

anthropology

NEWS

MARCH/APRIL 2022

VOLUME 63 | ISSUE 2

Nightwork Scenes

WORK

Affective Economies in the
Division of Labor

Shifting Design, Sharing
Power

How to Reap the Benefits
of a Disciplinary Twin

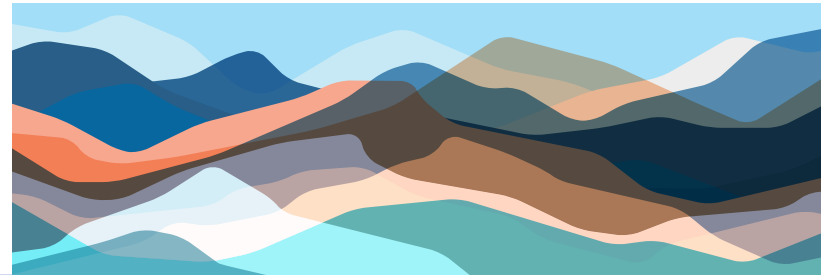
Exploring Careers with
Ethnography

Cutting Edge

The Work of Getting
Organized

Published bimonthly by the
American Anthropological
Association

American Anthropological Association



Unsettling Landscapes

2022 Annual Meeting • Nov. 9-13, Seattle, WA

This November, we're asking anthropologists to join us in discussing the contemporary unsettling of the world at the 2022 AAA Annual Meeting in Seattle. The theme, **"Unsettling Landscapes,"** asks anthropologists to articulate what a true decolonizing and unsettling of anthropological foundations involves and what steps can be collectively taken to make the field accountable to its historical and current harms.

Whether you're presenting your research or learning about developments in your specialty, the AAA Annual Meeting is the place to grow as an anthropologist. Visit AmericanAnthro.org/AnnualMeeting for the latest information.



AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION



AN 63.2 tells stories about work in its many forms. We dive into the night shift at one of the United Kingdom's largest wholesale markets, discuss the affective labor of teleradiology workers, take a behind-the-scenes look at real-life professional organizing, and more.

03 AFFECTIVE ECONOMIES IN THE DIVISION OF LABOR

By Tsvetelina Hristova

Teleradiologists work to diagnose tens of images a day. But the by-products of such productivity must be borne by others.

06 NIGHTWORK SCENES

By Julius-Cezar MacQuarie

In the floodlit aisles of this night market, loaders and café servers perform an exhausting, fruity labor. What can their nocturnal travails tell us about the current state of work?

12 SHIFTING DESIGN, SHARING POWER

By Tracy Pilar Johnson, Chloé Roubert, and Micki Semler

Global health initiatives can design interventions for our most vulnerable populations. But only if we transform the power dynamics of our research teams and approaches.

17 EXPLORING CAREERS WITH ETHNOGRAPHY

By Aimee E. Huard

The connection between college and a future career is not always clear. Ethnographic methods can provide students with tools to learn about workplaces and envision career paths.

20 HOW TO REAP THE BENEFITS OF A DISCIPLINARY TWIN

By Autumn D. McDonald

Working tips anthropology and market research may teach one another.

22 CUTTING EDGE

By Ping-hsiu Alice Lin

Pakistan's artisans use skill and precision to transform rough stones into lustrous gems.

26 THE WORK OF GETTING ORGANIZED

By Carrie Lane

Professional organizing has less to do with arranging things in color-coded bins than with helping overwhelmed clients feel better about their spaces and themselves.

AUDIOSCAPES OF THE PLATFORM ECONOMY

By Anushree Gupta, Sarah Zia, and Simiran Lalvani

Audio feature on the AN website

MAKING IT AS EMBROIDERERS

By Rachel Schaetzel Barber

Film on the AN website

news

30 ASSOCIATION NEWS

From Ed's Desk

New Fellows and Awards

New AAA Staff

AAA Members in the News

#AccessibleAnthro

American Anthropological Association Election 2022

36 IN MEMORIAM

37 REFERENCES

on the cover

A forklift driver transports a pallet of produce at the night market.

JULIUS-CEZAR MACQUARIE

anthropology
MARCH/APRIL 2022 NEWS

By Bernard Perley © 2021



ISSN 1541-6151

Natalie Konopinski

Editor

nkonopinski@americananthro.org

Anthropology News editorial advisory board

Ariana A. Curtis

Miguel Diaz-Barriga

Margaret Dorsey

Mariam Durrani

Tiffany C. Fryer

Agustin Fuentes

Marc Kissel

Cara Ocobock

Christine Schreyer

Sabrina Nichelle Scott

Anthropology News is the member magazine for the American Anthropological Association (AAA), and features a combination of anthropology stories and essays on topical themes and association news. *Anthropology News* is published continually online at www.anthropology-news.org and bimonthly in print.

Anthropology News welcomes suggestions and proposals for feature essays, visual essays, and media. Check the submission guidelines at www.anthropology-news.org and then send your pitch to AN@americananthro.org. Please contact the *Anthropology News* editor with a pitch before submitting a full article. Letters to the editor should be 500 words or less and publish only on www.anthropology-news.org. *Anthropology News* reserves the right to edit, reschedule, or reject any submission.

The views and opinions expressed in *Anthropology News* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the AAA.

All AAA members receive an *Anthropology News* subscription.

The magazine is also available to institutions via subscription at an annual cost of \$100–\$125. To subscribe, send an email to pubs@americananthro.org.

Copyright ©American Anthropological Association.

Anthropology News

American Anthropological Association

2300 Clarendon Blvd., Suite 1301

Arlington, VA 22201-3386

tel 703-528-1902; fax 703-528-3546

www.anthropology-news.org

Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to:

PO Box 503

RPO West Beaver Creek

Richmond Hill, ON L4B 4R6

Periodicals postage paid at Arlington, VA and additional mailing offices.

Send address changes to members@americananthro.org.

Design

Moon Design

Printing

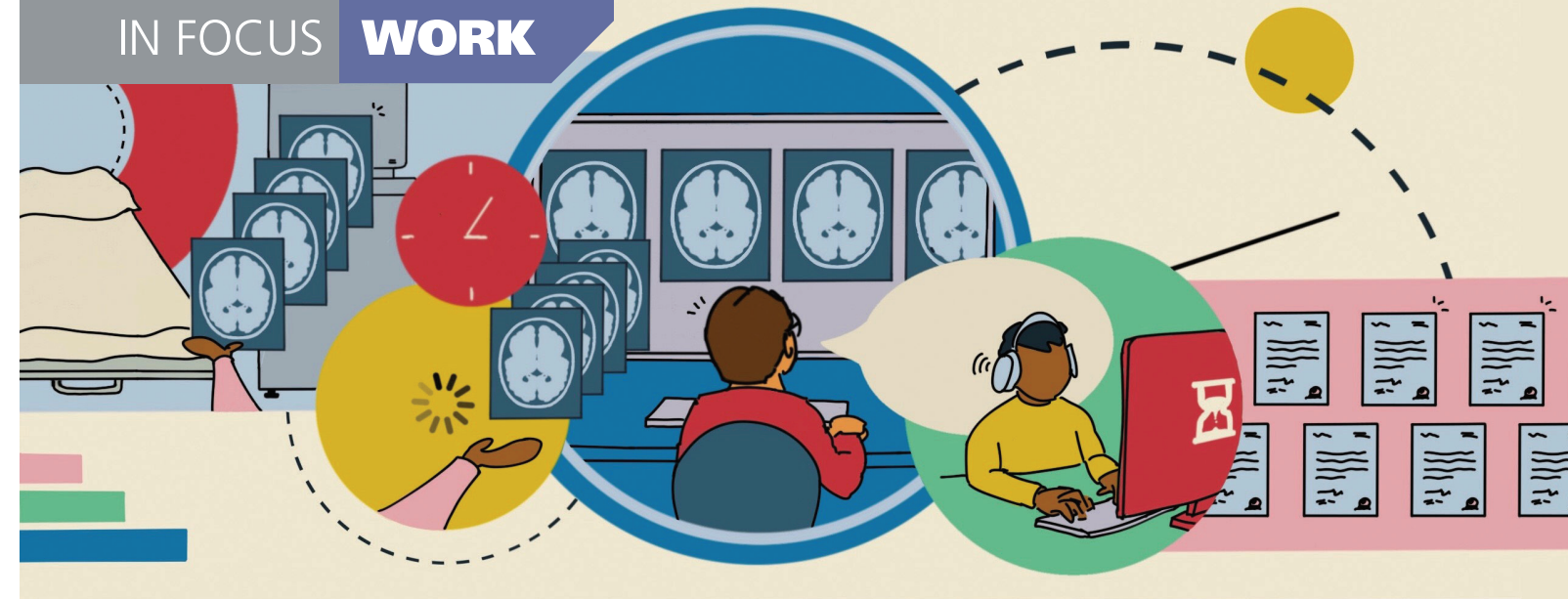
Evergreen Printing Co.

Advertising in Anthropology News

For information on placing an advertisement in print *Anthropology News* or on www.anthropology-news.org, please visit <http://www.americananthro.org/advertising>.

Advertising in Anthropology Careers and Employment (ACE)

For information please visit americananthro.org/careers or email members@americananthro.org.



CHARLOTTE CORDEN

Affective Economies in the Division of Labor

TELERADIOLOGISTS WORK TO DIAGNOSE TENS OF IMAGES A DAY. BUT THE BY-PRODUCTS OF SUCH PRODUCTIVITY MUST BE BORNE BY OTHERS.

By Tsvetelina Hristova

At the headquarters of Worldwide Teleradiology in southern India, the dimmed light of the office is pierced by dozens of screens glimmering with images of human bodies. A brain scan. An X-ray of a torso dotted with the solid white of bullet pellets. The shades of bones and flesh light up the faces of radiologists in the room. These images of suffering and pain contrast with the serene silence of the office. Sent from emergency departments in the United States, they will need to be interpreted and diagnosed within half an hour by radiologists working for the company. This urgency has led Worldwide Teleradiology to establish an intricate infrastructure, involving workers and technology, to ensure a highly efficient workflow that navigates time zones and jurisdictions.

On the screens of the workflow management team, efficiency looks like a tidy table of assigned cases and color-coded notifica-

tions that show if radiologists are keeping up with the timeframe. Five team members buzz around their computers and check

the stats. But the aesthetics of efficiency on the dashboard hide hierarchies in the division of labor sustained through specific economies of affect.

THE GOOSE THAT LAYS THE GOLDEN EGGS

Teleradiology outsourcing from the United States has created a particular figure in the company that is simultaneously overexploited and privileged—the radiologist certified with the American Board of Radiologists (known as ABR in the industry). ABRs ensure ongoing contracts with American hospitals; they are “the most valuable assets of the company” (as the HR department explains to me), and the whole structure of the workflow is oriented towards ensuring their speed and productivity. Each ABR diagnoses between 75 and 200 images a day, which leaves six minutes or less per study—an intensity of labor that is made possible through a series of operations that determine what is

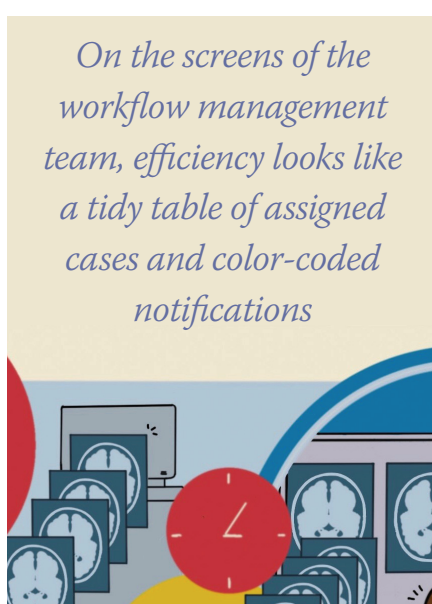
valuable and efficient work and what tasks will be absorbed by lower-paid workers. These operations not only streamline efficient workflows but, in the process, also redefine what expert cognitive labor is and how it is enacted in relation to other types of labor in the company.

The majority of ABRs work from their home offices around the world—one in Israel, a couple in Europe, a few in the United States, and several in Indian cities. Leaving the hospital for a remote computer screen linked to specialized information systems means also leaving some of the aspects of radiology labor behind. Lakshmi, an Indian-born ABR who lives in Chicago, shares that she was relieved to be freed from administrative work. Giacomo, an Italian radiologist who works from Sydney, is happy to be away from the “pain and misery” of suffering patients in the corridors of clinical buildings. For both of them, the transition to teleradiology means that their professional work is subjected to a specific division of labor, stripped of administrative and vicarious affective labor.

COGNITIVE LABOR AND ITS HELPING HANDS

While Lakshmi and Giacomo are relieved to no longer deal with paperwork and suffering, these changes have profound consequences that go beyond their personal preferences. The history of labor efficiency in capitalism is ridden with a long-standing distinction between cognitive and manual labor tasks. Part of the logic of early scientific management and, especially, the experiments of Frank and Lilian Gilbreth, was to separate tasks and distribute them to different workers in order to increase the speed of work and eliminate “wasteful” gestures and actions. Looking at the work of teleradiologists, much of the labor they would normally perform is construed as wasteful and outsourced to lower-paid workers. Radiologists look at images, recognize patterns, and dictate reports. Any job that could slow them down is handed off to others.

Call center workers handle communication between hospitals and the



teleradiology company, recording and passing on demands and special instructions. Local, Indian accredited radiologists preread the studies for them and draft reports to save them time. The final radiology reports are typed out by transcriptionists (and, in some cases, voice recognition software). Transcriptionists have become so adjusted to complementing the ABRs that they don’t need deliberate dictation. All they need is to listen to the comments a radiologist makes while looking at the study. These comments are quickly shaped by the attentive ears and nimble fingers of the transcriptionist into the genre of the radiological report. There is no need for ABRs to pause and dictate; they proceed seamlessly from one study to the next. But even so, every second lost and every unnecessary movement is time wasted.

Every time an ABR opens a new study to read on the computer, it takes up to 10 seconds for each image to load; this is 10 seconds too many of their valuable time. This perceived lag in the workflow has led to the introduction of a special role—the loader. The loader’s sole job is to log into the computers of ABRs around the world and load up the images for their next studies while they are diagnosing their current case. The system is designed to eliminate any vacant time from an ABR’s daily

schedule, to put each and every moment to optimal use. They use two computers or a virtual machine, so that one is always at the disposal of the radiologist while the loader is opening and loading images onto the other. As the ABR sits in their home somewhere in the world, the loader will be working from the Bangalore office, quietly adjusting to the tempo of the radiologist, loading image after image, and then synchronising with the ABR to swap machines. Transcriptionists and loaders take on the gestures and actions that are deemed waste—the ones that slow ABRs’ progress and, hence, the profits they generate. Their perfect synchronization with the radiologists also requires the continuous affective labor of attuning and responding to somebody else’s rhythm, an affective coregulation of pace, technology, and time.

AFFECTIVE METABOLISMS

The workflow management team oversees how cases are distributed to the radiologists, even taking their personal preferences into account. Its leader, Surash, takes one look at the dashboard and quickly adjusts the case allocation: “Oh, this ABR doesn’t like reading bodies. Too many organs.” The team performs a subtle emotional labor that has become ingrained in the logic of efficiency and eliminating wasteful activity. Some of this labor comprises an intimate knowledge of preferences, characteristics, and life circumstances for each radiologist. Surash keeps mental track of minor details: who needs to take a break every couple of hours to breastfeed, who is doing home renovations, who is in an inconvenient time zone and working night hours, who can be a bit abrupt in the chat. All this information helps him and the rest of the team navigate the allocation of cases. On the one hand, they are keeping track of which radiologist is busy and, on the other hand, they have adapted their fine perception to anticipate and prevent anything that might disturb the workflow. Irritation caused by the allocation of an unwanted case can lead to a tense chat—minutes wasted for the company. Any preemptive word or action from the workflow team that accommodates preferences

and idiosyncrasies means happy radiologists, less time spent typing in chat boxes, more cases read, and greater profits.

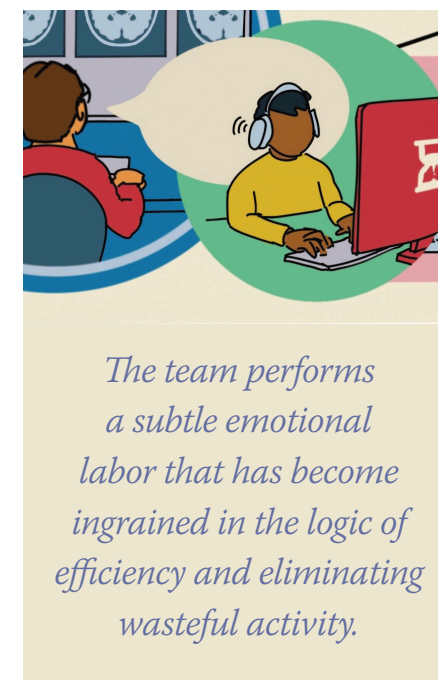
This economy of affects designed to keep ABRs happy and productive permeates all functions of the company. Everyone is attuned and accommodating to the ABRs. But ABRs need not concern themselves with such obliging emotional labor. With a teary voice, Surash confides that the messages he receives are often terse and abrupt. Such abrasive instructions and complaints have been freed from the wastefulness of politeness, consideration, or a will to compromise. His job has come to encompass acts of absorbing the negative affects of these encounters and cushioning the interaction with softness and care.

In her work on affective labor, the philosopher Shiloh Whitney writes that in the relationship between different types of work such instances of “metabolizing waste affects and affective byproducts” intersect with racial and gender hierarchies. Unwanted and painful affects “stick” (in the words of feminist scholar Sara Ahmed) to feminized and racialized bodies; these bodies become the vessels of affective surpluses that cannot be commodified and converted into profit. In the Indian teleradiology company this economy of affect is partially informed by the value placed on the ABR certification in teleradiology, which leads to an international division of labor. In this division of labor, the level of recognized expertise is determined by national accreditation. The work of local radiologists, even when reading the same images and giving the same diagnosis, is not as profitable and, hence, valuable as that of their ABR colleagues. The higher status of ABRs (regardless of their nationality) reinforces a logic of outsourcing that characterizes outsourced labor as comprising of tasks Kalindi Vora describes as “in service of” and “in support of.” Such tasks, historically considered low-skilled and reserved for women, people of color, immigrants, and workers in the colonies, now form the basis of many outsourcing enterprises. Underlying this international division of labor, however, is also a hierarchy established through the

definition of what expert cognitive labor is and what it entails.

COMPLICIT HIERARCHIES

The notion of expertise and professionalism in health care is construed through a hierarchy of affective involvement, where being affected and performing affective labor are both construed as antithetical to the figure of the professional. The sociologist Talcott Parsons refers to this desired disposition as “affective neutrality,” and his views that affects diminish the authority and expertise of professionals continue to influence the way cognitive labor is understood and practiced. The idea that affects are detrimental to the work of professionals facilitates the way labor hierarchies are enacted through a specific affective economy. Affective labor and negative affects slide down the hierarchy and stick to those whose work is considered less valuable. The hierarchy established through processes of defining cognitive expert labor becomes entangled with hierarchies in the capitalist division of labor, driven by the imperative for profit. And so ABRs’ money-making medical expertise is assisted by a chorus of supporting characters whose job it is to ensure



their work is swift and unimpeded—call center phone operators, speedy loaders, skilful transcriptionists, and ever-attentive workflow managers.

This affective economy of the efficient workflow reveals the inefficiencies and waste that are hidden behind, yet permeate, the business management fantasy of optimized work performance. Indeed, when Frank Gilbreth attempted to increase the productivity of surgeons in the early twentieth century, his contemporaries remarked that efficiency is only accomplished by delegating the more tedious and time-consuming tasks to other workers. The hierarchical distribution of affects in today’s teleradiology industry suggests that it is also the performance of cognitive labor that creates the conditions for “affective byproducts” that are deflected and metabolized down the line by workers whose jobs are racialized and feminized in the process. ABRs also internalize this division and endorse the perception that they work better and enjoy their job more when it is disengaged, detached from affective dimensions and administrative and routine tasks. They take pride in the intellectual and expert nature of the work they perform. Yet the cost of this consensual exploitation and optimization of the process is borne by the workers who must absorb the waste—the inefficiencies, the negative affects, and the general tension created by an accelerated workflow. ☞

Author’s note: All the names in this story are pseudonyms.

Tsvetelina Hristova is a postdoctoral fellow at Western Sydney University, where she works for the project The Geopolitics of Automation. Her work focuses on digital infrastructures, forms of mediation, and critical digital studies.

Charlotte Corden is an illustrator and fine artist whose work often centers around what it is to be human. She has an MA in anthropology from University College London and has studied at the London Fine Art Studios and the Arts Students League of New York.



JULIUS-CEZAR MACQUARIE

Nightwork Scenes

IN THE FLOODLIT AISLES OF THIS NIGHT MARKET, LOADERS AND CAFÉ SERVERS PERFORM AN EXHAUSTING, FRUITY LABOR. WHAT CAN THEIR NOCTURNAL TRAVAILS TELL US ABOUT THE CURRENT STATE OF WORK?

By Julius-Cezar MacQuarie

I first entered New Spitalfields one freezing night in late November 2014. The frenetic pace of this nighttime market feels exhausting for the onlooker. The dark is floodlit and dims the hustle and bustle of daytime worries beneath humming voices and the rumble of forklift engines.

Night shifts throb with movement, machinery, and noise, with workers' bodies and their biological rhythms. Working as a loader at this wholesale market for nearly a year, I have come

to understand why nightworkers suffer from sleep deprivation and the physical aches and pains that come from lifting heavy loads and doing repetitive, monotonous tasks. Their work keeps our

24-hour societies running, yet they remain largely invisible.



From 10:00 p.m., when the night shift starts, all 16 gates of this vast wholesale fruit and vegetable warehouse stay wide open through the night. The cold wind ebbs and flows through these gigantic metal gates, leaving manual workers with few options to escape the chill. In the quiet moments, waiting for customers' orders to arrive, we shelter between the aisles; climb on banana, ginger, or garlic boxes warm with the heat produced during fermentation; place our hands on the heated metal

frame of the forklift engine; or sip warm coffee and "specials" (spirits mixed with energy drinks).

In this cold, Flory shows up, lively and cheerful.

Flory works six nights per week as a café server in one of the five coffee shops located around the market. She is the first generation in her family of Turkish Cypriot migrants to be born in England. Her mother came to the United Kingdom from the Greek side of Cyprus and met her Turkish father. She is in her early twenties and is still attending college. She works nights, she tells me, "to stay out of trouble."

As workers load boxes of vegetables onto pallets and forklifts roar along aisles, café servers walk long distances to take orders and deliver food and drinks to various stands or vans or into the hands of forklift drivers on the move. I ask Flory to monitor her steps with a mobile application like the one I use to monitor my nightly exertions. At the end of the shift, we have walked nearly the same distance: 10 miles.

Whenever Flory passes by the fruit and vegetable stand where I work, I see her smiling and laughing with my coworkers. She is fluent in English and Turkish and talks away with Bulgarian Turkish, Romanian Turkish, Kurdish, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani workers. These cordial encounters always result in sales of drinks or food. She even sells more to the English market traders than to the rest of the migrant-owned stalls. "They prefer me, as I am more outgoing, flattering them, laughing with them."

Her social assets also come with a price in this night market where café owners compete fiercely for business. She tells me, "My boss won't let me work in any other café at this market." And she goes on to unravel why:

Because the [other] girls here, make sales of £80 to £100 per nightshift. I, on the other hand, am so good with people that I could easily make £200 per shift. And that's why he won't let me go and work for the other coffee shops. If I would work for the other café owners,

I would take all his customers with me. Here, it's to do with who makes more sales, who grabs the next customer.

Flory admits that sometimes she would have liked to work at "Joe's café, where they gave me a pay rise. But my boss refused me. And I must accept his terms or forget about working at this market. But I like it here because I keep bonding with people."

Flory's witty manner explains not only why male customers prefer to banter with her and buy drinks and food from her, it also shows what is at stake for someone with excellent social skills. In full view of her colleagues, boss, and customers, Flory says she's only got 20 minutes to speak with me. In passing, Ali, a Turkish male coworker with whom she is close, stretches his arm around her shoulders, and says while smiling, "When you work with someone like Flory, there is nothing like a night job. I recommend nightwork to anyone." I must have looked puzzled, but Flory smiles my way approvingly.

Alexa dishes out drinks at another café. Unlike Flory, she found herself worn out by the demands of nightwork: "My life was spent on work, sleep, work, sleep. I was physically exhausted." After her manager refused to grant her a night off, Alexa missed her next shift only to be docked two nights' pay. Eventually, she left to work for someone else. It was not uncommon for women servers and cashiers to encounter exploitative practices or experience harassment at the hands of male colleagues or managers.

Flory, nonetheless, seems to navigate her way carefully and skillfully among the male loaders, porters, and managers. Along with the amiable smiles and hundreds of cups of hot drinks that Flory delivers, she listens to tales of migration, family unification or partner separation, loneliness, and deceitful relationships that eventually break down.

Working at night in this market café fulfills more than just making good sales; it has a social dimension. I don't know, you feel like a lonely person. Yeah, I would say [that about a] night job. There are



JULIUS-CEZAR MACQUARIE

Workers learn to respond to the intensity of bodily movements, to walk faster or run, to think of shortcuts to reach the produce.

so many people at the market, working here at night and they broke up with their wives who would cheat on the men who had no time for them. Many people explained to me... 'cause you know... I build up relationships with people, and they tell me everything... so when they wanna talk to someone, they come to me.

Philosopher and political theorist Hannah Arendt presciently warned that the 24-hour economy and its offspring, consumerist culture, would devour and discard everything that it met, from production to the end consumer. In this process of “creative destruction,” the rhythmic balance between “exhaustion and regeneration” is so frail and unsustainable that things (and humans’ condition) exhaust themselves before they can regenerate or cut themselves out of the busyness of daytime rhythms and relationships. In her earlier works, Arendt also envisioned that the masses, which grew out of a “highly atomized society,” act in “isolation and lack of normal social relationships.” The disconnects and vulnerabilities described in these *nightwork scenes* ought to be tackled, but it is extremely difficult to reverse these atomization processes and engage atomized workers to change their precarious situation, let alone mainstream society, policymakers, and the public (see MacQuarie 2017 for a detailed discussion). As Flory admits,

They, the people I associate with here, are good. That’s what I reckon brings me back. Because obviously, you don’t have much ... when you work here you don’t have a social life. The vast majority literally cuts off their social life [outside of this market].

Flory thrives as a café server because she has grasped an essential part of working at night. She schmoozes customers and workers; she’s the soul-soother of the night shifters with a friendly ear, helping people cope with the demands of the night shift. Her use of social skills and amiability remind me of the hostesses Anne Allison



JULIUS-CEZAR MACQUARIE

describes in her work on a Tokyo “hostess club,” who provide a kind of “functional lubrication” as they flirt with and flatter their white-collar male clientele. Although Flory describes the “stroppy” manner of other servers, many of whom also lack the multilingual fluency to converse easily with customers, she crafts a kindhearted night-work sociality through smiles and repartee, through sharing and listening to stories.

Some night shifts are quiet. The silence of the usually clangorous space is heightened by fear and seething anger.

Loaders wait, expecting orders that do not come because of some slowing down in the delivery chain. Business owners suffer losses, and this is enough to amplify worries among workers acutely aware of their expendable existence. As a worker (and participant observer), I was told to stay

back for a team meeting at the end of one 11-hour-long shift. “Arkadaşlar” (friends in Turkish), the manager addressed us, “if you do not change into faster workers, I will replace you! You are out! I can replace you very easily because every night, men with forklift driving and manual skills alike are coming to ask for work, every evening!” After one such episode of blaming and shaming, Roman, a Turkish Romanian male, confessed on the way out that over the eight years he had worked at this night market, for various companies and in different capacities, he had never felt so resentful as he felt at that moment: “I cannot bear it anymore to see how management is putting their anxiety onto us. I do not take that, and I will leave without notice.”

Night shift work is unstable work, the workers dispensable. It is not unusual for people to be fired without notice if business is slack. Later, when the owner needs

extra labor power again, they bring the same workers (or new ones) back in.



On other nights, business is brisk.

Thursday nights are always frantic because hundreds of grocers descend on the market to stock up on produce to cover the weekend trade. The orders come thick and fast, and the rhythms intensify; people shout at one another and swear in loud voices. Forklift drivers honk their horns, and the screech of brakes punctuates the nightshift soundscape.

On these occasions, New Spitalfields resembles pandemonium, with people rushing about and bumping into one another. Loaders and drivers will be sweating and discarding a couple of layers of clothes even before the gates open. At midnight, when the wholesale customers and public rush through the gates, a long trail of forklifts and

vans begin to zoom in and out of the market. As customers park their vehicles and walk quickly to their preferred grocery stands, the loaders bend and lift boxes, constantly on the move. Three hundred nights a year, male loaders carry tons of produce on their bodies, forklift drivers transport thousands of pallets, and women servers walk thousands of miles on foot between the café and market stands, lorries, or customers’ vans parked throughout the market.

So workers learn to respond to the intensity of bodily movements, to walk faster or run, to think of shortcuts to reach the produce. The loaders learn techniques to enable them to lift more crates, more sacks at a time. For example, tomatoes are sold in 5 kg crates, and they sell very quickly. On a nightly basis, loaders carry thousands of crates of tomatoes: one customer could order up to 128 crates in addition to more than 200 other items. Thus, loaders need to

move quickly. All this is possible because of people like Gică—the foreman whose role is that of market “drill sergeant.” Every grocery store has a Gică.

On a nightly basis, Gică supervised the loaders: the workers occupying the lowest position in the grocery store hierarchy; the people with the most precarious jobs in the night market. He barked out orders, interrupted loaders mid-sentence, referred to them in derogatory terms, and failed to move out of the way as they shifted heavy loads. Like all supervisors, Gică diligently followed this form of labor discipline passed down from upper management and practiced night after night on his colleagues’ beleaguered bodies. He had worked for the company for a long time and in various roles, never being offered promotion beyond belligerent drill sergeant.

Gică drilled a regime of discipline into the workers, who executed his demands docilely in bodily responses of exhaustion, perspiration, and frustration. I, too, experienced his menacing tactics deep under my skin. A few months into my position, Gică told me, “From now on, you will report to me or to the manager every time you want to go to the toilet.” I conformed from fear of losing access to the field site and participants, despite the anger and injustice I felt. Like my coworkers, I went along with his orders and performed the loading drill under his watchful eyes. No manual worker dared to disobey his orders or show support towards another coworker during moments of verbal aggression.

Everyone seems focused on their own tasks, on the next job that will get them one step closer to the end of the shift. No one has time to ask themselves if they should be kinder and help their coworkers. They know that if someone else is not doing their bit, the work will fall to them. They are compelled to weigh things up to survive the night: taking the lightest order that they can; taking shortcuts to stave off exhaustion; sneaking out of the market for a revitalizing sting of morning air. So, they stay awake and alert and survive another night because they become immune to one another’s needs, not because they offer mutual support on the night shift.

Nightworkers are so caught up in the physical demands of work that forms of solidarity have become fragile and secondary to the overwhelming experience of occupational fatigue.



Loaders toil and sweat night in, night out as they carry produce. The nightly exhaustion intrudes into social lives and permeates the daily episodes of private existence. Like a double-edged sword, nighttime work represents, for some workers, the most profitable way to support their family. For loaders like Murad, the price he pays is reflected in time away from family while at work and sleep cravings while at home during the day. Murad complained of bodily exhaustion caused by the interminable nightshifts and repetitive manual labor coupled with desynchronization and sleep deprivation. As he explained, “Sometimes, you’re lucky if you sleep three to five hours. Other times, you sleep eight to ten hours, but it is still not enough because day sleep is not the same as night sleep.”

Most nightworkers are too worn out, physically and mentally, for sociability or solidarity. On Saturday mornings, loaders and drivers drink and play cards with colleagues working for the same company, rarely mixing with others. The only times I observed any sign of sporadic cooperation was when something happened to disrupt the flow of everynight activity, such as the time a one-ton pallet of prunes fell onto the floor and all the workers in a team gathered around to pull it all together. The coworkers who witnessed the pallet falling and heard the loud bang that followed reacted spontaneously, gathering to pick the fallen fruits. In that moment of trivial disruption, the intent of solidarity floated; all men were working together towards the same goal, but each was invested in their individual tasks. In other words, they were doing something together but not with one another. And once all prunes were repacked, the workers took their separate places, apart from one another, looking at the clock and eager to go home.

Loaders are for the most part focused on surviving the night shift, not building bonds. Showing concern for another’s perilous situation is seen as weakness. The migrants next to whom I worked night shifts rarely cooperate or mobilize for social justice.

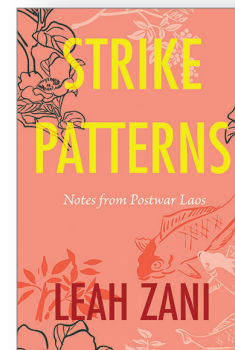


To create a more engaged workforce, we need to deal with this post-circadian capitalist regime of production, which disrespects the body’s need to rest and sleep, and leaves laboring bodies spent and exhausted before dawn. The predicament of the fatigued workers of contemporary societies is a social and political injustice that calls for public attention and bold solutions. My Night-worker Charter offers practical solutions for improving the rights of nightworkers and ways to engage nightworkers and build broad coalitions to demand dignified working conditions for those who work through the night. You can become a signatory and recommend the charter to unions, labor organizations, employers, local and regional councilors, and health and safety organizations. 🌀

Author’s note: This research was supported in part by a grant from the Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitization, CNCS-UEFISCDI, Project No. PN-III-P1-1.1-BSO in 2016-003, PNCDI awarded to the author by the New Europe College, Bucharest within the “Stefan Odobleja” Fellowships 2021–2022. All the names in this story are pseudonyms. Thanks to Magdalena Craciun for her critical input. Special thanks to Natalie Konopinski for her insightful comments on previous versions of this piece.

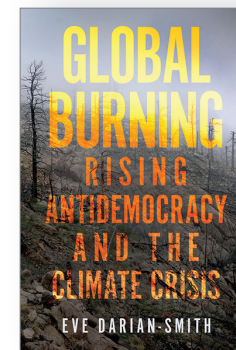
As a night ethnographer and migration scholar, for the past decade **Julius-Cezar MacQuarie** has reached out to people working around the clock in London, Bucharest, Budapest, Istanbul, Milan, and Sofia. Later in 2022, he will join the Institute for Social Science for the 21st Century, University College Cork, Ireland, to research women nightworkers in Cork and Dublin. You can get in touch via imailfromdrjc@gmail.com or tweet away @tweetsfromdrjc.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

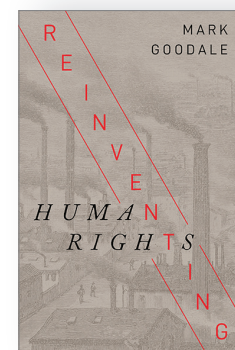


REDWOOD  PRESS

Strike Patterns
Notes from Postwar Laos
Leah Zani



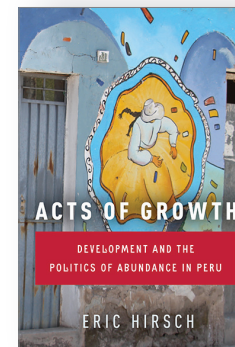
Global Burning
Rising Antidemocracy and the Climate Crisis
Eve Darian-Smith



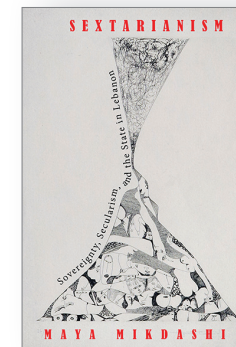
Reinventing Human Rights
Mark Goodale
STANFORD STUDIES
IN HUMAN RIGHTS



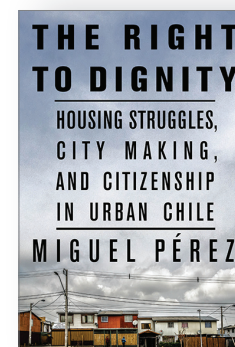
Translating Food Sovereignty
Cultivating Justice in an Age of Transnational Governance
Matthew C. Canfield



Acts of Growth
Development and the Politics of Abundance in Peru
Eric Hirsch



Sextarianism
Sovereignty, Secularism, and the State in Lebanon
Maya Mikdashi



The Right to Dignity
Housing Struggles, City Making, and Citizenship in Urban Chile
Miguel Pérez



Lawful Sins
Abortion Rights and Reproductive Governance in Mexico
Elyse Ona Singer



sup.org



stanfordpress.typepad.com



COLLEEN PESCI

Shifting Design, Sharing Power

GLOBAL HEALTH INITIATIVES CAN DESIGN INTERVENTIONS FOR OUR MOST VULNERABLE POPULATIONS. BUT ONLY IF WE TRANSFORM THE POWER DYNAMICS OF OUR RESEARCH TEAMS AND APPROACHES.

By Tracy Pilar Johnson, Chloé Roubert, and Micki Semler

It was after our Kenyan research colleague Juliet recounted her first interview with Evelyn, who is from Mathare, one of the most densely populated informal settlements in Nairobi, Kenya, that one of our project's key learnings emerged. Evelyn never left her home for fear of catching COVID-19, and yet Juliet told us she had been extended an invitation to Evelyn's son's first birthday party and might attend. When we, two researchers based in the United Kingdom and Canada, asked Juliet if she planned on attending, her answer was "most likely yes" because "I don't know anyone with Corona." Amidst the first wave of COVID-19, Kenya introduced a series of measures to limit movement and implement lockdowns, and we had anticipated some reluctance in response to government messaging about the dangers of the virus, but not to the extent internalized by members of our own research team. Our team had aligned on the project's goal—to uncover communities' perceptions of the pandemic's impact across Kenya—but had missed the reality that individual perceptions and experiences of COVID-19 among our study participants, and even local researchers, varied greatly with our own.

Our conversation with Juliet was the beginning of a shift in how we attended to our positioning and to the data emerging in our research to reframe the largely biomedical and clinical angle taken in global health conversations. Our new way of working became a means of striving towards equity through research outputs as well as through the research process itself.

PATHWAYS AND THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL HEALTH

COVID Pathways is an offshoot of a larger global health endeavor, called *Pathways*, which is aimed at identifying the social, cultural, and environmental factors that amplify dimensions of maternal and infant vulnerability among highly marginalized families across low-resource settings in Kenya and India. This larger effort is an interdisciplinary project, funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, to develop targeted solutions that have lasting positive impact on reproductive, maternal, neonatal, and child health outcomes. The work was designed from the assumption that to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals and significantly improve the health and well-being of women and their young children, the field of global health and

development must do more to consider and address risk to poor health outcomes through the lens of social, cultural, and environmental vulnerability.

From 2018, our *Pathways* team of anthropologists, designers, behavioral and data scientists, and global health experts were immersed in the lives of women and their families, both through secondary research and in-person ethnographically informed design research, across diverse regions of Kenya and Uttar Pradesh and Bihar states in India. Extensive field research in Kenya allowed us to create intimacy with research participants and their families, but it also offered the opportunity to establish more sustained relationships with local researchers who joined us as members of the Kenyan *Pathways* team.

With the onset of COVID-19, we re-engaged with the same families who had welcomed us into their homes during the early stages of the project in an effort to humanize what COVID-19 looked like for them and ultimately drive more context-specific global health interventions. National directives and data about the virus were changing almost daily, so we planned to remain exploratory and fluid, allowing the evolving day-to-day field reality to steer the process.

Lockdowns and limits to mobility prompted us to explore new ways of facilitating our work. We restructured our processes so that they became *remotely* managed and *locally* driven. In practice, this meant that the local team—four women, each born and raised in one of our research geographies—who had been instrumental in connecting us with families, navigating communal dynamics, and providing live translation during field conversations, now shifted to conducting the research themselves. Their familiarity with the project goals made them well-positioned to adopt new roles as researchers, despite a lack of formal training and facilitation experience.

While the global health community, reliant on primarily quantitative and biomedical data, was rapidly trying to design and implement solutions aimed at

alleviating the adverse health consequences of the virus, exploratory and real-time engagement with participants taught us that COVID-19 was *not* being experienced as a biomedical illness, but rather as a social and economic one. The project became not only about identifying what is critical to know and relevant to hear, but also *how* to articulate a message of humanity and actionability—*how* people were experiencing the pandemic needed to be taken into account when developing responses.

EVOLVING PRACTICES

Applying anthropology in the arena of global health and development leads to shorter timeframes for research and raises the question of whether we are gaining a full picture of life as it is experienced. Local researchers provide a critical corrective: they can return to a participant and their daily lives in real time to go deeper into certain stories or trace their thread as the effects of a crisis unfold. For example, one of the Kenyan women who we spent time with had an aunt who ended up in the hospital in the early days of the pandemic and subsequently died. We were only able to piece this story together because of the multiple touch points our researcher had with this participant. Our local researcher's ability to see the value in following up on this story over the course



This process required us to rethink our own positioning and adapt to listening and following our local researchers.

of a month provided rich insights into the long-lasting effects on families of the government-enforced COVID-19 restrictions. At the same time, this process required us to rethink our own positioning and adapt to listening and following our local researchers when it came to identifying which on-the-ground experiences needed more focus.

The local researchers had access to community gossip and history, and this more emic approach provided us with context and understanding that we would not have otherwise been able to develop. For example, one woman we wanted to follow up with was repeatedly unable to meet with us. We couldn't understand why her initial enthusiasm to be a part of the research had dissipated so quickly. Eventually, we learned she was often too drunk to be interviewed and that finally, unable to pay her rent, she had relocated to a more rural village. Where we might have simply moved on from this participant, a lack of data became information on the extent to which COVID-19 was taking a toll on women's social and emotional lives. Working with local researchers in this way allowed us to enter long-established social networks and more rapidly learn about the logics and histories of these networks—knowledge that can often only be gleaned through longer fieldwork engagements. Local researchers led us in exploring how the pandemic was affecting life in real time, from the individual's experiences and not from what the global health community presumed those experiences to be.

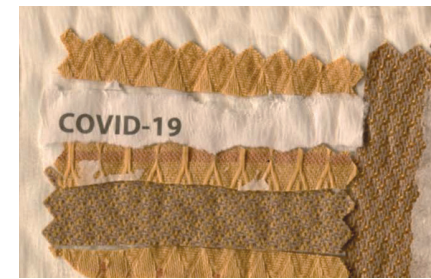
Being continually in touch with the researchers through WhatsApp to align on logistics, discuss topics, or simply build trust also enabled us to be part of their lives and privy to the challenges they faced in accomplishing the various research tasks. One of our researchers abruptly stopped responding to our messages. A few days later, we learned she was experiencing domestic violence. Her husband's job had changed to night shifts, and his presence within the home all day led to increased control and tension. In the midst of safely moving with her young son into

her parent's home, she had stopped buying airtime to check her messages. This viscerally brought to life what population-based data was only just beginning to hint at: the pandemic was driving up rates of domestic violence.

While these examples all point to the benefits of locally driven research, a critical challenge was how to support researchers without formal training to become aware of their biases. We had selected the researchers based on how they had demonstrated, in the earlier phases of the larger *Pathways* work, an eagerness to learn and a natural ability to develop rapport and establish immediate connection during interviews. The local researchers are often encouraged to have answers instead of leaning into the subjective nature of their own experience and can be more inclined to stop at a surface level of questioning. We came to realize that this initial lack of probing came from their immediate proximity within the research context and the assumption that they understood why the respondents were acting in the ways they were. We had to help them discover the research value in always asking for examples from the participant's own life and experience. To illustrate this, we needed to be attuned to when these moments might happen. For example, during interviews participants often questioned whether government messaging around COVID-19 was propaganda and if the data being shared could be trusted. With histories of their own—including negative experiences with and beliefs about authority figures—it was harder for researchers to remain neutral and probe for the “why,” especially when it came to questions they thought they knew the answer to.

SHIFTING MINDSETS

As applied anthropologists working on public health projects in low-resource settings, we are purposeful in developing work practices that attempt to mitigate the power dynamics at play between us and the people whose lived experience we seek to understand. We see our role as social researchers akin to translators who are



This viscerally brought to life what population-based data was only just beginning to hint at: the pandemic was driving up rates of domestic violence.

responsible for surfacing the experiences, emotions, and belief systems of our participants, and passing this knowledge along to our stakeholders with whom we will then identify priorities, develop strategies, and design programming responses. Yet, and perhaps because of, the very nature of the field we work in, it is impossible to overlook the fact that our work often perpetuates the unequal systems that we aim to dismantle.

Shifting our team structure brought us closer to the nuances and small details of everyday life, but it also required additional translation within our project team in ways that we had not anticipated. Differences in national and regional responses, access to information and data, proximity to testing and trusted health facilities, and mental models for health and health care, all inform our understanding of COVID-19. As the work progressed, we could see how the Kenyan research team's lived experiences of COVID-19 were substantially different from the foreign research team, and so too was their framework for making sense of it.

Sharing our experiences of COVID-19, including hesitations, frustrations, and sources of mistrust prompted all of us to more deliberately consider our belief in the realness of COVID-19 as a product of our

time and place. One of our local researchers is now an advocate and outspoken leader within her community when it comes to matters of community–police relations, after having lost her brother to police violence years ago. For her, COVID-19 became an intensification of existing networks of oppression, as she experienced the strict enforcement of curfews and witnessed instances of police violence unfold within the very densely populated informal settlement where she lives.

Collaboratively, we created a discussion guide that deliberately elicited conversation around daily decision-making as well as the greater sociopolitical context in which the pandemic was unfolding to delve deeper around notions of trust, health, and wellness. During virtual working sessions to deconstruct each interview we collectively explored the relationship between the research context and an interviewer's individual experience with and perception of COVID-19. As these shifts in understanding and perspective took place, we observed how following the lead of our researchers supported the creation of deliverables that provided our key global health funder with a deeper understanding of how Kenyans were living through the pandemic. For example, one of the local researchers recovered from COVID during the course of the research and was disinclined from a wedding nearly two months before it was to take place as a result. Her lived experience prompted her to introduce topics of stigma and exclusion more deliberately within the research conversations, ultimately deepening our understanding of the social and emotional implications of the disease.

It is from these interactions that some of the research's key insights emerged: understanding the sociocultural context of a global health challenge is a critical step in designing effective interventions, COVID-19-specific interventions would be more effective if they took into account that women are experiencing the disease not as a health crisis but as a socioeconomic one, and failing to take into account how constituents are experiencing the pan-

Continue to Support the Field of Anthropology



Renew Your Membership or Refer an AnthroFriend

We thank you for your continued support!

americananthro.org/membership




demographic has the potential to erode trust in government and social institutions. These interactions and the evolution they enabled toward co-ownership of the subject matter were also essential moments in our process to contribute to the overall *Pathways* goal of addressing women’s vulnerability. We cocreated outputs, followed the lead of local researchers when prioritizing research themes, and adjusted timelines to account for localized experiences. Our intention was to try out ways in which team structures and collaborations can become flatter to drive project goals that are more representative of those whose lives we seek to understand. Reflecting on this approach, we came to see how our role includes making space for those who traditionally have been given less room.

SHIFTING VULNERABILITIES, SHIFTING POWER

As the project developed, we found ourselves faced with a larger conundrum. The limits of the impact of our project in the face of the evolving pandemic, and the uncertainty within the global health community as to how to respond, challenged us to explore how we might change our processes and shift centers of power.

Perhaps one of the most insidious ways power is held on to is through the control of expertise and knowledge. From NGO executives to directors of national health programs to the embodied expertise of medical professionals, information and performing our control over or access to it is a primary means for holding power over others. If our aim with *Pathways* has been to make global health more responsive to issues of equity, we cannot simply “empower” the most disadvantaged; we must also be willing to “disempower” ourselves. We moved from leading our researchers in participant observation and conducting rigorous in-depth interviews to sharing this experience and ultimately following our researchers as they took us in new directions. We trained a group of Kenyan women researchers in qualitative and human-centered design methodologies

and in the analysis of data collected from those approaches. Some might see this as a diminishment of the rigor that applied anthropological research aims to achieve, but we embraced this opportunity to pursue a more equitable global health process.

We have seen this transformation in the way we work contribute to changing the perspective of a large global health funder. But perhaps the greatest outcome is what we see as an emergent shift in a redistribution of power—a challenge to who gets to speak and for whom. 

Tracy Pilar Johnson is a design anthropologist integrating design and the social sciences into the work of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. She leads the DesignforHealth community, is the editor of “Design for Health: Human-Centered Design Looks to the Future,” and contributed to the award-winning LEAP Dialogues. She received her PhD in Anthropology from Columbia University.

Chloé Roubert is an anthropologist and design strategist with over a decade of experience spanning multiple continents and sectors. She brings deep curiosity, empathy, and humor to her work and loves when rigorous research merges with the creative elements of design methods, such as HCD, participatory design, and cocreation.

Micki Semler is a social researcher and trained social worker. Her work focuses on analyzing individual and familial experiences and translating them into learnings that inform concepts for change. She enjoys being part of the messy process where research-informed insights support problem solving, specifically when designing within marginalized and low-resourced environments.

Colleen Pesci is a visual artist, educator, and curator/founder of The Casserole Series.

Exploring Careers with Ethnography

By Aimee E. Huard

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN COLLEGE AND A FUTURE CAREER IS NOT ALWAYS CLEAR. ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS CAN PROVIDE STUDENTS WITH TOOLS TO LEARN ABOUT WORKPLACES AND ENVISION CAREER PATHS.

College students are bombarded with articles, news clips, and opinions about the relationship between college and work. As they begin their time at college, many wonder how this can translate into a career, when they are unsure what college even means to them. Many talk about feeling paralyzed with options as they move from high school to college. As one student put it, “The craziest part is people expect you to decide about what you want to do for the rest of your life and get so deep into debt at the same age you still must ask permission to leave the room to go to the bathroom.” Colleges and universities recognize that degrees are important for work and future careers, but it can be difficult to articulate to students that their degree has value beyond their first job. The goal for many colleges has been to build this into coursework, but in the Community College System of New Hampshire (CCSNH), previous efforts had been mixed, as had the results.

The model CCSNH incorporated was based on a series of courses from Guttman Community College, which enmesh anthropological techniques with career exploration throughout students' first year at the college. But the original coursework relies heavily on the culture and community Guttman is embedded in, which is not easily duplicated throughout more rural New Hampshire. We took elements of the coursework and stripped it back to the core questions: What is workplace culture? And how does the study of that culture help people make informed career decisions?

The theory, tools, and techniques of anthropology lend themselves to this systematic study of the cultures of workplaces and how people define their space. Every activity is grounded in anthropological theory and methodology—students deconstruct and analyze interview narratives; examine intersectionalities and identities; and use critical observation, detailed note-taking, and qualitative analysis to examine space and how it is used. While the final product of the course is an ethnographic write-up on a career of their choosing, students spend the semester building the necessary skills to achieve this goal. As with so many aspects of anthropology, they start by considering their own investment and worldview.

The initial autoethnography asks students how they ended up at the particular college, asking students to examine their own agency in their education and goals. For many, it is the first time they consider their past critically, sifting through life events and considering how a few have influenced their choices and view of why they need (or shouldn't need) to attend college for a career. These autoethnographies provide a snapshot of student experiences across the last five years, highlighting student anxieties with what it means to become an adult in current society, how to achieve their goals, and how to finance their dreams. Many write about having to balance the need to be fiscally conservative but socially conscious while navigating society's murky messaging

regarding the value of higher education, the incredible cost of college, and the potential diminished social capital of attending the "wrong" college. Students have internalized a lot of the messages regarding the cost of education and question if the degree is worth the financial burden.

Students connect with the complex ideas in identity theories, grappling with their own intersectionality of identities. The nuanced ideas of social capital and cultural capital are reified through their own experiences, reinforced through scholarly articles, and grounded in a series of critical observation exercises. We ask students to go to locations that are familiar to them, to begin to push their world beyond passively seeing into questioning how the interactions of the world form and influence them. One student explains their experience:

The most profound lesson that I have learned this past semester is that doing things that make me uncomfortable, or that I am afraid to do, will result in obtaining positive outcomes that will help me in life. The first assignment that was given was an observation in a workplace of our choice. I was, at first, uncomfortable about the idea of sitting in a public place and observing people's behaviors, I didn't know what I could get out of watching people ordering a coffee or doing work in a coffee shop. Yet by surpassing those apprehensions, I was able to draw an interesting analysis of people's behavior and the commercial mechanisms of the workplace. I was also nervous about presenting in front of the whole class my research on the intersectionality project because I had never talked in front of an English-speaker audience, in another language than my native language. Yet by surpassing this fear, I received positive comments from my classmates, expressing their thoughts on my communication skills.

There were some bumps in the initial pilot of the curriculum—meshing college skill-building activities like note-taking,

schedule building, creating SMART goals, and personal time management covered in typical first-year experience coursework into any course can be a difficult fit. Community college students are a varied bunch: For some, it is their first experience at college. For others, they are the first in their family to attend college. For others, it is their third attempt at figuring out how to navigate college successfully (and typically fiscally). Student insights throughout the course vary based on how they enter college, and much of the course is spent unpacking their preconceived notions of the world and how they see themselves fitting into it.

Over the semester, students work through questions of how their social class influences their decisions, how privilege can provide opportunities (even if one does not feel particularly privileged), how to create experiences at college to lead to potential careers, and how dissecting aspects of work and careers and examining the pieces can help them envision a future. The autoethnography assignment forms the foundation for future collaboration on how to shape the student's experience at college with their concepts of a possible future career. They practice narrative deconstruction and construction, critical observation, thick description, and interview techniques to prepare for their research and construction of an ethnography into a potential future career. It also sets them up for success in transfer—since the course transfers as an anthropology course, it fulfills a need common at many

four-year institutions and gives the students exposure to the holistic theoretical underpinnings of anthropology in their first semester.

Many students describe their world as noisy, anxiety-inducing, or overly bright. There are so many choices, they have trouble sorting through the pieces or prioritizing the information to make a decision. At the start of the course, many talk about the analysis paralysis they feel when they are asked what they want to do for a career or why they are going to college. By the end of the course, students express how they can sort through so many data points and so much information. Some find a focus in identifying the ethics and morals of a field, others focus on the community needs. One student explained their experience as, "This course, even though it didn't help me figure out what I want to do with my life, still helped me a lot because it eliminated one thing off the list and narrowed it down so that I know where not to look in the future. The most profound lesson I learned in this course was how my future might look by dimming the options down." These students have taken the qualitative methods of anthropology and distilled them to a series of skills that can be applied in multiple realms, using their identity and place in

At the start of the course, many talk about the analysis paralysis they feel when they are asked what they want to do for a career or why they are going to college.

culture as a touchstone for how they would like to form their future.

But, as so many others have seen, the world looks very different as we struggle to find footing during/after a global pandemic. The experiences and emotions students currently describe are not new ones—the anxiety they feel has been encoded in their writings since the course began. But we are all facing new landscapes and notions of work as we try to answer the question, "What does work look like *now*?" It isn't a new question, researchers have detailed the shifting work landscape for decades, comparing it to previous generations and commenting on how many students are looking for careers in fields that didn't exist five years ago.

But now, even fields that did exist look different than they did two years ago. While previously students were nervous about the fear of failure or fear of striking out, now the whole world is as well. Perhaps the starting point can come from what the students have taken away from the class

The single most impactful lesson I learned from this class is that I am not going to be comfortable when looking and starting a new job. I cannot expect to know everything about the job, and I need to be okay with asking questions and communicating this either with my employers or coworkers. I struggle with a lot of social anxiety...I have turned away job opportunities because, while I dislike my current job, I know what the expectations are and what to do. But after this course, I have learned that I am going to have to deal with this anxiety no matter what.

This description resonated with my own instances of culture shock when doing research in the field. Navigating the world of choices has felt daunting before; the pandemic has created a shift in the culture of work that has moved it into the realm of "other."

The idea of integrating first-year experience material into anthropological methodology and theory has proved successful. Administratively, students who complete the course have a high success rate, are retained at a higher level than those who do not, and tend to finish their associates degrees. I, though, am most impressed with the insights and reflections they have regarding their identity and how work fits into their life. The theories and techniques of anthropology have always been adaptive—they provide seasoned practitioners and new students a simple set of methods to interact with their world more deeply and critically. By approaching the world of work as if it was a brand new culture, students gain a more holistic view of their current world, but also how to shape it through their careers and choices. 🌀

Aimee E. Huard is a professor and chair of the Department of Social Science at Great Bay Community College in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. She earned her PhD in Anthropology from Binghamton University, SUNY.

How to Reap the Benefits of a Disciplinary Twin

WORKING TIPS ANTHROPOLOGY AND MARKET RESEARCH MAY TEACH ONE ANOTHER.

By Autumn D. McDonald

Slightly over a decade ago, my brother and I both found ourselves living in what has historically been the Black mecca of Harlem in New York City. We lived within walking distance of each other and would often attend church together on Sunday mornings. Worship services in the Black Baptist tradition often include a ritual during which attendees and members pause to greet one another. Our church at Convent Avenue in Harlem was no exception. Each Sunday, my brother and I would stand to hug each other before going on to hug, greet, and shake hands with other congregants. Amid the choir singing “Every Praise,” one would hear greetings such as “God Bless you brotha,” “Ma’am, you sure are looking sharp this morning,” or a simple “Good morning.” Almost without fail, someone would excitedly approach me and my brother during the ritual and exclaim, “Fraternal twins! Y’all are twins!” I loved that occurrence each Sunday because I took pride in being connected to my younger brother, and I always thought it would be neat to be twins. My sibling, however, was always quick to correct fellow worshippers by pointing out that I am much older than him.

While I wasn’t blessed with a biological twin, I later came to realize that my professional life does embody a form of twinship—I am both an anthropologist and a market researcher. I often use the metaphor of fraternal twins to describe the fields of anthropology and market research. While they each have matured

utilizing similar methods in many cases, meaningful differences exist between the two disciplines, with the opportunity for each discipline to learn from the other. Like fraternal twins, anthropology and market research are uniquely different from each other while simultaneously closely connected.

Recognize similarities in the disciplines.

Anthropology and market research have a great deal in common that may not be immediately apparent to practitioners of each. Both market researchers and anthropologists seek to understand what people do and why they do it. To acquire this understanding, researchers in both fields utilize a variety of methodological and analytical approaches to explore, dissect, examine, and explain their subjects of inquiry.

Take time to illuminate meaningful results.

Market researchers would be wise to imitate anthropologists in realizing that there is value in slow and steady research, rather than always succumbing to the hurried rush toward finality of a study. Allowing for more time in conducting qualitative research may enable additional quality moments with consumers, engagement with a greater body of longitudinal work, the revisiting of a topic for important iterative phases, or delivery of more in-depth qualitative analysis. Each of these has the benefit of yielding richer observations.

Maintain research responsibility.

Market researchers should take care not to abdicate our research responsibility to consumers. With the greater integration of technology—such as online activity boards and digital prework or homework assign-

ments—in research processes, consumers, shoppers, and constituents are at times conducting their own fieldwork for market researchers. In some ways, they are essentially becoming their own interviewers, as respondents self-select what, when, how, and the extent to share.

Move beyond brand narcissism and industry obsessions.

The inability of market researchers to let go of brand, category, and industry orientations in researching constituents actually hinders the pursuit of uncovering the potential roles of brands in the lives of constituents. By following the example of anthropology, which seeks to comprehend constituents and their experiences holistically, market research would be better positioned to achieve greater human-centricity and to harvest more depth in understanding of key audiences.

Embrace the advantages of technology.

Many research participants and audiences for research results are accustomed to technology as a means of communication and as a partner in their everyday lives. If the work of anthropologists is to reach its potential to be timely, embraced, and acted on by a diverse audience, it should follow market research’s lead in more fully adopting technology in fieldwork, transcription, analysis, and dissemination of information.

Recognize the value of an “insider” perspective.

While various anthropologists have asserted that “insider” or “native” anthropologists are unable to be objective

or that their insight does not result in greater understanding, market researchers realize that neither of these positions are necessarily true or useful. Instead market research readily welcomes the added value of one’s degrees of insider-ness during research processes. In fact, the discipline consistently employs the alignment of degrees of insider-ness as best practice in qualitative research. Great effort is given to ensure synergy in background, gender, or phenotype depending on the area of study. This diligence in market research encourages candor and openness on the part of the research subject in interacting with the lead researcher.

Manage the message for impact. Anthropologists would gain from emulating the skill exhibited by market researchers to effectively tailor communications for a wide range of diverse audiences. Market researchers develop a well-honed ability to convey the results of their research not only to fellow researchers, but also to stakeholders outside of their discipline and to the general public. They understand the need for focus, simplicity, and dynamism in communicating across audiences to achieve impact and traction for one’s important research.

Of course, I’ve only shared here a few of the ways in which the fraternal twins of anthropology and market research may strengthen one another. I would like to think that if the two disciplines I love so dearly were to experience the Black Baptist ritual of welcoming one another, the two fields would eagerly greet one another, compliment each other, and acknowledge their linkages when fellow congregants exclaim, “Fraternal twins! Y’all are twins!”

With over two decades of experience in research spanning six continents, **Autumn D. McDonald** is the owner of ADM Insights & Strategy, LLC. The company utilizes mixed methods approaches that integrate market research with an anthropological lens for greater human-centricity and depth of understanding.

Follow market research’s lead in more fully adopting technology in fieldwork, transcription, analysis, and dissemination of information.



PING-HSIU ALICE LIN

Pieces of rough peridot.



PING-HSIU ALICE LIN

A moment of repose in gem cutter Yamin ustad's workshop.

Cutting Edge

PAKISTAN'S ARTISANS USE SKILL AND PRECISION TO TRANSFORM ROUGH STONES INTO LUSTROUS GEMS.

By Ping-hsiu Alice Lin



PING-HSIU ALICE LIN



PING-HSIU ALICE LIN

ABOVE: Rubies fixed on a dop stick at two stages of cutting.
LEFT: Artisan Daud ustaz shows individual facets on a tourmaline.

A stone rasps against a copper disk, a saw grates as it slices, a chisel chips in with percussive taps. Brows furrowed, heads slightly bent at an angle, three *karigar* (artisans) gather around spinning laps, gently shaping stones by rhythmically lowering them onto the whirring surfaces. The *karigar* are preparing an array of murky yet translucent yellowish-green stones of various shapes, in hues reminiscent of spring grass. As each piece hits the surface of the spinning lap, a hissing sound is emitted from contact between two exceptionally hard objects. They are peridots, but “rough” because they are yet to be cut or polished.

I have been visiting gem *karkhanon* (workshops) since 2017 to learn how rocks are transformed into gems. They are located primarily in two widely separated commercial areas in north and south Pakistan—Peshawar’s Namak Mandi and Karachi’s Saddar Bazaar. Gem production in these places is demanding on a manual, cognitive, and technical level. Although a gemstone is hard, when subjected to enough pressure it will break. Precision is key when manipulating these small objects of high value, especially in the absence of sophisticated technology. Only someone with several years of continuous practice, a network of customers, and the capital to

purchase machinery or rent a workshop earns the title of *ustad/ustaz* (master in Urdu and Pashto). To sit with an artisan is to see a highly transformative, embodied form of value creation. Although gem cutting has definite conventions that vary by region and machinery, my teachers rarely offered verbal instructions on how to facet a stone. Instead, I learned by imitation. I observed the *ustad* and his apprentices (*shagird*) as they expertly shaped each stone into a dazzling combination of flat, reflective surfaces and sharp edges.

The rough stone is sliced using a mechanical saw in a way that prevents breakage and produces stones with more or less smooth surfaces. Water is used to keep the saw cool and combines with powdered rock particles to create a distinctive mist that leaves a streak of white residue on the skin. The stone is then clasped between two fingers and, in a step known as preforming, ground to the rough shape of the final gem on a coarse grinding wheel. Preforming a high-value stone is no small feat. This is also where the requisite

skills of an artisan come to light: observation, dexterity, and an understanding of the quality of stone. Some might call it simply a stone’s hardness. More than that, it is about the way an object breaks when cut, the knowledge of which is gained through tactile experience. Crystals, unlike ordinary stones, can break along certain lines—this is also known as cleavage. By finding and grinding the “table,” the largest and most visible surface of the gem, a skilled preformer can make an important assessment of how the rest of the gem will be cut, removing cracks and inclusions that would make the final gem less clean. The work is not only a matter of skill; it requires long, sustained concentration.

The preformed stone is then fixed to a dop stick using melted wax. The smell of the kerosene lamp often overpowers all other scents in the production process. The dop stick is fitted into a faceting handpiece called the *angoora*. Outside South Asia, an *angoora* usually comes with index gears, angle settings, and other tools that allow the cutter to find the correct angle and place facets accordingly. But in



The finished product.

Namak Mandi, as in other places in the Indian subcontinent, most cutters I know are capable of preforming, faceting, and polishing without such mechanical aids. It is what makes their artisanship distinctive and intuitive. Finally, the meticulous work of faceting begins.

Keen eyes and steady hands patiently render each stone into a gem. Aesthetics and geometry stand united. Gripping the

angoora, the *karigar* gently touches the stone to the revolving lap, producing a host of facets from the largest to the smallest and most intricate. Steady hands, a fine eye for minute detail, and an understanding of the hardness of the stone enable the artisan to produce the smallest of facets on a stone—sometimes as tiny as one-fifth of a fingertip—without breaking it. From time to time, the cutting lap is turned off,

leaving a whiff of overworked motor as artisans dip their finger into a concoction of oil and diamond powder and rub it against their lap to enhance the polishing process.

Unpredictable electricity supplies frequently interrupt proceedings (load-shedding is common), turning lamps off and bringing faceting machines to a standstill. These disruptions add to the already long and labor-intensive process through which nondescript rocks are worked into lustrous gems.

Although the creation of luminous beautiful objects such as gems reflects the patience, skill, and labor of timework artisans, once on the market the stones are ascribed value according to their physical qualities. Artisans are not paid for producing unique gems of individual brilliance, so work to produce quantity to cater to the contemporary market’s demand for calibrated gemstones. The products of their hard work emerge as a gleaming, liberated commodity, cut for standard-sized jewelry settings, polished up for brilliant adornment.

Yet what of the artisans themselves, laboring to produce these objects of human desire? The skilled manual practitioners who worked at perfecting each angle, facet, and form of a gem, remain invisible in the realm of consumption. What is seen is an emotionally desirable, status-enhancing, and not especially useful commodity.

A Pashto saying—*da ustaaz laas ki kamaal da, chi kom siz la laas wururi haghazar shi* (whatever the master’s hand touches turns to gold)—reminds us that to be an artisan laboring within a modern capitalist economy is a blessing and a curse. Our preoccupation with inanimate things misses the labor and talent of the worker, without whose touch a jewel remains but a rock or stone. 🌀

Ping-hsiu Alice Lin is a sociocultural anthropologist with interests in commodity chains, artisanship, and extractive industries in Pakistan and its connections to South, Southeast, and East Asia. She is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

Artisans in Peshawar perfect each facet of their work.

PING-HSIU ALICE LIN

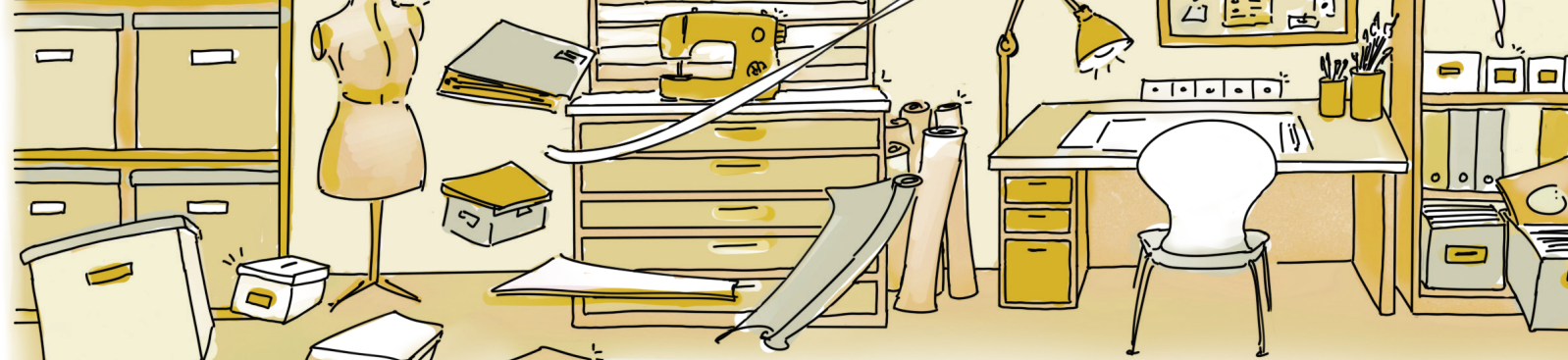
PING-HSIU ALICE LIN

The Work of Getting Organized

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZING HAS LESS TO DO WITH ARRANGING THINGS IN COLOR-CODED BINS THAN WITH HELPING OVERWHELMED CLIENTS FEEL BETTER ABOUT THEIR SPACES AND THEMSELVES.

By Carrie Lane

Those who watch a lot of home makeover shows are familiar with the “big reveal,” the moment homeowners see their newly redesigned space for the first time. Neatly labelled belongings, clothes hung by rainbow color in immaculate closets, appliance-free kitchen countertops. There are usually gasps of surprise and, more often than not, some joyful crying. I tend to be skeptical of these scenes, knowing as I do that, like pretty much all reality TV programming, they are highly choreographed, even scripted, to produce a certain emotional response in the viewer. In fact, in most respects, the world of professional organizing is decidedly different than its televisual counterpart. It came as a surprise, then, when I found myself moved to tears during the real-life reveal at the end of an organizing session.



CHARLOTTE CORDEN

As part of my research on the professional organizing industry, I worked as an unpaid assistant to professional organizers in Southern California on what I call “workalongs,” helping clients manage their homes, work spaces, and belongings. Founded in the 1970s, professional organizing is a relatively young field, but it’s garnered a lot of attention over the last decade thanks to an array of reality television programs, from *Clean Sweep* and *Tidying Up with Marie Kondo* to *Hoarders* and *Hoardings: Buried Alive*. An anthropologist of work, I was especially interested in documenting what organizers’ labor entails, why they do it, and how they feel about it.

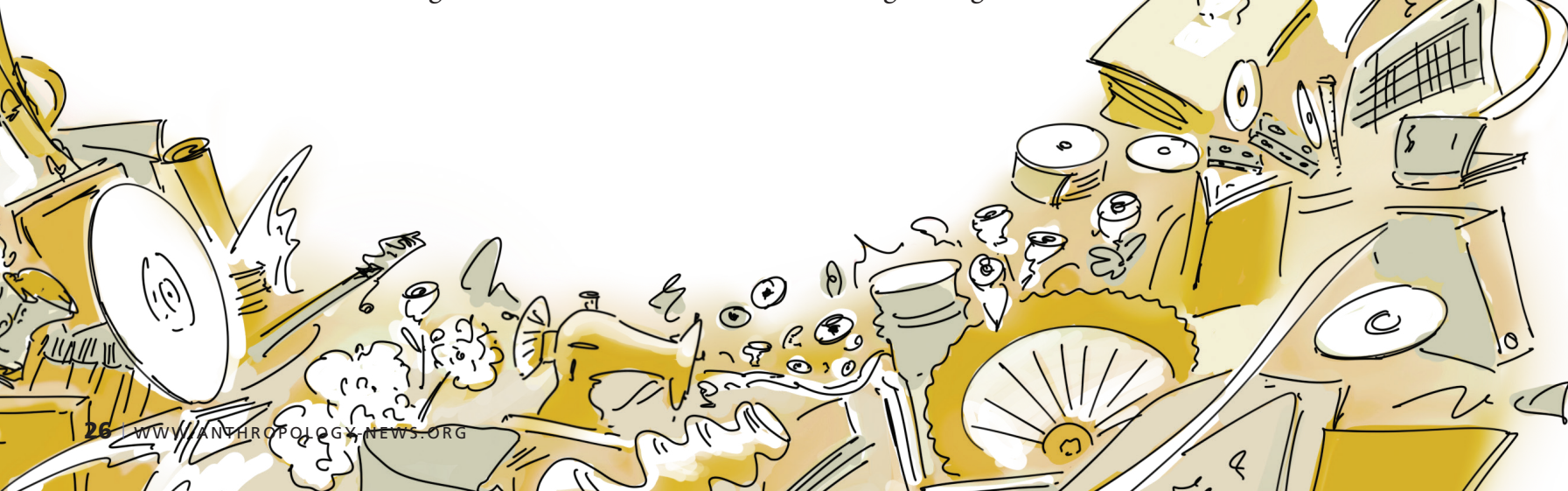
In this instance, I assisted on the second day of a two-day job reorganizing the home of Marcia, a fashion designer and mother of three. Marcia and her family lived in a large, brightly decorated home in a quiet, upscale neighborhood in central Los Angeles. The front yard was crowded with sunflowers and lined by a small, white picket fence. The house looked happily lived in, clean and a bit cluttered, with worn wooden floors and quaint arched doorways. The entryway held a jumble of shoes, jackets, bags, and sports equipment. Piles of paper lay atop the kitchen counter, waiting to be attended to. Bookshelves stacked two rows deep lined a wall of the large living room, more books in piles beside them. A comfy-looking couch was draped with a colorful afghan and scattered with mismatched throw pillows.

A slender woman in her mid-fifties, Marcia wore chunky black glasses and no makeup. Her mane of black hair, touched with gray, was corralled into two long

braids that nearly reached her waist. She smiled often, thanked us constantly, and invited us to help ourselves to anything in the fridge if we were hungry.

Starla, the 40-something organizer I was working for that day, told me in advance that Marcia was good at making decisions and parted with things easily. They had already met during the initial consultation, when Marcia walked Starla through what the job would entail and the two had determined “what hurts most”—the areas Marcia was most keen to get organized. The team had tackled the attic the day before, clearing out boxes of holiday decorations, many of which had to be thrown away due to water damage and the remnants of a rat infestation. From what could be salvaged, Marcia selected items to keep or donate, and the organizers cleaned, packed, and labeled the “keepers” in sturdy storage bins Marcia had on hand. In contrast to most reality shows, where organizers cajole or even force clients to part with belongings, the organizers I spoke with and worked alongside were emphatic that the client *always* has the final say on whether to keep an item; many organizers include a clause to that effect in their contracts.

Our job for the day was to organize Marcia’s basement workspace. Marcia had been designing clothing for women’s fashion brands for more than 20 years, mostly from home. She did most of her work in the home’s well-lit basement, which was also used for storage. The 300-square-foot space included a large drafting table and two walls of metal shelving, the kind you buy at a big box store and assemble yourself. On each shelf, Marcia’s work



supplies—drawing pads, pens, pencils, markers, paint and paint brushes, glue, tape, artificial flowers, needles and thread, ribbons, fabric swatches, a dressmaker’s mannequin, multiple sewing machines—vied for space with the miscellany of family life, including off-season sports equipment, old CDs, home movies, vinyl records, framed movie posters, the kids’ old art projects, shoe inserts, and extension cords.

The first step in organizing the basement, deciding what should stay and what should go, went quickly. We organized items by type, tossed away anything broken or unusable, and relocated the sports equipment and a few other items to the garage. One of Marcia’s children, now at college, stored their artwork in the basement—large canvases leaned in rows along the wall, unwieldy papier maché sculptures balanced atop the stacks. There was no question of getting rid of these pieces at the moment, so we moved them into the unused space under the steps coming down to the basement. We lined the canvases up from biggest to smallest for easy access, with the sculptures tucked safely under the lower part of the steps.

Meanwhile, Marcia made quick work of the record collection. She set a few favorites aside, packed up the rest, and headed off to Amoeba Music, a nearby used record store. (Once the decision to part with something is made, organizers usually encourage clients to get it out of the house immediately; otherwise, items intended for sale or donation become one more pile of clutter to be dealt with later.) On her way home, Marcia planned to run a few errands and pick up her daughter from dance class. That left the rest of us—Starla, me, and two other assistants—to organize the basement into a usable work space.

For each type of item, we chose an appropriately sized box or bin (Marcia already had many on hand), labeled it with a Post-it note, neatly packed the items inside, and found a logical spot for it on one of the shelving units. Nonwork items, such as DVDs or kids’ belongings, were assigned to the shelving unit farthest from Marcia’s desk, while items she needed on a regular

basis were placed within reach. Larger categories of items, such as ribbons, were organized into subcategories—plain ribbon, fancy ribbon, holiday ribbon. Once we found homes for everything, we replaced the makeshift labels with permanent ones. (Starla banned me from printing any of the final labels, saying, not without cause, that my handwriting is terrible.)

*We organized items
by type, tossed away
anything broken or
unusable, and relocated
the sports equipment and
a few other items to the
garage.*

It took about three hours, but by the time Marcia returned home, the basement was nearly finished. There’s rarely a dramatic reveal at the end of an organizing job; clients usually participate in, or at least witness, the process from start to finish. Marcia had been actively involved in the sorting process, but when she left on her errands, the basement was still a mess. Everything had been taken out and sorted through, but nothing had yet been packed away or put back. We rearranged the shelving units and other large items so the room looked larger. We vacuumed the floor, dusted the shelves, and wiped down every single item. The drafting table, previously piled high with stacks of paper and office supplies, was clean and bare. On the shelf behind it, facing Marcia while she worked, sat a row of colorful art and sewing supplies, arranged in neatly labeled bins.

Other than one \$25 wire shelving unit from Target, no new items were purchased for the job. Organizers often explained to me that most clients already have more organizing products—boxes, bins, color-coded file folders—than they could possibly need, so organizers prefer to repurpose items the client

already owns. Although organizers are often criticized for their complicity with the *contain-industrial complex*, a billion-dollar home storage and organization industry comprising everything from *Real Simple* magazine to The Container Store to the more than 1.5 billion square feet of self-storage space in the United States alone, they are actually among the industry’s most passionate and persuasive critics. They regularly reassure clients that everyone, even organizers, gets disorganized sometimes; they remind them that organized spaces don’t have to look Pinterest-perfect; and they discourage unnecessary consumption, especially in the name of getting organized. And while organizing is sometimes perceived as a luxury service, many organizers reduce their rates for low-income clients or work pro bono for clients in crisis, such as people moving to escape domestic violence or being abruptly evicted from their homes.


As organizers often say, organizing is not really about “the stuff”; it’s about the feelings people have about their stuff and what they think it says about who they are. The goal of getting organized, then, has less to do with dramatic before-and-after photos than with how the client feels—about herself (most clients are women) and about the newly organized space and the items in it. Nothing makes an organizer happier than a satisfied client. As one organizer explained, “Seeing [clients] at the end of a session, it’s a 180 sometimes. Like, I’ll go in and they’re overwhelmed and stressed out and can’t find anything. They feel like there’s a sense of lack—lack of space and time and energy. ...I just love to see their relief when we’re done.”

This was exactly what happened with Marcia. As I wrote in my fieldnotes that day, when Marcia returned home, “it really was like on TV.” She started down the stairs into the basement and stopped mid-step. She cried out in surprise, lifting her hand to cover her mouth. “I can’t believe it,” she said, and started to cry. She continued into the room, walking from shelf to shelf, touching random boxes, quietly reading labels aloud: “Fake flowers!

Fancy ribbon!” Then she sat down at her drafting table and let out a small sob.

“I’ve been a designer for 20 years,” she told us, “but I never felt like a professional until I saw all this organized on the shelves like this. I always grabbed as I went, never organizing, but here it is.” She hugged and kissed each of us, thanking us profusely. “I could never have done this,” she told us, and thanked us again. And then I was crying along with her, as were the others, even Starla, who prides herself on being a “tough love” sort of organizer. It was a bittersweet moment—despite her long success in a competitive field, Marcia had never seen herself as a professional, something I suspect is true of many women who squeeze their work, physically and temporally, into the spaces left around their family responsibilities. It felt gratifying to have been a part of something that made her feel differently about herself and her work.

Organizers may spend part of their day shredding old tax statements or organizing books by the color of their spines, but at the core of what they do is what sociologist Allison Pugh calls *connective labor*—listening empathetically to clients and emotionally connecting with them in order to identify and solve the problems that led them to hire an organizer in the first place. The real “reveal” is not how pretty a space can be or how well a system can work, but how self-critical, isolated, and overwhelmed many Americans, even the more privileged among them, feel on a daily basis. Organizers can’t cure the sources of this anxiety and insecurity, but they can help clients see that a cluttered home, messy desk, or unwieldy to-do list is not evidence of personal failure. They can also design customized, sustainable strategies to help people save time and money and enable them to feel more in

control of their lives, spaces, and belongings. In an era when meaningful work and human connection can be hard to come by, organizers work to do both, improving clients’ lives in ways small but significant, one basement, one closet, one junk drawer at a time. 

Carrie Lane is a professor of American studies at California State University, Fullerton. Her ethnographic research concerns the changing nature of work in the United States. She is finishing a book on the professional organizing industry.

Charlotte Corden is an illustrator and fine artist whose work often centers around what it is to be human. She has an MA in anthropology from University College London and has studied at the London Fine Art Studios and the Arts Students League of New York.



Post. Find. Hire.

AAA members are the right candidates

  **ACE**

americananthro.org/careers

Anthropology Careers & Employment
The Job Board of the American Anthropological Association

FROM ED'S DESK

Essential Wastewater Work

An early February news story about the work of screening municipal wastewater for COVID-19 variants caught my eye. It featured microbiologists in selected US cities examining wastewater samples and discovering what they termed “cryptic lineages”—mutant variants of the novel coronavirus that have not been previously detected in human specimens. If not from people, how did these variants get into the sewer system? Did they come from asymptomatic people who had not been tested? Were they introduced by rats or other nonhuman animals? The so-called spillover/spillback effect that *New York Times* journalist Sonia Shah recently reported as threatening to become a source of new variants only underscores the important work on multispecies ethnography over the past decade from scholars Eben Kirksey, Stefan Helmreich, and Barbara King, among others.

With its focus on microbiologists, the *Times* story did not dwell on the work of wastewater sample collectors, the local government workers or contractors who gather raw sewage-laden water for investigation. This is water flushed down toilets and drained from sinks, showers, and industrial facilities—water containing pathogens and toxins that may cause human health problems or disturb natural aquatic ecosystems. Wastewater surveillance can be an immensely powerful tool in informing possible public health interventions, as it helps us keep tabs on how the coronavirus is evolving, and provides community-level signals about infection trends and appropriate medical responses.

I'm interested in upstream solutions, and the core anthropological concept of *holism* often directs my attention to those smaller, sometimes less obvious upstream points of intervention where a modest investment can reap big gains. Wastewater sampling is located at just such an upstream point of public health intervention, so promising that the Netherlands instituted a national surveillance system early on in the pandemic, and in the



Ed Liebow, Executive Director

United States, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention put a national program in place that now covers 43 states, cities, and territories.

The quality of the surveillance data directly affects the value to public health officials. This means the people who do the sampling work really need to know what they are doing. Because mistakes are inevitable in every human endeavor, quality checks need to be built into key steps of the wastewater sampling process.

Adjacent to the kind of work that anthropologists Robin Nagle, Kathleen Millar, and Rosalind Fredericks (among others) have been doing for some time now in the world of waste management work, I see an opportunity here for fine-grained observation of how workers interpret and engage with prescribed procedures that cover sampling design, techniques, and equipment as well as measures for the storing, transporting, and preparing of samples for analysis without contamination.

This wastewater sampling is nasty work, and it is vital work. It has made me wonder if, under the conditions of the pandemic-driven “great resignation,” we are seeing public service workers heading for the exits at the same rate as other categories of employees. I think not, mainly because this is work with a purpose. Our colleague Martha Bird, a business anthropologist who is chief of global strategy at the ADP Innovation Lab, notes in an interview with *HR Executive* that many employees are reassessing the place of work

in their lives. “Between the global health crisis and thankfully a growing awareness of historical inequities experienced by racialized communities, people have begun to be either nudged or jolted into questioning some of the assumptions that they’ve held” about values and priorities.

At the same time, data from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that the trend of workers leaving their jobs is not consistent across all sectors. State and local government workers, excluding education, have among the lowest “quit rates” of any sector. Despite the considerable challenges and stresses that come from having to do more with fewer resources, state and local government workers feel the public is more aware of the importance of the work they are doing, which has contributed to a boost in job satisfaction.

The fact that we find it in the public interest to monitor quit rates immediately calls to mind one last reflection, David Graeber’s 2018 book, *Bullshit Jobs*. This is a book that identifies several kinds of meaningless work, each of which is so pointless and unnecessary that the people engaged in these kinds of work are profoundly unfulfilled, with equally profound societal consequences.

Interestingly enough, Graeber observed that most of these jobs are in the private sector, not the public or NGO sectors. The routine public service provided by people who manage municipal wastewater, for example, falls well outside the “flunkies,” “goons,” “duct tapers,” “box tickers,” and “taskmasters” that embody the pointlessness of the contemporary world of work.

Our anthropological training prompts us to question everything, and I, for one, am grateful for the chance to ponder and appreciate the public good that is served by the people collecting wastewater samples. Their work contributes meaningfully to the control and prevention of infectious disease, along with the misery and untimely deaths it has visited disproportionately among vulnerable communities. 🌀

#ACCESSIBLEANTHRO

Becoming an Accessible Association

By Ramona Pérez and Nell Koneczny

The response to our 2022 Annual Meeting theme, “Unsettling Landscapes,” has been tremendous and the many calls for papers demonstrate a profound commitment to deep conversations about our discipline, research, perspectives, and collaborations. In February, we held a town hall to introduce some changes in procedures for people stepping up to organize sessions, whether in virtual or face-to-face format. Our primary goal with these changes is simple—to recognize that among our many other points of reflection and change, accessibility demands our attention. Accessibility is a critical element in our quest for inclusion and equity that cannot be achieved until everyone interested in anthropology and our work can *meaningfully* engage with us.

Our commitment to addressing equitable access began in 2019 when AAA hired, as far as we are aware, the only full-time holistic accessibility expert on staff in any professional association outside of disability-related spaces. We are the first association outside of disability spaces to explicitly incorporate disability culture and its intentional inclusion within AAA as part of this role. As anthropologists, we should be proud of our community for advocating and supporting this intentional centering of disability and accessibility within our professional organization. In fact, as a field filled with experts on humankind, we owe it to this same community, disabled and nondisabled alike, to ensure accessible practices are embedded into our cultural fabric, so that as many people as possible who share our affinity for anthropology (and those yet to discover the discipline) can comfortably and confidently engage with our field and our association without hesitation. To do so, we need a holistic and collective approach. We need *collective access*, a term created to demonstrate an intentional and collective

response to assuring that no body or mind is left behind (see the work of writer and educator Mia Mingus and disability justice performance project Sins Invalid for more).

We invite you as AAA members and as anthropologists to support an accessible and inclusive community by personally contributing to developing and ensuring our space and our materials are accessible. Over the years, we have seen the positive effects of more intentional accessibility at our Annual Meeting, whether in-person or virtual. Disabled colleagues and students have shared the positive impacts and their cautious optimism for what these initiatives mean for their ability to be active participants in a field that historically has not only excluded disabled people but treated disabled people as nothing more than objects of study.

Now we ask you as our peers to take personal responsibility in ensuring our spaces grow ever more accessible. We ask you to honor the 2021 AAA Annual Meeting theme of “Truth and Responsibility,” spearheaded by Bianca Williams, as we move into this year’s Annual Meeting theme of “Unsettling Landscapes,” led by Courtney Lewis, by disrupting the way we have traditionally presented our work and creating a new landscape that levels the field of access for

our disabled colleagues, collaborators, and guests. Session organizers are now responsible for ongoing communication with and for all participants in their sessions, from the beginning of the submission process to the meeting itself. Part of this responsibility includes ensuring that we support our access team and disabled attendees by providing materials that make our work more available to a wider audience, outlined in multiple AAA accessibility guides.

To learn more about these requirements and recommendations, we invite you to view the webinar recording that I hosted, in which I provide additional explanation for why we are taking accessibility so seriously, in what ways it supports our access providers and attendees with access needs, and how I will be contributing to this process that is unsettling our Annual Meeting cycle (available on the AAA YouTube channel). Nell and I thank you for partnering with us in this new journey.

Visit americananthro.org/annual-meeting for the latest information and to learn more about accessibility and accommodations in the AAA. 🌀

Ramona Pérez is AAA president, 2021–2023. **Nell Koneczny** is the AAA’s accessibility and meetings manager.

Contact the AAA

Ed Liebow, Executive Director,
eliebow@americananthro.org

Elaine Lynch, Deputy Executive Director/CFO,
elynch@americananthro.org

Elections, elections@americananthro.org

Webmaster, webmaster@americananthro.org

Membership Services, members@americananthro.org

Publications, pubs@americananthro.org

Meetings, aaameetings@americananthro.org

AAA Members in the News

Taylor R. Genovese, PhD candidate in human and social dimensions of science and technology at Arizona State University, appeared in the Rudolf and Wenner Herzog documentary *Last Exit: Space*, in which he talks about the implications of humans moving into space, and was mentioned in reviews of the film in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Boston Globe*.



Genovese

Hugh Gusterson, professor of anthropology and public policy at the University of British Columbia, wrote “Ukraine and the Post-Cold War World” for the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February 25, 2022.



Gusterson

Shannon Peck-Bartle, Rose Hill Cemetery Place-Based Learning Project and educator with the Hillsborough County School District, and **Antoinette Jackson**, professor and chair of the Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida, and primary investigator of the African American Burial Ground and Remembering Project, coauthored “It’s a Matter of Dignity and Justice to



Jackson

Acknowledge African American Cemetery Erasure” in the *Tampa Bay Times*, February 2, 2022.

Adriana Petryna, professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, wrote “What Russia Is Stirring up at Chernobyl” in the *Atlantic*, March 2, 2022.



Petryna

Daromir Rudnycky, professor of anthropology at the University of Victoria, spoke about cryptocurrency and its role in the war in Ukraine for *A Little More Conversation* with Ben O’Hare-Byrne on Global News and Corus radio stations, March 18, 2022.



Peck-Bartle



Rudnycky

New Fellows and Awards

Congratulations to **Sean Bruna**, associate professor of anthropology at Western Washington University, on receiving the university’s **2022 Equity and Inclusion Achievement Award**. The annual award “recognizes a student, staff, faculty member or office for outstanding contributions to advancing inclusive student, faculty or staff success, enhancing academic excellence, and/or increasing Western’s impact in Washington within the context of equity and inclusion.”

Congratulations to **Jeffrey Cohen**, professor of anthropology at Ohio State University, on being named a **2022 Outreach and Engagement Scholar** by the university’s Office of Outreach and Engagement. Working collaboratively with the Bhutanese community of Central Ohio, Cohen and the research team “are developing new pathways to resolve pressing issues around the pandemic, access to education, and challenges to well-being while promoting a just future.”



Bruna



Cohen

If you have received an award or appeared in the media recently, please let us know by emailing Gabrielle Dunkley, AAA’s manager of communications and marketing (gdunkley@americananthro.org).

American Anthropological Association Election 2022

AAA Executive Board

Candidates for AAA Executive Board Minority Seat (3-year term)

Santiago Guerra
Gillian Richards-Greaves

Candidates for AAA Executive Board Practicing/Professional Seat (3-year term)

Matt Artz
Adam Gamwell

Candidates for AAA Section Assembly Executive Committee/Executive Board Small Seat (3-year term)

David Beriss
Murray Leaf

Candidates for AAA Section Assembly Executive Committee/Executive Board Medium Seat (3-year term)

Adam Van Arsdale

AAA Nominations Committee

Candidates for AAA Nominations Committee Archaeology Seat (3-year term)

John Millhauser

Candidates for AAA Nominations Committee Cultural Seat (3-year term)

Tracy Samperio

Candidates for AAA Nominations Committee Undesignated Seat (3-year term)

Noha Fikry
Anyia Meave

AAA Members Programmatic Advisory and Advocacy Committee

Candidate for Members Programmatic Advisory and Advocacy Committee Human Rights Seat (3-year term)

Sonia Chinn
Eric Hirsch

Candidates for Members Programmatic Advisory and

Advocacy Committee Public Policy Seat (3-year term)

Robert Hahn
Martin Schoenhals

SECTIONS

American Ethnological Society

Candidate for Councilor (4-year term)

Daromir Rudnycky

Anthropology & Environment Section

Candidates for At-Large Seat (2-year term)

Maryann R. Cairns
Jerome Whittington

Candidates for At-Large Seat (2-year term)

Victoria C. Ramenzoni
Jerry C. Zee

Archaeology Division

Candidates for Secretary (2-year term)

Nedra Lee
Nerissa Russell

Candidates for Treasurer (3-year term)

Katharine W. Fernstrom
John H. Walker

Candidates for Nominations Committee Chair-Elect (3-year term)

Andrew M. Bauer
Uzma Rizvi

Candidate for Publication Director (3-year term)

Laurie A. Wilkie

Candidates for At-Large Seat (2-year term)

Aja Lans
Elena Sesma

Candidate for Student Seat (2-year term)

Gabrielle C. Miller

Association for Africanist Anthropology

Candidate for Treasurer (2-year term)

Jennie Burnet

Candidate for Secretary (2-year term)

Jasmine L. Blanks Jones

Candidate for Program Editor (2-year term)

Omolade Adunbi

Association for Anthropology of Consciousness

Candidate for President

John Baker

Candidate for At-Large Seat

Evgenia Fotiou

Candidate for At-Large Seat

Christopher Santiago

Candidate for Communications Chair

Dharon Sharling

Association for Political Legal Anthropology

Candidate for At-Large Seat (3-year term)

Hayal Akarsu

Candidate for At-Large Seat (3-year term)

Anna Offit

Association of Black Anthropologists

Bylaws change

Association of Latina and Latino Anthropologists

Candidate for President-Elect (2-year term, followed by 2-year term as President)

Guillermina Gina Núñez-Mchiri

Candidates for At-Large Seats (3-year terms); vote for 3

Miguel Díaz-Barriga
Manuel Galaviz-Ceballos
Almita Miranda

Bylaws change

Association of Senior Anthropologist

Candidate for President-Elect (2-year term)

Jean “Jay” Schensul

Candidate for Secretary (2-year term)

Laura J. Zimmer-Tamakoshi

Candidate for At-Large Seat (2-year term)

Helena Wulff

Association for the Anthropology of Policy

Candidates for Copresidents-Elect (2-year term)

Noemi Lendvai-Bainton and
Sarah Elaine Raskin

Association for Queer Anthropology

Candidate for Cochair (2-year term)

Tamar Shirinian

Candidate for Secretary (2-year term)

Richard Joseph Martin

Candidates for Communications Director (2-year term)

Timothy Gitzen
Michael Connors Jackman

Biological Anthropology Section

Candidates Student Seat (2-year term)

Adam J. Schaefer
Adam Netzer Zimmer

Council for Museum Anthropology

Candidate for President-Elect (2-year term)

Christina J. Hodge

Candidate for Treasurer (2-year term)

Claire Nicholas

Candidate for Secretary (2-year term)

Sowparnika Balaswaminathan
Lillia McEnaney

Council on Anthropology and Education

Candidate for President-Elect
(1-year term, followed by a 1-year term as President and 1 year as Past President)
Denise “Denni” Blum

Candidate for At-Large Seat
(3-year term)
Deborah “Deb” Palmer
Bylaws change

Culture and Agriculture

Candidate for Members At-Large #2
(2-year term)
Emily McKee

General Anthropology Division

Candidate for President-Elect
(2-year term)
Juno Salazar Parreñas

Candidate for Communications Officer
(2-year term)
Rebekah Cupitt

Candidates for At-Large Seat
(3-year terms)
David Shane Lowry
Katie Nelson

Middle East Section

Candidate for Treasurer
(3-year term)
Nadia Guessous

Candidates for At-Large Seats
(3-year terms); vote for 2
Nell Gabiam
Bridget Guarasci
Kali Rubaii

Candidate for Student Seat
(3-year term)
Matthew DeMaio
Timothy Y. Loh

National Association for the Practice of Anthropology

Candidate for President-Elect
(2-year term)
Rachel Hall-Clifford

Candidates for At-Large Seat
(2-year term)
Suanna Selby Crowley
Carla Guerrón Montero

VISIT THE AAA WEBSITE FOR ONLINE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS.

Contact Kim Baker at elections@americananthro.org with any questions or to request a copy of the online ballot.

National Association of Student Anthropologist

Candidate for President
(1-year term)
Mercedes Blancaflor
Candidate for President-Elect
(1-year term followed by 1-year term as President)
Emma Ruth Rau

Candidates for Graduate Student At-Large
(2-year term)
Kaitlin Nicole Robinson
Kiley Stokes

Candidate for Undergraduate Student At-Large
(2-year term)
Joelle Jackson

Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges

Candidate for President-Elect
(1-year term followed by 2-year term as President)
Katie Nelson

Society for Anthropological Sciences

Candidate for Treasurer
(2-year term)
Denise Knisely

Candidate for At-Large Seat
(3-year term)
Werner B. Hertzog

Candidate for Student Seat
(2-year term)
Patricio Cruz y Celis Peniche

Society for Cultural Anthropology

Candidates for At-Large Seat
(5-year term)
Sa’ed Atshan
Miriam Ticktin

Society for East Asian Anthropology

Candidates for Treasurer
(3-year term)
Geng Li
Jun Zhang

Candidates for Councilor
(2-year term)
Nicholas Bartlett
Claudia Huang

Candidates for Councilor
(2-year term)
Paul Christensen
Kunisuke Hirano

Candidates for Student Seat
(2-year term)
Sojung Kim
Yanping Ni

Society for Economic Anthropology

Candidate for President-Elect
(1-year term)
Laura L. Cochrane

Candidates for At-Large Seats
(3-year terms); vote for 3
Erik Bähre
Marc Brightman
A.J. Faas
Amanda Hilton
Dawn Rivers

Society for Humanistic Anthropology

Candidates for At-Large Seats
(3-year terms); vote for 2
Joseph Michael Valente
Taylor Hazan

Society for Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology

Candidate for President-Elect
(1-year term as President-Elect, 3-years as President)
Sarah R. Taylor

Society for Linguistic Anthropology

Candidates for At-Large Seat
(3-year term)
Netta Avineri
Xochitl Marsilli-Vargas

Society for Medical Anthropology

Candidates for President-Elect
(1-year term, followed by a 2-year term as President, 1-year term as Past President)
P. Sean Brotherton
David S. Simmons

Candidates for Secretary
(3-year term)
Kristin Hedges
Narelle Warren

Candidates for At-Large Seat
(3-year term)
Abigail A. Dumes
Aalyia Feroz Ali Sadruddin

Candidates for Student Seat
(3-year term)
Alyssa Basmajian
Yesmar Ovarzun

Society for the Anthropology of Europe

Candidates for President-Elect
(2-year term, followed by a 2-year term as President)
Noelle Molé Liston
Dorothy Louise Zinn

Candidates for Program Chair-Elect
(1-year term, followed by a 1-year term as Program Chair)
Jonathan Bach
Smoki Musaraj

Candidate for Secretary-Elect
(1-year term, followed by a 1-year term as Secretary)
Agnieszka Pasieka

Candidates for Membership and Public Relations Chair
(2-year term)
Salvatore Giusto
Giacomo Loperfido
Seth Murray

Candidates for Student Seat
(2-year term)
Jill Pope
April Reber

Candidates for At-Large Seat
(2-year term)
Ognjen Kojanić
Dave Wilson

Society for the Anthropology of Food and Nutrition

Candidate for President-Elect
(1-year term as President-Elect, 2-year term as President, 1-year term as Past President)
Amanda Green

Candidate for Student Seat
(2-year term)
Noha Fikry
Andrew Mitchel
Sophie Reilly

Society for the Anthropology of Religion

Candidates for President-Elect
(1-year term followed by a 2-year term as President)
Tulasi Srinivas
Mayfair Yang

Candidate for Secretary
(2-year term)
Naomi Haynes

Candidate for Student Seat
(2-year term)
C. William Campbell

Candidates for At-Large Seats
(2-year terms); vote for 4
Matteo “Teo” Benussi
James Bielo
Sophie Bjork-James
Adam Dunstan
Britt Halvorson
Jacob Hickman
Basit Kareem Iqbal
Jonathan Miles-Watson
Elayne Oliphant
Eugenia Rainey
Cameron David Warner

Society for the Anthropology of Work

Candidate for Treasurer
(3-year term)
Marcel LaFlamme

Candidate for Student Seat
(2-year term)
Pooja Nayak

Critical Urban Anthropology Association

Candidates for President-Elect
(2-year term, followed by a 2-year term as President, 2-year term as Past President)
Rashmi Sadana
Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz

Candidates for Secretary
(2-year term)
Helen A. Regis
Colin McLaughlin

Candidates for Councilor
(3-year term)
Claire Panetta
Lucero Radonic

Society for Visual Anthropology Election

Candidate for President-Elect
(1-year term, followed by a

2-year term as President, 1-year term Past President)
Harjant Gill

Candidates for At-Large Seats
(3-year terms); vote for 4
Camilo Leon-Quijano
Rodrigo F. Rentería-Valencia
Stephanie Sadre-Orafai
Gwyneth Talley
Alex Vailati
Eric Weissman

New AAA Staff

Caitlyn Kolhoff joined the AAA in August 2021 as the new education program manager. Caitlyn assists with the design, development, and delivery of education and professional development programs and informational resources on careers for anthropologists. She also works with AAA’s institutional research program.

Before joining AAA, Caitlyn worked as a university financial analyst. During her time working in higher education, she designed and implemented university trainings, counseled students on financial literacy, and worked to improve academic persistence.

Caitlyn earned her BS in Anthropology and her MA in Cultural Resource Management from Central Michigan University, and she recently completed her doctorate in Educational Technology. When she is not in the office, she enjoys scuba diving and competing in triathlons.

Meagan Shirley joined AAA in August 2021 as the new executive office coordinator. In her new role, Meagan assists the executive



director, deputy director/CFO, and director of development with administrative duties. Her main responsibilities are managing the Annual Meeting Awards Program, development research, and assisting with the Internship Program.

Meagan comes to the Association with several years of administrative experience in nonprofit organizations. Prior to joining AAA, Meagan was the office coordinator for the American Society for Overseas Research. She worked for several years in commercial archaeology in the Washington, DC, area and collections management at the Smithsonian Institution and George Washington’s Mount Vernon.

Meagan earned her BA in Archaeology and Art History from the College of Wooster and MA in Medieval Archaeology from the University of Sheffield. Her research looked at the invasion of England by the Great Viking Army in the ninth century, particularly the army’s activities in the winter encampment at Torksey. Outside of work, Meagan enjoys reading, knitting, and travelling. 🧶



Douglas A. Feldman

1947–2020

Douglas A. Feldman, professor emeritus and former chair of the Department of Anthropology at SUNY Brockport, passed away from complications of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) on August 30, 2020, in Rochester, New York.



Feldman had nearly 40 years of experience in the anthropology of AIDS. He was the first anthropologist to develop as principal investigator a research study on HIV/AIDS in the United States in 1982—among gay men in New York City. He was also the first anthropologist to conduct a research study on AIDS in Africa in 1985—among hospitalized persons with AIDS in Rwanda. In 1988, he significantly influenced AIDS policy in Bangladesh after meeting with government officials and the media. Feldman’s major contribution to the anthropology of AIDS was illuminating the importance of qualitative data and best practices for utilizing it.

Feldman served as the president of the Society for Medical Anthropology (SMA) 2011–2013. At the time, it was the second largest section of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) with 1,300 members. As president, Feldman co-organized the joint SMA/MAN-EASA (Medical Anthropology Network-European Association of Social Anthropologists) conference on “Encounters and Engagements: Creating New Agendas for Medical Anthropology,” in Tarragona, Spain, June 2013. It was a successful conference, attended by scholars from all over the world.

In addition to conducting academic research, Feldman also worked directly with communities to improve the lives of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). Most notably, Feldman led the formation of the AIDS Center of Queens County (ACQC) in the face of strong (and sometimes violent) opposition in 1987. He wrote the initial successful grant that started the organization, incorporated it, assembled the board of directors, and hired staff. Today, this important organization continues to provide case management for PLWHA, an AIDS hotline, and a comprehensive HIV education program. It has also grown to include mental health services, housing services, and a needle exchange program. It is currently serving over 10,000 clients at five sites.

Additionally, Feldman conducted AIDS social and behavioral research in Zambia, Senegal, Uganda, Hungary, New York City, Rochester (New York), and South Florida. He wrote or edited seven books: *The Social Dimensions of AIDS: Method and Theory* (1986), *Culture and AIDS* (1990), *Global AIDS Policy* (1994), *The AIDS Crisis: A Documentary History* (1998), *AIDS, Culture, and Africa* (2008), *Ethnicity and Health Care Delivery: Sexually Transmitted Diseases* (2009), and *AIDS, Culture, and Gay Men* (2010), as well as 82 other papers, posters, and articles. Feldman started the AIDS and Anthropology Research Group (AARG) in 1986, which grew rapidly under his leadership. In 1988 he founded the AAA Task Force on AIDS.

Feldman served as a professor at SUNY Brockport from 2001 to his retirement in 2016, and previous to that he was a research associate professor in the Department of Epidemiology and Public Health at the University of Miami School of Medicine (1989–1994). He also had extensive experience as a practicing anthropologist (1994–2001). This led him to serve as the treasurer of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) (2002–2004). He was appointed as a visiting professor at the University of Debrecen in Debrecen, Hungary, in 2009. Feldman received the Moher Downing Distinguished Service Award (2008) and the Solon T. Kimball Award for Public and Applied Anthropology (1996).

Feldman is survived by his sister, Jacqueline S. F. Ginsberg; his brothers Alan Feldman and Monroe J. Feldman; his sister-in-law Jeanie Feldman; his nephews Steve Miller, Adam Feldman, and Steven “Sonny” Ginsberg; his nieces Janice G. Miller and Lizzie Kaplan-Ginsberg; great-nephews Ben and Gray Ginsberg; great-nieces Sela, Liora, and Sage Ginsberg; and many friends, including anthropologists Anne Buddenhagen, Irene Ketonen-Keating, and Serena Nanda. As a mentor, he always had time to provide clear commentary and good advice on any academic project. His wisdom and caring will be greatly missed. (*Irene Ketonen-Keating*)

AN is the AAA’s major vehicle for information about the death of our colleagues. Please notify AN editor Natalie Konopinski (nkonopinski@americananthro.org) as soon as you learn of a death. We welcome In Memoriam notices of ~500 words with an accompanying photograph. Please check facts with the deceased’s family and colleagues prior to submission. For information on potential *American Anthropologist* obituaries, contact obituary editor Ira R. Bashkow (ib6n@virginia.edu).

TSVETELINA HRISTOVA, “AFFECTIVE ECONOMIES IN THE DIVISION OF LABOR”

Ahmed, Sara. 2004. “Affective Economies.” *Social Text*, 22(2): 117–139. https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-22-2_79.
Ahmed, Sara. 2013. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York and London: Routledge.
Gilbreth, Frank, B. 1914. “Scientific Management in the Hospital.” *Modern Hospital* 3: 321–324.
Gilbreth, Frank, B. and Gilbreth, Lillian, M., 1916. *Fatigue Study: The Elimination of Humanity’s Greatest Unnecessary Waste, a First Step in Motion Study*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
Parsons, Talcott, 1991 [1951]. *The Social System*. East Sussex: Psychology Press.
Vorna, Kalindi. 2015. *Life Support: Biocapital and the New History of Outsourced Labor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Whitney, Shiloh. 2018. Byproductive Labor: A Feminist Theory of Affective Labor beyond the Productive–Reproductive Distinction. *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 44(6): 637–660. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2F0191453717741934>.

TRACY PILAR JOHNSON, CHLOÉ ROUBERT, AND MICKI SEMLER, “SHIFTING DESIGN, SHARING POWER”

Gates, Bill, and Melinda French Gates. 2020. “2020 Goalkeepers Report. COVID-19: A Global Perspective.” September 2020, <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/goalkeepers/report/2020-report/#GlobalPerspective>

Performance Monitoring for Action. 2020. “Gender & COVID-19: Safety and Violence.” November 2020, https://www.pmadata.org/sites/default/files/data_product_results/PMA%20Gender%20COVID%20Violence%20Safety%202021.pdf
Interview: Gates, Bill, and Melinda French Gates. Sep 17, 2020, <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/ideas/articles/coronavirus-kenya-india-pathways-data>

CARRIE LANE, “THE WORK OF GETTING ORGANIZED”

Pugh, Allison J. 2021. “Emotions and the Systematization of Connective Labor.” *Theory, Culture & Society*, November 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2F02632764211049475>

JULIUS-CEZAR MACQUARIE, “NIGHTWORK SCENES”

Arendt, Hannah. 1973. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. First published 1951 by Schocken Books.
Arendt, Hannah. 1958. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Allison, Anne. 1994. *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
MacQuarie, Julius-Cezar. 2017. “Invisible Denizens: Migrant Night Shift Workers’ Fragile Possibilities for Solidarity in the Post-circadian Capitalist Era.” Centre for Policy Studies. Working Papers, 4. <https://cps.ceu.edu/sites/cps.ceu.edu/files/attachment/publication/2905/cps-working-paper-invisible-denizens-2017.pdf>

2022 AAA Executive Board

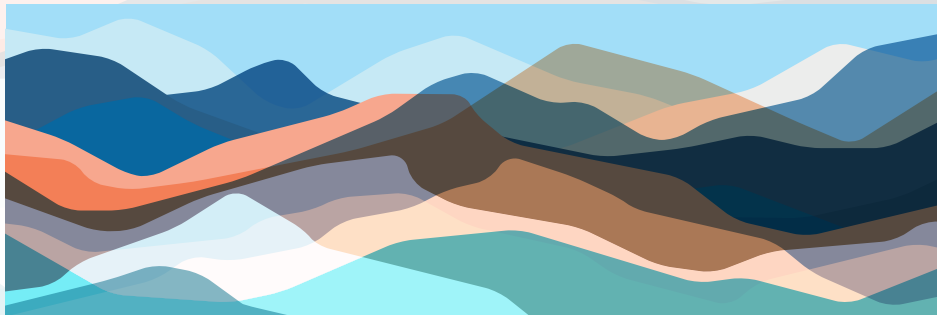
| | | |
|---|--|---|
| President Ramona Perez (2021–2023) | Biological Seat Jada Benn Torres (2020–2023) | Section Assembly EB-Medium Susan Falls (2019–2022) |
| President–Elect Whitney Battle–Baptiste (2021–2023) | Cultural Seat Karla Slocum (2021–2024) | Section Assembly EB-Large Erik Harms (2021–2024) |
| Secretary Gabriela Vargas–Cetina (2021–2024) | Linguistic Seat Barbra Meek (2020–2023) | Student Seat Brendane Tynes (2021–2024) |
| Treasurer Doug Henry (2018–2022) | Minority Seat Gillian Richards–Greaves (2019–2022) | Undesignated Seat 1 Stephen Acabado (2021–2024) |
| Convenor Elisa Sobo (2019–2022) | Practicing/Professional Seat Suzanne Heurтин–Roberts (2019–2022) | Undesignated Seat 2 Jeff Maskovsky (2021–2024) |
| Archaeology Seat Kathryn Sampeck (2020–2023) | Section Assembly EB-Small Murray Leaf (2019–2022) | Undesignated Seat 3 Kamela Heyward–Rotimi (2020–2023) |
| | | Executive Director Ex Officio Edward Liebow |



AMERICAN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

2300 Clarendon Boulevard, Suite 1301
Arlington, VA 22201-3386

American Anthropological Association



Unsettling Landscapes

2022 Annual Meeting • Nov. 9-13, Seattle, WA

Key Dates

- **Wednesday, April 13** – Special Event submissions open
- **Friday, June 3** – Special Event submission deadline
- **Week of July 5** – General Call accept/decline notifications and Special Event scheduling sent
- **Monday, July 18** – Late-Breaking and Workshops submissions open
- **Friday, August 19** – Late-Breaking and Workshops submissions deadline
- **Friday, September 9** – Registration deadline to appear on the program



AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION