
Crossroads

The University of Michigan Undergraduate
Journal of Anthropology



Ann Arbor, Michigan. Photo courtesy of Charles G. Adams.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor - Department of Anthropology

Winter 2018 Edition

Editors-in-Chief

Charles G. Adams

Theresa Beckley-Amaya

Graduate Student Advisor

Andrew Haxby

Editorial Board

Benjamin Blubaugh

Kristin Cimmerer

Andrew Mitchell

Sarah Ridzy

Chandler Veich

Bianca Winward

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Letter from the Editors | 1 |
| Gay Fatherhood: A Book Review | 2 |
| <i>by Caroline Richburg</i> | |
| Variation and Renegotiation of Prescribed Sexual Practices: A Social Discussion of Postpartum Abstinence Taboos in Africa..... | 8 |
| <i>by Sarah Ridzy</i> | |
| A Report on Sexual Health Disparities and Issues Faced by South Asian Women in East London, England | 16 |
| <i>by Sejal Mehta and Monica Mungarwadi</i> | |
| The Two Detroit's and Health Outcomes: Embodying 'Slow Violence' in a Post-Industrial City | 27 |
| <i>by Evan Barnett</i> | |
| Reimagining Work: The Impact of Neoliberalism on Universities and Engineering Students | 47 |
| <i>by Mehran Shamit</i> | |
| Archaeology and the Specter of Boas | 70 |
| <i>by Daniel Robert Hansen</i> | |
| The Importance of Community Engagement at Archaeological Sites in Egypt | 83 |
| <i>by Anne Sherfield</i> | |

Letter from the Editors

Dear Readers,

On behalf of the Editorial Board, it is our pleasure to share this volume of *Crossroads*: the University of Michigan Undergraduate Journal of Anthropology. The articles in this volume represent the outstanding anthropological research and writing that is currently being accomplished at the undergraduate level at the University of Michigan and many other colleges and universities. We are proud that this Journal represents the diversity of theoretical and methodological approaches at use in anthropology today.

This volume is divided into two thematic sections. The four essays in the first section “Identity, Sexuality, and Social Health” explore questions of identity with regard to gender, sexuality, and race concerning their intersections with mental and physical health. In “*Gay Fatherhood: A Book Review*,” author Caroline Richburg reviews *Gay Fatherhood* -- an ethnography from Ellen Lewin -- as an exploration of the questions of identity that present themselves to gay men during the pursuit and realization of fatherhood. Author Sarah Ridzy discusses how postpartum abstinence practices might reflect and impact women’s social status in several African countries, paying particular attention to longitudinal variation in taboo length, the reckoning of the benefits and risks of taboo adherence, and the potentially oppressive nature of abstinence taboos in “Variation and Renegotiation of Prescribed Sexual Practices: A Social Discussion of Postpartum Abstinence Taboos in Africa.” Authors Sejal Mehta and Monica Mungarwadi examine the sexual health disparities faced by South Asian women in the East End of London, England. To round out this thematic section, author Evan Barnett draws upon the concept of environmental racism to explore the ways in which differentiated access to space and the environments of the two Detroit’s relates to health and wellness of residents. The three essays in the second section “Reflections on Academic Institutions” analyze particular tendencies and norms within academia as they relate to their students, their organization, and their engagement among various local communities. In “Reimagining Work: The Impact of Neoliberalism on Universities and Engineering Students,” author Mehran Shamit addressing the influence of neoliberalism on the engineering program at the University of Toronto. In “Archaeology and the Specter of Boas,” author Daniel Robert Hansen reflects upon Boas’ ‘four-field approach’ and the ways that archaeological study can benefit from further implementation of his ideas. Finally, author Anne Sherfield reflects on the significance of engagement by archaeologists with local communities for the long term preservation of key archaeological sites in Egypt in “The Importance of Community Engagement at Archaeological Sites in Egypt.”

We would like to thank every member of the Editorial Board for offering their patience, time, and intellect to reading and evaluating these submissions. In addition, this issue would not have been possible without the help of the faculty in the Department of Anthropology.

Sincerely,

Charles G. Adams and Theresa Beckley-Amaya, Co Editors-in-Chief, *Crossroads*

Identity, Sexuality, and Social Health

Gay Fatherhood: A Book Review

by Caroline Richburg

*This book review discusses Ellen Lewin's 2009 ethnography, *Gay Fatherhood*. Lewin's work is the sum of interviews with ninety-five gay men, including both intentional gay fathers who have actively pursued fatherhood as gay men and also formerly married gay fathers who self-identify as "gay dads." Lewin frames gay fatherhood in the meanings it holds for the men who are engaged in it, presenting a series of narratives to highlight common themes and synthesize them into an analysis of how and why gay men choose to become fathers, obstacles that come with pursuing gay fatherhood, and how gay fathers come to understand themselves. This review discusses Lewin's exploration of gay men's self-perception, identity, and racial and sexual choices during the pursuit and realization of fatherhood. This review concludes by critiquing the ways in which gay males are characterized distinctly from their heterosexual counterparts, highlighting differences in Lewin's account of adulthood and maturation for gay fathers as opposed to their heterosexual counterparts.*

"That's family, that's home. That's what I like. It's so traditional anyway . . . Like a picket fence and those types of things," says Tyrone, father to eleven-year-old Damian (Lewin 2009, 111). Here, Tyrone describes the qualities of a good home: warm and inviting with a real Christmas tree, a fire place, and dogs prancing about (Lewin 2009, 111). Tyrone has a business degree and is currently enrolled in divinity school; his spouse is a lawyer. Together, they live in Chicago and go to church every Sunday. They have "family game night" once a week, where extended family gathers to eat a large dinner and play games. They are the quintessential American family, or so it seems. Only, they aren't. Tyrone is gay and married via holy union to his spouse, Thomas, and together, they are the gay fathers of Damian.

Thomas and Tyrone are one couple discussed in *Gay Fatherhood*, an ethnographic study of gay fathers in the United States by anthropologist Ellen Lewin. Lewin conducted her anthropologic field work in the Chicago, San Francisco Bay, Los Angeles, and Iowa City areas between 1999 and 2003. Her work is the sum of interviews with ninety-five gay men, including both intentional gay fathers who have actively pursued fatherhood as gay men and also formerly

married gay fathers who self-identify as “gay dads” (Lewin 2009, 35). Her stated goal is not to discuss political implications, but to “frame gay fatherhood in the meanings it holds for the men who are engaged in it” (Lewin 2009, 36). Lewin presents a series of narratives, highlighting common themes and synthesizing them into an analysis of how and why gay men choose to become fathers, obstacles that come with pursuing gay fatherhood, and how gay fathers come to understand themselves. Private, public, and international adoptions are discussed alongside reproductive technologies. Fathers choose among these methods for a variety of motivations ranging from “natural” instinct to financial feasibility to geographic relation with the child’s birth mother.

Through this exploration of methods and challenges, Lewin draws attention to the ways in which self-perception and identity are questioned, namely through the roles of gay man, gay father, and gay spouse. Lewin frames gay fathers as inherently paradoxical, resolving that both gay fathers and society at large see a diametric opposition between gayness and fatherhood. She reasons that the gay men are frequently associated with frivolous, youthful behavior and superfluous consumption, while fatherhood symbolizes adulthood, fiscal responsibility, and masculinity defined by emotional distance. Gay men bridge this disconnect, turning away from consumption and levity for a life of “fully adult” responsibilities. Lewin raises the point that children are frequently the element that brings an individual to “fully adult status,” or a single person or couple to the status of “family” in America. For example, Enrique, a single gay father living in San Francisco, expressed that fatherhood allowed him to challenge his own parents’ notions of him as not fully grown up (Lewin 2009, 47). Fatherhood, in this way, legitimized Enrique’s adulthood. Similarly, Lewin highlights another couple, Matthew and Liam, who felt that parenthood reaffirmed their “togetherness” as a couple. For them, having a child symbolized stability—that they were “in this together” (Lewin 2009, 43).

Despite the affirmations of adulthood and family that come along with fatherhood for some gay men, gay fathers remain at a nuanced intersection. During and after becoming fathers, they no longer align with “queer fundamentalism,” which Lewin defines as the culturally particular patterns and behaviors that mark the gay community—namely composed of

stereotypes of transgressive behavior. Simultaneously, gay men do not fit within the framework of a stereotypical American dad (Lewin 2009, 181-182). This becomes a driving point for Lewin's discussion, as she explores the ways in which gay men navigate the perceived boundary between gayness and parenthood to conceive their own identities and how others see them. Illinois couple Paul and Keith declared, "Oh, we're not gay anymore. We pick our friends by what time their kids' nap time is" (Lewin 2009, 153). Paul and Keith's joke reveals a dichotomy between roles of gayness and fatherhood in their own minds, asserting that the identities, for them, are compartmentalized. Chris and John, another Illinois couple, expressed similar sentiments: "... I feel like we've joined another club and this is the club of parents of three-year-old girls" (Lewin 2009, 160). Again, we see a couple distancing themselves from gayness to more deeply embrace normative American fatherhood.

Lewin expands on these self-perceptions to uncover preferences across families, particularly in terms of race and sex choice. Many gay fathers searched for children resembling them in some fundamental way. For instance, Lewin profiles Chicago couple Alan and Art who sought a Jewish egg donor so that they could have a child with common religious ancestry (Lewin 2009, 67-68). Similarly, aforementioned couple Tyrone and Thomas expressed that – as black men themselves – adopting black sons was their moral obligation (Lewin 2009, 111-112). In terms of gender preference, Tyrone and Thomas had a strong preference for males. They stated that they have a "male household," turning to jokes about chastity belts and feminine hygiene when pressed for further explanation (Lewin 2009, 112). By contrast, Lewin describes another couple who felt obligated to adopt daughters because they thought it would be morally questionable to adopt a son as a gay couple. This Midwestern couple, Frank and Carl, chose to adopt girls in hopes that their motivations would be seen as acceptable by adoptive agencies (Lewin 2009, 76). In this way, *Gay Fatherhood* profiles narratives in a series of contrasts that ultimately lead the reader to the conclusion that gay fatherhood – and, perhaps, gayness and fatherhood as broader phenomena – are marked by sweeping diversity.

While Lewin effectively demonstrates the diversity of this community, she characterizes the stereotypical gay male as an over-consuming, outcast member of society with no interest in

settling down. This characterization lies in contrast with a timeless, fiscally responsible, fully adult heterosexual counterpart. Frivolous pastimes are presented as exclusively gay with no end date. Lewin fails to recognize that the vast majority of individuals – homosexual and heterosexual – spend time during youth casually before moving towards a more settled lifestyle, often marked by marriage and parenthood. While Lewin does point to gay men in search of stability and domesticity – a move towards heteronormative behavior – she does not make the reverse connection for heterosexual counterparts who are not “settled down.” In other words, Lewin does not acknowledge parallel behavior by heterosexual youth in the process of maturing towards adulthood and parenthood. The result is a discussion of homosexuals as the sole transgressive social group. It is critical to note that heterosexual people, too, often engage in phases of life marked by different amusements before ultimately choosing to become a parent. By discussing homosexual transitions from youthful foolishness to mature domesticity while omitting the heterosexual corollary, Lewin constructs heterosexuals as family-oriented and settled-down universally and for time evermore. This move implies that homosexuals are the decidedly and singly irresponsible at baseline, both a mischaracterization and a reduction of the homosexual community.

Gay Fatherhood is a compelling read for those interested in constructions of family in America, populations which challenge the social norm, and heartwarming tales of children who find their way home. Lewin weaves together a series of intriguing narratives to underscore the ways in which gay fathers have come to understand themselves in twenty-first century America. It is important to note, however, that Lewin’s work was published in 2009, six years before *Obergefell v. Hodges*, the US Supreme Court ruling which legalized gay marriage in all 50 states. Surely, this ruling and its associated social affirmations and legal benefits have changed the experience of gay fatherhood in the United States. It would be interesting to read an ethnography exploring gay fatherhood after this ruling. Nonetheless, Lewin’s work illustrates that gay fatherhood, diverse as it may be, was not an isolated incident in twenty-first century America before marriage equality. Rather, gay men were pursuing fatherhood and enjoying lives of white picket fences and giggling children with ever-increasing acceptance.

Caroline Richburg is a junior at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, double-majoring in Anthropology and Biomolecular Science. Her interests within medical anthropology include critical theory, construction of disease, structural violence, science and technology studies, and South Asian studies. After graduation, she hopes to attend medical school and continue to combine anthropology and medicine as an obstetrician-gynecologist invested in public health work. She is interested in pursuing an MD/MPH focused on health inequity and disparities, particularly in India. Outside of academia, Caroline is a classical ballerina and travel enthusiast.

References

Lewin, Ellen. 2009. *Gay Fatherhood: Narratives of Family and Citizenship in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Supreme Court of the United States. *Obergefell v. Hodges*. 26 June 2015.

Variation and Renegotiation of Prescribed Sexual Practices: A Social Discussion of Postpartum Abstinence Taboos in Africa

by Sarah Ridzy

This paper discusses the lived social experiences and local explanations of postpartum abstinence taboos in a sample of several African countries. Paying particular attention to longitudinal variation in taboo length, the reckoning of the benefits and risks of taboo adherence, and the potentially oppressive nature of abstinence taboos, this paper seeks to show how these social practices might reflect and impact women's social status in the discussed regions. Additionally, factors such as urbanization and opportunities for higher education have altered the landscape of postpartum taboo practices. The modification of these social patterns, and the general increase in leniency surrounding their moral enforcement, is an example of the impacts of modernization on traditional practices. This paper argues for the importance of viewing postpartum abstinence taboos as dynamic responses to physical and social environments which are subject to constant spacial and temporal variation as well as renegotiation.

Postpartum abstinence taboos have been a popular topic in anthropological research for decades. Researchers have achieved a biological understanding of this phenomenon as an adaptive response to nutrition pressures surrounding short birth intervals, but this perspective is not the only way to value the lived realities of such taboos. Abstaining from intercourse, and thus avoiding pregnancy during the breastfeeding period, may have the potential to save the lives of vulnerable infants, but that is not the full story. Adherence or non-adherence to these taboos may also save or otherwise alter the social lives of the parents who enact them. This paper will share local explanations for postpartum abstinence taboos in a sample of communities in East and West Africa and will suggest how these explanations impact women's status in these regions. Additionally, it will explore how these taboos vary in dimensions of both

time and space, with regionally patterned distinctions between taboos across the continent as well as with modification of taboo attitudes and behaviors over time. With this discussion, I would like to present the argument that the process of modernity is helpful in decreasing gender disparities in parenting relationships, particularly as it is occurring in the discussed African communities.

There is no single global system of biomedical understanding. African constructions of the body and the process of creation by shared substance informs local social discourse about the childrearing process. The maternal sharing of substance extends beyond the literal act of procreation and persists through infancy and toddlerhood, facilitated by the practice of breastfeeding. During this distinct period, a common narrative shared in some African communities is that the mother should not endanger her infant's food supply by having intercourse, as this would lead to the mixing of her milk and the introduced semen, thus poisoning her milk. When asked to explain their family planning processes, mothers will also cite child spacing as an important value, but the tainting of milk by having forbidden intercourse is overwhelmingly the dominant narrative surrounding postnatal abstinence taboos (Van de Walle and Van de Walle 1989, 2-3). This construction of lactation physiology holds truth to many and thus makes this a subject of intricate biosociality.

As with most taboos, violators of these abstinence guidelines will not incur legal ramifications. In fact, the male who has sex with a nursing mother will often face no ramifications at all. The mother, however, will be met with an onslaught of social judgement and feelings of intense personal guilt. The tangible proof of such a transgression is seen in the child, with infant sickness being understood as evidence of this deviance. The terms for the afflictions vary with region, but they are most commonly discussed in anthropological and biomedical literatures as kwashiorkor and marasmus. These are calorie or protein deficiencies present in a poorly thriving infant with symptoms of "frequent diarrhea, malnutrition, abnormal thinness, poor growth, weak upper and lower limbs, generalized body weakness or paralysis" (Mbekenga et. al. 2013, 6). While these symptoms could be caused by a number of illnesses or diseases, in communities with postpartum sex taboos, blame is frequently placed on the mother and the poisoning of her milk

through forbidden intercourse. Consequences include “gossiping about [the couple’s] misbehavior, shame, and social stigma” (Mbekenga et al. 2013, 7).

In addition to child illness, there is an additional health risk involved in the long postpartum sex taboo narrative. The relative likelihood of a lactating mother’s partner engaging in infidelity is very high in these social systems, particularly in those which do not practice polygyny (Bongaarts et al. 1984, 522 and Mbekenga et al. 2013, 8). With infidelity comes a higher risk of HIV exposure, which could be passed along to the nursling if the father were to subsequently engage in sexual relations with the mother during her breastfeeding period (Alum et al. 2015, 3). This is a biological risk both solved and made more complicated by taboo-facilitated social innovations. In theory, abstinence from parental sexual relations would protect the nursling from HIV infection, but in actuality very few couples are able to adhere to the prescribed abstinence periods (Mbekenga et al. 2013, 9). The risk of passing on a new HIV infection to an infant is even more salient in eastern African societies and those with shorter taboos, which typically end before the nursing period does.

Women are put in a very complicated position here. Are they to break taboo-mediated moral norms so as to protect themselves and their babies against the risk of infidelity-induced HIV infection, or are they to adhere to abstinence demands so as to not be considered “irresponsible mothers” (Mbekenga et al. 2013, 8)? This conundrum itself is founded in misogynistic assumptions that reveal the severity of unequal status of women in many societies. Women in Tanzania who were interviewed about the conflicts between their required abstinence and the risk of marital infidelity consistently referenced paternal extra marital affairs as normal and beyond the control of the transgressor. Some went as far as to praise fathers who engaged in sexual relations with other women during their wife’s taboos, claiming that they were relieving themselves in ways that would not contaminate the infant’s food source with their fluids (Mbekenga et al. 2013, 6). This narrative, of course, silences the risk of HIV infection during periods of infidelity, which then puts both the mother and infant at risk when the parents do reengage in sexual relations.

In social systems such as this, women are to carry the social burden of postpartum abstinence taboos on their own shoulders, even and especially when such burdens contradict other demands in their lives as community members and partners. Mara Mabilia summarizes these conflicting pressures on Tanzanian women, particularly those who face social pressure to adhere to abstinence taboos, eloquently:

Here, therefore, for a mother to be a nurturer, with the weft ties of different nature — physiological, cultural and social— of which she holds herself and is held to be the bearer, is much more than just the exercise of the potentially typical of the female body. It is the realisation of behaviours and strategies, where knowing how to conjugate the duties of a mother, of a nurturer, but also those of a wife, becomes of primary importance in avoiding risk to that vital fluid, her milk, the indispensable nutrient for the correct growth of her offspring. (Mabilia 2007, 101)

The gendering of postpartum abstinence taboos are also outlined in the Encyclopedia of Medical Anthropology, albeit beside a flaw of referring to the practice as “an indigenous form of birth control” (Ember and Ember 2004, 1035). It is neither accurate to refer to this practice as indigenous nor to label it as simple a method of birth control, as this taboo is clearly multifaceted beyond such a definition. However, the Encyclopedia is at least halfway correct in stating that “the practice regulates the number of children a woman bears in a lifetime, but does not limit a man’s desire for a large family of children in a polygynous society” (Ember and Ember 2004, 1035). While postpartum abstinence taboos affect members of monogamous and polygons societies alike, this jarring statement validates some of the sentiments expressed above by Tanzanian informants while naturalizing male libido-motivated social transgressions. Even objective professional literature is capable of normalizing male infidelity in the interest of multiple successful reproduction efforts.

It is clear that postpartum abstinence taboos, at the very least, complicate the lives of mothers in ways that they do not complicate the lives of fathers. It could also be argued that they undermine female status, or at least confine female identity and judgement of status to the box of motherhood, especially as it pertains to successful nutrition of children. When mothers discuss these conflicts, they often cite the inherent strength of females as opposed to the morally and emotionally weaker, more animalistic males (Mbekenga et al. 2013, 8 and Alum et al.. 2015, 3).

This opens space for the discussion that the assumption that these taboos as purely oppressive towards women may be flawed (Buckley and Gottlieb 1988, 9-15).

This counterargument may very well have merit; however, it is objectively apparent that women in these positions are being controlled sexually, reproductively, and financially in ways that disallow equal say in several crucial aspects of their lives (Mbekenga et al. 2013, 9). Even if these “interventions in mothering” (Jolly 1998, 5) are not intended to be mechanisms of female oppression, they are undeniably at least partially so in consequence.

Interestingly, African abstinence taboos vary geographically with noteworthy patterns within the continent. Discussion of abstinence periods with subjective terms such as “short” and “long” has been enabled by the work of Schoenmaeckers et al., who mapped three categories of abstinence taboos within Africa. These include taboo durations of forty days or less; those longer than forty days and shorter than one year; and those exceeding one year (Bongaarts et al. 1984, 521). As many early studies cite, the longest of the taboos in the third category have been reported to last up to four years (Ember and Ember 2004, 1035).

These categorizations reveal several patterns. The shortest of the taboos— those lasting forty days or less— tend to have Islamic ties to Koranic guidelines. These populations aren’t divided in a longitudinal pattern and are found in clusters in both East and West Africa. The other two categories, however, have distinct regional variation. The middle-duration group— those who are prescribed to follow taboos of forty days to one year— are disproportionately found in East Africa, particularly in Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, and Cameroon (Benefo 1995). The longest taboos, ranging from one to four years, are largely found in West Africa, particularly among frequently studied populations in Tanzania and Uganda (Bongaarts et al. 1984, 522).

In many West African long-taboo regions, the abstinence period is discussed and enacted as being closely tied to the duration of breastfeeding. Many women will not consider their taboo as having ended until their child is successfully weaned. This leads to social consequences in how both women and children are treated, as women face both incentives for weaning (so as to end her taboo) and fears of doing so (with concerns regarding negative infant/child health outcomes due to premature weaning). Many of the juvenile symptoms which would be attributed to

violation of the abstinence taboo, and thus contamination of breastmilk, also occur with weaning, for example as a result of kwashiorkor (Mbekenga et al. 2013, 6). This introduces the possibility of potential social ramifications if a newly weaned child were to fall ill, allowing the community to reject the idea that the mother has weaned and to believe that she is attempting to cover up the violation of an abstinence taboo. The gossip and ostracizing ramifications in this circumstance could be great.

Regardless of how biological and social factors are woven together to create the ideal, real, and emic attitudes and behaviors of postpartum abstinence taboos, it is also clear that they are changing over time. When recent analyses are placed next to older studies, it is apparent that women— in eastern and western African and with “long” and “medium” taboos alike— are adhering to abstinence taboos for shorter periods of time than they previously did, and these trends are predicted to continue as African communities continue to take on more modern characteristics in the realms of urbanization, employment, and education (Benefo 1995, 153). The shortest of the taboos, the forty days or less category, is the only one of Shoemaekers’s three distinctions that has shown a recent increase in popularity, as a result of a growth in popularity of Islam (Van de Walle and Van de Walle 1989, 5). The members of communities which adhere to the other two categories are dramatically decreasing the strictness of their lived taboo adherences.

In present-day Uganda, higher levels of education and employment for both mothers and fathers, together or independent of one another, correlate with shorter abstinence taboo adherences (Alum et al. 2015, 8). This statistic is revealing on several levels. First of all, education and employment are offering either opportunities or pressures for parents to disregard more traditional parameters guiding their reproductive behavior. This could mean that economic situations are improving, allowing parents to support more young children at once, nutritionally and otherwise; or, it could indicate pressure to complete families at a younger parental age so that career resumption can commence more quickly. From a refreshingly optimistic perspective, it could also mean the following:

The availability of nontraditional opportunities weakens the hold of extended families and powerful religious norms and taboos over the behavior of individuals. As a result, individual couples have greater ability to regulate their lives. In the

case of abstinence, modernization theory suggests that as individual couples gain control over their lives, sexual unions depend increasingly on affection and romance for their stability. Sexual abstinence then falls into disfavor because it has negative effects on married couples' emotional stability. (Benefo 1995, 140)

This weakening of the extended family could lead to a threat of anomie among some kinship-valuing populations, and it would not be surprising to see some communities engaging in periods of revitalization for stricter taboos. However, this has not surfaced in anthropological literature yet. From any perspective, the argument can be made that educational opportunities are increasing autonomy and choice for many African women. One arena in which this is being expressed is postpartum abstinence taboos and the greater leniency therein.

Postpartum abstinence taboos exist in some forms in most societies, but the varied African interpretations of these taboos have captured the attention of anthropologists due to their regional variance, their overall prevalence and longevity, and their prominent role in the social world in many African communities. Studying these taboos as they were in the past as well as how they are changing over time is an invaluable practice in increasing an understanding of social gender roles and reproductive practices among these populations. The richness of regional variation and temporal renegotiation of postpartum abstinence taboo patterns in Africa make it the ideal landscape in which to seek answers to some of the questions surrounding the social reflections and impacts of such taboos, both within the continent and worldwide.

Sarah Ridzy is a senior at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology with a minor in Medical Anthropology.

References

- Alum, Alice C., Irene B. Kizza, Charles P. Osingada, Godfrey Katende, and Dan K. Kaye. 2015. "Factors Associated With Early Resumption of Sexual Intercourse Among Postnatal Women in Uganda." *Reproductive Health* 12, no. 1. doi:10.1186/s12978-015-0089-5.
- Benefo, Kofi D. 1995. "The Determinants of the Duration of Postpartum Sexual Abstinence in West Africa: A Multilevel Analysis." *Demography* 32, no. 2: 139. doi:10.2307/2061737.
- Bongaarts, John, Odile Frank, and Ron Lesthaeghe. 1984. "The Proximate Determinants of Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Population and Development Review* 10, no. 3: 511. doi:10.2307/1973518.
- Buckley, Thomas and Alma Gottlieb. 1988. "A Critical Appraisal of Theories of Menstrual Symbolism." In T. Buckley and A. Gottlieb, eds., *Blood Magic: An Anthropology of Menstruation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 3–40.
- Ember, Carol R., and Melvin Ember. 2004. *Encyclopedia of Medical Anthropology: Health and Illness in the World's Cultures*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Jolly, Margaret. 1998. Introduction: Colonial and Postcolonial Plots in Histories of Maternities and Modernities. *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, 1-25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mabilia, Mara. 2007. *Breast Feeding and Sexuality: Behaviour, Beliefs and Taboos Among the Gogo Mothers in Tanzania*. New York: Berghahn.
- Mbekenga, Columba K., Andrea B. Pembe, Elisabeth Darj, Kyllike Christensson, and Pia Olsson. 2013. "Prolonged Sexual Abstinence After Childbirth: Gendered Norms and Perceived Family Health Risks. Focus Group Discussions in a Tanzanian Suburb." *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 13, no. 1. doi:10.1186/1472-698x-13-4.
- Van de Walle, Etienne and van de Walle, Francine. 1989. "Postpartum sexual abstinence in tropical Africa." *PSC African Demography Working Paper Series*. 17. http://repository.upenn.edu/psc_african_demography/17.

Identity, Sexuality, and Social Health

A Report on Sexual Health Disparities and Issues Faced by South Asian Women in East London, England

by Sejal Mehta and Monica Mungarwadi

This paper examines the sexual health disparities faced by South Asian women in the East End of London, England. While South Asians make up the second largest ethnic group in the city, limited research is available on this community and the issues they face in maintaining sexual health. This report on sexual health disparities and issues faced by South Asian Women in East London, England was conducted through observations in fieldwork at the Ambrose King centre, a sexual health clinic, in Whitechapel and literature available today by two University of Michigan undergraduate students. As a result of this project, three main issues were found to dictate the sexual health disparities observed within this community: a lack of education on sexual health, restricted exposure to health care services due to domestic abuse and violence, and negative cultural stigmas related to maintaining sexual health. While the field notes taken and literature review reflect the health disparities faced by a specific population, this project may be useful in future research endeavors to obtain a greater understanding of the intersection of sexual health, culture and tradition, and education.

Introduction

Within the United Kingdom, Asians make up the largest minority group in the country. 5% of the total population (3,080,000 people) identifies as being being South Asian (SAHF 2014). London's East End is home to a high population of South Asian residents---specifically Bangladeshis. Bangladeshis alone make up 22.9% of the borough of Tower Hamlets which covers much of the East End (Gard'ner 2010). While South Asians make up a significant portion of London's population, very little information exists about sexual health issues for this ethnic group. Many of the studies that have been done on sexual health have either failed to include or used only a small percent of South Asians in their focus groups. Furthermore, the Office for

Population Censuses and Surveys and the Office of National Statistics which collects data on abortions did not start including ethnicity in data collection until 2005 (Gupta 2009). From the data that is available, South Asians typically have lower rates of STIs and use contraceptives less than Caucasian women. There is also little research available on the usage of sexual health services by South Asians (Griffiths 2008).

The goal for this study was to better understand the sexual health disparities and issues that exist for South Asian women in the East End of London and why these disparities may exist. Using research available today and interviews with Vanessa Apea, common sexual health disparities and issues faced by this community were studied. Based on the information obtained through interviews and literature review, several main causes were found to influence the sexual health disparities that exist for South Asian women; these issues include overall poor physical health practices, the limited of information women have on sexual health, limited exposure to health care services due to domestic abuse, and the negative stigmas associated with discussing and caring for sexual health as well as mental health. This paper examines how these issues contribute to disparities in sexual health and how the Ambrose King Centre is working to fix these disparities.

Methods

The East End of London was chosen as a place of focus because of the high volume of South Asian immigrants and descendants residing there. Specifically, fieldwork was conducted at the sexual health clinic Ambrose King Centre, a sexual health clinic, at the Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel. Interviews were conducted with Vanessa Apea, a Genito-urinary and HIV consultant at the centre who works with a high proportion of South Asian women. These interviews provided a better understanding of the women that seek care at the clinic, and how cultural factors are influential in how these women seek or access care.

Then, after interviewing Apea, further investigation into other health problems and relevant factors she mentioned were conducted through a literature review. These subjects, in

addition to sexual health, include physical health, mental health, educational disparities, domestic abuse, and negative social stigmas.

Sexual Health

Information about sexual health for South Asian women in East London was obtained primarily through a dialogue with Vanessa Apea at the Ambrose King Centre. The Ambrose King Centre is a sexual health center of the Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel, East London with over 200,000 Bangladeshi residents. The information obtained from Apea primarily focused on Bangladeshi females in the Whitechapel district.

The Ambrose King Centre provides sexual health screening, contraceptives, and HIV treatment and assessments. Apea labeled the most common sexual health issues as discharge and rash, access to contraception, domestic violence, exploitation and trafficking, bacterial vaginosis, syphilis from immigrants, and the lack of enjoyment of sex. By Apea's standards, the lack of enjoyment of sex is the most common sexual health issue faced by South Asian women in the area. Furthermore, Apea explained that there are related health issues and societal factors to consider when discussing sexual health disparities for women in the South Asian community. As stated before, these related subjects include physical health, mental health, educational disparities, domestic abuse, and negative social stigmas.

Physical Health

Obesity related health issues are some of the biggest health problems South Asian women face in the United Kingdom. Obesity-related issues include Type 2 diabetes, Coronary disease, and Cardiovascular disease. According to the South Asian Health Foundation, 20% of Indian women, 28% of Pakistani women, and 17% of Bangladeshi women in the U.K. are considered to be obese. 23% of the general population is considered to be obese (SAHF 2014). While the incidence of obesity is slightly lower in Indian and Bangladeshi women, these numbers are still staggering. For Type 2 Diabetes, specifically, 14% of South Asian women have diabetes compared to 6.9% of the general population. South Asians in the U.K. as a whole are

also 40% more likely to die from Coronary disease compared to the general population (Lucas 2012).

Studies show that factors that contribute to obesity related health issues in South Asian women are the stigmas that exist in South Asian culture, how food is cooked, living conditions, genetic factors, and perceptions of body image. Women are often stigmatized for taking time out of their day to exercise. As South Asian women are expected to be fully committed to their family, taking time for themselves can be looked down upon by family members. This results in a sedentary lifestyle (SAHF 2014).

Another issue that contributes to obesity-related problems is the way in which food is cooked in South Asian households. Older generations often use an excessive amount of “ghee” or butter when cooking food which can cause weight gain (Iqbal 2008). In addition, South Asian dishes tend to have larger portions of carbohydrates and salt. Also, some families tend to overcook vegetables to the point where rich nutrients are destroyed (SAHF 2014).

South Asian families that tend to live in lower income areas tend to have less access to outdoor parks and recreational services. This limits the amount of exercise families can do. In a study assessing “poorer people” and their access to local resources, it was stated that modern cities, such as England, amplify deprivation of resources that can damage health and increase health inequalities (Macintyre 2008).

Genetic factors also contribute to obesity-related issues. South Asians are more likely to develop Type 2 Diabetes at a lower BMI compared to Europeans. A biological hypothesis for this is that South Asians tend to deposit more intra-abdominal fat which can lead to insulin resistance (SAHF 2014). In fact, the National Institute for Health and Care Services in the U.K. recommended that BMI cutoffs for what is considered overweight and obese should be decreased for the South Asian population to prevent Type 2 diabetes.

Finally, body image contributes to obesity and poor physical health. South Asians typically perceive larger body sizes as an indication that an individual is healthy and of higher status while being thin can sometimes be perceived as being less healthy. A study on body image and weight consciousness among different immigrant groups in Britain stated that more

migrant South Asian women associated a larger body shape (BMI 28–38) with health and successful reproduction (Bush 2001). This perception of body image can make it harder for women to lose weight. However, this sentiment is changing among younger generations as thinness is much more valued in European culture.

This report also includes examining long term illness rates for South Asian women. A long term illness limits one's ability to do daily activities. The illness rates of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have both been 10% higher than white women. Going deeper, it was found that over 70% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women aged 65 or older reported a limiting long-term illness. Also, Bangladeshi women are 30% more likely to have limiting long-term illness than White British women in London. It is evident that South Asian minority groups face limiting long-term illnesses more than White British women. Also, South Asian women face higher rates of long-term limiting illness than South Asian men (Khaw 2001). Through the cultural context of South Asian communities, there is a strong stigma against women taking time away from familial responsibilities to exercise and focus on their own well-being.

Mental Health

Mental health is referred to as a state of emotional and psychological well-being. For South Asian women, statistics on the number of South Asian women suffering from mental illness are inconsistent. This is mostly due to stigmas that surround mental health in South Asian culture which discourages women from seeking help. However, a high proportion of South Asian women in the United Kingdom do suffer from mental illness. The most common forms are depression and anxiety (Kumari 2004).

Time to Change, an organization in the U.K. carried out a study to understand more about the stigmas and perceptions about mental health in the South Asian community that may contribute to the problem (Time to Change 2010). One finding was that shame and fear surround mental health. In South Asian culture, mental illness is considered a taboo subject that should not be discussed. Those interviewed who had mental health issues felt that they could not open up about their illness to family members.

Another finding reported by Time to Change was that the cause of mental illness is often misunderstood. Many families believe that mental illness stems from black magic or is a curse from God. This deters those suffering from consulting a doctor as they believe that it is out of their control (Time to Change 2010). There are strong social pressures to conform in South Asian communities. Having a mental illness is abnormal and therefore, highly looked down upon.

In addition, a key point found by the Time to Change organization was that South Asian families can be both caring and isolating. These families tend to be close-knit and value the relationships they have with family members. However, they tend to be isolating towards members of the family who suffer from mental illness. Sometimes these members are not invited to social gatherings and functions to protect others (Time to Change 2010). All of these factors deter those with mental illness from seeking help. Moreover, social perceptions about mental health from family members may contribute to the individual's illness.

Education

Apea explained various factors that influence how much South Asian women in the UK may know about sexual health and sexual health services. First, Apea stated women may be unaware of the severity of particular health concerns. For example, women who have come into the clinic have shared experiences of having abnormal discharge and ignoring it to an extent. The reasons for ignoring the discharge vary. They report not sharing their concern with their husband or partner because it is too personal. The women that do share their concerns with their partner have reported that their partner dismisses the concern. One of the reasons for this is that the discharge could be a result of an STD. As a result of these factors, Apea said many women visiting the clinic have reported that they try to just ignore the symptoms for as long as they can.

Also, Apea observed that some women are uneducated about safe sex practices and may not know the importance of using contraception and where it can be accessed. In addition, how integrated one is into society influences how much knowledge one has about sexual health and community health issues. For example, there is a “division between first generation and second

generation immigrants. First generation immigrants experience language barriers and have a harder time integrating into society” (Apea 2016). The women are heavily embedded into their community and find it difficult to leave the community and access healthcare services. In a study examining South Asian immigrant populations, 30% of the study participants were unaware of the health-care services available to them and 21% of participants reported difficulties getting health information and advice (Islam 2016). In a study examining sexual health in Asian women in London, only 11% of women experiencing health issues reported that they would talk to a women’s center, whereas 14% said they would keep it to themselves. Furthermore, only 5 of 18 Asian women reported knowing where to seek help (Fenton 2002).

Apea reported that South Asian immigrants in the area usually learn about sexual health services from their community and end up coming to the clinic with a partner or friend. This hinders confidentiality and how much Apea’s patients are willing to discuss. Finally, Apea observed that South Asian women can face a lack of education about sexual and vaginal health due to family’s unwillingness to educate women on this issue.

Domestic Abuse

It is reported that many South Asian couples have a clear power dynamic and suffer from physical and emotional abuse from men. In a study done by Shamita Das Dasgupta about South Asian immigrants in the United States, this power dynamic results from men being the “primary immigrants”, while women often enter the country as dependents. Therefore, most South Asian women are financially dependent on men (Dasgupta 2000). In another study about domestic abuse faced by South Asian women the researchers found abuse led to negative impacts on self-esteem, which caused mental health problems such as depression and anxiety. From this study, it is evident that abuse leads to a state of living in “constant fear” (Gill 2004).

Since men often control finances, they could be preventing their wives from being able to access the health care services that they need or convincing them that their health concerns are not important. Furthermore, domestic abuse often leads to social isolation, and limited exposure to other communities and their resources (Apea 2016). In a study conducted in 2005 which

focused on the Bengali community in East London, 41% of women who attended general practice stated that they had experienced physical violence at some point in their life (O'Doherty 2005).

Negative Social Stigmas

Apea also explained how negative social and cultural stigmas often influences how South Asian women seek help for their sexual health issues. While White British communities also face issues with stigmatizing the communication of sex and sexual health, this stigmatization was reported to be worse in South Asian and black minority groups. In fact, multiple studies and organizations, including the World Health Organization, reported invalid statistics regarding the impact of negative social stigma because of the sensitive nature of the topic (Vayena et al 2002).

Negative stigmatization of health issues often results in a lack of communication about sex between family members and often leads to women feeling ashamed to take control of their sexual health. Stigma on sexual health has reported to cause sexual dissatisfaction in South Asian women which is the most common sexual health concern for the patients at The Ambrose King Centre. South Asian women are often taught that sex should be used solely for reproduction and not for pleasure. The Ambrose King Centre has tried to solve this issue with integrative health services (such as providing contraception and educating women about taking control of their sexual health). Their hope is that women will feel more comfortable and confident visiting the center and coming in for other sexual health reasons. The interview with the Ambrose King Centre proved to be a very important aspect of this project based on how much was learned about sexual health in minority groups.

Conclusion

In summary, lack of information on maintaining sexual health, limited exposure to community health care services due to domestic violence, and negative cultural stigmas that discourage women from taking control of their health were reported to cause the sexual health disparities South Asian women face in East London. This study was conducted using research on

health disparities available today and original fieldwork. While health organizations like the Ambrose King Centre are available and ready to help South Asian women, the lack of education about sexual health and health services may hinder women from seeking out help. In addition, the power dynamic between genders that exists in the South Asian community makes it difficult for women to ask for help when their partner has emotional, financial, or physical control over the female. Finally, negative stigmas on discussing or seeking care for sexual health still exist and limit how willing and able South Asian women are to accessing the healthcare they need.

With South Asians constituting the second largest ethnic group in London, understanding the health concerns that face this group should be an important issue for the field of public health. What we have gained from our experience in working with the Ambrose King Centre is that it is important to look at how cultural aspects may play a role in understanding health disparities. However, as stated by Vanessa Apea, it is also important to not make assumptions based on cultural stereotypes when working with a patient. Rather, it is important to treat each person as an individual while recognizing cultural contexts (Apea 2016).

Sejal Mehta is majoring in *Evolutionary Anthropology* and graduating in April 2018. She is pre-med and aspires to become a pediatrician one day. At the University of Michigan, she is a Peer Advisor at the University Career Center helping students achieve their career goals. In addition, she volunteers at the CS Mott Children's hospital doing nature activities and workshops with the children and also volunteers as a mentor through the Detroit-based FATE program helping high schoolers learn new entrepreneurial and professional skills. Sejal first became interested in health disparities after volunteering in health clinics in Nicaragua her sophomore year. In her spare time, Sejal enjoys trying new food in Ann Arbor and being with friends and family.

Monica Mungarwadi is a recent graduate of the University of Michigan and majored in *Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience*. Monica takes pride in her community service work. She served as the President and Executive Director of the Detroit Entrepreneurship Network, an organization that helps high school students in Detroit build their own businesses. Monica has also served as a volunteer at the C.S. Mott Children's Hospital and Botsford Hospital. In addition to her research examining health disparities in South Asian women in the U.K., Monica has also served as a researcher at the Center for Arrhythmia Research where she investigated molecular mechanisms related to heart rhythms and conduction disturbances. Monica hopes to use her passion for scientific study and community service to pursue a career in medicine. Monica is an avid fan of all things Bollywood and enjoys eating pizza and traveling in her spare time.

References

- Apea, Vanessa, Interview. 2016, June 8. Personal interview.
- Bush, H.m., R.g.a. Williams, M.e.j. Lean, and A.s. Anderson. 2001. Body image and weight consciousness among South Asian, Italian and general population women in Britain. *Appetite* 37(3): 207–215
- Fenton, Steve, and Saffron Karlsson. 2002. Explaining their mental distress: narratives of cause. Ethnic differences in the context and experience of psychiatric illness: qualitative study. Lemos and Crane. <https://lemosandcrane.co.uk/resources/NatCen%20%20-%20Ethnic%20Differences%20in%20the%20context%20and%20experience%20of%20psychiatric%20illness.pdf>, accessed November 18, 2017
- Gard’Ner, James Maitland. 2004. Heritage Protection and Social Inclusion: A Case Study from the Bangladeshi Community of East London. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10(1):75–92
- Gill, Aisha. 2004. Voicing the Silent Fear: South Asian Womens Experiences of Domestic Violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 43(5): 465–483
- Griffiths, C., A. Prost, and G. Hart. 2008. Sexual and reproductive health of South Asians in the UK: an overview. *The BMJ Journal*
- Gupta, S. 2009. Sexual Health of South Asians in the UK. *The BMJ Journal*.
- Hanif, W. 2014. Type 2 Diabetes in U.K. South Asian Population. South Asian Health Foundation.
- Iqbal, S. 2008. Between cultures and community health inequalities – British South Asian Women’s experiences in the West Midlands. Retrieved from Race Equality Foundation.
- Islam, T. S. M. 2016. Does lack of health care information and literacy affect south Asian immigrants’ health[...]? *Journal of Tropical Geography*, 1(2)
- Khaw, Kay-Tee. 2001. Health inequalities - extent, causes, and policies to tackle them . House of Commons - Health Inequalities - Health Committee. <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200809/cmselect/cmhealth/286/28605.htm#note13>, accessed November 18, 2017
- Kumari, N. 1999. South Asian women in Britain: Their mental health needs and views of services. *Journal of Public Mental Health*
- Lucas, Murray, & Kinra. 2012. Heath Beliefs of UK South Asians Related to Lifestyle Diseases: A Review of Qualitative Literature. *Journal of Obesity*.
- Macintyre, Sally, Laura Macdonald, and Anne Ellaway. 2008. Do poorer people have poorer access to local resources and facilities? The distribution of local resources by area deprivation in Glasgow, Scotland. *Social Science & Medicine* 67(6): 900–914
- Shamita Das Dasgupta. 2000. Charting the Course: An Overview of Domestic Violence in the South Asian Community in the United States, *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, 9:3, 173-185

Time To Change Organization. 2010. Family Matters.

Vayena E, Rowe P and Griffin PD. 2002. Current Practices and Controversies in Assisted Reproduction:report of a WHO meeting. Geneva: World Health Organization.

The Two Detroits and Health Outcomes: Embodying ‘Slow Violence’ in a Post-Industrial City

by Evan Barnett

This paper explores the ways in which the differential access to space and the environments of the two Detroits relates to health and wellness of residents. Drawing upon the concept of environmental racism, this paper first illustrates how the exposure to harmful pollutants is differentially distributed within the two Detroits. This exposure to pollutants constitutes a form of “slow violence,” that operates to negatively impact the health of populations. The impact of this exposure manifests itself in various ways. This paper draw upon data concerning asthma rates within Detroit to illustrate that disease is not only inequitably distributed across the two Detroits, but health promoting resources such as access to medical care and grocery stores are also inequitably distributed. Cumulatively, this paper argues that the inequality of the two Detroit’s is not only social and geographical, but becomes embodied. Such that the racialized populations suffer from disproportionately worse health outcomes than those of white residents living near Downtown and Midtown.

Introduction

Two competing narratives have characterized the way in which Detroit has been represented in the media. The first tells a story of the decline of Detroit, from an industrial powerhouse with nearly two million residents, to a post-industrial city beset by urban decay, unemployment, epidemic crime, the loss of almost half its residents, and municipal bankruptcy. The second narrative tells of revitalization and rebirth, with Detroit transitioning away from industry to technology start-ups, drawing young residents because of affordable housing, and the emergence of hip new neighborhoods.

More recently, these narratives have come together to form a third narrative that characterizes the contemporary state of the city: the “two Detroits.” The two Detroits narrative holds that, as the title would suggest, both narratives above are correct because there are two

Detroit's existing within the city boundaries. One Detroit, centered around the corridor between Midtown and Downtown is a thriving, secure, and bustling area that is experiencing population growth and gentrification. The other Detroit, consisting of the remainder of the city, continues to face the plight of high crime rates, falling property values, and population loss.

Given Detroit's long history as a racially segregated city, it is unsurprising that atop the increasingly popular narrative of the two Detroits is a racial distinction: the declining Detroit describes communities that are majority black, while the effervescent Detroit describes communities that are largely white. The segregation of Detroit has operated through, and is reinforced by, a variety of political, legal, and social mechanisms that serve to limit black people and other racialized groups access to important resources such as urban space (Schulz, Williams, Israel, and Lempert 2002). Therefore, the two Detroit's differ not only in terms of their racial constitution and spatial distribution, but their experience of, and access to, urban space.

One critical aspect of this varied experience of urban residence and citizenship relates to health and illness. In this paper, I will explore the way in which the differential access to space and the environments of the two Detroits relates to health and wellness of residents. Drawing upon the concept of environmental racism, I will firstly illustrate how the exposure to harmful pollutants is differentially distributed within the two Detroits. The impact of this exposure manifests itself in various ways. By referencing data concerning asthma rates within Detroit I show that disease is not only inequitably distributed across the two Detroits, but so are important health promoting resources such as access to medical care and grocery stores. Cumulatively, this paper will argue that the inequality of the two Detroits is not only social and geographical, but becomes embodied. Such that the racialized populations suffer from disproportionately worse health outcomes than those of white residents living near Downtown and Midtown.

Environmental Racism: The Differential Exposure to Toxic Substances across the Two Detroits

Within the United States, epidemiological evidence indicates that there are substantial racial inequalities in morbidity and mortality across multiple biological domains (Gravlee 2009). The mortality profile is bleakest for African Americans, whose mortality rate is 1.5 times higher than that for whites (Schulz et al. 2009:678). Urban US residents have slightly higher mortality compared with the rest of the population. This at least partially reflects the fact that exposure to pollution and toxic substances is an especially acute problem in urban areas given the density of the population as well as the concentration of industry (Schell and Denham 2003). However, within urban areas across the United States, black people have higher mortality compared to whites living in the same city. Residents of these poorer communities therefore have a higher risk of adult mortality, infant mortality, lower birth weight, and poorer mental health. These effects on health operate independently of individual socioeconomic status indicators such as household income and education (Schulz et al. 2009:680).

Such inequalities in health, as they relate to differences in exposure to toxic substances between the two Detroits, may therefore be attributed to environmental racism. Environmental racism has been defined as “any policy, practice, or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities based on race or color” (Bullard 1994:451). This concept was first developed three decades ago (Chavis and Lee 1987). It is a powerful concept because it brings attention to the intersection of two distinct concepts, the environment and racism, as well as how it is impossible to separate the physical environment people inhabit from cultural and social processes.

Environmental racism is reinforced through other social structures such as government policies and laws, economics, and political structures to confer benefits upon one segment of the population, while shifting any costs upon another segment of the population. Bullard (1990) was the first scholar to link hazardous facility siting with historical patterns of spatial segregation in the United States. He found that hazardous waste sites were more likely to be placed in the Southern United States compared to the North, while the specific sites tended to be in communities that were predominately black and Hispanic (Bullard 1990:35). As he notes, such

“siting disparities expose minority citizens to greater risks than the general population” (Bullard 1990:35).

In the context of Detroit, the concept of environmental racism is helpful to understand how the differential exposure to pollution and toxic chemicals has been mapped atop long-standing patterns and structures of inequality. Several historians of Detroit, including June Manning Thomas (2013[1997]) and Thomas Sugrue (1996), illustrate how the black experience of Detroit, as well as the city itself, has been strongly shaped by race. Blacks first began arriving to Detroit in significant numbers in the 1910s (see Fig. 1) as part of the “Great Migration” from the Southern United States. This occurred in the wake of the collapse of the plantation economy and the discrimination of Jim Crow laws. These migrants were not only driven from the South, but were attracted to Northern industrial cities such as Chicago and Detroit by the

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Total Population</i> | <i>Black Population</i> | <i>Percent Black</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1910 | 465,766 | 5,741 | 1.2 |
| 1920 | 993,675 | 40,838 | 4.1 |
| 1930 | 1,568,662 | 120,066 | 7.7 |
| 1940 | 1,623,452 | 149,119 | 9.2 |
| 1950 | 1,849,568 | 300,506 | 16.2 |
| 1960 | 1,670,144 | 482,229 | 28.9 |
| 1970 | 1,511,482 | 660,428 | 44.5 |

Fig. 1: Detroit's Total and Black Populations (Sugrue 1996:23)

opportunity to “work in the area’s industrial plants” (Thomas 2013[1997]:7). However, black migrants attempting to escape racism in Detroit would soon find more of it. While they were able to acquire industrial jobs, Sugrue (1996:25) points out blacks mostly worked in inferior positions to whites, including in service jobs or in “hot, dangerous jobs in foundries or furnace rooms.”

As the black population swelled, it began to strongly impact the urban landscape of Detroit. Black migrants were initially confined to the Lower East Side. But with continued migration, black migrants began expanding to new residential communities. This was interpreted by white neighborhoods as a threat, which responded by attempting to enforce

segregation through discrimination in housing sales, violence against those who tried to leave black areas of the city, and covenants placed upon houses (regulating racial ownership, architectural specifications, and banning borders) to ensure racial homogeneity (Sugrue 1996:24, 46; Fine 1997:88). Racial segregation also occurred through economic exclusion, as it was difficult for many black residents, who were given only the most insecure, dangerous, and poorly paying jobs. They were often unable to afford houses and therefore were “trapped in the city’s worst housing, in strictly segregated sections of the city” (Sugrue 1996:34). Given the increasing tendency towards racial segregation, and as the number of black residents increased, Detroit became a city increasingly defined in terms of black and white (Sugrue 1996:18).

Detroit’s population increased because of the migration of blacks to the city. As the number of black migrants increased, white residents began abandoning the city for the suburbs in large numbers. This process, often referred to as “white flight,” has characterized many major cities in the United States since the post-WWII period (Clotfelter 1976). A variety of factors contributed to the exodus of whites from urban areas to the suburbs including, “the American love affair with the suburban dream” (Thomas 2013[1997]:83), deindustrialization and the decentralization of employment, school desegregation (Fine 1997:105-106), federal subsidies for highways, government housing programs that placed public housing in poor urban areas, and suburban resistance to public housing (Sugrue 1996:10, 76). Blacks, in contrast, “did not move out of the city in comparable numbers because they could not, since discrimination blocked their path” (Thomas 2013[1997]:83). Over the course of 100 years, a city that was approximately 99% white in 1910 (Sugrue 1996:23) was, by 2010, approximately 83% black (Census Bureau 2010).

Detroit’s segregation has strongly influenced the way in which residents have been exposed to toxic substances. In addition to concentrating blacks “in housing inferior to that of whites for why they paid disproportionately high rents” (Fine 1997:83), the rigid racial segregation of Detroit has allowed city planners and corporate interests to conduct development in such a way that the benefits are conferred upon whites, while the costs are disproportionately borne by blacks. Like many other heavily segregated industrial cities, Detroit is characterized by

a spatial mismatch between employment and educational opportunities, which results in thousands of people commuting each day for study and employment (Wilson 1996). The expressways that make commuting feasible were developed in the post-WWII era. When these roads were designed, and built, “planners were careful to ensure that construction of the new high-speed expressways would only minimally disrupt middle-class residential areas, but they had little such concern for black neighborhoods” (Sugrue 1996:47).

In addition to displacing many residents, the creation of these expressways exposed remaining black residents to high levels of pollutants so that more prosperous whites would be able to travel more rapidly. For example, poorer black areas serve as the main transportation route between Detroit and Canada, therefore exposing residents to the exhaust of thousands of diesel trucks each day (Schulz et al. 2009). As a result, studies of particulate matter in these communities have found that the increased levels of pollutants (indicated by measures of PM 2.5-10 particles) in southwest Detroit “are likely due to the proximity of the southwest community to the heavy industry on and around Zug Island, as well as the proximity to interstate motorways and the entrance to the ambassador bridge” (Keeler et al. 2002:179).

Another example of this environmental racism is found in the placement of the largest municipal incinerator in the United States, which is the Detroit Municipal Incinerator in the neighborhood of Poletown. Poletown, as Bukowczyk (1984) shows, was originally settled by European migrants, including Poles, who grew so numerous as to inspire the community’s name. Following deindustrialization in the 1950s and 1960s, whites fled the community and the “migration of black and poorer residents into the area began in earnest” (Bukowczyk 1984:58). The Detroit municipal incinerator was sited in Poletown because it was an industrial area with poor, black residents who were unable to mount the kind of challenge that had been launched when the incinerator was proposed elsewhere in the city (Conant 2010). In addition to producing a foul odor that envelops the area and makes residents nauseated (Lawrence 2014), it has long been known that the emission of at least several heavy metals from waste incinerators can “pose a significant risk to public health” (Sedman and Esparza 1991:81). Because the area is

majority black, the health consequences of the placement of the incinerator in Poletown are disproportionately borne by poor black residents of Detroit.

Besides road pollution and toxic emissions from the incinerator, environmental racism is evident in the proximity of black neighborhoods to industrial sites. Historically, Detroit's growth was largely uncontrolled by government regulation such, that there was an "unnecessarily close association" (Thomas 2013[1997]:44) between residences and industry. However, as white residents fled the city and black residents were unable to leave, this meant that black residents were left in a position where they alone lived near industrial sites. For example, of Michigan's dozens of superfund sites—a United States federal government designation for sites contaminated with hazardous substances that pose risks to the community—one is in Detroit, on the premises Carter Industrials, Inc. (ZIP 48208; EPA 2017a).

Between 1960 and 1980s, Carter Industrials, Inc. housed various hazardous chemicals. As a result, "Spills, runoff and wind-blown dust contaminated soil and debris, about 1.25 miles of combined sewers, and several commercial, public and residential properties next to the site" (EPA 2017b). While the site has been removed from the superfund priorities list, meaning that it is no longer deemed to be among the most pressing threats to human health, the harm that has already occurred as well as future risks cannot be easily ascertained. Consistent with other cases of environmental racism in Detroit, it is unsurprising that, according to the latest census information, this community is approximately 70% black and one of the poorest in the United States (Census Bureau 2017).

While environmental racism serves to create racial disparities in exposure to pollutants and harmful chemical, the consequences of exposure to toxic environments is often extremely gradual and invisible to the naked eye. Given the pace at which environmental pollutants and other toxic substances impact the body, some have described the cumulative impact of exposure as a form of "slow violence." This concept, drawn from the work of Rob Nixon (2006, 2011), attempts to bring attention to both the harm which exposure to these chemicals brings to human bodies as well as the slow pace at which harm occurs, which conflicts with common understandings of violence as something that is rapid and discrete.

The slow violence of environmental pollution, Nixon argues (2006), poses several challenges to researchers and activists, including challenges of representation as well as statistical and legislative challenges. The challenge of representation refers to the way in which the temporal scale, at which harm from environmental exposures to toxic substances unfolds, does not lend itself to easy representation in the media. For example, industrial disasters such as those of Chernobyl (e.g., Petryna 2002) and Bhopal (e.g., Fortun 2001) may attract widespread attention when they occur. After the initial event, the attention they receive decreases over time, even though the negative impacts may intensify and become more diffuse over time. This representational bias against slow violence has statistical ramifications, meaning that the costs and casualties are likely to be under measured. And because of the challenges of both representing and tracking the scale of the harm resulting from toxic exposure, Nixon (2006:15) argues that it is difficult to secure “effective legal measures for preemption, restitution, and redress.”

The environmental racism that characterizes Detroit means that poor black residents of the city are exposed to harmful chemicals that produce a slow violence that acts upon the body. As such, that “the social realities of race become incorporated into the developing and changing body” (Wade 2004:165). Such inequality may therefore be said to be embodied, a term which refers to “how we literally incorporate, biologically, the material and social world in which we live, from conception to death” (Krieger 2001:694). The concept of embodiment builds upon a long-standing corpus of anthropological scholarship (e.g., Mauss 1992[1934], Bourdieu 1977, Csordas 1990, Ingold 2000) and provides a powerful way to think about how the body is simultaneously a biological and a cultural entity. Likewise, the concept provides a way to attempt to move beyond the association-based model of health, to try to understand how forms of social inequality manifest themselves directly upon bodies. In the followings section, I will discuss asthma and draw upon epidemiological data to indicate how the burden of asthma falls disproportionately on black residents who are exposed to greater levels of pollutants and other toxic chemicals than white Detroiters.

Embodying the Slow Violence of Air Pollution: Asthma in Detroit

The air that people breath contains the byproducts of combustion from transportation as well as industrial applications such as garbage incineration, power generation, and the manufacture of chemicals. These pollutants, involving both gases and particulate matter, can remain in the air for a long time. While short-term exposure to pollutants can include symptoms such as difficulty breathing, watery eyes and a burning throat, the long-term effects are more insidious. These include heightened risk for cancer as well as damage to the immune, neurological, reproductive, and respiratory systems (Schell and Denham 2003).

One way in which the consequences of this differential exposure to polluted air between the two Detroits manifest itself is in the case of asthma. Asthma is a chronic autoimmune disease of the lung that involves inflammation and narrowing of the airways. Asthma patients experience periods of wheezing, chest tightness, shortness of breath, and productive coughing, that are typically worse in the evenings. Asthma is a serious condition, although it can be successfully managed through medication such as oral steroids and bronchodilators, it has no known cure. While there are a number of theories to account for the origins of asthma its cause is unclear. At present, researchers believe that a variety of factors, including genetic and environmental, contribute to the cause of asthma.

Detroiters experiences some of the highest asthma rates in Michigan. For example, the rate of hospitalizations for asthma is more than three times greater for residents of Detroit compared to those of elsewhere in Michigan (DeGuire et al. 2016). However, beneath these figures is a racial disparity in the burden—referring to the impact of a health problem upon populations—of asthma within both the United States and Detroit. Researchers have long illustrated that blacks are more likely to experience adverse asthma outcomes, including hospitalization and mortality. Akinbami and Schoendorf (2002), for example, analyzed four National Center for Health Statistics (NHSC) data systems and found that black children were more than three times as likely to be hospitalized and more than four times as likely to die from asthma as compared to white children. More recently, Akinbami and Rossen (2015) have drawn upon epidemiological data to illustrate that there are racial disparities in the prevalence of

asthma. Whereas in 1980 there was little to no disparity, researchers have recently found that black children are more than twice as likely as white children to be diagnosed with asthma. While the causes of this shift cannot be determined from their epidemiological data, they speculate that one of the major drivers of this shift are environmental changes, including increased exposures to indoor and outdoor pollution (see also Baiz and Annesi-Maesano 2012).

Within Detroit, data indicate that the burden of asthma falls heavily upon the black population as compared to white residents. For example, black residents are more likely to be hospitalized for asthma, which indicates that asthma is uncontrolled or poorly controlled through primary care physicians and the use of medications (DeGuire et al. 2016). Black residents are also more likely to rely upon the emergency room for primary care than their white counterparts, again indicating that they have poor access to primary care physicians. Given Detroit's extensive racial segregation, it is possible to see how strongly the differential

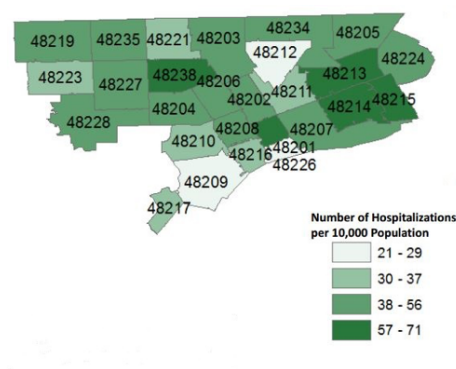


Fig. 2. Rates of Asthma Hospitalization by
ZIP Code, Detroit 2009-2013 (DeGuire et al. 2016:17)

distribution of disease varies by zip code (Fig. 2). Predominantly black Communities (such as ZIP 48215 and 48214) have significantly higher hospitalization rates for asthma, while non-black areas such as Hamtramck (ZIP 48212) and (ZIP 48209) experience significantly lower levels.

The differential exposure to pollutants appears to play a key role in driving the differential rates of asthma in Detroit (Friedman et al. 2001). In addition to pollution being

involved in the etiology of asthma, air pollution also causes acute asthma exacerbation (Jiang, Mei and Feng 2016). For example, epidemiologists took advantage of a natural experiment surrounding the Olympic games in Atlanta in 1996 to study the impact of traffic changes upon daily acute asthma events. Researchers compared asthma events before and after the games, to those during the games, when transportation changes resulted in lower emissions and cleaner air. During this period, Georgia Medicaid claims dropped by almost 50%. In comparison, claims for non-asthma events dropped by only 3% (Friedman et al. 2001), indicating how asthma is closely related to exposure of environmental pollution.

Air pollution, specifically airborne particles from vehicle pollution and industrial sources, therefore constitutes one of the primary asthma triggers. While non-asthmatic persons, may show no decrease in pulmonary function from air pollution, asthmatic persons have shown significant declines in measures of pulmonary function from exposure to environmental pollution (Yang and Yang 1994). Identifying and minimizing the exposure to asthma triggers such as pollution forms the basis of environmental secondary prevention of asthma (Gautier and Charpin 2017). Examples of techniques to minimize exposure include modifying activities during periods of high pollution (e.g., staying indoors during the day) or purchasing air filtration systems to improve air quality within the household.

Adhering to such medical recommendations to better manage asthma can range from difficult to impossible depending upon one's socioeconomic status and place of residence. For example, socio-economically marginal residents of Detroit are unlikely to be able to afford expensive air filtration systems in addition to ongoing costs such as filters and electricity. Even if they could afford these systems, residents live in such proximity to busy roadways and industrial sites that it may be impossible to reduce their exposure to harmful pollution and other toxic substances.

Mitigating Asthma in Detroit: Access to Healthcare and Healthy Foods Varies by Residence

In addition to the inequitable exposure to environmental pollution playing a role in the driving Detroit's high rates of asthma incidence and morbidity, racial segregation of Detroit further marginalizes the ability of poor black residents to manage their asthma to avoid hospitalizations and exacerbations. Asthma management is important since asthma is a chronic disease which cannot be cured. Ideally, asthma management is achieved through primary care physicians who oversee medications, as well as consuming a healthy diet (Wechsler 2009; Romieu 2005). However, the residents of black areas of Detroit struggle to access healthcare as well as healthy food because these scarce resources are unequally distributed across the city.

As noted above, epidemiological data indicates that hospitalizations for asthma are significantly higher for residents of majority black neighborhoods (DeGuire et al. 2016), suggesting that patients have uncontrolled asthma or that, at the very least, their medical needs are not being met through primary care physicians. For black residents, however, it is often difficult to properly manage their asthma through physicians because there are so few doctors within majority black areas. The Citizens Research Council of Michigan (2015) found that although the metro Detroit area has a high number of physician's relative to other cities, they are distributed extremely unevenly across the city. The black neighborhoods comprising the Brightmoor Service Area (consisting of parts of ZIP codes 48239, 48223, 48228) for instance, has only one physician for a population of over 40,000, while federal standards for the physician-to-population ratio for such an area are 1:3000 (Citizens Research Council of Michigan 2017). Likewise, in other areas that are poorly served by physicians, such as River Rouge, so few people have access to physicians, including a pulmonologist, that there's a black market for asthma inhalers as well as tablets of albuterol, a short-acting bronchodilator (Schlanger 2016). Cumulatively, the absence of medical care within these communities makes life not only more difficult for residents who have to visit the emergency room for medical care or travel outside of the community, meaning that they potentially have to take lengthy trips on public transit, secure time off work, and pay for childcare. It may also increase the mortality rate of these communities, since lower numbers of physicians are associated with higher mortality rates (Starfield et al. 2005).

In addition to proper medical care being essential to managing asthma, a healthy diet can help asthma patients deal as well other residents deal with constant exposure to toxic pollutants. For example, while seemingly unrelated to the diverse effects of air pollution, dietary nutrients are important protective factors for respiratory health. Fresh fruit and vegetables contain various nutrients like antioxidants and vitamins C and E (Jiang, Mei and Feng 2016). These nutrients are involved in cell metabolism and the maintenance of the immune system, which is centrally involved in the autoimmune disorder of asthma. A high consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables are recommended by doctors for patients with exposure to high levels of air pollution (Romieu 2005).

For residents of poorer, majority black areas, eating a diet rich in fruits and vitamins can be difficult. Ignoring potential financial barriers to buying fresh food and vegetables, low-income communities in Detroit and elsewhere are often (controversially) described as “food deserts.” Food deserts refer to residential areas (i.e., census tracts) without ready access to fresh, healthy, and affordable food. Rather than being served by grocery stores or supermarkets, these communities are instead served only by fast food restaurants and convenience stores which have extremely limited food ranges. Food deserts have become more prevalent since the 1970s, as communities began losing both population.

While Detroit is often described as a food desert, this problem is one that plagues majority black areas, rather than the city as a whole. An influential study conducted in Detroit by Zenk et al. (2005) found that the distance to the nearest supermarket was similar among the least impoverished neighborhoods. In contrast, in the most impoverished neighborhoods, black residents were, on average 1.1 miles further from the nearest supermarket than in white neighborhoods. They argue that this is particularly important as four of the leading 10 causes of death in the United States are chronic disease for which diet is a major risk factor. Likewise, an established body of research has associated residence in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods with a variety of adverse diet-related health outcomes, controlling even for individual socioeconomic status (Robert 1999).

More recent research has questioned the food desert discourse. For example, Taylor and Ard (2015) have shown that, rather than Detroit being a food desert, that only 19 out of 297 Detroit census tracts have been labelled as food deserts by the government. Likewise, LeDoux and Vojnovic (2013) conducted questionnaire research about shopping habits in one poor, Detroit community and found that many residents do not shop at local convenient stores. Rather, they bypass convenient stores to shop at independent, discount, and regional supermarkets located outside of their community (LeDoux and Vojnovic 2013). While these findings are presented as efforts to weaken the food desert discourse, they still indicate that many communities face genuine impediments which make it more difficult for residents to purchase nutrient rich foods which are important for both general health and to help counterbalance the harmful exposure to pollutants.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the narrative of the two Detroits, referring to the way in which one Detroit is experiencing a revitalization, while the other continues to experience decline. As a strongly segregated city, these two Detroits have involved a racial component. Such that the effervescent Detroit is predominantly white, while the Detroit in decline is predominantly black. This spatial segregation is both the result of long-standing forms of racial discrimination, but also makes possible makes environmental racism possible. As I illustrated by discussing the siting of Detroit's major highways, the largest municipal incinerator in the U.S., and the location of Detroit's only superfund site, the exposure to environmental pollutants and toxins are distributed in such a way as to confer benefits for the white residents, while the costs are largely incurred by the black residents.

The existence of two Detroits not only serves to unequally distribute the exposure to toxic substances, but unequally distributes the health consequences of this exposure. Such chronic exposure in the majority black areas inflicts a slow violence upon residents that is embodied in the form of disease. While the outcomes from environmental pollution are numerous and multiple, I focused upon one of aspect of this embodied violence:

asthma. Not only are the incidence and morbidity rates of asthma higher in majority black areas, but the ability of these residents to cope with the negative health outcomes is hampered by the spatial distribution of other important resources including physicians and supermarkets. As a result, residents of majority black communities must make difficult choices, such as between travelling outside of the community for medical care and groceries, or going to the emergency room for healthcare and purchasing groceries from convenient stores.

The way in which the health costs are distributed within Detroit is not only an important issue from the perspective of environmental and social justice, but it is also an important issue for the future of Detroit and its residents. For example, a growing body of research has begun to investigate the intergenerational impact of health disparities. Maternal exposure to environmental pollution has been shown in epidemiological studies to have a substantial negative effect on birth weight (Pedersen et al. 2013) which has itself been associated with a number of negative health and social outcomes (Hack, Klein and Taylor 1995). Researchers have also documented a relationship between maternal exposure to pollution and subsequent performance on math and language skills tests (Bharadwaj et al. 2014). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to critically review this literature, such research suggests that combating the environmental racism that differentially distributes the burden of disease within Detroit is potentially even more urgent than is currently thought.

It is unclear as to how development in Detroit will proceed in the future. The Detroit Future City (2012) strategic plan, for instance, calls for “strategic renewal,” a phrase that used to refer to removing infrastructure from certain areas and redistributing them to others. The neighborhoods targeted for disinvestment include majority black areas such as Brightmoor, while predominantly white communities like Downtown and Midtown are targeted for increased investment. Over 130,000 people live in areas targeted for disinvestment, while in comparison, less than 50,000 people live in areas targeted for upgraded services (Newman and Safransky 2014:25). Reassuringly, proposals to redistribute scarce resources have generated new forms of activism, as documented by Newman and Safransky (2014). Aware of the negative consequences of decades of unequal access to urban space and resources, residents of majority

black Detroit seem determined to pave the way for more equitable development by making the rest of Detroit aware of both the decades of slow violence inflicted upon their communities, as well as the continued vibrancy of these neighborhoods in the face of such inequality and hardship.

Evan Barnett is an undergraduate student at Wayne State University.

References

- Akinbami, Lara J., Alan E. Simon, and Luaren M. Rossen 2015. Changing Trends in Asthma Prevalence amongst Children. *Pediatrics* 137(1):e2015-2354.
- Akinbami, Lara J. and K. Schoendorf 2002. Trends in Childhood Asthma: Prevalence, Health Care Utilization, and Mortality. *Pediatrics* 110(2 pt 1):315-322).
- Baiz, Nour and Isabella Annesi-Maesano 2012. Is the Asthma Epidemic Still Ascending? *Clinics in Chest Medicine* 33(3):419-429.
- Bharadwaj, Prashant, Matthew Gibson, Joshua Graff Zivin, and Christopher Neilson 2014. *Gray Matters: Fetal Pollution Exposure and Human Capital Formation*. Boston: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Boas, Franz 1912. Changes in the Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants. *American Anthropologist* 14:530-562.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bukowczyk, John J. 1984. The Decline and Fall of a Detroit Neighborhood: Poletown Vs. G.M. and the City of Detroit. *Washington and Lee Law Review* 41(1):49-76.
- Bullard, Robert D. 1990. *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Bullard, Robert D. 1994. The Legacy of American Apartheid and Environmental Racism. *Journal of Civil Rights and Economic Development* 9(2):455-474.
- Census Bureau 2010. United States census 2010: Interactive Population Search. Available <<https://www.census.gov/2010census/popmap/>>. Accessed April 6, 2017.
- Census Bureau 2017. US Census Bureau American FactFinder. Available: < https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml?src=bkmk>. Accessed April 5, 2017.
- Chavis, B. F. and C. Lee 1987. *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*. New York: United Church of Chris.
- Citizens Research Council of Michigan 2015. *Where are the Primary Care Doctors? A Look at Michigan's Primary Care Physician Shortage*. Livonia: Citizens Research Council of Michigan.
- Citizens Research Council of Michigan 2017. *Primary Care Doctor Shortages: Detroit Metro Region*. Available: < <http://crcmich.org/primary-care-doctor-shortages-detroit-metro-region/>>. Accessed April 6, 2017.
- Clotfelter, Charles L. 1976. The Detroit Decision and "White Flight". *The Journal of Legal Studies* 5(1):99-112.
- Conant, Jeff 2010. "Detroit Shall Burn No More!": Incinerator Fight Heats Up. *Race, Poverty and the Environment* 17(2):7-10.

- Csordas, Thomas J. 1990. Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology. *Ethos* 18(1):5-47.
- DeGuire, Petre, Binxin Cao, Lauren Wisneski, Doug Strane, Robert Wahl, Sarah Lyon-Callo, and Erika Garcia 2016. *Detroit: The Current Status of the Asthma Burden*. Detroit: Michigan Department of Health and Human Services.
- EPA 2017a. Superfund. Available < <https://www.epa.gov/superfund/search-superfund-sites-where-you-live>>. Accessed April 5, 2017.
- EPA 2017b. Superfund Site: Carter Industrials, Inc. Available: < <https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/cursites/csitinfo.cfm?id=0502729>>. Accessed April 5, 2017.
- Fine, Sidney 1997. Michigan and Housing Discrimination, 1949-1968. *Michigan Historical Review* 23(2):81-114.
- Fortun, Kim 2001. *Advocacy after Bhopal: Environmentalism, Disaster, New Global Orders*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Friedman, M.S., K.E. Powell, L. Hutwagner, L.M. Graham, and W.G. Teague 2001. Impact of Changes in Transportation During the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta on Air Quality and Childhood Asthma. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 285:897-905.
- Gauthier, C. and D. Charpin 2017. Environmental Triggers and Avoidance in the Management of Asthma. *Journal of Asthma and Allergy* 10:47-56.
- Gravlee, Clarence C. 2009. How Race Becomes Biology: Embodiment of Social Inequality. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 139:47-57.
- Hack, M., N. K. Klein, and H. G. Taylor 1995. Long-Term Developmental Outcomes of Low Birth Weight Infants. *Future Child* 5(1):176-196.
- Ingold, Tim 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
- Jiang, X.Q., X. Meri and D. Feng 2016. Air Pollution and Chronic Airway Diseases: What Should People Know and Do? *Journal of Thoracic Disease* 8(1):e31-40.
- Keeler, Gerald J., J. Timothy Dvorchak, Fuyuen Y. Yip, Edith A. Parker, Barbara A. Israel, Frank J. Marsik, Masako Morishita, James A. Barres, Thomas G. Robins, Wilma Brakefield-Caldwell, and Mathew Sam 2002. Assessment of Personal and Community-Level Exposures to Particulate Matter among Children with Asthma in Detroit, Michigan, as Part of Community Action Against Asthma (CAAA). *Environmental Health Perspectives* 110(2):173-181.
- Krieger, N. 2001. Embodiment: A Conceptual Glossary for Epidemiology. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 55:693-700.
- Lawrence, Eric D. 2014. No More Smell in Midtown? Deal Made Over Incinerator. *Detroit Free Press*. Available: <<http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/detroit/2014/10/21/deal-reduces-detroit-incinerator-stench/17651929/>>. Accessed April 3, 2017.

- LeDoux, T. F. and I. Vojnovic 2013. Going Outside the Neighborhood: the Shopping Patterns and Adaptations of Disadvantaged Consumers in the Lower Eastside Neighborhoods of Detroit, Michigan. *Health and Place* 19:1-14.
- Mauss, Marcel 1992[1934]. *Techniques of the Body*. In *Incorporations*. Johnathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter, eds. Pp. 455-477. New York: Zone Books.
- Newman, Andrew and Sara Safransky 2014. Remapping the Motor City and the Politics of Austerity. *Anthropology Now* 6(3):17-28.
- Nixon, Rob 2006. Slow Violence, Gender, and the Environmentalism of the Poor. *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies* 13(2)-14(1):14-37.
- Nixon, Rob 2011. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Pedersen, Marie, Lise Giorgis-Allemand, Claire Bernard, Inmaculada Aguilera, Anne-Marie Nybo Andersen, and Ferran Ballester 2013. Ambient Air Pollution and Low Birthweight: a European Cohort Study (ESCAPE). *The Lancet Respiratory Medicine* 1(9):695-704.
- Petryna, Adriana 2002. *Life Exposed: Biological Citizens after Chernobyl*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Robert, S. A. 1999. Socioeconomic Position and Health: The Independent Contribution of Community Socioeconomic Context. *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:489-516.
- Rome, I. 2005. Nutrition and Lung Health. *International Journal of Tuberculosis and Lung Disease* 9:362-374.
- Schlanger, Zoë 2016. Choking to Death in Detroit: Flint Isn't Michigan's Only Disaster. *Newsweek* 166(13):25-33.
- Schell, Lawrence M. and Melinda Denham 2003. Environmental Pollution in Urban Environments and Human Biology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32:111-134.
- Schulz, Amy J., David R. Williams, Barbara A. Israel, and Lora Bex Lempert 2002. Racial and Spatial Relations as Fundamental Determinants of Health in Detroit. *Millbank Quarterly* 80(4):677-707.
- Sedman, Richard M. and John R. Esparza 1991. Evaluation of Public Health Risks Associated with Semivolatile Metal and Dioxin Emissions from Hazardous Waste Incinerators. *Environmental Health Perspectives* 94:181-187.
- Starfield, Barbara, Leiyu Shi, Atul Grover, and James Macinko 2005. The Effects of Specialist Supply on Populations' Health: Assessing the Evidence. *Health Affairs* Jun-Jul: W95-107.
- Sugrue, Thomas J. 1996. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Thomas, June Manning 2013[1997]. *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit*. Wayne State University Press.
- Yang, S and S. Yang 1994. Respiratory Function Changes from Inhalation of Polluted Air. *Archives of Environmental and Occupational Health* 49:182-187.

- Wade, Peter 2004. Human Nature and Race. *Anthropological Theory* 4(2):157-172.
- Wechsler, Michael E. 2009. Managing Asthma in Primary Care: Putting New Guideline Recommendations into Context. *Mayo Clinic Proceedings* 84(8):707-717.
- Wilson, William Julius 1996. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Zenk, Shannon N., Amy J. Shulz, Barbara A. Israel, Sherman A. James, Shuming Bao, and Mark L. Wilson 2005. Neighborhood Racial Composition, Neighborhood Poverty, and the Spatial Accessibility of Supermarkets in Metropolitan Detroit 95(4):660-667.

Reimagining Work: The Impact of Neoliberalism on Universities and Engineering Students

by Mehran Shamit

Neoliberalism is increasingly shaping university education and student orientation towards work, especially in technical fields such as engineering. Universities such as the University of Toronto are specifically targeting engineering students and directing them towards entrepreneurship as they are viewed as future innovators who are most likely to contribute to economic growth and development. Universities are thus increasingly attempting to transform engineering students into promising reserves of future entrepreneurs. Although entrepreneurship is an uncommon career path for most engineering students, it has recently gained more interest and acceptability, despite the instability and risks involved. This paper reviews existing literature on neoliberalism, its impact on universities and its transformation of universities into the entrepreneurial format. This paper also uses data from qualitative interviews with undergraduate engineering students at the University of Toronto as well as the author's own observations of engineering entrepreneurship events held at the university to address how engineering students imagine work and how they respond to the entrepreneurship exposure or "evangelism" that they receive at the University of Toronto. Ultimately, this paper argues that neoliberalism, through its principle of individualism, drives engineering students to reimagine work and adopt entrepreneurship as a desirable career path later on in their lives, when there are supposedly less risks involved in entrepreneurship.

Introduction

Neoliberalism is "a theory of political economic practices" which claims that the well-being of humans is best achieved through "liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills" (Harvey 2005:2). The state is held responsible for producing and maintaining aspects of neoliberalism, such as free markets, free trade and private property rights. Neoliberalism is increasingly shaping university education and student orientation towards work, especially in technical fields such as engineering. Engineering is a field that is considered by students to have stable employment opportunities. However, in line with neoliberal restructuring in society as

well as in the university, the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering at the University of Toronto increasingly promotes entrepreneurship, a seemingly risky career choice. Entrepreneurship has also gained greater acceptance due to changing perceptions of work among students who are now attracted to the idea of taking on individual responsibility in exchange for having autonomy and independence at work. This is a product of neoliberal ideology in society promoting greater individualism. Analyzing existing literature on neoliberalism, its impact on universities and its transformation of universities into the entrepreneurial format as well as qualitative data from the University of Toronto, I argue that neoliberalism through its principle of individualism drives engineering students to reimagine work and adopt entrepreneurship as a desirable career path later on in their lives, when there are supposedly less risks involved in entrepreneurship.

Methodology

In my study, I used both primary and secondary sources. I particularly reviewed existing literature on neoliberalism's impact on university education and the subsequent transition to a common entrepreneurial format. Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt and Terra (2000) show how the capitalization of knowledge has resulted due to this shift in university education, while Brownlee (2015) points out the growing trend of business oriented practices and marketplace relationships taking place within the university system. Although findings from Duval-Couetil, Reed-Rhoads and Haghighi (2012) suggest that education can play a very important role in inspiring entrepreneurship among students, research conducted by Luthje and Franke (2003) show that there are still existing barriers that may prevent many students from taking up entrepreneurship in the immediate future. In this context, I chose to gather qualitative data in order to understand how the University of Toronto actively promotes entrepreneurship, specifically targeting students in engineering compared to other fields. I attended various public events related to engineering entrepreneurship on the university's St. George campus over the course of two months. These public events were organized by various actors, including the Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering, the Entrepreneurship Hatchery (a start-up

accelerator or “incubator” based in the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering) and Engineers Without Borders (a student organization based at the university focusing on the role of engineering in international development).

The events were very diverse and allowed me to interact with current engineering students, mainly undergraduates, from different programs within engineering. Although the events were open to the public, my position as a current undergraduate student at the University of Toronto made it significantly easier for me to interact with engineering students attending these events and I did not feel a need to justify my presence as other students assumed that I was merely interested in learning about entrepreneurship and potentially becoming an entrepreneur. I did not always disclose my main purpose behind attending these events. However, when conversations lasted longer and I was asked, I explained my research project and it was met with healthy curiosity. Through informal conversations at these events with different students, I received some very important insights before formally conducting interviews with engineering students regarding their perceptions of work and entrepreneurship and their views on the entrepreneurship exposure at the university.

I conducted in-depth, face-to-face interviews with five students in the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering using a semi-structured approach, in two separate group interviews or discussions on campus. All of the respondents were either fourth or fifth year undergraduate engineering students and under the age of 25. Three of the respondents were domestic students, while two were international students. Accounting for the existing gender imbalance in the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, only one of the respondents was female. Initially, I encountered some difficulties convincing students to be formally interviewed. Even after explaining my research project and stressing that all of the information from the interviews would be kept confidential in accordance with the University of Toronto’s ethics protocols, many students were hesitant and decided not to go through with the interviews. This was possibly because they did not completely trust me as I only recently met them.

Having experienced this setback, I then decided on using some of my friends as a resource. I was able to get in-depth interviews through friends as there was already an existing

level of trust. During the interviews, the main questions asked related to future employment and the types of occupations the respondents hoped to pursue, how the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering prepared students for the workplace, what respondents thought of the job market and current labor conditions, how entrepreneurship was specifically embedded in the University of Toronto engineering curriculum as well as how respondents felt about the promotion of entrepreneurship in engineering. In order to protect the privacy of respondents, pseudonyms are used in this paper.

Neoliberalism, Individualism and the University

Neoliberalism suggests that economic imperatives come first and as a result all other goals, including equality and security, have to be sacrificed for the prioritized goals of economic productivity and economic growth (Graeber 2013). However, global economic performance throughout the years suggests that the project of neoliberalism has been a failure as growth rates are far below what they used to be during the “old-fashioned, state-directed, welfare-state-oriented capitalism of the fifties, sixties, and even seventies” (Graeber 2013). The “neoliberal revolution,” often attributed to Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan after 1979, was achieved using democratic measures as the turn towards neoliberalism caused a massive shift and required popular political consent from the general public (Harvey 2005:39). In order to legitimize the turn towards neoliberalism, popular political consent was generated primarily through the spread of neoliberal ideas and ideological influences within the media, corporations and institutions such universities, schools and professional associations (Harvey 2005:39). In essence, the establishment or organization of think-tanks through corporate funding, control over certain parts of the media as well as many intellectuals adopting neoliberal views and attitudes helped garner support for neoliberalism as “the exclusive guarantor of freedom” and later culminated in the control over political parties and the capture of state power (Harvey 2005:40). The emergence of the neoliberal state is often characterized by the transformation of the administrative state into a state handing power to global corporations and reimagining humans as “productive economic entrepreneurs of their own lives” (Davies & Bansel 2007:248).

Although neoliberalism on the surface promotes the advancement of individual freedoms, David Harvey (2005) points out that, in reality, it is a project to restore class power and economic power to a small elite (40). Interventionist or regulatory practices of the state competed against the supposed ideal of individual freedom promised by neoliberalism and this value of freedom was used by elites to justify their own interests, primarily their aim to restore or protect capitalist class interests (Harvey 2005:39;41). Viewing neoliberalism as a political project reveals how politicians, CEOs and trade bureaucrats have all convinced the world that the “financialized” capitalism of today is the best and only feasible economic system, despite failing to meet the needs of most of the world’s population (Graeber 2013). However, many economic innovations may make more sense politically than economically and the ruling class often uses such innovations to control other segments of the population (Graeber 2013). In the case of universities, many are economically dependent on external institutions in order to survive. At times, they may even be controlled by those providing them with financial support as external institutions also want to ensure that the status quo of wealth and power are guaranteed (Brownlee 2015:13-14).

Neoliberal ideology calls for the removal of social solidarity from society and emphasizes greater individualism and personal responsibility (Harvey 2005:23). Neoliberalism favors private enterprise and entrepreneurial initiative as they are considered to contribute to innovation and wealth creation (Harvey 2005:64). As state obligations decrease, allowing for greater privatization, a culture of entrepreneurialism develops. Subsequently, surveillance, financial accountability and productivity are implemented onto institutions such as universities (Harvey 2005:61). As a result, universities are restructured and reemerge as institutions producing economic entrepreneurs who are “highly individualized, responsibilized subjects” (Davies & Bansel 2007:248). Under neoliberalism, economic productivity is expected to come from transforming education into a product that can be bought and sold (Davies & Bansel 2007:254). This may further hinder government investments into education.

The aim of neoliberalism is to produce subjects who are strictly governed and subservient, however view themselves as free (Davies & Bansel 2007:249). This creates the

illusion of having agency and being able to exercise free will, which in reality may actually be restricted. Neoliberal subjects are shaped to become responsabilized individuals who have the ability to become successful entrepreneurs and make it on their own. Individuals are “seduced” by their perceived powers of freedom and accept increased individualism as a marker of that freedom (Davies & Bansel 2007:249). Under neoliberalism, freedom is gained from self-improvement through entrepreneurial activities undertaken by individuals and by dissolving collective responsibility, the passive citizen transforms into the active citizen or “entrepreneur of the self” (Davies & Bansel 2007:252). All activities previously the responsibility of the state, including education, become privatized and commodified in order to be efficient and profitable (Lorenz 2012:602-603). Citizens are thus transformed into consumers.

Entrepreneurship and the Corporatization of the University

In the late 20th century, universities arrived at a common entrepreneurial format, carrying out the missions of teaching, research as well as economic development (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:313). The entrepreneurial university promotes and stresses “entrepreneurship, firm-formation and risk taking” (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:327). This shift in universities and the entrepreneurial activities pursued by them are primarily intended to improve regional or national economic performance as well as a university and its faculty’s financial advantage (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:313). However many, including some academics, view this recent “entrepreneurial paradigm” as posing a threat to the integrity of the university (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:314). They argue that the university as an institution for public good should only focus on facilitating research and the production of graduates. Others argue that higher education is currently being reconfigured by corporations to meet their needs as employers as well as to gain control over scientific inventions (Brownlee 2015:3). Some companies concerned about the emergence of competitor firms from the academic sphere are also opposed to the idea of the entrepreneurial university and believe that universities should only engage in academic–industrial relationships

instead of increasingly promoting and facilitating entrepreneurship on their campuses (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:314).

Although universities should aim to use research to contribute to economic growth, it may become a problem when economic growth or competitiveness is the primary purpose of universities and hinders their ability to achieve their other main purposes, such as educating future workers (Polster & Newson 2009:32). In universities today, there is often a lack of critical analysis of the harms and benefits of economic globalization taking place around the world. Instead, the global economic order, which many argue serves the economic interests of only a few powerful multinational corporations and is responsible for impoverishing huge parts of the world, is almost unquestionably promoted on university campuses (Polster & Newson 2009:32). Governments around the world recognize the potential of universities in enhancing innovation and producing science-based economic development (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:314) and the entrepreneurial university is thought to be the perfect solution.

Fostering entrepreneurship is a priority for many actors, including the state, and entrepreneurial pursuits are targeted at students who are viewed as potential future entrepreneurs, innovators and contributors to economic development. Students in technical fields, such as engineering, are specifically targeted more than others as they are most likely to create their own companies in innovative areas and thus increase employment opportunities as well as economic growth (Luthje & Franke 2003:135). In order to play an active role in economic development, the academic missions of universities are altered and undertaken in new ways. This includes reinterpreting teaching to facilitate the modernization of low and mid-tech firms and disseminating research through different forms of technology transfer (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:314). Additionally, academic patenting, royalty income and industrial sponsorship of academic research have expanded greatly within universities (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:327). The capitalization of knowledge is currently a priority as academics increasingly participate in entrepreneurial activities, caused by both internal changes taking place within academia as well as external influences on the university (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:315). As knowledge becomes an increasingly big part of

innovation today, the university takes over the responsibility of industry and government and plays a larger role in industrial innovation.

In the current knowledge-based economy, in engaging in entrepreneurial activities, the university often facilitates the creation of firms based on the commercialization of academic research. When the entrepreneurial paradigm becomes institutionalized in the university, faculty members and technical personnel within academic departments and centers of the university are given the responsibility to examine the commercial importance of research findings (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:316). Technology transfer offices and the conditions or requirements of government funded research support also encourage academics, researchers, scientists or engineers to look at the results of their research in light of its technological and economic potential (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:315). This can indirectly encourage research that can be patented and marketed. Unfortunately, economic priorities may cause disadvantages to many researchers or academics and place them in difficult situations, even restricting their academic freedom. Performance based measures adopted by universities and research councils allow for limited accountability and instead may even impose restrictions on academics, largely looking out for economic priorities such as how many patents universities have produced (Polster and Newson 2009:33).

Canadian universities turned to “academic capitalism” in the 1980s and 1990s and this turn was seen with the shift towards “curricula with market relevance, an increase in applied and entrepreneurial research, and greater reliance on tuition fees and other sources of private funding” (Brownlee 2015:29). It was further supported by corporate lobbying and government policies, including those encouraging commercial research and development and a more competitive institutional environment (Brownlee 2015:29). This was the beginning of the “corporatization” of Canadian universities. Corporatization of the university is the incorporation of business interests, values and models in the university system, leading to the university entering into marketplace relationships and using market strategies in the decision-making of the university (Brownlee 2015:3). Corporatization is even more complex and extends beyond privatization. Universities actively integrate their operations with corporate institutions through

public-private partnerships, donor agreements and greater corporate control over the curriculum and infrastructure development of the university (Brownlee 2015:4). They also engage in business oriented practices, such as commercialization and private gain through research, casualization of academic labor and the adoption of corporate management models (Brownlee 2015:4).

Universities today resemble companies as they have a “financial and proprietary interest in the potentially commercializable knowledge that they produce” through teaching and research (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:327). An example of the increased corporatization of the university is the patent system, which universities are now actively taking part in, and shows how knowledge is organized as something that is both public and private (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:327). Income generated by patents to fund new research has become a “self-generating system of research funding” (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:317). The technology transfer process is a big part of universities and a good source of income. Universities create incubators to help produce firms using university research and venture capital arms to meet the need for “seed” funding (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:319). Corporatization of the university allows businesses the ability to socialize the risks and costs of research while privatizing the benefits and gaining advantages primarily through transferring technology to the private sector (Brownlee 2015:4). This creates business legitimacy in universities and gives the corporate sector greater control over the operations of the university. It facilitates the use of university resources and knowledge production for private and commercial interests (Brownlee 2015:4), despite the costs to the public.

In many cases, financial conditions force many academics to either use entrepreneurial strategies to receive internal or external research funding or abandon their research plans (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt & Terra 2000:317). Professors who are too invested in commercializing or marketing their research often have less time to maintain their departments, faculties and teaching programs. This not only causes unequal workloads among faculty members, but also has the potential to cause conflict and unequal relationships within the

university as “money-making professors” are often favored by university administrators and have more privileges and greater influence on decision-making (Polster & Newson 2009:34-35). Although it is not always the case, there have been instances, including in Canada which show how public interest can be compromised when universities or faculty members gain financial benefits from commercializing research. They may even be willing to act unethically in suppressing researchers, research projects or research results and preventing collaborations or debates that threaten financial interests or the profit-making potential of the university (Polster & Newson 2009:34).

It is also worth noting that universities being involved in entrepreneurial activities, such as creating spin-off companies, licensing intellectual property or marketing knowledge-based products, comes at a cost to the institutions and these costs are largely covered by taxpayer dollars and increasing amounts of tuition and other fees paid by students (Polster & Newson 2009:35). Given the fact that universities are public institutions employing academics as public servants and paying them with public funds, the profits from the entrepreneurial activities of universities also belong to the public (Polster & Newson 2009:35). However, while the public subsidizes the profit-making ventures of universities, universities and academics are primarily the ones gaining financial benefits. The corporatization of Canadian universities then essentially transforms institutions serving the public and facilitating social development into “knowledge businesses” producing products and services and paying clients (Polster & Newson 2009:35).

The Promotion of Entrepreneurship in Engineering

The University of Toronto, especially its Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, is quite active in promoting entrepreneurship on campus. The university already runs a number of accelerators for students and faculty, focusing on commercializing ideas and research and turning them into profitable start-ups. The university is also nearly finished with the construction of the Centre for Engineering Innovation and Entrepreneurship, intended to further increase technology based start-ups on campus. In order to accelerate entrepreneurship, the University of Toronto especially targets engineering students, offering them a number of

engineering business courses, a minor in Engineering Business and certificates in Engineering Business and Entrepreneurship. The university also offers The Jeffrey Skoll BASc/MBA, which is a joint program combining an undergraduate degree in engineering (which includes a professional experience year engineering internship) with an MBA (which includes a management internship) from the university's business school, the Rotman School of Management.

I found that the university frequently hosted many engineering entrepreneurship events on campus, with events happening almost every week, to encourage students to pursue entrepreneurship. Many of the events were jointly organized by the Entrepreneurship Hatchery and the Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering and consisted of talks by speakers who were often introduced as the CEO of a start-up currently making millions in profits. Some talks were later followed by an informal dinner with the speaker. These talks were attended by mainly undergraduate students, a majority of them being male as engineering is still largely a male dominated field. They usually consisted of two parts, first the main talk followed by a question and answer session where students curiously asked about how to create their own profitable start-ups. There was often a sign-in sheet passed around at these talks and I soon realized that attending these talks was a mandatory component of some engineering business courses at the university, which many engineering students took as compliments to their very technical engineering studies. The talks also intended to promote and highlight the entrepreneurial activities of the Entrepreneurship Hatchery, which runs an accelerator or “incubator” program to help students turn their ideas into successful start-ups as well “commercialize” academic research in engineering by providing those interested with resources and mentorship.

A main part of their program is popularly termed “entrepreneurship evangelism” and aims to convert students into the mentality of becoming future entrepreneurs after graduation instead of pursuing traditional industry jobs in engineering or jobs in other organizations. During the talks, some speakers enthusiastically spoke about the City of Toronto becoming the next Silicon Valley and suggested that now is the best time to invest and become an

entrepreneur in Canada. What I saw as the glamorization and glorification of entrepreneurship as a future career choice was common at these talks, along with the masking of start-up failures and the actual risks involved in entrepreneurship. Each talk brought in a different speaker who attempted to motivate the audience into becoming entrepreneurs with their success stories. Stories of winning awards and standing on the red carpet with celebrities and phrases such as “ideas are nothing without execution” were meant to trigger the entrepreneurial spirit in these young engineering students. The fact that the entrepreneurial path to success would also most likely consist of a number of failures, when attempted by undergraduate students or recent graduates with little or no business knowledge, was almost always brushed off as something very insignificant. Many speakers even shared a very watered-down version of the reality of start-up failures, leaving students with what I felt was largely an illusion or a fantasy. Instead of acknowledging their entrepreneurial failures, especially financial failures, many of the speakers conveniently spoke of their start-up failures as not failures but rather learning experiences that were essential in securing their current success.

These students were also being fed a myth that is nearly impossible to achieve, they were being sold an unrealistic model of success that only a handful of entrepreneurs have even succeeded in achieving. Students were given the message that nothing could get in their way of becoming the next Bill Gates or the CEO of a big company and making millions, or even billions, if they just had an idea that they were willing to build on through entrepreneurship. Serial entrepreneurship was encouraged on many occasions, without any warnings of financial losses resulting from start-up failures and their impact on the lives of entrepreneurs. There were no in-depth discussions assessing the financial risks associated with start-ups or even on how much to invest initially and where to draw the line. The idea was to “dream big” and never give up in hopes of potentially making millions or even billions one day. As an observer, it seemed to me that some of the speakers at these talks even encouraged students to invest everything they had, including using their parents as investors.

The messages presented at these talks certainly did not seem to have any concern for the potential social implications on students or recent graduates pursuing entrepreneurship. If

current undergraduate students or recent university graduates were to pursue entrepreneurship, they would inevitably run into countless financial and other difficulties in not only establishing start-ups, but also being able to sustain them. It is quite possible that they may even lose everything, including their initial investments. However, this view of entrepreneurship was conveniently kept hidden from students. What I found surprising at these talks was how most speakers continuously emphasized how quickly someone is able to accumulate huge profits through entrepreneurship. They measured success in terms of being financially rich. They equated success in life with the ability to generate wealth and the young and impressionable audience seemed to be hooked, even in such a technical field like engineering. However, as an observer I could not completely be certain of how these engineering students actually perceived entrepreneurship in their minds. Could they be secretly as skeptical as I was of the fantasies and unrealistic expectations presented to them during these talks on how to become the next big CEO and earn quick wealth and fame through entrepreneurship?

Other engineering entrepreneurship events included those organized by the University of Toronto chapter of Engineers Without Borders. These events, although also promoting entrepreneurship, had a completely different outlook on life and also mainly attracted undergraduate students. One specific talk organized by Engineers Without Borders on entrepreneurship was unlike any other talk I attended. The speaker asked everyone to join him in a circle, as it was a small group. Everyone was able to freely discuss their ideas and how they felt about using entrepreneurship and engineering to make a difference, while still earning a living. There was no sense of hierarchy among the speaker and students and it was a great strategy to get students more involved and engaged in talking about entrepreneurship. Engineers Without Borders as an organization specifically focuses on social entrepreneurship and how engineering can be used to make an impact on international development.

In contrast to the talks organized by the Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering and the Entrepreneurship Hatchery, I found that Engineers Without Borders presented a much more practical view of start-ups and was not centered on quick wealth or monetary success. The speaker, who described himself as a social entrepreneur, discussed

technology based start-ups and their role in social entrepreneurship. He even acknowledged his struggles instead of quickly brushing them off or ignoring them as unimportant details of his success story. He stressed the need to rethink Western led development in other parts of the world and emphasized the importance of social responsibility. While acknowledging all the struggles and challenges, he emphasized the need to overcome the urge to make lots of money and accumulate wealth, which are attractions for many young university graduates. During the discussion, it became clear that many past members of Engineers Without Borders were very enthusiastic about creating change through social entrepreneurship while in university. However, once the students graduated “the real world hit them” and they slowly had a greater desire for making money. Students naturally started to worry about earning a living and paying off extremely high student debts. However, at this talk students were encouraged and advised to look past the money and financial difficulties, to a certain extent, if they were truly serious about pursuing social entrepreneurship in the future. Many students in the past were known to get “too comfortable” with their secure jobs and salaries and some were not able to give them up later on in life to pursue social entrepreneurship.

The idea promoted at this event was the need to help create “systematic change” or real, long-term change in a “non-interventionist way” by working in the development sector alongside locals in other countries, or even in Canada, mainly through technology based start-ups. Students were encouraged to create something by consulting with locals and discover a product that truly helps locals and works for them. It was warned that too often start-ups are unsustainable and only successful short term, making quick profits, which can be detrimental to local communities. Running into difficulties, including financial difficulties seemed almost inevitable in the line of social entrepreneurship. However, students were told to be mentally prepared for those hardships and were encouraged not to stop at failures and quickly turn towards making money in a traditional industry job in engineering. Instead, if possible and sustainable, the message was to learn from past mistakes and failures and create something that actually has an impact on local communities, instead of something that only intends to make quick money.

Engineers Without Borders focused on engaging students who wanted to make a difference in the world. It used social entrepreneurship as a means for students to become entrepreneurs, but at the same time find self-fulfillment in the long run when economic success is not viewed as attractive or as important in life. Now I am in no way promoting their vision of international development or their version of entrepreneurship as their ideas can potentially play out differently in real life situations. It can also be argued that the model of entrepreneurship promoted by Engineers Without Borders is not much different at its core than the model promoted by the Entrepreneurship Hatchery as both models can be linked back to their common profit-making potential. However for an observer attending these entrepreneurship events and listening to the ideas and facts communicated to students, compared to the Entrepreneurship Hatchery, Engineers Without Borders proved to be far more open and realistic in terms of the goals and expectations presented to a young audience with little or no business knowledge. I found that the different events organized by the Entrepreneurship Hatchery and Engineers Without Borders presented fairly contrasting models of entrepreneurship, which projected contradictory messages to students. In order to understand how engineering students actually felt about work and if they seriously considered entrepreneurship as a viable career choice, I interviewed five engineering students at the University of Toronto.

Engineering Students' Perceptions of Work and Entrepreneurship

In my study, while the respondents all agreed that entrepreneurship education has the potential to increase options after graduation, most did not have an inclination towards entrepreneurship and did not hope to pursue entrepreneurship immediately after graduation. Instead, they believed that entrepreneurship education provides engineering students with additional skills beyond purely technical skills, which can potentially help them in any workplace, even in traditional industry jobs in engineering. Yasir shared his reasoning for deciding to take an Engineering Business minor and an Economics minor along with his Engineering Science major, "I thought it's a good compliment to your studies, because in a lot of

different things you have your technical skills, but you also need business skills.” Yasir explained that as part of his Engineering Science degree, during his professional experience year, he worked in an industry setting that focused on energy markets. This is where his Engineering Business and Economics minors came in handy as not all jobs in the engineering field are purely technical. Yasir also thought about applying to the MBA program at the Rotman School of Management at the University of Toronto, because he believed it would provide him with a skill set that his engineering degree could not give him and add to his professional development as he did not intend to pursue graduate studies in engineering.

Naila also pointed out that the skills that entrepreneurship courses provide can be valuable and complimentary for many engineering students, because “Employers now don’t just look for engineers who know how to do calculus or who know how to just do the math or research, they look for interpersonal skills.” However, Marco felt that not all engineering related jobs strictly require the skills found in entrepreneurship education and it is not something that needs to be essential, “I wouldn’t say that every engineer should get an MBA just for the sake of it, if you are going into research and development or if you want to go into academia there is absolutely no point in taking entrepreneurship courses.” All respondents agreed that it really depends on what someone wants to pursue as a career after graduation.

Many organizations and companies have undergone cost reducing and restructuring processes due to increasing international competition. As a result, previous employment advantages in the workplace, such as job security and stability, are no longer available to everyone (Luthje & Franke 2003:136). Some even believe that there is now a growing need for entrepreneurship education for engineering students as some of the most attractive and sought-after jobs in research and development in manufacturing companies are declining (Duval-Couetil, Reed-Rhoads & Haghighi 2012:425). As a result, working in smaller entrepreneurial companies has become the new trend. However, respondents in my study strongly disagreed with this claim and asserted that there are plenty of stable jobs for engineers in the labor market today, especially compared to other fields, and there are still many research and development jobs available. Entrepreneurship does not seem to be a trend among engineering students

immediately after graduation, but interest towards entrepreneurship seems to be growing among students.

I found that the overall perception among respondents is that it is relatively easy to find a job after graduation in the job market with a University of Toronto undergraduate engineering degree. The respondents pointed out that the types of jobs vary in different fields within engineering, with some fields being more start-up focused than others. Christian Luthje and Nikolaus Franke (2003) find that entrepreneurship directed at engineering students seems to emphasize certain areas, such as IT hardware and software, high-tech consulting and product development and design, as these areas have the potential to significantly impact economic growth and increase employment (141). My respondents suggested that specific fields in engineering, such as Computer Engineering, especially have more jobs available through start-ups as they do not necessarily require advanced knowledge, unlike fields such as Biomedical Engineering, and are thus able to employ larger numbers of people without advanced or postgraduate degrees. These tech start-ups are also able to employ many individuals in jobs in other areas unrelated to engineering, thus creating more employment.

Neoliberal ideology and practices aim to convert human beings into human capital, where everything that makes up the individual, including intelligence and education, are viewed as investments of time or energy into potential earnings in the future (Read 2009:152). Despite the university providing students with an experience where knowledge is collectively used and shared, students often only interpret it as an investment in their human capital and a means of securing their desired job after graduation as “every class, every extracurricular activity, every activity or club becomes a possible line on a resume (Read 2009:152). Respondents in my study largely agreed with this and admitted that they were mainly attracted to business courses or additional business related minors to improve or boost their resumes for the workplace. They increasingly wanted to present themselves as not just engineers but well-rounded individuals within their technical field with great communication and interpersonal skills. The respondents all laughed at the fact that at the end of the day their degree is just a piece of paper, an investment into their futures, which is why some of the respondents specifically chose the

University of Toronto with its reputation for having one of the best engineering schools in Canada. This brings into question the value of knowledge and if it is in fact a social good or a commodity that is available for purchase, an investment viewed as property (Read 2009:152; Brownlee 2015:27).

The reasons for students being interested in entrepreneurship include creating a product that is distinctly their own and having more flexibility and independence in the workplace. However, many students also dismiss the prospect of entrepreneurship as it is believed to be excessively risky. Many also lack the initial capital required for start-ups as well as mentoring or legal assistance to be successful (Duval-Couetil, Reed-Rhoads & Haghighi 2012:431-432). A majority of engineering students actually prefer to work in a medium to large organization after graduation and do not see entrepreneurship or working at a start-up as a viable prospect or career choice immediately after graduation (Duval-Couetil, Reed-Rhoads & Haghighi 2012:433). My findings are similar to these findings as most of my respondents expressed fears of the potential precariousness and risks of creating a start-up immediately after graduation and stated that they may decide to become entrepreneurs later in the future, but only if they can come up with a good idea after settling down in a stable job, understanding the field, making contacts and having the initial start-up costs.

Research suggests that educational programs that are directed at engineering students can potentially influence or inspire them to become entrepreneurs, especially in the case of undergraduate students, who normally do not intend to pursue entrepreneurship right after graduation (Duval-Couetil, Reed-Rhoads & Haghighi 2012:426). Taking courses related to entrepreneurship, along with receiving support from an university environment, can also positively impact an engineering student's perception of their ability to succeed in entrepreneurial activities and reduce perceived barriers that many students associate with entrepreneurship (Duval-Couetil, Reed-Rhoads & Haghighi 2012:433; Luthje & Franke 2003:137). Students who are generally ready and willing to accept risks and who have a desire to control their own lives have a more positive attitude towards entrepreneurship and becoming self-employed in the future (Luthje & Franke 2003:142). However, even with positive attitudes if

students realize that too many barriers exist, such as not being able to access loans from banks, they are less likely to risk new ventures and become entrepreneurs (Luthje & Franke 2003:142-143). Entrepreneurial attitudes can also potentially be influenced by educators and successful founders who are able to establish themselves as role models for students (Luthje & Franke 2003:143). This is exactly the strategy that the University of Toronto takes through the Entrepreneurship Hatchery, along with masking start-up failures and hiding the actual risks and hardships associated with start-ups, in attempting to transform engineering students into future entrepreneurs.

Work values associated with self-employment, such as independence, self-realization and challenge, have now become more attractive and desirable in the workplace (Luthje & Franke 2003:136). This seemed to resonate among all of the respondents in my study as they now reimagine the concept of work. As mentioned earlier, the respondents stated that they may start their own companies in the future, although not completely certain, but they truly admired the idea of not working under anyone and becoming their own boss. In the future, they saw entrepreneurship as something that they can potentially fall back on, gaining freedom from working for others. Yasir particularly viewed entrepreneurship as a possible career prospect for him and explained that he would hate to work a nine-to-five job, pointing out that this is the new mentality that more and more young people are currently adopting. From discussions with other respondents, it became clear that more students wanted to pursue entrepreneurship at a later stage in life as they also seemed to want freedom from the chains holding them down in traditional jobs.

Many of them liked the idea of social entrepreneurship, promoted by Engineers Without Borders. Julien explained how engineering combined with social entrepreneurship can be used to make a difference while still making some profits, "It's about how you can be a profitable industry while still maintaining some semblance of ethics and they are not incompatible, they actually work quite well with each other. For example, look at how green energy is actually incredibly profitable compared to oil." However, respondents also felt that entrepreneurship is not the answer to everything and that the university is becoming too business-oriented with its

increased entrepreneurial pursuits. Maaz believed that the Hatchery events are especially “profit-oriented” and after attending a few events felt that they did not provide students with proper guidance and instead misled students into believing that their ideas can actually work in real life, without providing any guarantees. All of the respondents agreed that realistically they can never become the next Bill Gates or a millionaire or billionaire. They did not expect to either. Naila pointed out that the University of Toronto may provide some support in creating start-ups through initial investments. However, “There is a gap in investments between building or developing a product and actually selling it, which is really risky for students.” Yasir, the only respondent who seemed absolutely certain about creating his own start-up sometime in the future, also asserted:

I feel like a lot of people promote start-ups and entrepreneurship as in this is the solution to all the world’s problems. I think there’s a lot of different things that need to be solved in very different ways, for instance government intervention. I know everyone gets scared when someone says the words government intervention, but I still feel like there’s room for that especially in specific areas, so it’s not like entrepreneurship is the solution to everything. One of my goals is to start a start-up at one point in my life, but does that mean that I am for privatization of everything or making everything business oriented? I don’t think I’m for that, especially in specific areas, for instance in healthcare, transit, education. I don’t think there is room to privatize these sorts of things.

All of the respondents seemed to agree with Yasir’s statement and expressed their support for a return to greater public-private cooperation instead of increased privatization, including within the boundaries of the university.

Although the respondents supported the need for a greater public sector role, I found that they did not completely distance themselves from neoliberal ideology as they still aspired to become future entrepreneurs at some point in their lives. What they really acknowledged are the risks that neoliberalism inevitably brings into society as well as the risks associated with entrepreneurship, which cause most engineering students to view entrepreneurship as a less desirable career path immediately after graduation. The neoliberal restructuring that has taken place in society as well as the university has actually been quite successful in embedding neoliberal ideology into the minds of students. Students’ imaginations of work are largely shaped by the neoliberal principle of individualism, advocating individual responsibility and

freedom. While most engineering students may decide to embark on traditional careers in engineering right after they graduate, they consciously make this decision after assessing the risks and benefits involved in becoming an entrepreneur immediately after graduation. Neoliberal ideology is so strongly driven into engineering students' minds that they resort to entrepreneurship at some point. They imagine and believe that entrepreneurship will best serve their interests later on in their careers, when it becomes a seemingly less risky option for them and is thought to guarantee freedom and independence from waged labor and working under an employer. Thus for many engineering students, traditional careers in engineering are just a means to an end, with the end goal being entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

As universities such as the University of Toronto are increasingly promoting entrepreneurship on their campuses, primarily due to the neoliberal restructuring that has been taking place in society as well as in university education, students in technical fields such as engineering are seen as promising reserves of entrepreneurs. They are viewed as future innovators who are most likely to contribute to economic growth and development. There is no doubt that entrepreneurship education has generated greater interest and support among many young engineering students, even if they are initially interested in pursuing traditional industry jobs in engineering or jobs in other organizations. Respondents in my study recognized the potential of entrepreneurship education in increasing career prospects after university and felt that it provided engineering students with additional skills beyond purely technical skills and, in some cases, even better prepared them for many jobs directly in engineering. Many engineering students are also attracted to entrepreneurship or business courses to improve or boost their resumes for the workplace, presenting themselves as not just engineers but well-rounded individuals within their technical field. However, the shift in students' perceptions regarding the integration of entrepreneurship education in engineering is primarily caused by neoliberalism shaping student orientation towards work with its principle of individualism promising greater independence, autonomy and freedom through entrepreneurship. Respondents in my study

admired the idea of not working under an employer and suggested that this is the new mentality among many young people today. They reimagined work and viewed entrepreneurship as something that they can potentially pursue in the future to gain freedom from waged labor. While respondents were critical of neoliberalism, in-depth discussions around work revealed that they were actually mainly hesitant about taking personal or financial risks by becoming entrepreneurs immediately after graduation. It is clear that neoliberal ideology is still deeply embedded in the perceptions and imaginations of engineering students as they all expressed a desire to engage in entrepreneurship later on in their careers when there are supposedly less chances of risk in pursuing entrepreneurship, overlooking the generally precarious nature of entrepreneurial work.

Mehran Shamit is currently completing her undergraduate studies at the University of Toronto, Canada, pursuing a double major in Social Cultural Anthropology and Sociology. She is spending her last semester studying in the Department of Anthropology at University College London, UK. She is particularly interested in the impact of neoliberalism on different aspects of society. Her academic work has been published in different undergraduate journals and she has also presented her work at undergraduate conferences. In the Fall, Mehran intends to continue to a master's in Social Anthropology. Interested in pursuing a career in academia, she hopes to do a PhD in Anthropology in the future.

References

- Brownlee, Jamie. *Academia, Inc.: How Corporatization Is Transforming Canadian Universities*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing. 2015.
- Davies, Bronwyn, and Peter Bansel. "Neoliberalism and Education." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 20(3):247–259. 2007.
- Duval-Couetil, Nathalie, Teri Reed-Rhoads, and Shiva Haghighi. "Engineering Students and Entrepreneurship Education: Involvement, Attitudes and Outcomes." *International Journal of Engineering Education* 28(2):425-435. 2012.
- Etzkowitz, Henry, Andrew Webster, Christiane Gebhardt, and Branca Regina Cantisano Terra. "The Future of the University and the University of the Future: Evolution of Ivory Tower to Entrepreneurial Paradigm." *Research Policy* 29:313-330. 2000.
- Graeber, David. "A Practical Utopian's Guide to the Coming Collapse." *The Baffler*. 2013. <<http://thebaffler.com/salvos/a-practical-utopians-guide-to-the-coming-collapse>>
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005.
- Lorenz, Chris. "If You're So Smart, Why Are You under Surveillance? Universities, Neoliberalism, and New Public Management." *Critical Inquiry* 38(3):599-629. 2012.
- Luthje, Christian, and Nikolaus Franke. "The 'Making' of an Entrepreneur: Testing a Model of Entrepreneurial Intent Among Engineering Students at MIT." *R&D Management* 33(2): 135-147. 2003.
- Polster, Claire, and Janice Newson. "What's Wrong With Corporatizing Canada's Universities? Plenty!" *The Monitor (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)*:32-35. 2009.
- Read, Jason. University Experience: Neoliberalism Against the Commons. In *Toward a Global Autonomous University: The Edu-factory Collective*, eds. Pp. 151-153. New York: Autonomedia. 2009.

Archaeology and the Specter of Boas

by Daniel Robert Hansen

Franz Boas is an important figure for anthropology, particularly because of his popularization of the “four-field approach.” Yet archaeology has largely neglected to acknowledge Boas’s contributions to the discipline’s development, despite their relevance and potential for the creation of new ideas and interpretations. Scientific fields are best understood as traditions built on shared discourse rather than delineated by methodological processes, and thus the unity of a particular field is contingent upon participation and inclusion in that discourse. Besides the development of the four-field approach, many current ideas in all subfields of anthropology can find their roots in Boas’s advocative efforts for the field. The neglect of archaeology to incorporate the work of Boas into its own discussions has resulted not only in the loss of potential productive dialogues between important ideas in archaeological development and theory and parallels put forth by Boas, but also in a weakening of the connection between archaeology and anthropology as a whole. It is not useful to treat Boas’s work as strictly positive or to portray him as the “patron saint” of anthropology, but it is necessary to acknowledge the influence his corpus has had upon the field and to address the interpretive potential that a Boasian understanding of archaeology can provide. While Boas’s ideas have always been present in archaeology, the discipline has been disadvantaged by its hesitance to understand the origins of these ideas, resulting in a failure to develop them fully.

Introduction

Four-field anthropology, comprised of sociocultural, linguistic, archaeological, and biological or evolutionary subfields, remains a dangerous and unstable experiment. Attributed to the anthropologist Franz Boas in an address to the International Congress of Arts and Science (Boas, 1904), the four-field approach has become the norm in the United States—though not without controversy. In 1998, the Department of Anthropology at Stanford University experienced a schism. Feeling that methodological and epistemological differences had reached a critical mass, the faculty reorganized into two new departments: the Department of Social Anthropology and the Department of Anthropological Science—the latter choosing a name with

a particular “edge” (Shea and Heller 1998). Certain faculty members—evidently fed up with the “postmodernist” and “humanistic” tendencies of their colleagues—made their intentions very clear with their new department: they were scientists, and the others were not (Shea and Heller 1998). If the split was clean to begin with, it certainly was not so in 2007 when the university administration instructed the two departments to reunite. While there can be little doubt that the forced reunion had some financial motivation, an interesting ideological factor comes to light as well. The seeds of archaeology, it seems, had grown on both sides of the fence; it simply no longer made sense to keep archaeologists apart on the grounds of theoretical dispute (Trei 2007).

Archaeology is essentially an interdisciplinary vocation. This is true in that archaeologists are at home in a variety of different academic departments, including anthropology, classical studies, history, geosciences and many others. This paper will focus on those who call themselves “anthropological archaeologists,” though it is worth noting that as “interpretive” approaches become more mainstream in anthropological archaeology (and likewise as archaeologists in “humanities” fields begin to put greater emphasis on social context) the methodological and theoretical dividing line between these fields becomes less important. But archaeology is also interdisciplinary at the individual level. Regardless of specialty, all archaeologists need to be skilled in understanding the material with which they work. This is not a single monolithic skill, but must instead take diverse ideas from many other fields of inquiry: resource allocation from economics; taphonomy from chemistry, physics, and geosciences; technical approach from geology, paleontology, and cartography; human behavior from biology, psychology, sociology, and the other branches of anthropology, etc. Archaeology’s tendency to borrow from other sciences also results in extensive entanglement with the other subfields in anthropology. Archaeologists often must work with biological realities in much the same way as the biological anthropologist, especially when dealing with questions of food procurement, disease, reproduction, demography, and migration. Concepts of culture, identity, and ethnicity in archaeology necessarily draw from ideas in the sociocultural and linguistic subfields, as do theories of human behavior. Archaeologists often work from ethnographic analogy, attempting

to understand past peoples through participant observation of modern groups under similar conditions, employing a methodology nearly identical to that of a “pure” ethnographer. Thus archaeology in many ways represents the best of the four-field program. “Archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing,” is an old cliché (attributed to a number of authors, most notably Binford 1962, himself quoting Willey and Phillips 1958) which has been used primarily to argue for a more anthropological approach to archaeology. Yet the phrase is also true in a different sense; “archaeology is anthropology” because it encompasses the whole range of anthropological thought in ways that other disciplines do not. Boas’s joining of the four fields into one shared intellectual space has produced an archaeology which cannot be separated from the rest of anthropological discourse.

It is somewhat paradoxical, then, that archaeology seems hesitant to discuss the influence of Boas on the discipline. Besides popularizing the four-field approach, Boas was also an early proponent cultural relativism and historical particularism as well as a fierce opponent of scientific racism and race realism. While the intellectual landscape has changed immensely since Boas’s time, these ideas are the seeds from which contextual archaeology would eventually grow, and it is hard not to understand their relevance to the prevailing movements in archaeology today. While the other fields all seem to claim Boas as their own, archaeologists have not yet taken full advantage of the interpretive possibilities that Boas’s work could provide. This paper examines how the failure of archaeology to include Boas in its discourse has contributed to a distancing of archaeology from other branches of anthropology and argues that an explicit understanding of Boas’s corpus can reinvigorate anthropological archaeology.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels famously wrote that “It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself” (Marx and Engels 1992). For over a century, archaeologists have been indebted to the work and ideas of Franz Boas without mentioning the name. If it is a specter of Boas that is haunting archaeology, let this be the manifesto of the Boasian Archaeologist. In openly

acknowledging this “specter,” archaeology stands to gain a world of new discourse and interpretations that take Boas’s corpus as a foundation point.

The Anthropological Tradition

The precise bounds of the discipline we call anthropology seem to lie on shaky ground. On purely etymological principles one can deduce anthropology is a study of humanity in some way. Yet this clearly is not good enough; sociology, psychology, ethics, political science, economics, and history all could just as well be termed studies of humanity, and they truly are separate disciplines. But definitions pose unnecessary obstacles to those of an anthropological tendency whose methodology does not lie within their understanding of the words. We should not act to restrict those who wish to pursue divergent and controversial paths. Neither should we attempt to obfuscate such restriction through an apophatic exercise in defining what anthropology is *not*, as the function would be the same. Instead, we should openly embrace the third option, which is the *de facto* reality of the discipline today: anthropology does not need an explicit definition because it is defined well enough by the actions and intentions of its participants.

Anthropology is certainly a science, as it is the systematic study of some aspect of the universe. This is a broad definition of science which may include fields such as philosophy, literary criticism, and by some measures even religion (in this paper I do not wish to restrict the term to only the sciences which follow from Baconian principles). Yet for many purposes it is perhaps most useful to understand anthropology as a tradition. Indeed, if we are to examine the bounds of all sciences on methodological terms only, we find that the logic of each division quickly deteriorates. Physics and chemistry, housed in different departments in virtually every major institution, are in fact two lines of inquiry which examine the same type of phenomenon. The same laws which govern the mechanical movements of massive bodies also govern chemical reactions. If the two sciences were conceived today, it is likely that they would be one in the same, making chemists simply the subset of physicists who are preoccupied with a certain type of thing that electrons can do. Yet the circumstances of history have brought physics to us

through the mechanical and mathematical studies of Galileo and Newton, while chemistry arose from a mystical and alchemical tradition. Thus it is their disparate histories of discourse, rather than their objects of study, which divide them.

Anthropology, too, is held together not by a common and distinct set of principles or a singular research object but by loose associations of common understanding, similar temperament, and, importantly, a common corpus—all of which is the consequence of a history that created a scientific space to be filled by those who wanted to be called anthropologists. Having moved to the United States after beginning his career in Britain, where archaeology is seldom considered anthropology at all, the archaeologist Ian Hodder writes:

In fact I feel much more at home [in the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at Stanford] than I would in most archaeology departments. Why is this? Sun, sail, and cocktails certainly help, but the main reason is undoubtedly that we read the same books and have the same theoretical and methodological interests, even though we supposedly are in different disciplines. (Hodder 2005, 134)

It is clear that the unity of anthropology as a field can be best attributed to its members participating in one shared discourse. Yet scientists often understate the importance of these types of connections in favor of the myth that science is a process and nothing more. The Baconian scientific method is predicated on the assumption that every individual, when given the same observational opportunity, will reach the same conclusions. While this may play out reasonably well in the natural sciences, the human sciences require many layers of interpretation, with ourselves as humans taking many roles as the measuring device, the object being studied, and the interpreter. Human science simply cannot be done without a standing tradition of discourse on which to build. In anthropology, Franz Boas can be known as an individual who had a particularly strong influence on the direction such discourse would take in the next century and beyond. In order to understand how Boas can be placed in dialogue with archaeology, it is first necessary to understand his role in the greater anthropological tradition.

Defender of the Field

A quiet but significant debate rages in the world of scientific history over the origins of four-field anthropology. While traditionally attributed to Boas in 1904, some scholars have proposed instead that such a classificatory system arose from a more complex and international substrate (Hicks 2013). As previously explained, ideas in the social sciences progress from a nebula of prior work and discourse, and it is likely that Boas is not solely responsible for the idea. Yet whether or not the four-field approach has its true roots before Boas, it is clear—in the United States, at least—that modern anthropology takes its cue from *The History of Anthropology*, which Boas delivered to the International Congress of Arts and Science in St. Louis in September of 1904 and published in *Science* in October of that year:

The historical development of the work of anthropologists seems to single out clearly a domain of knowledge that heretofore has not been treated by any other science. It is the biological history of mankind in all its varieties; linguistics applied to people without written languages; the ethnology of people without written historic records; and prehistoric archaeology. (Boas 1904, 523)

It is easy to point out where Boas's understanding of anthropology has not stood the test of time. First, he clearly holds the written text in higher regard than most modern anthropologists would. Written records are not an authoritative truth even for societies which have them, and linguistic anthropology need not be bounded by the existence of script; linguistic science understands written language and spoken language as two entirely different entities which are related but whose studies are not conditional upon one another. Second, his definition of ethnology does not entirely match its modern analogue in "sociocultural anthropology"; it is hard to imagine that Boas would have anticipated such works as Joan Cassel's ethnography of women surgeons (Cassel 2000), for example. Elsewhere, he hints that some societies may represent vestiges of earlier times (Boas 1904, 514), which is an unfortunate misconception that persists in many areas today and actively conflicts with some of Boas's later assertions regarding cultural relativism (Boas 1920). A closer look, however, reveals Boas's program to be quite forward-thinking in another regard; the implication of his outline for a study of "people without written historical records" (Boas 1904, 523) is that these people do in fact have a history, and it merits creative study. It would take sociocultural anthropologists the better part of a century to

fulfill this promise, while the shadow of the “ethnographic present” remains long upon the academia even today.

Boas did not found the field of anthropology, nor does his creation of the four-field approach represent “definition” in the traditional sense. Boas’s role in the history of anthropology should instead be viewed as a defense. From the turbulent realm of social science in the early 20th century, he identifies four areas that those who call themselves anthropologists are uniquely qualified (and interested) to study. He also asserts that anthropology will have a positive overall effect on society, serving to fulfill the innate desire of mankind to know its place in the universe (Boas 1904, 524). Anthropology, he claims, deserves to have a future.

Boas in Disguise

The specification of the four subfields of anthropology is generally considered to be the most important result of *The History of Anthropology*, and perhaps rightly so. Yet Boas also makes clear other points, central to the Boasian program, which have direct bearing on archaeology in particular. His conception of anthropology is chiefly a historical one. He concludes the lecture with the claim that anthropology has a goal beyond itself, one which hinges distinctly on questions which archaeology is equipped to answer:

I do not wish to refer to [anthropology’s] practical value to those who have to deal with foreign races or with national questions. Of greater educational importance is its power to make us understand the roots from which our civilization has sprung, that it impresses us with the relative value of all forms of culture, and thus serves as a check to an exaggerated valuation of the standpoint of our own period, which we are only too liable to consider the ultimate goal of human evolution, thus depriving ourselves of the benefits to be gained from the teachings of other cultures and hindering an objective criticism of our own work. (Boas 1904, 524)

For readers well versed in postcolonial archaeology, Boas’s mission may read as startlingly contemporary. It also contains distinctive notes of the recent contextual tradition. “The past is colonized and appropriated by a narcissistic present,” wrote Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley in 1987, and while their *Re-Constructing Archaeology* remains a groundbreaking and revolutionary work, many of the ideas it helps to plant had their seeds in Boas’s very conception of the science of anthropology.

Perhaps the greatest irony is the tendency of archaeologists to ignore even the most fundamental contribution of Boas to the discipline, which is its inclusion within four-field anthropology. Archaeology's modern status as an anthropological science is well understood, but the process by which that transition occurred is generally less clear. One preferred narrative describes how, in an apparent perfect storm of sociopolitical conditions and the innovation of a handful of scholars in the, archaeology became anthropology with the advent of the New Archaeology in the 1960s. While the New Archaeology was certainly more scientific than the tradition of relatively simplistic collecting and cataloging which preceded it, processual archaeology, as the New Archaeology came to be known in maturity, only represents a step on the path toward anthropological archaeology in Boasian terms. Kent Flannery, for example, famously claimed that the goal of archaeology was not to find "the Indian behind the artifact" but rather to discover "the system behind both the Indian and the artifact" (Flannery 1967, 120). This analogy represents Flannery's attempt to distance archaeology from the inquiry into psychological intent, semiotics, and hermeneutics which so rapidly took root in the ethnological world. Yet for Boas, mental process is fundamental to anthropology, claiming that a large portion of the anthropological tradition "has developed through the application of the new historical point of view to the mental sciences" (Boas 1904, 523). It is on this point of mental processes that archaeology today seems the most divided. Marcus Winter, for example, argues that Flannery's maxim falsely implies that human behavior can be explained largely by systems of "non-cultural phenomena" (Winter 1972, 16), an approach which is more economic than anthropological. While strict economic materialism can be used as a framework within which one can do archaeology, many archaeologists have since rejected this approach in favor of an intensified focus on "the Indian behind the artifact," i.e. individual agency.

While Flannery places an emphasis on the material world as the great determiner of cultural behavior, Dietler and Herbich point out that at its core, archaeology is about understanding the relationship between "material and non-material aspects of culture and society" (Dietler and Herbich 1998, 233). In other words, the archaeological record should not be understood as a partial reflection of past conditions of life but rather as a result of complex

networks of agency, intent, and interaction. While it may not be as simple of a task as peering into the mind of the individual “Indian” to understand the “artifact,” the relationship Dietler and Herbich describe is essentially a mental science as well as a material one. In this understanding of archaeology as heavily involved with the mental history of humanity, we approach Boas’s goal of employing various diverse histories to undermine the power structures which place ourselves, as Western anthropologists, as the pinnacle of historical development.

Binford’s landmark paper *Archaeology as Anthropology* (1962) is often lauded as having brought archaeology into the light of anthropology. However, it is taken as a given already in his paper that archaeology had existed for a long time with the understanding that it could shed light on anthropology as a whole. Binford’s critique is largely focused on its failures to do so, specifically addressing the inability of previous archaeological inquiry to *explain* human behavior rather than simply explicate. He fights against a particularist tendency among archaeologists that has a particularly Boasian implication and remains a point of contention among archaeologists today. It is also arguably the most influential contribution of Boas to the human sciences, variously termed “cultural relativism,” “historical particularism,” and other designations which carry varying connotations of degree and judgment. Binford, writing of this tendency, claims that archaeology has failed to contribute to the explanatory nature of anthropology because it lacks an understanding of systems and frameworks and rather treats artifacts in their own particularity of existence (Binford 1962, 217). It would be a false analogy to equate the type of particularism that Binford disparages with the interpretation that Boas advocates, but it would be an equal fallacy not to acknowledge that such lines of thinking to fall into some resonance with each other. It is a distaste for Binford’s blanket rejection of particularism that is a common point of consensus among those various theoretical schools that call themselves “postprocessualist.” Boas himself seems to anticipate Binford’s words in claiming that assumptions of universal laws have no base in anthropology, and can lead toward narrow ways of thinking:

The evolutionary point of view presupposes that the course of historical changes in the cultural life of mankind follows definite laws which are applicable everywhere... It is true that there are indications of parallelism of development in

different parts of the world, and that similar customs are found in the most diverse and widely separated parts of the globe... On the other hand, it may be recognized that this hypothesis implies the thought that our modern Western European civilization represents the highest cultural development towards which all other more primitive cultural types tend, and that, therefore, retrospectively, we construct an orthogenetic development towards our own modern civilization. It is clear that if we admit that there may be different ultimate and coexisting types of civilization, the hypothesis of one single general line of development cannot be maintained. (Boas 1920, 312)

Binford would have most likely agreed with Boas in his assertion that there is no system of universal unilinear cultural evolution, advocating instead something that approximates environmental determinism. Clearly he would have disagreed with Boas's blanket assumption that there are no universal laws of cultural development, instead favoring the idea that each culture represents a local reflex of general laws, influence by external systems. To the modern reader examining the two claims side by side, is clear to see how these concepts can play off of each other and spawn new and different critiques. Unfortunately, this dialogue and the others mentioned in this paper do not exist beyond this constructed juxtaposition. Boas is not welcome in Binford's paradigm. This lack of dialogue with parallel ideas represents the true detriment of the archaeologist's neglect of the Boasian corpus.

Homecoming

What, then, is the place for the work of Franz Boas in modern archaeology? Boasian archaeology, unlike the prevailing paradigms of processualism or contextual archaeology, or the ideas of Hodder, Binford, or Childe, does not form a theoretical program. By now it should be clear that what Boas has to offer to archaeological theory already exists, in one form or another, within the discipline. What the acknowledgement of Boas's corpus can now provide is integration and a much needed centering within archaeology. It is either a truth or a prevailing feeling—and either is an equal threat—that archaeology today is a viciously divided discipline. Hodder claims that many processual archaeologists are taking up arms in a fight to restore the “one science” positivist theory as the unifying model in archaeology (Hodder 2005, 131). Interpretive, contextual, and postprocessual theorists then fight back in equal force. While this may or may not be the case, it does shed light on the root of the issue: attempts to unify

archaeology under one theoretical creed are at best misguided, and may in fact be impossible. Instead, our common ground lies in a common tradition and historical background. Boasian Archaeology, then, can reinvigorate anthropological archaeology by introducing a number of new avenues of inquiry and interpretation:

1. Recognition of the intellectual ties between current trends in archaeological theory and their counterparts in other subfields.
2. New interpretations of Boasian ideas which have been left fallow by archaeologists, opening the door to new approaches and opportunities.
3. A better understanding of the intellectual tradition surrounding archaeological theory, giving us the means to contextualize our assumptions.
4. Dialogue between new ideas and old ideas, providing ground for new critiques and interpretations to arise.

It is not my wish that Boas become the sacred deity of all of anthropology, and I do not mean to suggest that archaeology was heretical not to give him due credit. Science does not exist in the minds of the few but rather in the acts of the many. The increasingly interpretive trajectory of the human sciences places a great emphasis on the democratization of knowledge, and by framing anthropology as a “tradition,” the authority of anthropologists to make absolute claims appears all the more arbitrary. Even within the tradition, anthropological inquiry should remain a act of scientific inquiry which is accessible to all. Yet, it cannot be denied that personal temperament does play a great role in scientific matters. Scholars are individuals, each viewing the world with different contextual frameworks, values, and goals. For some, this is an impurity in the scientific process which should be removed or minimized. Derek Freeman, for example, has famously accused Boas of being a neo-Kantian idealist whose personal convictions stood in the way of proper scientific procedure and whose charisma and imposing character ultimately led his students—particularly Margaret Mead—to misguided conclusions (Freeman 1999). While Freeman’s interpretations of Boas’s and Mead’s lives and works remain controversial, his concerns about individuality in science is a common one. The solution to this conflict is the reframing of the scientific process as discourse. Interpretation is indeed an individual act, and as

often as individual ideas contribute positively to scientific knowledge, personal convictions can work against the goals of scientific inquiry. It is up to future researchers, then, to temper the works of their predecessors, to develop the ideas they consider to be viable, and to reexamine or dispose of the erroneous matter. Freeman's understanding of Boas may be extreme, but if Boas was an "incorrigible idealist" (Freeman 1999, 17), Freeman's work represents a discursive act in the direction of more complete scientific understanding.

Science is the constant reframing, reshaping, and reinterpretation of ideas through discourse, and the entry of Boas's corpus into anthropology represents the possibility of new modes of understanding. Incorporation of his work into the realm of archaeological discourse does not require that such discourse paint that Boas in a positive light, as the Boasian corpus allows ample opportunity for its use as a foil to develop new critiques. Instead, Boas's work should take its place alongside that of Binford and the other "big names" in archaeology's history as a foundation upon which to build. The failure of archaeology to acknowledge Boas, whether the root cause be tradition, methodology, or general aversion, has kept the discipline away from many fruitful discussions and new interpretations. It is high time to acknowledge the specter of Boas.

Daniel Robert Hansen is a senior undergraduate studying anthropological archaeology at the University of Michigan with a minor in Medieval and Early Modern Studies. his research interests include the archaeology of identity and ethnicity, archaeo-linguistics, material culture theory, history of anthropology, and the philosophy of science. He is currently working on a senior honors thesis exploring the semiotics of ethnicity and identity in mortuary practice in the postclassic Oaxaca Valley in Mexico. After graduation, he will be pursuing a PhD in anthropological archaeology, with his future research focusing on questions of ethnicity and language in northwestern Europe during the Early Middle Ages. Daniel is the president and co-founder of the Student Archaeology Club, an organization dedicated to providing a single academic and social forum for undergraduate students of all majors who are interested in archaeology. He has been a member of the Michigan Marching Band Drumline throughout his undergraduate career. Daniel also play the mandolin and enjoy hiking, camping, kayaking, and other outdoor activities.

References

- Binford, Lewis R. 1962. "Archaeology as Anthropology." *American Antiquity* 28, no. 2 (October): 217-25.
- Boas, Franz. 1904. "The History Of Anthropology." *Science* 20, no. 512 (October): 513-24.
- Boas, Franz. 1920. "The Methods of Ethnology." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 22, no. 4 (October-December): 311-21.
- Cassel, Joan. 2000. *The Woman in the Surgeon's Body*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Flannery, Kent V. 1967. "Culture History v. Cultural Process: A Debate in American Archaeology." *Scientific American* 217, (2): 119-122.
- Freeman, Derek. 1999. *The Fateful hoaxing of Margaret Mead: a historical analysis of her Samoan research*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Hodder, Ian. 2005. "An Archaeology of the Four-Field Approach in Anthropology in the United States." In *Unwrapping the sacred bundle: reflections on the disciplining of anthropology*, by Daniel Alan Segal and Sylvia Junko Yanagisako. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. 1992. *The Communist manifesto*. New York: Oxford.
- Shanks, Michael and Christopher Tilley. 1987. *Re-constructing archaeology: theory and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Shea, Christopher, and Scott Heller. 1998. "Stanford Anthropology Department Will Split; Brown Professor Takes New Mideast Chair at MIT." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. May 29, 1998. Accessed October 04, 2017. <http://www.chronicle.com/article/Stanford-Anthropology/99174>.
- Trei, Lisa. 2007. "Anthropology departments instructed to form combined unit." Stanford University. February 14, 2007. Accessed October 06, 2017. <http://news.stanford.edu/news/2007/february14/anthsci-021407.html>.
- Wiley, Gordon R., and Philip Phillips. 1958. *Method and Theory in Archaeology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Winter, Marcus C. 1972. "Tierras Largas: A Formative Community in the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico" PhD diss., University of Arizona.

The Importance of Community Engagement at Archaeological Sites in Egypt

by Anne Sherfield

Archaeological sites present a particular challenge for community engagement because of their temporal and cultural distance from modern society. Within the field of archaeology, community engagement has become an important component for excavation. Communicating and engaging the local community in their history is a valuable way to create connection between modern people and ancient societies motivating local communities to care for the archaeology long after the professionals leave. Recently, there has been a trend of neglect and deterioration of archaeological sites. Archaeologists at Quseir in eastern Egypt use community engagement to mend this disconnection by involving the local community directly in the care, presentation, and preservation of the site. The goal of these efforts is to foster vibrant community investment in the preservation of the archaeological site. Unfortunately, UNESCO has not yet recognized the preventative benefits of community engagement in their recommendations concerning the conservation of the world heritage site of Memphis. This site is home to the famous Pyramids of Giza, which are constantly under threat of urban encroachment. UNESCO's recommendations advocate a top down approach relying on the Egyptian government to impose rules and restrictions surrounding the site instead of addressing the underlying disconnection between modern citizens and the site. While this process will work in the short-term, it is only through long-term projects in community engagement that these threats will be resolved.

Introduction

Community engagement is a way of creating connections between the site and the local community making them invested in the conservation of the site for themselves and their descendants. Community engagement has been shown to be extremely influential in the protection of biological heritage. A survey of the methods used in the conservation of biodiversity in African national parks done by Muhumuza and Balkwill determined that the main factor that leads to successful conservation is working with local communities (2013).

Many of the factors they discuss as contributing to lower biodiversity, such as hunting and urban encroachment, are socio-economic and cultural in nature, not biological (Muhumuza and Balkwill 2013). Thus, the authors suggest that to protect biodiversity, park staff should be trained in community social relations as well as biological science (Muhumuza and Balkwill 2013). This recommendation should be applied to all aspects of heritage conservation.

As the world's leading authority in the protection of heritage sites, UNESCO (United Nations Development Group) has advocated for community involvement in conservation and developed methods of promoting engagement. UNESCO first recognized the need for community engagement in their 1972 convention, which discusses the role of state parties in protecting and preserving their heritage sites. Article 5 of the convention requests that heritage be given "a function in the life of the community" and that services are set up within a site's territory to protect, conserve, and present the heritage (UNESCO 1972). Later, it requests that the state strengthen appreciation and understanding of the site among its citizens (UNESCO 1972, Art. 27). UNESCO has continued to promote community engagement in their use of the COMPACT model which aims to engage "communities in conservation and shared governance of World Heritage sites and other protected areas" (UNESCO 2014, 18). This model was developed and initially tested at natural heritage sites where scholars like Muhumuza and Balkwill have proven that engagement is integral for conservation. UNESCO has yet to apply this method to cultural and intangible heritage where it can also have a lasting impact.

Archaeological sites present a particular challenge for community engagement because of their temporal and cultural distance from contemporary society. Often the local community may have little interest in the sites or may value them differently, as grazing land for example (Chirikure et al. 2010). This distance is especially relevant in Egypt where the local community is separated from their archaeology by thousands of years and many cultural shifts. In this essay, we will discuss why modern Egyptians feel disconnected from ancient Egypt, UNESCO's response to conservation threats at the Pyramid Fields, and how archaeologists at Quseir have connected the local community to the Hellenistic site of Myos Hormos. Through this discussion,

we will come to understand the importance of community engagement in the protection of archaeological sites.

Egyptian Connection to the Past

Over the course of modern Egyptian history, Egypt has embraced two stages of nationalist sentiment that have deeply affected their citizen's connection to the ancient past resulting in the creation an artificial gap between modern individuals and their ancient history. Throughout history Egypt has been home to a great diversity of peoples therefore the independence movement of 1919 was tasked with creating a national ideology that could be used during the revolution against their British and Ottoman colonizers, and afterwards to unite the country (Barrington 1997). A common way to create a national ideology is to emphasize the independence, prestige, and power of past civilizations to transcend modern cultural boundaries, thus unifying the state under a single banner. This method can determine the level of connection individuals maintain with parts of their heritage by emphasizing certain moments in history . Nationalist sentiment initially favored the ancient history of Egypt, subsequently, influencing the community to rally in support of archaeological sites. Ultimately, nationalist ideology centered itself on Egypt's Islamic heritage, separating the modern community from their ancient past leading to the neglect and looting of archaeological sites.

From the mid-nineteenth century through the 1930s, Egyptians expressed nationalist pride toward the ancient past, which resulted in the care and protection of archaeological sites. During this time, the Egyptian government incorporated Ancient Egypt into the national identity in order to unify the diverse collection of religious communities in the country as well as emphasize cultural ties to Europe (Wood 1998). During this period, Egypt was gaining independence from Ottoman and British colonizers and saw the Pharaonic past as the only pure Egyptian foundation from which to build, emulating the Renaissance experienced by Europe (Gershoni 1992). The connection that was built to the Pharaonic past can be seen clearly in their response to Howard Carter's discovery of Tutankhamen's Tomb. In 1925, the Egyptian government publicly declared their cultural ownership of the Pharaonic past by refusing Carter's

declaration of ownership of the tomb and demanding that the excavated material remain in Egypt (Wood 1998). The public also showed their connection to the ancient civilization when hundreds of thousands of citizens gathered at Luxor later in 1925 to celebrate the tomb's reopening under the control of the Egyptian government (Wood 1998). These two incidents show that Egyptians expressed a deep connection to the ancient past in the early 20th century and incorporated it as part of their own ancestry.

In the 1930s and 40s, Egyptian nationalism shifted to prioritize its Islamic ties and pan-Arab identity resulting in the neglect and deterioration of ancient archaeological sites. One of the major contributors to this shift was the Western monopoly on ancient Egyptian scholarship that had always excluded the native population from their own history (Wood 1998). Pharaonic Egypt is typically associated with the western, European historical narrative because of its connections with Greek and Roman society. Scholarly interest in the culture dies soon after the Hellenistic period meaning there is no narrative tying the ancient past to modern Islamic and Coptic traditions (Wood 1998). Further, Pharaonic culture is fundamentally at odds with the Islamic and Coptic religions that make up modern Egypt. As Christians, Copts appose pagan traditions and the Qur'an depicts ancient Egypt as sinful and oppressive (Wood 1998). These established cultural disjunctions made it impractical for Egypt to base its nationalist ideology in the ancient world.

This change in nationalistic ideology resulted in ambivalence and disconnection between modern communities and ancient archaeological sites. One of the results of this ambivalence is the continual looting of these archaeological sites which has continued into the present--since 2009, there has been a significant increase in the looting of artifacts which is so detrimental to the integrity of archaeological sites (Parcak et al. 2016). While the motivation behind this looting is mostly economic, it is significant to note that looting is not occurring in Islamic heritage sites. This suggests that locals may have a different valuation and perspective of the two cultures as a result of nationalist ideology. This lack of cultural connection directly results in the neglect and deterioration of ancient sites.

UNESCO's Conservation Recommendations at Memphis and its Necropolis - the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur

Egypt is home to four archaeological UNESCO world heritage sites that are under threat due to the lack of community connection to Egypt's ancient past. As stated above, there is a need for preventative measures due to the fact that the looting of archaeological sites has been rising since 2009 (Parcak et al. 2016). In addition, many of the sites are also strongly threatened by urban encroachment at their buffer zones, which could also be lessened by community engagement. As we saw earlier, UNESCO does advocate for community engagement at World Heritage sites. They include communication and community as two of their five strategic objectives as an organization and have developed models like COMPACT to aid sites in developing their own community engagement programs. However, community engagement is not included in UNESCO's recommendations for combatting the threats facing one of the most popular and recognizable world heritage sites: Memphis and its Necropolis - the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur,

UNESCO regularly publishes documents containing status updates on the conservation and protection of all their world heritage sites including recommendation for how states can combat pressing threats. In the most recent state of conservation report, urban encroachment was listed as the major threat to the Pyramid Fields (UNESCO 2016). Early in the paper they recognize that an encroachment project was halted in 1995 as a result of "local pressure" and a UNESCO recommendation (UNESCO 2016). However, when it comes time to discuss the methods for combating the current encroachment, none of the recommendations suggest the implementation of community engagement programs. Instead, the recommendations focus on top-down methods that the government can impose such as establishing a buffer zone, clear property boundaries, and a management plan. While these methods will protect the site against encroachment, they do nothing to combat the underlying ambivalence toward the archaeology within the local community. If the pyramids are integrated into modern Egyptian culture, expanding the city of Cairo in this direction will become socially undesirable and there will be no need for this top-down approach.

UNESCO does discuss the implementation of multiple voices at the Pyramid Fields but in a very limited context. In 2014 ICOMOS and UNESCO sent representatives to Cairo to advise and compose recommendations concerning the conservation of the Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara. They recommend that, while the conservation needed is predominantly structural and safety related, the choices made should be "shared with all professional entities involved at various levels of engagement (architects, Egyptologists, archaeologists, etc.) in order to find a consolidated and agreed solution" (UNESCO 2014). While this recommendation does advocate for openness and diplomacy among different communities in the care of world heritage sites, the example list of professional identities is elitist and limited to specialized academic communities excluding the locals. This recommendation suggests that UNESCO views openness and consultation as important, but does not yet see the benefits of full community integration into the process of conservation.

Community Archaeology in Quseir

In Egyptian archaeology, as well as the academic discipline of archaeology as a whole, there has been a shift toward new practices that fully engage the local communities in the creation of knowledge and promote responsibility toward ownership of archaeological sites. This movement, known as community archaeology, grew out of a post-colonial recognition that it is no longer acceptable for archaeology to benefit from another society's heritage without the society in question being involved and benefiting equally from the endeavor (Moser et al. 2002). Community archaeology goes beyond simply consulting local communities and instead seeks to involve the community in every aspect of the project from investigation to interpretation (Moser et al. 2002). This method has been used in the US to promote stewardship toward archaeological sites on private land. One example comes from Alice Wright's work in western North Carolina's Haywood County. Even though Wright's project was small and only two seasons long, she was able to foster interest in Native American history in the local white populace. This interest is epitomized in an article written by the local newspaper that quotes community members on how Wright's work has made them think about the previous

communities that lived on their land (Manning 2011). One woman is quoted as saying, "we see the beauty and tranquility of this river valley, but it (the archaeological work) makes you wonder what it looked like when the people who built these mounds were here" (Manning 2011). By promoting this connection between their current home and the ancient past, Wright makes local history more relatable and relevant to the sites' current resident.

Recently, a team of archaeologists utilized the tenets of community archaeology at the archaeological site of Myos Hormos in Quseir, Egypt. The project split community engagement into seven components: communication and collaboration, employment and training, public presentation, interviews and oral history, educational resources, photographic and video archive, and community merchandising (Moser et al. 2002, 229). The project has instilled the local population with an ownership of their history and will culminate in the creation of a heritage center controlled by the local community that will protect the archaeological site in the long-term.

One of the ways the project at Quseir infused the site with value in the eyes of the local community is by showing that archaeological heritage management is a viable economic source. To do this, the project hired many local community members to work on every aspect from excavation to educational outreach (Moser et al. 2002). This allowed for individuals to take an active role in creating and communicating knowledge about the site while financially supporting themselves. Employment also allowed for locals to develop skills in archaeological study, heritage management, and museum display (Moser et al. 2002). Individuals would then be able to use this development to obtain other jobs as well as easily care for the site and run the visitor's center after excavation has ended. Employment not only benefits the community financially, but also brings the archaeological site into the daily lives of the local community thus implanting the site's value on them.

The project at Quseir also integrated the archaeological site into the community's cultural identity with the creation of a heritage center in the city. The community already had interest in creating a museum in order to promote tourism before the archaeologists arrived (Moser et al. 2002). This led the project to focus its public presentation efforts on the creation of

a museum exhibition. Many archaeological museums focus only on the past further isolating the site from its current context. In Quseir, the archaeologists were attentive to the community's desire that the museum cover the entire history of Quseir and plan to integrate the whole history of the region into the final exhibition (Moser et al. 2002). This will help remove the Hellenistic material from the traditional western narrative and integrate it directly to the Egyptian historical narrative. The team is currently preparing many temporary exhibits that will act as a public forum for feedback from the local community before the final exhibition is developed (Moser et al. 2002). This way the project allows time and space for the community to identify and integrate the Hellenistic site into their cultural history on their own terms, leading them to be more protective of the archaeological material.

Conclusions

Archaeological sites in Egypt are suffering due to a separation between the local community and history the sites represent. The pan-Arabic and Islamic nationalist ideology practiced in Egypt has had a lasting effect on local attachment to the past, as most modern Egyptians express a connection to their Coptic and Islamic heritage but far removed from their Pharaonic and Hellenistic heritage. This has affected the care and conservation of the archaeological sites dating to those periods. The community archaeology project at Quseir is fighting against the history of exclusion and separation of modern Egyptians from their ancient counterparts by bringing the local population into their excavation. This work aims to create a vibrant community interested in supporting and preserving their archaeological sites. Unfortunately, UNESCO has not yet recognized the preventative benefits of community engagement in their recommendations concerning the conservation of the world heritage site of Memphis and its Necropolis. Community engagement is a time intensive project that may have to function outside the UNESCO framework where the recommendations focus on combating current, pressing threats. This could be why UNESCO discussion of community involvement is restricted to the world heritage papers that propose models like COMPACT instead of conservation recommendations. Regardless, the work being done outside of UNESCO by

archaeological projects like Quseir are paving the way for the implementation of community engagement at every archaeological site creating a safer and more reliable preservation of archaeological sites in the future.

Anne Sherfield is a senior at the University of Michigan pursuing a major in Classical Archaeology and minors in Anthropological Archaeology and Museum Studies. Her wide-ranging interests have lead her to work in Italy, Peru, Mexico, and America as well as within both archaeology museums on Michigan's campus. She is currently working on her thesis, which focuses on identifying the cultural practices surrounding women's reproductive cycles in New Kingdom Egypt. She plans to apply to graduate school within the next couple years where she hopes to focus her research in understanding social relations archaeologically.

References

- Barrington, Lowel W. "'Nation' and 'Nationalism': The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 30, no. 4 (1997): 712-716.
- Chirikure, Shadreck, Munyaradzi Manyanga, Webber Ndoro, and Gilbert Pwiti. "Unfulfilled Promises? Heritage Management and Community Participation at some of Africa's Cultural Heritage Sites." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, (2010): 30-44.
- Gershoni, Israel. "Imagining and Reimagining the Past: The Use of History by Egyptian Nationalist Writers, 1919-1952." *History and Memory* 4, no. 2 (1992): 5-37
- Manning, Penny. "Property Owners Preserve History." *The Mountaineer*, Aug 28, 2011.
- Moser, Stephanie, Darren Glazier, James E. Phillips, Lamya Nasser el Nemr, Mohammed Saleh Mousa, Rascha Nasr Aiesh, Susan Richardson, Andrew Conner, and Michael Seymour. "Transforming Archaeology through Practice: Strategies for Collaborative Archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt." *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 220-248.
- Muhumuza, Moses and Kevin Balkwill. "Factors Affecting the Success of Conserving Biodiversity in National Parks: A Review of Case Studies from Africa." *International Journal of Biodiversity*. (2013): 1-20.
- Parcak, Sarah, David Gathings, Chase Childs, Greg Mumford, and Eric Cline. "Satellite Evidence of Archaeological Site Looting in Egypt: 2002–2013." *Antiquity* 90, no. 349 (2016): 188-205.
- UNESCO. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, (1972)
- . *Report of a Joint ICOMOS/UNESCO Advisory Mission to Historic Cairo and the Pyramid of Djoser, Saqqara, Part of the World Heritage Property of Memphis and its Necropolis - the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur, Egypt*, 2014.
- . *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Handbook for Conservation and Management*, 2014.
- . *State of Conservation Report: Memphis and its Necropolis - the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur*, 2016.
- Wood, Michael. "The use of the Pharaonic Past in Modern Egyptian Nationalism." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 35, (1998): 179-196.