will not be allowed the luxury of evading their social responsibility [as they reinvent the discipline] as a humane science [and reiterate] commitment to accountability and relevance."[27]

Indeed, intelligible publications are produced on public issues, but the summit of success should be turning these into social projects through the communication of results with relevant stakeholders (including study communities), especially using these findings and recommendations for policy making and public action. Some anthropologists, like the late David Graeber, whose activism led to the Occupy Movement, are involved in public issues but their actions are either isolated or marginalized in barometers of anthropological success. I don't see how anthropologists can fail to participate as organizers or attendees in certain world programs like world climate day, women's rights day, global peace day, and so forth just to magnify our discipline and show that we are relevant to such issues. Credit to the subdiscipline of feminism, which fundamentally weaves academic scholarship into political activism promoting natural progression from theory to practice. We also need anthropologists in the public to join departments as professors to bring their wealth of public experience and links into academia.

Demystifying Myths about Anthropology

To say we are not doing anything as a discipline is a misrepresentation of a historical fact. The likes of Franz Boas (race) and Margaret Mead (socioeducational policy), among others, were already involved with public anthropology. Even our infamous involvement as researchers and informants of colonial govern-

25 Nyamnjoh (2004).
26 cf. Borofsky (2019).
27 Van Rensburg (1994:3).

ments was public. We are already contributing—just not well understood. We need to demystify the myths about anthropology so that our practice and ideas are more welcomed. It's not just an academic discipline but a practical one, not just about ancient societies but modern, future, and nonhuman ones, not just about ethnography but other methodologies, not antiscience but a good collaborator of the natural sciences. As Carole McGranahan has summarized:

> Romantic views of anthropologists as studying "lost" civilizations, esoteric rituals, and tribal peoples inadequately describe the discipline and what it has to offer. Contemporary anthropology is about the whole of human life, society, and culture—about stories and communities, problems and practices, the cultural logics and state structures that frame people's everyday lives, and the myriad and cultural means by which people make their way in the world. It is as much conducted in urban locales as in rural ones, as familiar with analyzing advertising agencies as village communities, and insistent on analyzing the esoteric alongside the everyday. Anthropology explains culture, meaning, and practice in the past and the present, including a reckoning with the discipline's own history.[28]

It's just unfortunate that such information as this is only accessed by academics already in the discipline and not the general public out there. Perhaps there is a need for concerted efforts to campaign for the discipline and for more public and cross-disciplinary academic discussions to explain ourselves to the world. Perhaps someone may ask if we really need to do this, but we do because that's the only way we can consciously create opportunities for contributing to public change. If politicians go out of their way to get the attention of the public, we certainly can do the same and more. Otherwise, we will remain closed in our bubble and externally misunderstood.

Conclusion: Revitalized Individuals Revitalize the Discipline

Finally, one can discuss pedagogy, theory, disciplinary strengths, communication, myths, and so on, but revitalizing the discipline begins with revitalizing individuals. Do anthropologists feel the urge to make a public difference? Anthropologists need to ask themselves uncomfortable moral questions about their practice. Will my research contribute to the betterment of society? In what ways? How can I make it more public? There is a need to fuel conviction among

28 McGranahan (2006:255).

anthropologists so that these moral questions together with pressing public issues inform their research topics, field sites, and public programs as the discipline moves "beyond evangelizing public anthropology" toward "commitment."[29]

The question that remains is *how*, given the hegemonic-like structures that normally superimpose anthropologists' functioning. I must say that recognizing anthropological works that contribute to the public is one way of motivating practitioners in the discipline. Recognition may or may not involve material benefits, but anthropologists need to be given a reason to focus on the public issues. Seminars, conferences, campaigns, academic publication forums, and student competitions with themes related to public anthropology can also be good initiatives to sensitize anthropologists.

Nevertheless, over and above, an anthropologist must not need a "big push" or incentive to feel obliged to serve the public, nor should they hide behind the systemic complexities of the discipline. It must be a personal and inherent moral persuasion to help, as Borofsky decisively states that we always have "a choice regarding how tightly [we] embrace the current hegemonic-like system. It is not an all-or-nothing proposition. While adhering to it, you can also subvert it.… Individual anthropologists can embrace the public anthropology paradigm on a personal and departmental level—hoping that when they look back in later life, they can take pride in the choice made."[30]

References

American Anthropological Association (AAA)
2015 Bylaws of the AAA. Amended June 1. www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=1775.

Boas, Franz
1928 [1911] The Mind of Primitive Man. New York: Macmillan.

Bodley, John H.
2001 Anthropology and Contemporary Human Problems. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Borofsky, Robert
2000 Public Anthropology (website). Transforming Anthropology 9(2):30–33.
2019 An Anthropology of Anthropology: Is It Time to Shift Paradigms? Kailua, HI: Center for a Public Anthropology.

29 Nyamnjoh (2015).
30 Borofsky (2019:230).

Brodkin, Karen
2011 [2009] Remember When Writing Was Fun? Why Academics Should Go on a Low Syllable, Active Voice Diet. In Anthropology off the Shelf: Anthropologists on Writing. Alisse Waterston and Maria D. Vesperi, eds., pp. 21–34. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Chambers, Robert
1997 Whose Reality Counts? Vol. 25. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff
2012 Theory from the South: A Rejoinder. Cultural Anthropology Online. https://culanth.org/fieldsights/theory-from-the-comaroffs-or-how-to-know-the-world-up-down-backwards-and-forwards.

Cornwall, Andrea, and Deborah Eade
2010 Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords. Oxford: Oxfam GB.

Ember, Carol, R., Melvin Ember, and Peter Neal Peregrine, eds.
1990 Anthropology. Hoboken, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Fahim, Hussein M., ed.
1982 Indigenous Anthropology in Non-western Countries: Proceedings of a Burg Wartenstein Symposium. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Geertz, Clifford
1973 Thick Description. In Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. Pp. 41–51. Oxforshire: Routledge.

Hausner, Sondra L.
2006 Anthropology in Development: Notes from an Ethnographic Perspective. India Review 5(3–4):318–342.

Hymes, Dell H, ed.
1974 Reinventing Anthropology. New York: Pantheon.

Jackson, Anthony, ed.
1987 Anthropology at Home. New York: Tavistock Publications.

Mawere, Munyaradzi, and Artwell Nhemachena
2017 Death of a Discipline? Reflections on the History, State, and Future of Social Anthropology in Zimbabwe. Mankon, Bamenda: Langaa Research and Publishing CIG.

McGranahan, Carole
2006 Introduction: Public Anthropology. India Review 5(3–4):255–267. DOI: 10.1080/14736480600938936.

Mosse, David
2005 Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice. London: Pluto.

Myrdal, Gunnar
1957 Rich Lands and Poor. New York: Harper and Row.

Nordstrom, Caroline
2011 [2009] The Bard. In Anthropology off the Shelf: Anthropologists on Writing. Alisse Waterston and Maria D. Vesperi, eds., pp. 35–45. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Nyamnjoh, Francis B.
2004 From Publish or Perish to Publish and Perish: What Africa's 100 Best Books Tell Us about Publishing in Africa. Journal of Asian and African Studies 47(2):129–154.
2006 Rethinking Communication Research and Development in Africa. Dakar: Senegal: CODESRIA Secretariat.
2015 Beyond an Evangelising Public Anthropology: Science, Theory and Commitment. Journal of Contemporary African Studies 33(1):48–63.

Pink, Sarah
2015 Doing Sensory Ethnography. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sillitoe, Paul
2007 Anthropologists Only Need Apply: Challenges of Applied Anthropology. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 13(1):147–165.

van Rensburg, N. S. Jansen
1994 Anthropology, Social Change and the Reconstruction of South African Society. Koers-Bulletin for Christian Scholarship 59(1):3–18.

Wissler, Clark
1923 Man and Culture. New York: Thomas Crowell.

ARTIST–ANTHROPOLOGIST MUTUAL MENTORSHIP NETWORKS

Revitalizing Anthropology by Nourishing Epistemic Diversity within the Discipline and Beyond

IVAN LEVANT

Mycelium can remediate toxic soil. More so, it has played a fundamental role in creating the conditions for all life on the planet in the first place. At the dawn of life on Earth, mycelium transformed a barren rock into soil, formed symbiotic relationships with roots, and facilitated the emergence of plants on land. This process, as we know it, eventuated in the appearance of human societies and subsequently of anthropology. Mycelium weaves mycorrhizal networks, an ever-present sprawling fungal network beneath our feet, facilitating the exchange of nutrients and connecting plants, which continues to play the fundamental role in the existence of all life.[1]

We can poetically draw on the ability of mycelium to nurture and propagate the diversity of life, to consider how we can nourish onto-epistemic diversity, the way we appraise and know the world, as a part of the anthropological endeavor. Spores—ideas containing worlds—epistemes may travel great distances to seed another mycorrhizal network. One such mycorrhizal network of epistemic diversity is emerging amid the University of Queensland and its affiliated Anthropology Society. The society carries within it a genome seeded by the episteme-spore

1 Stamets (2005).

of Gina Athena Ulysse's work that itself contains epistemes of the works of Faye Venetia Harrison, Katherine Dunham, and Zora Neale Hurston.[2]

Although it may seem that colonial, Eurocentric onto-epistemology (a detached way of knowing and being in the world) is dominant, there are innumerable spores seeding otherwise the world over, a reality to which we can open anthropology. Like mycelium, an organism that cultivates ecosystems nourishing its food chains—a process resulting in extraordinary biodiversity—so too, I suggest, artist–anthropologist mutual mentorship networks can nourish spaces where onto-epistemic diversity can proliferate, revitalizing the discipline of anthropology and magnifying its transformative impact on the world.

What Are We Trying to Revitalize?

Anthropology is a body of knowledge and a way of knowing the world—the most holistic of all sciences. Principally, anthropology is a practice that is performed through the methodology of participant observation, interpretation of cultural realities, writing of monographs, journal articles, essays, op-eds, and the delivery of conference papers. Writing is a major part of what anthropology is, and anthropological writing follows a set of academic conventions, a certain kind of language—that of analytic prose. Why analytic prose?

Analytic prose is the language best fitting the detached way of knowing the world that is the hallmark of colonial Eurocentric epistemology.[3] Yet anthropology is not just science, it is a form of art.[4] Anthropologists are writers. And if anthropology is to have a greater impact on the world, it would help if people with backgrounds outside the field of anthropology would want to read it. Just imagine if nonanthropologists fell in love with how anthropologists write! The reality, as it was intimated to me by several anthropology students, is that there are very few works that constitute an enjoyable read. Corollary, a visiting anthropologist acknowledged that they need the help of another writer who can communicate with a nonacademic audience so as to relay insights to the people outside the academe.

Recognizing the issue of readability, prominent anthropologist Paul Stoller has critiqued scholars who write to emancipate, yet whose works are written

2 Ulysse (2018, 2019); Harrison (2011); Dunham as discussed in Banks (2012); and Hurston as discussed in Transforming Anthropology (2020).

3 Mbembe (2015).

4 Madden (2017).

in a disembodied "bloodless language."[5] Although there were (and are) anthropologists such as Edith Turner, Wade Davis, David Graeber, Margert Mead, and Paul Stoller himself whose writing is brimming with life, they are a vocal minority. This state of affairs is not surprising, since in anthropological training the value is placed on analysis, rather than the beauty of expression. The reading diet of up-and-coming anthropologists is based on research articles and largely, as a fellow student referred to them, ethnographies that are parched of life. Our assignments must fit academic writing conventions and, if not, the students are marked down.

The mastery of analytic prose, rather than evocative writing, is rewarded and expected of future anthropologists to attain doctorates. Future scholars are expected to publish articles in high-ranking journals, writing about humans using scientific, cold, distanced, and bloodless language. Indeed, I spoke to a seasoned anthropologist who intimated that their article was rejected from a major anthropological publication because he used somewhat poetic language. Such knowledge-production process is akin to freeze-drying fruits, the fruits of living cultures and human experiences. Like the freeze-drying process, the science of humanity ensures that objective observations produced by a detached observer are free from contamination, epistemic or linguistic. Like freeze-dried fruits, the fruits of anthropological knowledge may become an elitist product inaccessible to the most. With the advent of paywall-removing services like www.Sci-Hub.st or www.12ft.io or free book access services like www.libgen.fun or www.b-ok.global, direct financial cost is no longer an issue when it comes to access of anthropological knowledge by the public, but the accessibility of the language still is.

One needs years of specialized training, a combination of social, financial, and cultural capital, to access anthropological insights. Besides the issue of accessibility, the privileging of "the textual" negates the great diversity of embodied practices constituting other forms of knowing. More than accessibility, performance has the potential to disrupt colonial onto-epistemic hegemonies, the ways of appraising and knowing the world.[6] Yet historically the dominance of texto-centric approach to knowledge greatly benefited colonial powers in silencing Indigenous voices, instituting and reproducing violent colonial ideologies.[7]

5 Stoller (2010).
6 Madison (2011).
7 Smith (2021).

Colonial approach to knowledge has rendered Indigenous anthropologists and scholars invisible. Speaking of which, Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's call to decolonize methodologies is ever more pertinent, necessitating profound change to how anthropology is conducted in Australia and beyond.[8] One of the possible ways to address the legacy of colonial knowledge production is to increase the accessibility and epistemic diversity of anthropology by propagating arts, poetics, and performance throughout the discipline, all while transforming relationships between the researchers and the researched, between institutions and communities, transforming how we engage with each other, knowledge, and the world.

Spores in the Institution: Appropriating Institutional Structures to Propagate Epistemic Diversity

Just as mycologists use logs to grow mushrooms, so too, institutional structures can be appropriated to seed and propagate onto-epistemic diversity through the associated clubs and societies. This essay is a response to a question: "What are the specific institutional structures the student plans to change?" The answer is that a single student cannot evoke a profound structural change; there must be a collective. Yet alone is how new future anthropologists may find themselves in a contemporary Australian university, where the students only occasionally share a class. Even if the class is shared, once it ends, living under the dictatorship of time, people scatter to get on with their lives. How can one expect to create new situations, collectivities, let alone change institutional structures from such a place?

I, along with a few other students, have cofounded the UQ Anthropology Society (UQAS) to bring together the anthropology community at the University of Queensland. The idea behind UQAS was to foster camaraderie among anthropology students at the UQ and to fill in the gaps in our education left by the neoliberal cutting of the anthropology courses. Most likely, the University of Queensland is interested in supporting clubs and societies because building a students' cohort increases student retention and therefore profitability while helping to improve employability—and therefore the institution's prestige. The university has provided space and some funding for UQAS's activities.

8 Smith (2021).

One of these activities was an anthropological poetry competition, stirring anthropology students to break out of anthropological conventions and creative writing students to dip their toes into anthropological thinking. For its 2021 anthro-poetry competition, UQAS received more than a dozen wonderful entries and started a conversation between the university schools. One of the competition's winning entries was a creative critique of colonialism that very well could be published as either ethnographic or poetic work in its own right. I helped to host an event to read winning poems. Through the event I befriended one of the authors, whose bid for a political position within the university structure was endorsed by UQAS and turned out to be successful. A mycorrhizal growth of the network.

Another activity cofunded by the university is a three-day writers' retreat that I helped to organize. The participants—a mix of undergraduate, honors, and PhD students—have explored how to become more evocative and creative writers, experimenting, in a supportive environment, with different ways of knowing and being. The attendees participated in an embodied writing workshop, theater games, and surrealist games. An element of the retreat's program was the development of a Mutual Mentorship Network (discussed elsewhere in this essay).

By banding together, we, the students, were able to appropriate resources toward activities that in some way tip anthropology toward human ends. The weakness of tethering your community to a single institutional structure, of course, is that the whims of those in charge may change, potentially jeopardizing the collective's endeavor. To grow the collective's impact and reach as well as to safeguard its future, it is my hope UQAS and those involved may connect with like-minded groups in other fields and places. I suggest that one way to transcend a structure of a single institution is through the cultivation of Artist–Anthropologist Mutual Mentorship Networks.

Creating Mutually Nourishing Environments of Epistemic Diversity

Mentorship, a one-on-one passing of knowledge from established to up-and-coming scholars, recognized as vital to success in academia, is needed today more than ever.[9] Yet one-to-one mentorship can sometimes lead to costly fail-

9 Yun, Baldi, and Sorcinelli (2016).

ures, typically for the mentee.[10] I have been in such a situation where an experienced mentor, wielding his superior anthropological knowledge, exploited my eagerness to learn in what became an emotionally abusive relationship. While an aberration, my experience is not unique: egalitarian relationships of mutuality can help to increase safety while widening the mentee's support network. A study found that, as reflected in the rate of uptake, mutual mentorship networks—nonhierarchical, reciprocal structures—were the preferred mentorship model for women of color.[11]

Surely, fostering environments that nourish the diversity of the people involved is conducive to increasing epistemic diversity as well. Mutual mentorships create collegiality as well as opportunities to collaborate and exchange knowledge. Mutual mentorship allows people to experience professional, artistic, and personal interactions in a gentler way than the traditional mentor–mentee model. Importantly, mutual mentorship networks result in the growth of tangible positive outcomes for their participants, such as the publication of books and articles as well as participation in conferences.[12] This in turn enables the presence of works that enhance epistemic diversity.

Now, Why Artist–Anthropologist Networks?

Artist–Anthropologist Mutual Mentorship Networks are built to follow Faye V. Harrison's suggestion to be creatively critical and critically creative.[13] It is a win–win scenario for the discipline and for the production of critical art that poetically transforms inner and outer worlds, while at the same time helping scholars to make scholarship more visceral, transformative, and accessible. Junior anthropologists have something to teach established artists, while young artists have something of value to share with senior anthropologists.

Art and performance, as a way of knowing and being in the world, pries the space open for onto-epistemic diversity. Art and performance have a broad mandate that transcends texts as well as institutional and epistemic structures; it is accessible to and readily drawn on by the public, academics, ritual specialists, and revolutionaries. Art in general, and poetry in particular, is a way to engage in building new worlds. Audre Lorde asserted that "poetry is not a luxury. It is

10 Ocobock et al. (2021).
11 Yun, Baldi, and Sorcinelli (2016).
12 Yun, Baldi, and Sorcinelli (2016).
13 Transforming Anthropology (2020).

a vital necessity of our existence. It forms the quality of the light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action."[14] Indeed, following fifteen years of fieldwork, Jarrett Zigon discovered that successful resistance to the global war on drugs was poetic—the poetic building of new worlds.[15] I suggest that like poets, anthropologists can transform worldviews, transcend conceptual categories, imagine and help to build new worlds.

What are some of the weaknesses of drawing art and artists into the anthropological fold? In the delegitimation of anthropology as a science, scholarship may become too artistic and the art too scholarly; the scientists may produce bad art and artists may misuse anthropology. To address these issues, scholars and artists can constructively guide and critique each other's work. Regardless, scientists already integrate art into scholarship and artists draw on ethnographic insights, with a positive rather than a negative effect.[16] Finally, artist–scholars may face limited employability prospects. With or without the arts, academic employment is already precarious.[17] Yet by engaging with the arts, anthropologists may find solace, courage, and dynamism in a fight against neoliberalism, while artists may attain more depth, meaning, and relevance, producing works that may help to transform shared cultural landscapes.

Ethnographic Case Study: Artist–Scholar Mutual Support Network

Next I explore the Artist–Scholar Mutual Mentorship Network not as a theoretical but as a practical construct inviting epistemic diversity into the world of anthropology. I have found myself amid such a nourishing network, which not only includes scholars and students from my university but also artist–scholars from other universities in Australia and beyond. The network has empowered me to enliven and broaden the epistemic diversity of the discipline in Australia by having had poetry accepted as a valid form of knowledge in my honors course and by having poetry accepted as a part of discourse at the Australian Anthropological Society's 2021 annual conference. How did this come to pass?

14 Lorde (2000:249).

15 Zigon (2017).

16 Madison (2011); Taussig (2011); Carson (2017); Port (2020); Nakashima Degarrod (2020); and Ferme (2021).

17 Shore and Davidson (2014).

Dr. Hoffstaedter—an anthropology lecturer at the University of Queensland, my honors supervisor, and a champion of public anthropology—has made a series of anthropology interviews for a MOOC (massive open online course), openly available via YouTube and Edx. While looking through those interviews, my classmate and UQAS cofounder, artist Nabil Sabio Azadi, came across Gina Athena Ulysse, an artist–scholar, who serendipitously was coming to create an art installation and perform at the Sydney Biennale 2020. Azadi organized VIP tickets to the Biennale for our then smaller UQAS membership group. We met with Ulysse, who kindly gave us a tour of her installation and shared anthropological, artistic, and personal insights. Conceptualized by Faye V. Harrison as anthro-performance and by Victor Turner as Performance Ethnography, Ulysse's work is a true embodied learning experience.[18]

Bringing people into the field of embodied presence, the anthropologist wields the craft of performance ethnography. A sight to behold, the performance left the crowd in tears, with people hugging each other. In this instantiation of epistemic diversity, anthropological knowledge was not just an intellectual exercise but instead experienced with one's whole body. Seeing Ulysse's anthro-performance made an indelible impression on me, opening vistas on what anthropology can be. Having to leave Australia due to COVID shortly after her performance, Ulysse asked me to document her art installation at the Biennale and I readily agreed.

The anthropologist was pleased with the outcome, sharing my work on her Instagram account. This relationship grew into a collaboration, a poetic short film capturing the spirit of Ulysse's art installation—now featured on the anthropologist's website. The film has helped to bring a glimpse of the artist–scholar's work to those unable to see it in person. I have maintained contact with Ulysse, who shared with me books and ideas that have helped me to grow as an artist, scholar, and human being. If ours were a traditional top-down mentorship, we would miss out on these mutual benefits.

Why is mutual mentorship support crucial for challenging onto onto-epistemological hegemony? Closer to home, I met a brilliant artist and an anthropologist who did not receive the support they needed to challenge onto-epistemic hegemony by walking the unconventional path of an artist–scholar. The result is that while undertaking their research, the scholar had to conform and compartmentalize their endeavors, keeping the worlds of art and science apart, which,

18 Harrison (1990); Madison (2011); and Ulysse (2019).

if they had proper support, they would not. Supported by Hoffstaedter, Ulysse, and others, I have managed to embed poetry into the theoretical part of my honors coursework, attaining high distinctions despite breaking the established conventions.

Furthermore, with Hoffstaedter's encouragement, I pitched a first-of-its-kind poetry lab at Australia's largest anthropology conference. Ulysse kindly provided invaluable feedback on my pitch, which was subsequently accepted. I authored a paper exploring the role of poetry in helping to make anthropology a household word, which was also accepted into the conference. My photography portfolio, a short film, a conference paper, a poetry lab, not to mention the publication of anthro-poetry in a peer-reviewed journal within one year, are all results of unwittingly tapping into an Artist–Scholar Mutual Support Network. To break conventions and challenge the epistemic status quo, we need to engage in mutual support, which has been a factor of our evolution all along.[19]

If your university has an anthropology society or mutual mentorship network, get involved. If it does not, start one! It does not have to be a formal, structured relationality. Truly organic, fluid, and convivial spaces of mutual support are wonderful. It is my hope that we can foster epistemic diversity through the mycelial-like growth of artist–anthropologist mutuality. I hope that we can nurture cooperation among poets, theater-makers, filmmakers, and anthropologists in the creation of anthropologically informed works, making anthropology into a vibrant experience that captures people's imaginations that may lead to profound personal and worldly transformations.

Yet, a distinction between an artist and an anthropologist may be fluid or simply nonexistent: we can be both—artists and anthropologists, critically creative and creatively critical. At heart, we, much like mycelium—an organism that cultivates ecosystems nourishing its food chains and producing astonishing biodiversity as a result—can nourish one another and spaces where onto-epistemic diversity can take root and proliferate, revitalizing the discipline of anthropology and magnifying its transformative impact.

19 Kropotkin (2011).

References

Banks, Ojeya Cruz
2012 Katherine Dunham: Decolonizing Anthropology through African American Dance Pedagogy. Transforming Anthropology 20(2):159–168.

Carson, A. D.
2017 Owning My Masters: The Rhetorics of Rhymes & Revolutions. Clemson University, Tiger Prints (5-2017). https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/268656697.pdf.

Ferme, Mariane C.
2021 Anthro-artists: Anthropologists as Makers and Creatives. HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory 11(1):1060–1064.

Harrison, Faye Venetia
1990 "Three Women, One Struggle": Anthropology, Performance, and Pedagogy. Transforming Anthropology 1(1):1–9.
2011 Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further toward an Anthropology for Liberation. American Anthropological Association.

Kropotkin, Peter
2011 Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution. Neeland Media LLC.

Lorde, Audre
2000 Poetry Is Not a Luxury. San Diego, CA: Collegiate Press.

Madden, Raymond
2017 Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography. London: Sage.

Madison, D. Soyini
2011 Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Mbembe, Achille
2015 Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive. https://worldpece.org/content/mbembe-achille-2015-%E2%80%9Cdecolonizing-knowledge-and-question-archive%E2%80%9D-africa-country.

Nakashima Degarrod, Lydia
2020 The Anthropologist as Artist. Anthropology News website, November 16. www.anthropology-news.org/articles/the-anthropologist-as-artist (accessed May 5, 2022).

Ocobock, Cara, Alexandra Niclou, Tisa Loewen, Kendall Arslanian, Rebecca Gibson, and Claudia Valeggia
2021 Demystifying Mentorship: Tips for Successfully Navigating the Mentor-Mentee Journey. American Journal of Human Biology, e23690.

Port, Rheannan Marlena
2020 Aboriginal Contemporary Dance Practice: Embodying Our Ways of Being, Knowing and Doing through Dance Storying. https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au/items/294f5886-1e86-550a-8f1d-30d1550e9e01.

Shore, Cris, and Miri Davidson
2014 Beyond Collusion and Resistance: Academic–Management Relations within the Neoliberal University. Learning and Teaching 7(1):12–28.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai
2021 Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. London, England: Zed Books.

Stamets, Paul
2005 Mycelium Running: How Mushrooms Can Help Save the World. New York: Ten Speed Press.

Stoller, Paul
2010 Sensuous Scholarship. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Taussig, Michael
2011 I Swear I Saw This: Drawings in Fieldwork Notebooks, Namely My Own. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Transforming Anthropology
2020 An Honorary Reflection of "Three Women, One Struggle": Anthropology, Performance, and Pedagogy. YouTube, October 27. www.youtube.com/watch?v=NWsBQkaJuCk (accessed April 10, 2022).

Ulysse, Gina Athena
2018 Why Rasanblaj, Why Now? New Salutations to the Four Cardinal Points in Haitian Studies. Journal of Haitian Studies 23(2):58–80.
2019 Skin Castles: Some Not So Random Notes on Performing a Taxonomy of Rages against Empire. Third Text 33(4–5):521–539.

Yun, Jung H., Brian Baldi, and Mary Deane Sorcinelli
2016 Mutual Mentoring for Early-Career and Underrepresented Faculty: Model, Research, and Practice. Innovative Higher Education 41(5):441–451.

Zigon, Jarrett
2017 Disappointment: Toward a Critical Hermeneutics of Worldbuilding. Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press.

REVITALIZING ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE SOURCE

Instructional Redesign, Action through Research, and Realistic Dissemination of Research

JESSICA BRADFORD

I went into anthropology with a purpose: an explicit goal of making tangible differences by introducing an appreciation of cultural diversity into policy, to humanize what is currently individualized. In my undergraduate studies I read about the failures of the Green Revolution, the medicalization of social issues, and the structural barriers exacerbated by policies that anthropologists uncovered with their unique methodologies and holistic practices. Energized by these deep insights and revelations that critical anthropology could shed on complicated social dynamics, I applied for graduate school with ambitions to carry my new methodologies to the policy world.

Yet halfway through my second year, I talked to my sister about becoming a professor, as if that were the natural next step in my journey. She asked me why I was suddenly so interested in teaching and publications. What happened to my ideas of utilizing my newfound critical investigation skills outside of academia? Naturally I was quick to try and justify my shift. "Well, I could still research and then I could publish and share from there." But how? I didn't know but I would find a way, I told myself. Once I get to that point. Besides, I would be teaching the next generation of policy makers and critical thinkers, which is a noble pursuit in itself.

However, after our conversation I realized that I was slowly being enculturated into academia and taking on the values it expressed. As David Van Reybrouck and Dirk Jacobs remarked, about learning how to become an archaeologist, I was being taught to be a cultural anthropologist—one that was primarily situated in academia.[1] Suddenly, a tenured teaching position in an R1 research institute, publications, grants, and conference presentations were at the forefront of my graduate and postgraduate ambitions. Although these academic pursuits are noteworthy, I realized that my ambitions for social action, for applying critical theoretical and methodological insights to real-world problems, had essentially dissolved into a written critique, made behind closed doors, geared toward career advancement. And all before I had even begun my career!

Antonio Gramsci wrote that hegemony was "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of a population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group."[2] I certainly found myself within this hegemonic discourse, and after years immersed in academic life, lectures, and conversations, my peers and I had consented to this new path laid out for us. If I didn't consent, there were also "coercive power(s) which 'legally' enforces discipline on those groups who do not consent either actively or passively," and within anthropology the dominant fundamental group is academic anthropologists.[3]

For example, in my studies at the university we workshopped teaching statements and syllabi and were encouraged to attend niche academic conferences, but we never discussed how to write an op-ed or policy suggestion, or referred to a multidisciplinary solution-oriented conference, and we were downright scared away from interacting with media outlets. When I brought up a desire to work at an outside research institute, I was promptly warned by one of my professors that if I left academia for too long, I could never return to be an "anthropologist" again. It was as if my degree had an expiration date, one that could only be renewed by regularly authoring peer-reviewed publications and maintaining the credentials of being a professor.

I highlight the hegemonic strength of academic anthropology in response to the call for revitalizing anthropology, because while even the question at hand does not specify "revitalizing anthropology within academic life," the entirety

1 Van Reybrouck and Jacobs (2006).

2 Gramsci (1971:1).

3 Gramsci (1971:12).

of the proposed article is still constructed around professors and universities.[4] And yet, according to the American Anthropology Association, four hundred PhDs are awarded each year to American anthropologists alone, but "as many as 80 percent of graduate students will be something other than a tenure-track job."[5] Within Europe, of those who are currently academically employed in social anthropology, more than two-thirds are in a state of employment precarity.[6] This means that in reality, globally, there are just not enough faculty positions to keep up with this graduation rate. This isn't to say that changes cannot be made to improve academic engagement within a revitalized anthropology. In fact, I think a restructuring of instruction is a primary step, but if the field of anthropology is to live up to its full potential, there must be a recentering of anthropology outside of academia as well.

I aim to demonstrate in this paper some immediate and short-term actionable steps that can be instituted within the academic infrastructure, despite hegemonic barriers, as well as longer-range steps that may require more time, resources, and buy-in to implement, that directly push back against this dominant infrastructure. Together, the aim of these changes within the academic structure is both to encourage meaningful action at the start of the educational journey and to provide realistic steps to facilitating change that can be continued outside of, and within, academia.

Short-Range Actionable Steps (One to Two Years)

Professors are under a great deal of stress by the university to sustain a high publication rate to measure job performance. As addressed by Robert Borofsky, this attention to mass publication results in professors themselves acting as "audited subject(s), recast as a depersonalized unit of economic resource, whose productivity and performance must constantly be measured and enhanced."[7] Job security hinges on publications as a measure of success and achievement worthy for tenure, and thus is a strong focus for hegemonic structures within academia to impose their ideals. However, there are vulnerabilities within the structure that can still be exploited to instill change within the field of anthropology.

4 Borofsky (2021:1).
5 Platzer and Allison (2018:1).
6 Fotta et al. (2020).
7 Borofsky (2021:1).

Instruction is, according to Borofsky, "harder to measure and hence not stressed to the same degree as publications in the assessment of faculty."[8] Harder to quantify or regulate, instruction is largely left to the professors' discretion, providing the ultimate avenue to revitalizing anthropology at the very start, while bypassing the more deeply entrenched hegemonic pressures of academia. Below is a list of realistic early actions that can be implemented immediately with little academic resistance or heavy resource requirement. These first steps aim to set the groundwork and thought processes for new anthropologists being socialized into the field of anthropology as well as to provide a window of time for faculty to address their own teaching materials and build up their skills required for the next steps.

Reuniting Action and Theory in Classroom Discussion

Under the current structure and teachings, applied/public anthropologists are contrasted with "theoretical anthropologists." Those wishing to pursue actionable change are separated early in their education, effectively maintaining a strict divide of who enacts change and who does not. This has done more than fracture the field of anthropology. It has conceptually separated action and theory, alerting students early on that anthropologists do not engage in change. This division not only relays the message that action and theory cannot coexist, it also separates potentially beneficial applied methods of change from broader anthropological instruction.

This is not to advocate the complete and immediate dismantling of applied anthropology tracks, but a call to reinstate applied and public anthropological literature and methodologies in all subdisciplines. Through reintroducing the potential of action and theory at the foundation of all subfield instructions, the mindset and ability to conceptualize, look for, and enact change can be instilled at the start. Some potential solutions include:

- Introducing literature that emphasizes changes made through anthropological research.
- Introducing methods that emphasize ways to conduct ethical research with an activist bent (i.e., antioppressive methodologies or community engaged research).
- Incorporating reflections on action and change into assignments and discussions.

8 Borofsky (2021:11).

ENCOURAGE EXPLICIT GOALS OF CHANGE IN PRELIMINARY RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES

By building explicit goals into the research design and setting expectations with the community at the beginning, a precedent of action can be set. Placing expectations upon graduate anthropologists at the start of their research design and preliminary research can aid in determining how change can best facilitate in people's lives the way that the community wants. Students can also be specifically encouraged to work with established organizations, such as community activist groups. These groups usually have an established mission, goals for change, and knowledge on exactly where in-depth dissertation research could best shed new insights and/or otherwise help them obtain their goals, providing purpose and direction to research efforts, as well as ensuring that proposed research is helpful and actionable to community members. Further suggestions include:

- Introducing literature and methods that emphasize change through anthropological research.
- Incorporating explicit thoughts of action and change in assignments and discussions.
- Encouraging independent studies and interdepartmental courses to learn how to enact community-desired change.
- Inviting speakers outside of academia to discuss their actionable work (such as applied anthropologists, policy analysts, activists).

CHANGE THE ASSIGNMENTS: ACTION-ORIENTED PROJECTS, NOT JUST ESSAYS

At the end of each quarter there is most assuredly a sizable paper or even a grant proposal due. This builds familiarity and prepares students for publication, but does not prepare them to engage in any other pursuit. Complementary assignments that can build familiarity with action-oriented projects along with academic writing might include:

- Instead of requiring a fifteen-page paper at the end of the course, review how to construct a policy brief, then assign a ten-page paper, with a two-page policy brief based on research and community approval.
- Assign attending local governmental hearings and media analysis assignments.

- Workshop on op-eds, short opinion pieces featured in newspapers and journals. These pieces are short, five hundred to seven hundred words, and often feature individuals wanting to share their story and call for change.[9] Having students practice these pieces of writing, can ensure students acquire the skills to reach a wider audience. The American Anthropology Association, in their own OpEd Project, currently recognizes this as one of the best ways to reach the broader public.[10]

SUBMIT COMPLETED WORKS TO INTERMEDIARIES

There are a number of intermediary groups who lobby for change to the government and the media. If time is limited or there is little desire to get in front of the screen, sending previous published works to an intermediary office could give established groups (NGOs or environmentalist groups, for example) more ammunition in their lobbying for change.[11]

APPLY TO BE AN EXPERT

Getting niche research published in narrow disciplinary journals is required for job security, yet does little to get that information to a wider audience. However, with the fast-paced and saturated field of journalism and increasingly complicated global events, journalists are in constant need of experts to draw upon. In addition, multiple websites and businesses exist to facilitate these meetups, such as SciLine, Quote This Women+, and People of Color Also Know Stuff.[12]

Medium-Range Actionable Steps (Next Two to Four Years)

While accomplishing the immediate implementable steps above focuses on actionable change within and outside the current infrastructure of academia, there can concurrently be attention turned toward addressing more time-intensive and extensive changes. Some steps are listed below.

9 For a good example, see Butler (2020).
10 AAA (2020:14).
11 Levine (2020).
12 Society of Professional Journalists (2021).

GENERATE A DATABASE OF ACTION-ORIENTED CONFERENCES, FELLOWSHIPS, AND OPPORTUNITIES

Building rapport and networking, as we know, takes time and effort. However, meeting the right people can occur by going into the right spaces, such as action-oriented conferences, especially if community members are willing and able to attend too. Surprisingly, these spaces are often filled with decision makers, lobbyists, and concerned citizens, but few scientists or social scientists. Anthropology could be quickly noticed within these spaces through action-oriented pitches that communicate the problems (or solutions) to an audience that facilitates change.

With the increasing number of virtual conferences, meetings can take place regardless of location and include community members even if they cannot travel. Over time, policy-oriented fellowships and action-oriented conferences can be compiled and suggested to students and faculty alike. Furthermore, introducing anthropologists to arenas of change early and as experts could further prepare graduates for realistic and relevant future employment outside of academia. Specific steps include:

- Developing an undergraduate-, graduate-, and faculty-run organization that consolidates and disseminates events and information.
- Coordinating virtual conferences and webinars that discuss and inspire actionable change, by introducing applied and public anthropologists, community members, and students.
- Recording informational events that discuss change and action into a departmental website or shared drive.
- Applying for small grants for action-oriented conferences and recognizable published works.

ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH AND PARTICIPATION IN ACTION-ORIENTED UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS

It is understandable that not all change can happen within the department. However, there are resources and organizations that either already exist or can be replicated across campuses. For example, there is the expanding Science to Policy program, which provided hands-on instruction in creating op-eds, talking to journalists, creating policy briefs and presentations, and hosting a wide array of governmental and scientific speakers, to provide graduate students the skills and

space to share their research in the public policy sphere.[13] This brings both beneficial attention to the university and spreads out the responsibility of change, while providing skills for the future.

Long-Range Actionable Steps (More Than Four Years)

Finally, I'd like to offer a few longer-range steps that can concurrently be worked on and addressed. These may take more coordination and effort but may also receive more pushback.

Increased Attention on Teaching and Mentoring

While the lack of attention on mentoring and instruction is a benefit when trying to address structural changes within publishing-focused academia, this lack of attention means there are fewer requirements on teaching well. This poses a challenge for the short- and medium-range steps mentioned earlier, as incentives for learning and designing new courses may be hampered by lack of accountability or incentives. There are a few workarounds for this, considered here:

- Host graduate seminars that locate desired instructional material and workshops providing the ethics, challenges, and incentives that can increase turnaround on syllabus redesign.
- Establish a faculty committee geared on improving mentorship.
- Encourage hiring practices geared toward faculty able to teach action-oriented methods.
- Develop cross-university auditing programs to enforce some accountability.
- Develop a journal geared toward an anthropology of facilitated change.

Hire a Student Worker or Employee to Connect Research to Policy, Intermediaries, and Other Sources

While instructional changes are being implemented that work action-oriented methodologies into the curriculum and support nonacademic anthropologists, there is the potential to employ either a student worker, permanent employee, or even a university organization, who can connect completed research from faculty and students to individuals that can take actionable steps, such as inter-

13 Science to Policy (2021); and Levine (2020).

mediaries discussed above.[14] This can start with an organization that works on collecting and distributing conferences, fellowships, and similar opportunities, and then expands out, in ideally a paid position, that directly connects anthropological insights to the proper media channels, lobbying organizations, policy decision makers, and education systems.

INCREASED COLLABORATION ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

Anthropology focuses on the value of the diversity people bring to the world, yet they often work alone. This paradox means that anthropology, as it is currently taught and researched, is restricted to the knowledge of a handful of professors and their own selected articles. Ultimately better and more thorough research can be obtained through joint dissertations across disciplines (for example, sociocultural anthropology and a communication or public policy major) and across anthropology subfields (such as linguistics and sociocultural).

Conclusion

In this essay I have offered a wide range of actionable steps that can be implemented within an existing university system, using existing outlets and vulnerabilities in hegemonic control. This essay does not address the complete dismantling of publication barriers or granting agencies but has hopes to complement such changes. Instead, this essay offers potential avenues for an instructional redesign that forefronts engagement in undergraduate and graduate instruction, sets priorities on action in preliminary and dissertation research design, and offers avenues of better research dissemination in ethical and community-approved outlets to be worked on concurrently.

The strength of such a proposal is that these measures are quicker to implement than complete hegemonic barrier breakdown, although there is a significant weight placed on faculty to redesign their courses where there is currently little oversight or incentives to ensure compliance. Supporting these shifts requires broad community support and outreach beyond academic anthropology proper to applied anthropologists and intermediaries. Once implemented, however, these steps can revitalize anthropology in academia and in the public eye, as the field helps facilitate demonstratable change and improves other's lives in ways meaningful to them.

14 Levine (2020).

References

American Anthropology Association (AAA)

2020 Annual Report 2020. Advancing Knowledge, Solving Human Problems. http://s3.amazonaws.com/rdcms-aaa/files/production/public/FileDownloads/aaa-aanualreport2020.Digital_Final%20Version%20 Retagged%20(1).pdf (accessed August 2, 2022).

2021 Survey of PhD Recipients. www.americananthro.org/LearnAndTeach/ResourceDetail.aspxItemNumber=1499#:~:text=In%201974%2C%20409%20anthropology%20doctorates,figure%20for%201995%20is%20464 (accessed August 2, 2022).

Borofsky, Robert

2021 Revitalizing Anthropology…with Your Help! A Study in Public Anthropology. https://revitalizing.publicanthropology.net/static/pdf/revitalizing-anthropology-with-your-help.pdf (accessed August 2, 2022).

Butler, Tamika

2020 Confronting Power and Privilege. Medium. https://tamikabutler.medium.com/confronting-power-and-privilege-3ba686a504ce (accessed August 2, 2022).

Fotta, Martin, Mariya Ivancheva, and Raluca Pernes

2020 The Anthropological Career in Europe: A Summary of Findings and Recommendations. European Association of Social Anthropologists Precarity report. https://doi.org/10.22582/easaprecanthro (accessed August 2, 2022).

Gramsci, Antonio

1971 Sections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. Quintin House and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Levine, Lloyd

2020 Connecting Research to Policy: Understanding Macro and Micro Policy-Makers and Their Processes. Peer-reviewed Journal of the Internet. https://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/10866/9571 (accessed August 2, 2022).

Platzer, David, and Anne Allison

2018 Academic Precarity in American Anthropology. Society for Cultural Anthropology. https://culanth.org/fieldsights/academic-precarity-in-american-anthropology (accessed August 2, 2022).

Science to Policy

2021 UC Riverside Science to Policy. https://sciencetopolicy.ucr.edu/ucrs-science-policy-program (accessed August 2, 2022).

Society of Professional Journalists

2021 Journalist ToolBox: Expert Sources. www.journaliststoolbox.org/2021/11/12/expert_sources/ (accessed August 2, 2022).

Van Reybrouck, David, and Dirk Jacobs
2006 The Mutual Constitutions of Natural and Social Identities during Archaeological Fieldwork. Chapter 3 in Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations. Pp. 33–44. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

REQUIRE PUBLIC OUTREACH PLANS FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY PHD DEGREE

A J WHITE

In his argument for how anthropologists can improve public outreach, Jeremy Sabloff raises an important problem: "The competition for university jobs and the institutional pressures to publish in enough quantity—particularly in peer-reviewed journals—has led to the academic devaluation of communication with the general public. Such activities do not count or, even worse, count against the candidate."[1] The emphasis on publications in academic hiring and promotions incentivizes aspiring members of the academy to prioritize article production over public outreach.[2] Anthropology graduate students are trained toward producing academic publications through the dissertation-writing process, which frequently culminates in a series of publications based on the student's work. Although dissertations are an effective way to create knowledge, there is often no stipulation as to what students should do with this knowledge, particularly as to how to share it with the public.

Anthropology departments could play an important role in training graduate students in public outreach, but it is not a major consideration in most departments. To demonstrate the lack of public outreach in anthropology PhD programs, I surveyed the degree requirements of PhD-granting anthropology

1 Sabloff (2011:411).

2 Borofsky (2019).

departments at University of California campuses (Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz). Of these eight programs, all include prequalification writing projects, qualifying exams, and dissertations; seven require specific coursework; five have foreign language requirements; three require dissertation defense; and only one campus (UC Berkeley) has a public outreach component, although it is formatted as outreach-specific course units. Without public outreach included in degree programs, it becomes optional and perhaps ignored. Students seeking academic success will continue to prioritize publications over outreach, and Sabloff's problem of public communication devaluation will only become worse.[3] In this way anthropology degree programs are institutional structures that limit the potential of students to share their research with the broader public.

Graduate students who do not engage in outreach are a major missed opportunity in public anthropology for three reasons. First, there is a high volume of potential graduate student outreach projects. More than five hundred anthropology doctorate degrees are awarded every year, each with a project that may resonate outside of the discipline.[4] Second, graduate students are familiar with digital resources and social media (e.g., YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok), which may reach a wider and younger audience than traditional media. Third, by placing an emphasis on public outreach early in anthropology careers, there is a greater likelihood that students will incorporate outreach in later projects as professors, researchers, and educators.

The Public Outreach Plan

I propose that all anthropology departments require public outreach in their PhD programs. Specifically, departments should require a "public outreach plan" that is incorporated into or provided alongside a research plan or prospectus as part of the doctoral candidacy process. The public outreach plan would serve a similar function to the "broader impacts" section of National Science Foundation (NSF) grant proposals. Although some NSF-funded projects may ultimately fall short of their proposed impacts, they are at least forced to consider the public in their research.[5] Although more departmental data are needed to support this claim, the University of California example provided earlier

3 Sabloff (2011).
4 Speakman et al. (2018).
5 Borofsky (2019).

suggests that most universities do not formally require students to consider the public in their dissertation research, so any inclusion of outreach is a significant advancement.

A public outreach plan serves two purposes: it asks students (1) to identify outreach goals and products and (2) to determine how these goals and products would be accomplished. The scale of outreach should be at the discretion of the student and their committee, constructed around each individual's strengths and interests. Students interested in primary and secondary education, for example, could develop curriculum based off their dissertation results. Students with videography experience could produce YouTube videos highlighting their academic work; those interested in journalism might write opinion pieces about how their findings are relevant to an upcoming election. Plans would detail the steps that students will take to accomplish their outreach goals, including the necessary equipment and resources (such as cameras, microphones, or website domain registrations), preparation for field and lab work (such as a shot list, designated photographer/videographer, script, consent forms, or filming permissions), and budgetary, regulatory, and ethical considerations involved in their outreach. By stating outreach goals at the start of the dissertation research process, graduate students can build cohesive public anthropology projects as opposed to considering outreach as an afterthought.

From my own experience I understand the value of planning outreach before starting a project. For example, I have hundreds of publishable photos of landscapes, artifacts, and microscope images, but almost none of me and my research team working in the field or analyzing samples in the lab. Action photos and videos are much more engaging than sterile publication figures and show the public how research is done. If I had written a public outreach plan before I began my dissertation research, I likely would have considered these types of images that are not usually incorporated in standard research projects.

Implementation

A public outreach plan could be implemented in multiple ways in universities around the world. The simplest way would be for qualifying exam committees to require graduate students to include public outreach plans in their qualification materials, such as in a prospectus. By my understanding, this track would not necessitate formal changes to a department's degree benchmarks as the plan would be incorporated within documents already required by the department.

Qualification committee members could also ask graduate students about their plans for including public outreach as part of their questioning during oral qualifying exams.

An alternative to including outreach plans in qualification materials is to assign them through coursework. While not all departments require coursework for the PhD degree, many offer courses on anthropological research strategies and grant writing. Public outreach plans could be included as an assignment in syllabi for these courses. A downside of this approach is that students often complete coursework earlier in their graduate careers before their projects are well prepared, so an outreach plan might be less impactful at this stage.

The most challenging way for a public outreach plan to be implemented would be adding it as a benchmark requirement for the PhD degree. I acknowledge that more research is needed to understand how a range of university systems operate, but I believe that most universities would require the approval of a graduate dean or academic senate to institute a formal change of a department's graduation benchmark requirements. This pathway encounters multiple hegemonic-like structures that make success unlikely. For one, it would need the department's consensus before going to the academic senate or graduate dean. While many professors might support an outreach plan, many others may believe that it distracts from research progress and be unwilling to support a change.[6] Even if a department was able to propose such a change to the academic senate or graduate dean, it would face scrutiny from individuals who may not understand the need for greater outreach in anthropology. For these reasons the best approach is to include public outreach plans in qualification materials.

The first step in creating a public outreach plan requirement is to disseminate the idea among anthropologists. This can be done through conference presentations, publications, and forums, such as the Revitalizing Anthropology Challenge. Concurrent with this step is to implement outreach plans at a pilot study department. The pilot study would likely take three to four years to accomplish to follow the path of students from when they draft plans in their third year and finish dissertations in their fifth through seventh years. The pilot study results should include interviews with participants to discuss the effectiveness of the plans and to determine if students follow through on their outreach goals. This information could be shared within anthropology through conferences and publications and to the public as a news feature on how graduate students trans-

6 Sabloff (2011).

form their dissertations into publicly accessible formats. I suspect that departments would be hesitant to the idea at first, but more receptive if the pilot study was shown to be a success.

Feasibility and Limitations

There are multiple limitations to creating a public outreach plan requirement in universities around the world. First, the implementation steps outlined here are slow, requiring several years in a pilot study and likely many years more for the idea to spread. There are 113 anthropology PhD-granting institutions in the United States alone, making a universal outreach requirement a far-off possibility.[7] Second, resistance to this idea is to be expected from faculty who emphasize research at the expense of outreach. For this reason I suggest a bottom-up approach, where graduate students petition departments to change their graduation requirements or, if they are unable to enact change while students, require public outreach plans when they are eventually placed in faculty positions.

Third, some students may find ethical dilemmas in public outreach as a construct, particularly in how it may damage communities under study.[8] To this point, I stress that outreach plans would be tailored to each student's project and the "public" need not be a large audience and instead be limited to the population involved with a student's research. The emphasis of a public outreach plan is on sharing findings beyond the confines of anthropology; a discrete plan that addresses a small community is just as successful as one that reaches thousands.

Despite the limitations, there are reasons to believe that a public outreach plan requirement could be implemented. For one, public anthropology has grown considerably since its inception, and anthropology departments have created classes and degree programs specifically geared to this field.[9] This shows a precedence of departmental change in the name of public anthropology, at least in certain institutions. In addition, departments have the power to add requirements beyond doctoral candidacy and dissertation research. Of the eight University of California campuses discussed in this paper, three appear to have unique degree requirements. UC Santa Cruz requires annual reviews, UC Riverside mandates student presentations at academic conferences, and UC Berkeley requires public outreach hours in the form of outreach course units. These

7 AAA (2022).

8 Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2007).

9 Hansen and Rossen (2007); Lamphere (2004); and Vine (2011).

examples show that doctoral programs can be amended beyond work directly related to the dissertation. The implementation of a public outreach plan does not and should not require changing formal degree benchmarks at the academic senate level; instead, students should make public outreach plans part of their qualification materials, such as in a prospectus.

If implemented, public outreach plans could result in an increase of hundreds of anthropology outreach projects each year as part of degree deliverables. The scale of these projects could range from reaching a handful of people to thousands, and the effort behind them would depend on the individual, but any increase in outreach would be beneficial over the status quo. If the amount of public outreach in anthropology is too low, a simple solution is to raise it by requiring outreach in PhD programs.

References

American Anthropological Association (AAA)
2022 AnthroGuide. https://guide.americananthro.org/ (accessed April 23, 2022).

Borofsky, Robert
2019 An Anthropology of Anthropology: Is It Time to Shift Paradigms? Center for a Public Anthropology.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip, and Thomas John Ferguson
2007 Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities. Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira.

Hansen, Brooke, and Jack Rossen
2007 Building Bridges through Public Anthropology in the Haudenosaunee Homeland. In Past Meets Present. Pp. 127–148. New York: Springer.

Lamphere, Louise
2004 The Convergence of Applied, Practicing, and Public Anthropology in the 21st Century. Society for Applied Anthropology. Human Organization 63(4):431–443.

Sabloff, Jeremy A.
2011 Where Have You Gone, Margaret Mead? Anthropology and Public Intellectuals. American Anthropologist 113(3):408–416. Wiley Online Library.

Speakman, Robert J., Carla S. Hadden, Matthew H. Colvin, et al.
2018 Market Share and Recent Hiring Trends in Anthropology Faculty Positions. PloS ONE 13(9): e0202528. Public Library of Science, San Francisco, CA.

Vine, David
2011 "Public Anthropology" in Its Second Decade: Robert Borofsky's Center for a Public Anthropology. American Anthropologist 113(2):336–339. Wiley Online Library.

ABSTRACTS

THE FUTURE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IS OUR UNDERGRADUATES

JOSE ALVAREZ

The future of how the public views anthropology is in the success of its undergraduates. Anthropology undergraduates are learning important skills when it comes to human-centered research design, ethics of protecting their research communities' best interests, and navigating different cultural perspectives, but the question is why don't we see more anthropology bachelor's degree holders being successful outside of academia? This paper argues that the future of anthropology depends on the future of our undergraduates being successful in careers outside of academia and encouraging more students to see the value in an anthropology degree. I examine various different ways that students are being prepared for a career outside of academia, such as collaborations between faculty and their respective career centers or entire courses dedicated to navigating the job market with an anthropology bachelor's degree. When rethinking anthropology, we need to create the space for our students to not have to think about graduate degrees or academia; we need to focus on our own departments and ask ourselves how we can make immediate positive impacts by just collaborating with our university resources and better preparing our students.

LETTING GO OF DISCIPLINE, DIVESTING FROM WHITENESS

JOSHUA BABCOCK

Now is the time for anthropologists to confront our habitual, endlessly flexible, and constantly shifting investments in whiteness. These investments structure our discipline in ways that are pervasive yet readily disavowed. If we fail to confront our investments in whiteness—in the hierarchizing logics that assign some groups, some bodies, some identities, some knowledges to a superior position and others to a subordinate, even subhuman position—we will continue to reproduce discipline rather than transforming ourselves and imagining new, changeable worlds built on something other than the reproduction of white supremacy and anti-Blackness. In this view whiteness is not something that anyone *has*, and white is not something that anyone *is*: whiteness is about action. It is something that we *do* regardless of racialized identities, albeit within and across asymmetric social-institutional and historical positions. The solution? Begin the never-ending work of unlearning the habits through which we invest in whiteness. Begin learning new habits—in how we teach, read, write, cite, advise, mentor, acknowledge, collaborate, and hold ourselves accountable for the impacts of our individual and collective actions in the world.

ANTHROPOLOGY FOR NONACADEMICS

Targeting a Wider Audience

ASHLEY BAEZA

Anthropologists publish fascinating topics that have the potential to attract readers from multiple levels of education and interests. Anthropologists can provide new insight into areas of studies that others cannot. Why is it, then, that we have the educational background and perspective to solve various problems, but we fail to do so? Anthropology is attractive because it weaves multiple fields of discipline together to explain human nature and cultural innovations, but the world cannot and will not implement the methods anthropology has to offer when the world does not know what anthropology is or its value. To combat this, I suggest (1) infiltrating the K–12 education system, (2) attracting new readers and researchers by writing to a broader audience, and (3) providing easier access to our work. To meet these goals, I (1) recommend recreating an education committee, (2) propose creating creative content that is written toward a broader audience, and (3) encourage collaboration with others to provide easier access to anthropological research. With these actions anthropology can be introduced as a tool that assists in relating seemingly different fields together to help nonanthropologists to analyze and understand problems in a fuller context.

REVITALIZING ANTHROPOLOGY

Breaking the Confines of Anthropology's Silo

HARLEEN BAL

As scholars of sociocultural anthropology consider how they envision the discipline growing and serving within and outside of the academe, this paper focuses on two contemporary challenges within the discipline—collaboration and communication. First, the paper explores the heavy disciplinary standard of individual scholarship over collaborative work, which silos scholars and hinders interdisciplinary cross-pollination. The secondary challenge lies in communication, which includes the problem of "translating" complex concepts and theories into accessible forms, as well as communication in the form of research presentations and teaching geared toward academic and public audiences. I offer several potential initiatives geared at directly countering anthropology's disciplinary structural challenges. These actions include launching a community public anthropology speaker series as well as a departmental "guidepost cooperative" aimed at providing mentorship and mutual aid among graduate anthropology departments as scholars navigate and counter convoluted hegemonic structures of scholarship. Other actions discussed include promoting and protecting interdisciplinary spaces of engagement, exploring new forms of media, and pedagogical and mentor training. The challenges and potential solutions discussed offer avenues for anthropology to recalibrate and once again serve to improve lives within and beyond the academic walls.

REINVENTING ANTHROPOLOGY AS A MORE SENSITIVE AND RESPECTFUL DISCIPLINE

KAORI OTERA CHEN

Anthropology makes us believe that creating a kinder, more empathetic, and more compassionate society is possible. When anthropologists make real connections with people, they will learn to develop pathways to materialize this potential. Anthropologists engage in community service activities from which they build deep connections with their communities. Community services are often undervalued and are seen as less significant than publishing in academia. But anthropology can challenge the systematic institutional structure by demonstrating the power of creating strong ties with the people in their communities. Anthropology begins with people. This discipline's foundational belief is instrumental to the development of sustainable collaborations with the public through research. In addition, anthropologists can create dialogues with the public through thoughtful and accessible writing practices. Being a humanistic social science, the field of anthropology contains innovative writings that can transform the public's image of academic writing. The popular image of anthropology is still strongly associated with the discipline's colonial past. Through much attention to developing relationships with the people that anthropologists work with and their practices, and listening to the voices of the people that they work with, anthropologists can reinvent their discipline as a more sensitive and respectful discipline for others as well as themselves.

WHAT PRACTICAL WISDOM CAN WE LEARN FROM THE WEAK'S REFUSAL ON THEIR OWN RIGHT?

YUHAO DING

The ethical practice and thought of natives in Daqing echoes practical concern about conflict resolving and compromise making in anthropology. When people in conflicts have different social references, they are involved in a competition of devotion to decide whose standard should be accepted. The one who takes more responsible actions and goes further beyond their own standard to respond to the demands of others can get their standard accepted as the moral rule in judgment. Justifying one's standard over others' standards is viewed as demanding a response from others at the discourse level, so to balance this, one has to respond to others at the action level. Responsibility is separated into two layers—responsibility-in-action and responsibility-in-discourse—and one cannot get both in the meantime. Two types of responsibility have to be distributed to and co-burdened by different parties. By doing so, collaboration and compromise could be facilitated in a diverse, reflexive modern world. It can also protect the weak, as the powerful winner cannot take all: every party should at least undertake part of the weight of responsibility. Thus they refuse the rights discourse and view it as a dangerous justification to the inertia of nonresponsive subjectivity. We can learn from it.

MIRROR, MIRROR ON THE WALL

Examining Anthropology with Anthropology

CHARLES DOWNEY

Anthropology at its core is the study of people. This endeavor allows for the potential of understanding the complexities of culture and the people who form and are formed by it. Anthropologists have the potential to improve the lives of people everywhere. Anthropological works stemming from academic pressures are not as complete as they could be. Coercive elements like rushed publication or the threat of revocation of visas with research on foreign groups might limit their benefit to society. Politically charged ideas could also lead to diminished career viability. Anthropologists should look inward toward the systems they perpetuate. I don't suggest burning it down, for the structures arising from the ashes may simply be fledgling versions of old ones. Anthropologists should utilize current paradigms, such as dark anthropology to engage with and change these structures. Once anthropologists are freer to study and present not what will garner publications but what is important, they can engage more thoroughly with other ideas to generate complete pictures of culture to support the original goal of fighting intolerance. Increased diversity and interconnectedness allow the field to begin to realize its potential to improve lives and expand understanding of our planet's cultural diversity.

References

Borofsky, Robert

2021 Revitalizing Anthropology . . . with Your Help: A Study in Anthropology. https://revitalizing.publicanthropology.net/static/pdf/revitalizing-anthropology-with-your-help.pdf.

Ortner, Sherry B.

2016 Dark Anthropology and Its Others. HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory 6, 1:47–73. https://doi.org/10.14318/hau6.1.004.

FOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR HELPING ANTHROPOLOGY REALIZE ITS POTENTIAL

MOLLIE GOSSAGE

Anthropology has great potential to elucidate oppressive structures and promote positive social change. What stands in the way is our own socialization into high-stress and high-stakes working environments where failure and success are narrowly determined and individually assigned. Thus a deep survivalist mindset stands in the way of actually internalizing our purported commitments and values to the greater social good. I put forth four major suggestions specifically focused on graduate training. First, graduate programs should include more hands-on training in methods via research mentorships or community-based projects. Second, graduate research should be fundamentally collaborative. Even dissertation research could be organized through networks that pair students based on field site so no one is cast totally adrift with their singular "outsider" perspective. Third, anthropology departments should actively build local cultures and regional networks based on anthropology as a mission. Some professional meetings could be organized around region-based problem solving rather than individual presentations sharing a vague theme. Fourth, anthropologists should be prepared to engage with the world beyond the university. There are not enough academic jobs for us, so students should be confident in a set of tangible skills and the core anthropological mission as they enter a wider professional market.

REVITALIZING PUBLIC ANTHROPOLOGY

A Systematic Effort Centered on Praxis and Public Discourse

SAMIRA KHABBAZZADEH-RASHTI

To address a growing institutional structure of neoliberalism in academia, efforts should be focused on a graduate educational program centered on praxis. This can shift the values in our academic culture and encourage a legacy of work that uplifts our communities rather than simply ourselves. In addition, greater time and energy should be spent engaging in online forums to encourage constructive conversation with a public audience. Social media influences public thought, ideologies, and activism with a reach far greater than any published academic paper. If our goal is to reach a public audience and participate in public discourse, we need to be present on the social media channels where these conversations live. Therefore I propose a global initiative of anthropologists from varying fields to create an organized and unified online educational presence. We need to envision something to the scale of what Complexly has done with social media presence through channels like Crash Course, Sci Show, or the Anthropocene Reviewed. While it may not sound appealing or professional for a global anthropological association to have a presence on an app like TikTok, it's imperative to understand that there are modes of communication these platforms provide that can allow us to reach an exponentially larger audience and allow more people access to the discussions happening within our field of anthropology.

ANTHROPOLOGY MINUS ANTHROPOLOGY

BENJAMIN KOLB

Since at least the mid-twentieth century, critiques of anthropology from both within and outside the field have continued to pile up. Now, some time after the "crisis of representation," it is widely acknowledged that anthropology has lost its sheen with the public, being both denigrated as inferior to "hard" sciences as well as scrutinized by the Indigenous populations it exploits. Anthropologists have generally sought to resolve this "crisis" by looking within the field of anthropology itself. This has led to a fixation on theoretical frameworks and epistemological issues. While important, this often masks the political economy of the modern university and heritage industry, which continue to run on a profit-maximization model regardless of the latest anthropological theory. In addition, disciplines other than anthropology face similar problems due to this underlying political economy. Thus anthropologists must also look outside anthropology for a solution. While universities cannot be immediately extricated from a capitalist model, some examples of public outreach and resistance are considered here. Labor organizing, public archaeology, and autonomous organizations such as the Black Trowel Collective are discussed as instances of ethical anthropology and possible models for future action.

REIMAGINING THE ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN POLITICS

A Case Study in Political Discourse

KYLE MORRISON

In the United States the division between Democrats and Republicans threatens to cause irreparable damage. Seeking to address the issue of polarization in the post-Trump era, I present anthropology as a viable means of generating democratic discourse between the two dominant political parties. Supported by data gathered through conversations with former members of the Republican Party, I demonstrate how the methods commonly used in anthropology are crucial for generating the types of conversations that make possible solutions to sociopolitical problems. I stress the need to focus our attention on the members of the political center rather than following habitual trends of research that focus on political outliers. I present a way for anthropology to broaden its research scope beyond the academic sector, thereby allowing us to focus on real-world issues without the restrictive confines of the academy. By engaging in targeted research projects and publications that attract broader audiences, we engage publics otherwise not galvanized by scholarly output. In doing so, we not only escape the pigeonhole of academia, we also do right by our interlocutors by bringing them onboard as collaborators rather than research subjects.

OLD HEGEMONY, NEW PARADIGM

KYLE RIORDAN

Anthropologists must progress a critical self-examination that includes social power dynamics and systematics that have existed throughout the field's history and address how these continue to influence our field. Research needs to heighten contradictions within our field and examine the role that exploitative hegemonies such as capitalism, colonialism, and sexism play in creating biased publication trends that effectively circumnavigate those systems of social inequality. Regardless of subfield or specialty, intersectionality and the legacies of these systems need to be addressed. This can increase awareness on where limitations of the impacts made by our current work exist, why limitations exist, and how limitations are experienced by people outside our field. Anthropologists also must reconsider their positionality as producers of knowledge about human diversity and the world we live in. We must uplift systems of knowledge organization that have been predominately marginalized, belittled, othered, or silenced. In other words, revitalization requires learning how to effectively center ideological fields of relationality such as kinship, temporality, epistemology, ontology, axiology, and pedagogy that diverge from what professionals in our field are trained to use. This redresses our work to benefit people we research on their own terms, while simultaneously growing the field of anthropology.

NAGA WOMEN IN POLITICS

A Struggle for Equality

PETENEINUO RULU

Despite efforts to bring equality to different institutions, Nagaland still struggles with issues related to gender inclusivity in mainstream politics. This paper explores gender disparities in present-day Nagaland and examines the current predicament faced by Naga women in politics. Naga women's struggle for representation in politics stands as a baseline for undue male hegemony. For instance, the 33 percent reservation—a policy that reserves quotas for women to participate in public office—was met with a great deal of resistance from the community, especially men. This paper discusses multiple causes that lead to this disparity: (a) inheritance pattern, (b) no direct term limits, (c) distrust or mistrust, (d) pragmatic bias, (e) lack of special measures or policies, and (f) gender sensitivity and lack of proper electoral regulations. More important, this paper brings forth various arguments from an anthropological perspective to help shed light on the system in which people engage with different policies and contexts in various local, regional, and national bodies. As policies work as instruments of political intervention and social change, it is important to weigh the viewpoints of both the governors and the governed, thus making it innately an anthropological task.

RESEARCH AS RUPTURE

Toward an Emergent Anthropology of Contamination and Collaboration

EMILY FJAELLEN THOMPSON

This paper argues that by jumping straight to conversations about how best to "perform" ethnography and preserve our projects in "times of Covid," not only do we as anthropologists miss the bigger picture about what is at stake, but we risk repeating and reenacting the extractive tendencies of the discipline itself. This paper explores how we might slow our thinking long enough to reconsider research questions—not simply in terms of taking our prefabricated inquiries "online" but as methods of collaborative survival. Moving from the usual questions of how to maintain some semblance of project stability during the pandemic, this paper engages with Anna Tsing's theory of contamination as emergent collaboration, Veena Das's conception of everyday violence, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Carolyn Smith's Indigenous methodologies to interrogate and fundamentally rethink often-taken-for-granted ethnographic practices. It asks what it would look like to enact things like empathy, solidarity, and care rather than adopting a virtual "anthropology as usual." In this moment of precarity and uncertainty, what if we recognize the underlying weight of anthropological research and commit ourselves to transforming it? What would emerge in the wake of such a rupture? What would fall away?

MOVING TOWARD CIRCULAR THINKING

ERIN VICTOR

How can moving away from linear thoughts toward circular thinking be one way of "revitalizing" anthropology? As a doctoral student studying anthropology and environmental policy, my work seeks to facilitate more inclusive, collective envisionings of what less wasteful economic systems look like. My research seeks to contribute to the closing of the gaps between current predominantly linear economic systems toward more circular systems. Playing with the phrase *mind the gap*, alongside linear and circular conceptualizations of space-time in order, I attempt to contribute to the always-already reimagination and renegotiation of questions around *What is anthropology?* and *How does one do anthropology?* In the end I find that by "thinking with circles" and teasing apart the various meanings of the words *to mind* and *gap*, I was able to interrogate aspects of the English language that I often overlook and illuminate just how easy it is for things to get lost in translation.

REVITALIZING HOW WE TEACH ANTHROPOLOGY

ALICE XU

The pedagogical concern that is taken into consideration here is the issue of inconsistency between the theoretical and actionable teachings of anthropology in undergraduate and early education, particularly in relation to calls to engage students in some form of a decolonial anthropology. In response, I propose three possible strategies to go about improving the teaching efforts. These include (1) expanding the reading horizon, (2) incorporating different kinds of evaluations, and (3) inviting your own interlocuters. First, expanding the reading horizon calls for a greater variety of text and mediums for students to analyze through an anthropological lens. Anthropology's fieldwork is commonly a multisensorial experience, as such so should the learning experience be. Second, deferring some of the grading schemes to incorporate different writing assignments that engage students more not only with course material but with their community as well can increase engagement in anthropology in general. Third, inviting interlocuters is addressed to a specific niche of teachers. Nonetheless, this strategy calls to invite interlocutors from the field to occupy space within the academic institution to give students a more holistic idea of what fieldwork is like outside of the perspective of the researcher and to acknowledge the role interlocutors have in the knowledge-production process.

REFLECTIONS ON THE REVITALIZATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

MENGGE ZUO

With the concern of how anthropology in mainland China could reach the public more engagingly, this paper provides my observations on how anthropology has been increasingly known by Chinese, especially well-educated young people, over the past few years. I traced this phenomenon partly to the popularity of Xiang Biao, a professor at the University of Oxford and the director of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. Anthropology has long been a marginalized discipline in China, with its low profile in public intellectual discussion. Reflecting on this phenomenon, I see one possibility of how anthropologists can locate their work beyond the academic world and facilitate meaningful public conversations. For me, the "success" of Xiang Biao could be understood as one case of the exhibition of the potential strengths of anthropology work in responding to the present. Facing the demands among the people who are desperate to understand what is going on in our world, particularly in this precarious time, I draw attention to this public engagement process by rethinking the scholarly way that both content and the media forms of communication need to be considered.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DR. BOROFSKY is the Director of the Center for a Public Anthropology and a Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at Hawaii Pacific University. He was founding editor of the California Series in Public Anthropology. Including this book, he is the author or editor of nine books dealing with constructions of knowledge in the Pacific islands—such as *Making History* (1987) and *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts* (2000)—and the current state of cultural anthropology, including *Assessing Cultural Anthropology* (1994), *Yanomami* (2005), *Why a Public Anthropology* (2010), *Why a Public Anthropology, Revised Edition* (2018) and, most recently, *An Anthropology of Anthropology* (2019).