

SAS Newsletter

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The Southern Anthropological Society's 50th Annual Meeting

THEME: "Anthropology Past, Present, and Future: Fifty years of traditions and transitions in the Southeast"

The conference is hosted by [University of Georgia](#).
Athens, Georgia , April 9-11, 2015

Keynote: **Dr. Arthur D. Murphy**, Professor of Social and Economic Anthropology, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Accommodations will be at the



The University of Georgia Center for
Continuing Education
1197 South Lumpkin Street
Athens, Georgia 30602 - 3603

Reservations: 706-542-2134; 800-884-1381 (\$109+tax)*

*Our SPECIAL room rate is \$109.00 per night until March 12th, 2015 (This date is firm as it is the last date to get your hotel accommodations with our special rate!)

For information please contact:

Program Chair: Dr. Colleen Cherry

Submission Deadline: February 15, 2015

Email abstracts to: Dr. Colleen Cherry,
cobrien@uga.edu



Discussing research results with colleagues in Puebla, **Dr. Arthur D. Murphy** Source: <http://www.uncg.edu/ant/faculty-staff/murphy.html>



Notes from the President-Elect



Betty J. Duggan,
SAS President-Elect,
Museum of International
Folk Art

The SAS is requesting submissions for the 2015 SAS Student Paper Competition, and will announce the winner at the 2015 meetings in Athens, Georgia next April. The tentative deadline for submitting papers is **February 27, 2015**. For details on the submission process, please consult the SAS website, or contact Vincent Melomo at vmelomo@peace.edu.



Presenting the 2014 SAS Student
Paper Awards, Cherokee, NC

I want to thank the Society and members for this new appointment as President-Elect (2014-16). I am deeply honored, and look forward to this apprenticeship with current and past officers and counselors before becoming your President two years hence. One of the most important tasks set for me is to find program chairs and sponsoring institutions for three future annual meetings (Spring 2018, 2019, 2020). Please contact me if you have a meeting proposal in mind for one of these years.

Now, I will turn to a personal note about SAS's many values, not just to me, but I know for many of you as well. My first experience with SAS came as a still-new Ph.D. student when my committee chair, Dr. Benita Howell (University of Tennessee), invited me to present in a session she was organizing at the annual meeting in 1988, held jointly that year with the Society for Applied Anthropol-

ogy in Tampa. Not only did Benita introduce me to a number of her professional colleagues in attendance from both organizations (some whom have influenced and advised me in post-Ph.D. years), but I gained experience in preparing and giving my first conference paper under her tutelage. Later, Benita mentored me through my second professional publication, which was included in her 1988 session-related edited volume, *Cultural Heritage Conservation in the American South* (SAS Proceedings # 23).

I relay this seminal event in my professional development for several reasons. This experience--this student-faculty advisor mentorship through introduction and participation in SAS annual meetings--has been and continues to be important for many of our

members and officers, and in shaping the Society's contributions to anthropology in and about the Southern region, and critical for our organization's future growth. Personally, while my career has since taken me to research sites and appointments in the Southeast, Northeast, and now to the Southwest, attending and presenting at SAS meetings and holding various positions in the Society became an important touchstone for me, just as have my familial and long ancestral ties to the South. SAS has given me a comfortable place among known colleagues to test out first public goes at organizing my continuing research and publications about Southeastern Indian, Appalachian communities, and applied projects. I venture that it has been so for many of our members: something to ponder as we prepare for the 50th SAS annual meeting in Athens, Georgia next spring.

Annual Student Research Paper Competition, Call for Papers

The Southern Anthropological Society is holding its annual student research paper competition for the 50th annual meetings in Athens, Georgia, April 9-11, 2015. A graduate and an undergraduate paper author(s) will be announced at the meetings and the winners will be awarded a cash prize of \$200.00 and a selection of donated books. Winning papers will also be published and archived on the SAS website.

Submissions from all subfields of anthropology are welcomed. The paper should be based on original fieldwork, or original analysis of data collected by others, or original analysis of existing published

research or theory.

The papers do not have to relate directly to the conference theme. Papers should be no more than 25 pages (excluding diagrams, notes, and references); double-spaced, 11-12-point type, with one-inch margins.

To be eligible for the competition, students must have their paper abstract accepted for presentation at the meetings. To submit their abstract, they should email them directly to the Program Chair by the **February 15, 2015** deadline; and, they must pay membership and registration fees by PayPal or directly to the

SAS Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Brandon D Lundy.

To submit an entry into the competition, students must send the full paper as an email attachment to the:

Student Paper Competition Committee Chair, Dr. Vincent Melomo (vmelomo@peace.edu).

Please contact him with any questions about the competition. **The deadline for submitting final papers for the competition is FRIDAY, February 27, 2015.**

2014 Student Paper Competition Winners Announced at Annual Meeting in Cherokee

Each year, at the banquet of the annual meeting, the SAS presents awards for outstanding papers submitted by an undergraduate and graduate student attending the conference. The award winners receive a cash prize of \$200.00, a selection of books donated to SAS, and the opportunity to have their papers appear in an SAS publication. At the 2014 meetings in Cherokee, North Carolina there was one undergraduate award given, and three honorable mentions.

The winner of the 2014 undergraduate competition was Natalie Williford of Davidson College for her paper, "Indigenous Identity Politics in Guna Yala, Panama: The role of education and agriculture in revitalizing place-based identity." Three other students received honorable mentions: Christopher Webb of UNC Asheville for his paper, "The Camouflaged Minority: Culture, Trauma, and Repatriation of the Student Veteran Diaspora;" Elisabeth Green Geyer of UNCA, for her paper, "Joking About Rape: Exploring the Contexts of Dark Humor and Sexual Violence in American Pop Culture;" and Linnea Kuglitsch of Mary Baldwin College for her paper, "Blueprints to Control: Medicine and Space in Two Historical Medical Institutions."

The 2014 selection committee consisted of Vincent Melomo of William Peace University, Matthew Richard of Valdosta State University, and Scott London of Randolph Macon College. The committee thanks all of those students who offered submissions, and asks faculty to encourage your students to attend the conference and submit their papers for next year's competition.

Undergraduate Winner

Natalie Williford (Davidson College) *Indigenous Identity Politics in Guna Yala, Panama: The Role of Education and Agriculture Revitalizing Place-Based Identity*

This paper examines an identity politics movement in the indigenous community

of Isla Tigre in Guna Yala, Panama. The movement is a response to changes in traditional Guna subsistence strategies based on agriculture and fishing that the community attributes to globalization. My research examines the way in which the community of Isla Tigre currently operates within the broader identity politics movement through both informal and formal educational strategies to target a revitalization of Guna identity and life-ways. Formal education as an identity politics strategy is implemented in Isla Tigre through a nationally recognized curriculum project called Bilingual, Intercultural Education (EBI), founded with the goal of revitalizing Guna identity through reaffirming value of the Guna language and cultural knowledge. Informal education is implemented through the community agricultural cooperative Baduwala, founded with the goal of reestablishing value of knowledge and participation in subsistence-based, cooperative agriculture. An examination of formal and informal education strategies in Guna Yala reveals the complexities of globalization in the indigenous context and questions the way in which the global community hierarchically places value on various ways of knowing. The goal of this work is to investigate how the community of Isla Tigre combats the threat globalization poses to distinct ways of knowing as they relate to traditional cosmology and subsistence.

Undergraduate Honorable Mentions

Christopher M. Webb (U. North Carolina – Asheville) *The Camouflaged Minority: Culture, Trauma, and Repatriation of the Student Veteran Diaspora*

Decreasing American involvement in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan is resulting in a constantly growing number of veterans attending college. The "War on Terror" created incentives including generous education benefits that attracted thousands of Americans to the military in exchange for a college education. Numerous veterans are attempting to leave behind their military persona and re-integrate into civilian society, all while

bearing the scars of traumatic experiences and suffering from PTSD. An ethnographic study at UNC Asheville, Western Michigan University, and the University of Tennessee Knoxville examines the narrative of veterans struggling to achieve the education they were promised.

Elisabeth Geyer (U. North Carolina – Asheville) *Joking About Rape: Exploring the Contexts of Dark Humor and Sexual Violence in American Pop Culture*

Considerable controversy exists about when, if ever, it is acceptable to apply any kind of humor to something as serious as sexual violence. This study is an analysis of dialog on "rape humor" and looks at the context and content of the jokes. While some people believe such humor is never acceptable, many others argue that there are contexts in which the humor can be beneficial and even healing. Through public individual narratives and notable incidents in American pop culture, I examine what some of those contexts might be and why they matter.

Linnea Kuglitsch (Mary Baldwin College) *Confinement for Health: A Comparative Analysis of Historical Institutions as Medical Spaces*

The Blue Ridge mountain range has historically served as backdrop to many institutions dedicated to the care of those considered ill, physically or otherwise. Their purpose-built built environments encapsulate the practices and beliefs embraced by the communities they served, as evidenced by the archival-derived floor plans of two such institutions—Western State Asylum and Mecklenburg County Sanatorium—founded one hundred years apart and dedicated to the treatment of two illnesses, madness and tuberculosis. This paper conducts a comparative analysis of the built environment of these institutions, identifying the spatial and architectural elements of healing and control in the context of medical hegemony.

Indigenous Identity Politics in Guna Yala, Panama: the role of education and agriculture in revitalizing place-based identity

2014
Undergraduate
Student Paper
Competition Winner

Natalie Williford
Davidson College

Abstract

This paper examines an identity politics movement in the indigenous community of Isla Tigre in Guna Yala, Panama. The movement is a response to changes in traditional Guna subsistence strategies based on agriculture and fishing that the community attributes to globalization. My research examines the way in which the community of Isla Tigre currently operates within the broader identity politics movement through both informal and formal educational strategies to target a revitalization of Guna identity and lifestyles. Formal education as an identity politics strategy is implemented in Isla Tigre through a nationally recognized curriculum project called Bilingual, Intercultural Education (EBI), founded with the goal of revitalizing Guna identity through reaffirming value of the Guna language and cultural knowledge. Informal education is implemented through the community agricultural cooperative Baduwala, founded with the goal of reestablishing value of knowledge and participation in subsistence-based, cooperative agriculture. An examination of formal and informal education strategies in Guna Yala reveals the complexities of globalization in the indigenous context and questions the way in which the global community hierarchically places value on various ways of knowing. The goal of this work is to investigate how the community of Isla Tigre combats the threat globalization poses to distinct ways of knowing as they relate to traditional cos-

mology and subsistence.

[**Keywords:** Indigenous rights, Latin America, identity politics, globalization, education]

Indigenous communities globally combat contemporary changes to their lifestyles that result from the merging of local and global spheres. The growing presence of Western worldviews and societal structures in indigenous communities threatens the existence of non-Western worldviews. In an attempt to both adapt to and combat a growing Western presence, the Guna indigenous people of Panama organize within a complex identity politics movement that aims to maintain environmental and human health through a refortification of lifestyles tied to language and agricultural knowledge. This work examines the impact of globalization on the value assigned to indigenous knowledge in the community of Digir Dupu or Isla Tigre. The goal of this work is to examine the role of formal and informal education in asserting the goals of the Guna identity politics movement that utilizes both resistance and adaptation in reaction to threatened place-based identity. Through an examination of the nationally recognized primary education curriculum called Bilingual, Intercultural Education (EBI) and the community agricultural cooperative Badulwala, this work reveals the power of indigenous movements in combating the threat of globalization on devaluing distinct ways of knowing as they relate to traditional cosmology and subsistence.

Who are the Guna?

The Guna Yala *Comarca*¹ is located on the Caribbean coast of Panama (Figure 1). The Comarca occupies 130 square miles of uninhabited coastline and contains 364 islands with fifty-one communities. The Comarca was established in 1938 following the Tule revolution of 1925 and today operates semi-autonomously from the Panamanian National Government, receiving national funding for education and health care.

Each community has a system of appointed officials and leaders, the most important of which is called the *Sailah*.² One principle duty of the sailah is to lead daily community congress meetings in which the entire community is in attendance.³ The entire comarca is led by a series of appointed leadership positions that receive reports from community sailahs and make decisions on how community concerns should be addressed and how projects should be implemented. A group of appointed representatives also organize in Panama City at the General Guna Council Office, which serves as a center for political action and engagement outside of the Comarca.

The Guna have experienced multiple waves of colonial and national conflict and therefore identify a large change in how they themselves and the global community define "traditional" Guna culture. Thus, "traditional" culture must be viewed as dynamic and is contingent on historical context. It will also be important to note the way in which Guna people today construct their own definitions of their culture and how that differs

both between members of their own communities and between members of the Western world.

The tradition of *cosmovision* defines the Guna people as those who work with the earth,

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Figure 1. Map of Panama indicating the Guna Yala Comarca in red

(Continued from page 4)

which is integral in the lifeway of a Guna community as seen in the work that Guna men and women perform daily in the mainland farms. Plots of land are divided by family and cooperative groups. In contemporary communities, women do not traditionally take part in agricultural work, although before the early twentieth century, it was expected that women would be responsible for a portion of the work that took place on the mountain. Today, agricultural work is being replaced by the purchasing of food products. This has implications for both human and environmental health in terms of an increasing amount of non-organic waste of packaged goods. Guna lifeways and ideology have also centered heavily on a strong practice of artisan work. Both men and women have traditionally practiced varying degrees of artisan craft, but similar to changes in agricultural work, artisan crafts are also becoming less apparent as access to cheap, plastic goods increases.

In response to changes in their communities over the past several decades, leaders in the Comarca have established a multi-level identity politics movement to combat change such as decreased agricultural production. The most well-established implementation of this movement is the Bilingual, Multicultural Education project that received national recognition for a new curriculum specific to Guna culture and language initiated with the distinct goal of combating changes to traditional lifeways. The Guna attribute many of these changes to an increased entanglement in “modernized” society, including involvement in the market economy and presence of modern technologies such as cell

phones and television.

This paper specifically focuses on the community of Isla Tigre located in the first region of the comarca, El Corregimiento de Nargana (Figures 2 & 3).⁴ Isla Tigre is populated by approximately 800 people and was first inhabited during the Tule Revolution of 1925 by a group of Guna people from the nearby community of Nargana who were drawn to the island by its abundance of coconuts and the opportunity it presented to form a movement in reaction to brutal cultural invasion occurring in Nargana. The community organizes through community collaboration and self-delegation into a variety of different groups with distinct responsibilities. These groups range from the agricultural cooperative Baduwala to women’s groups responsible for clearing the islands beaches of trash every month. The community holds congress meetings five times a week. The residents of Isla Tigre self-identify with a strong revolutionary culture due to the history of the establishment of their community and for this fact, they also view themselves as a central point for the contemporary identity politics movement. The community is seen throughout the Comarca as a leader in cultural revitalization and preservation.

To examine the way in which the broader contemporary Guna identity politics movement operates on Isla Tigre, it is necessary to identify indicators of globalization in Isla Tigre that these multiple strategies work in reaction to. The first of these indicators, and arguably the most prominent, is increased entanglement in material culture as a product of inclusion in the national and global market. This includes the increasing importance of technology, clothing culture,

and increased attachment to cell phone use. The second of these indicators is the visible presence of trash and waste, which is a product of increasing consumer culture. Trash that covers the entirety of coastlines near inhabited islands includes plastic containers, plastic wrappers, plastic toys, old clothing, soda cans, juice boxes and containers from cooking products such as oil and sugar. The third indicator is a decrease in nutrition within the community, identified by many in the older generation who have seen changes in consumption as a product of decreasing agricultural production and increased purchasing of packaged foods.



Figure 2. Aerial photograph of Isla Tigre from June, 2013

Methods

This paper is a result of ethnographic research conducted in the community of Isla Tigre over the course of three separate fieldwork periods. The first period was one month in November of 2012 followed by six weeks in the summer of 2013 and two weeks in January 2014. I lived in the home of Edilberto Martinez, a baker, agriculturalist, carpenter, construction contractor, community leader, and father of five children. Living in this home gave me access to important community leaders and also made the com-



Figure 3. Map of the Guna Yala Comarca with Isla Tigre indicated in red

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munity more receptive to my presence. I was put into contact with Edilberto Martínez through The Center of Human and Environmental Development (CENDAH), a Guna environmental organization that works on a variety of environmental projects in the region in collaboration with the Smithsonian Tropical Institute.

In order to establish a relationship with leaders, I attended daily congress meetings. Community leader, agricultural specialist, and the community employee for the Ministry of Agricultural Development (MIDA), Erasmo Navas, connected me with important community members such as the sailah and also regularly invited me to small leader meetings. Community leader and United Nations Development representative Bilisario Sariano also acted as an important correspondent, providing me with primary documents related to community history and politics.

I worked closely with Adrián Perez who is the president of the community organization named *Baluwala*. This relationship as well as relationships with members of the community's Ministry of Agricultural Development gave me regular access to participant observation with farmers. I took part in eight daylong trips to the mountain to work. I observed agricultural projects within and apart from *Baluwala* ranging from transplanting banana plants to collecting mangos.

I spent many hours in homes within the community interacting with families. I learned to understand parts of the Guna language and acquired basic speaking skills that gave me increased credibility within the community as well as access to more important people and events such as a traditional funeral and traditional celebrations to which non-Guna individuals are generally not admitted.

I conducted more than forty semi-structured interviews throughout my second research period. I also spent time in Panama City, where I lived with the family of my School for International Training professor Rubén González. I conducted interviews with members of the Ministry of Education, the Guna Congress, the Ministry of Agricultural Development, the Office of Bilingual Intercultural Education, and the Ministry of In-

igenous Peoples. I gathered political documents on the ratification process of EBI, detailed curriculum material and census data from the Ministry of Education, the Guna Congress, the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples, and La Contraloría General. I also held meetings with Bilisario Sariano to gather primary documents. Lastly, I held meetings with Francisco Herrera, professor of anthropology and indigenous peoples at La Universidad de Panamá to discuss plans for my research.

Identity Politics and Globalization's Threat to Indigenous Ways of Knowing

Since primary contact with the Spanish, the Guna indigenous peoples have participated in active resistance to imposed colonial transformation. This paper examines how contemporary discourses on globalization unfold in the specific context of Guna Yala and how a dynamic social and political landscape has challenged place-based identity. This paper traces theory on globalization as it relates to Latin American indigenous movements and identity politics to provide a strong discursive framework within which the specific case of Isla Tigre can be situated.

In contemporary discourse surrounding globalization and its impact on the global south, scholars point to a general oversimplification of the relationship between global interconnectedness and the displacement of non-western cultural identities. Anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen dissects globalization to introduce the term and to warn against the ways in which globalization is often misinterpreted. He challenges the oversimplification of globalization and its threat to "local identities" as well as its direct association with economic imperialism (Eriksen 2007:5). His work avoids these simplifications by introducing several dimensions of globalization such as *disembedding*, *acceleration*, *standardization*, *interconnectedness*, and *reembedding* (Eriksen 2007: 8, 9).

Disembedding plays an integral role in the transformation of indigenous place-based identities and, in turn, the role of indigenous communities in their national and global sociopolitical landscapes. Eriksen defines disembedding as the lifting out of cultures from their distinct

places. He states that disembedding is an aspect of globalization that separates communities from the places in which they originally develop their lifeways, transforming place-based identities and resulting in fractioning as well as dislocation. However, he complicates this definition by pointing out that indigenous groups dislocated by disembedding often form unified, transnational reactionary movements. Through this terminology he defines globalization as containing two distinct poles: dislocation and transnational cooperation (Eriksen 2007: 154).

As a means of understanding the way in which globalization inspires and ignites reactionary social movements such as those that Allison Brysk (2000) analyzes, Eriksen suggests a focus on identity politics. Identity politics can be broken into "religious, nationalist, ethnic or regional" categories and is defined as "a typical form of resistance to globalization" (Eriksen 2007: 154). The Guna movement falls under each of these categories, generally embodying what Eriksen defines as the goals of indigenous identity politics: "autonomy from and recognition by greater society" (2007: 154). Here Eriksen emphasizes the dual nature of globalization, suggesting that globalization produces reactionary identity politics movements while simultaneously facilitating global unity among marginalized groups. He writes that "divisive and exclusionary identity politics are a trueborn child of globalization, but so is transnational solidarity" (Eriksen 2007: 13).

In Allison Brysk's *From Tribal Village to Global Village*, she discusses identity politics through the more specific lens of her idea that in order for these movements to be effective they must enact change within the dominant national framework or otherwise fall stagnant within an isolated discourse (2000: 287). Here Brysk highlights the difference between the development of an effective discourse and an effective policy change in the national or global political landscape. Brysk critiques identity politics by suggesting that such movements often lack pragmatism and lead to little political change.

Brysk more specifically places indigenous peoples inside the discourse sur-

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rounding globalization and provides an in depth understanding of the relationship between indigenous rights movements in Latin America and the impacts of globalization on place-based identity. Brysk states, "The emergence of achievements of a transnational Indian rights movement show that one path to success combines internationalization and identity politics" (2000: 29). She frames her discussion of a growing international indigenous rights movement as a reaction to increased globalization and points to several "successful" examples of indigenous movements that were able to strike a balance between resistance and adaptation. She highlights the relationship between the "traditional," or "tribal," on one hand, and the increasingly unified indigenous movement that she refers to as the "global village," on the other.

Within this framework, Brysk suggests that Latin American indigenous movements provide an example of successful transnational social movements from which a model to evaluate the success of other movements can be generated. She states, "the first measure of success for any social movement is simply to emerge, then to persist and create an enduring social awareness" (Brysk 2000: 246). She goes on to explain ways in which this level of success can be measured such as the development of a transnational movement and the fulfillment of the movement's demands in the form of concrete policy change.

In the context of indigenous identity politics movements, Brysk's introduces the fallacy of victimization that often results from an "outsider" analysis of indigenous movements. Brysk and other Latin American indigenous scholars point to the danger of an oversimplification of the alignment of indigenous communities with the traditional and rural and Western communities with the urban and globalized. On an even more micro scale, indigenous scholar Hale states that, "To portray the divide strictly in class terms misses the point, and could reinforce the assertion that 'real' Indians are poor, rural and backward, while middle class Indians are 'inauthentic'" (Hale 2004: 19). Alternatively, an open framework must be maintained in order to allow for the construction of an accurate

depiction of the complexities within unique identity politics movements.

On Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Assigning Value to Knowledge

In order to place the above discussion into an environmental framework, this section explores the development of several environmental theories as they relate to both the capitalist power structures perpetuated through globalization as well as discourse and ideology behind many Latin American indigenous movements. Examining indigenous knowledge in the context of identity politics movements and globalization requires a theoretical understanding and unpacking of what constitutes indigenous knowledge and how different forms of knowledge and interpreting the world have been valued historically. In 1954, the ethnoecological approach was first introduced by Harold Conklin as an "attempt toward the understanding of local understanding (the so-called native point of view) about a realm of experience" (Nazarea 1999: 3). Theory surrounding the value of indigenous knowledge of the natural world and the positioning of humans in an ecological framework was developed to both counteract "Western scientific ignorance" of indigenous systems of environmental knowledge and to "cross-refer native systems of classification to the Western scientific tradition ... and to demonstrate how native systems virtually match scientific taxonomies rank by rank, category by category" (Nazarea 1999: 4).

In contemporary studies, anthropologists and sociologists utilize an ecosystems approach, which stems from the ethnoecological approach, and which regards humans as just another aspect of the global ecosystem that must therefore be understood and examined as such (Haenn and Wilk 2005: 3). In *People and Nature*, Emilio Moran explains the ecosystems approach as the simple destruction of the "fantasy to think of ecological systems in the absence of human agents" (2006: 9). This explanation provides depth in further understanding the role in which the construction of political and social landscapes situate people in the ecosystem. In contemporary scholarship, indigenous knowledge is also often referred to as Traditional Ecological

Knowledge (TEK). In their work on TEK, George Sefa Dei, Budd Hall, and Dorothy Rosenberg define indigenous knowledge as "a body of knowledge associated with the long-term occupancy of a certain place" (2000: 6). They go on to provide a general description of indigenous worldviews as

seeing the individual as part of nature; respecting and reviving the wisdom of elders; giving consideration to the living, the dead, and future generations; sharing responsibility, wealth, and resources within the community; and embracing spiritual values, traditions, and practices reflecting connections to a higher order, to the culture, and to the earth. (Sefa Dei, Hall, & Rosenberg 2000: 6)

While oversimplified, this description builds on a later discussion that suggests that indigenous knowledge must also be recognized as dynamic rather than static.

Tim Forsyth's *Critical Political Ecology: The Politics of Environmental Science* integrates indigenous knowledge into the discussion of societal structures as he outlines the evolution of political ecology since its conception in the early 1960s. He outlines the importance of the theory in analyzing the role of political and institutional structures in shaping both human-human and human-environment interactions. His discussion of political ecology in relation to social justice provides specific insight into questions of identity politics, globalization, place-based identity, and environmental health. "Instead of essentializing approaches to 'local' knowledge or 'local' people, it is more important to ask how, and by whom, each are defined as 'local' (or 'global')" (Forsyth 2003: 9). Similar to the analysis above of identity politics and globalization, Forsyth's work is also quick to recognize the fallacy that comes from a victimization or villainization of both the global north or global south. This overall framework reveals the way in which political structures implemented by imposition colonial powers shape contemporary human-environment interactions and the way society assigns values to certain ways of knowing.

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In an attempt to combat the encroaching effects of globalization on human and environmental health in the Comarca of Guna Yala and defend their distinct ways of knowing, the community of Isla Tigre utilizes two distinct, yet codependent strategies within their broader identity politics movement. While implementation of a bilingual education curriculum in the school system looks to solidify place-based identity in the reaffirmation of identity through Guna language, an agricultural cooperative looks to inspire the younger generation to increase their knowledge of local land use to move away from a dependence on imported goods that results in both human and environmental detriment. The following sections examine ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the community of Isla Tigre in the context of the theoretical frameworks introduced above.

Educación Bilingüe Intercultural and Identity Politics through Formal Education

Isla Tigre is recognized throughout the Comarca for its successful implementation of the new curriculum created by the Bilingual Intercultural Education project (EBI). The *Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* project gained national recognition by the Panamanian National Ministry of Education (MEDUCA) in 2002, leading to the formal establishment of the national office of EBI. Starting in 2002, EBI receives funding from MEDUCA to implement distinct primary education curriculum in the indigenous communities of Guna, Ngobe, and Embera, with the goal of resisting changes to lifeways through a revitalization of language and cultural tradition. This section investigates the actual implementation of the curriculum in Isla Tigre in comparison with discourse surrounding its implementation.

The school in Isla Tigre is composed of eight classrooms from pre-kindergarten to seventh grade, each taught by a distinct teacher and each supplied with books and materials by the Panamanian national government through MEDUCA. Each classroom is decorated with educational materials put up at the individual will of the respective teacher. The classrooms with the most

visual aids are pre-kindergarten and kindergarten of Maestra Esmelda Rojas and Maestra María Elena Díaz, both members of the national EBI curriculum team. As seen in the Figures 4 and 5 below, these visual aids include posters with images representative of Guna creation stories and images used to teach the alphabet or numbers. These educational tools incorporate content that is specific to Guna Yala so that students can immediately identify with the material. Common images used include mango, fish, ocean, sun, trees, mountains, and boats. According to Rojas and Díaz, the use of Guna-specific educational aids was a direct product of the development of the EBI project. Rojas and Díaz both state that through EBI, teachers learned the power of presenting information to students in a way that corresponds with their identity instead of alienating them with unfamiliar imagery.



Figure 4. Hand painted images of Guna cosmology stories hanging in the Kindergarten classroom. The nearest image depicts the story of “Los Ocho Hermanos” (“The Eight Brothers”)



Figure 5. Pre-Kindergarten classroom. Visual aids on the back wall are used to teach aspects of the Guna cosmology. The tree images each contain the names of characters in the Guna origin story. The smaller visual outlines several principles related to protecting the Earth.

The use of Guna-specific visual aids in the classroom places Guna students in the geographic location that pertains to their cultural discourse and identity. Images featured above and in the section below of men doing agricultural work or vocab words accompanied by visuals that are important to Guna cosmological stories create a Guna-specific visual discourse for students from their very first interactions in the school system. This visual discourse corresponds with Guna cosmology and daily lifeways that emphasize environmental coexistence and value ecological place-based identity. This visual discourse transforms the school system in Isla Tigre into a means of cultural understanding that works in tandem with other community factions attempting to reinstate the same type of place-based identity.

The design of the school, which is utilized frequently as a product of EBI curriculum, is conducive to place-based learning due to its open-air structure and the view of the open ocean and the mountain that is central to each classroom. Díaz and Rojas both mentioned use of the small space behind the school that sticks out prominently into the water. The frequent use of this space for class activities such as poetry readings about the power of mother earth, effectively attributes to the reembedding of Guna students in the geographic place from which the traditional Guna cosmology has its origins.

Like the use of Guna-specific classroom visuals, the implementation of EBI curriculum is largely a product of each teacher’s personal will and desire to affect change in line with the identity politics movement. The small amount of funding EBI receives from MEDUCA results in poor distribution of EBI curriculum books to the schools. In pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, for example, the teachers identified a lack of EBI books, and noted that they were responsible for designing their own curricular materials in many aspects. Both the kindergarten and pre-kindergarten teachers said that while this was not a problem for them, for teachers of older grades who were less familiar with the theory and practice behind the EBI curriculum, creating one’s own classroom materials with

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little guidance from the curriculum could be difficult and inaccessible. After third grade, aside from Spanish as a second language, EBI curriculum books are not present and classrooms utilize only standard national curriculum as provided by MEDUCA, which differs greatly in content and imagery, containing little that relates directly to Guna place or culture. In interviews on the change in curricular material by grade, all teachers said that while this was not ideal, it is most important that in the early, more formative years of school, students have the Guna-specific materials.

Observations and close analysis of the EBI curricular material in pre-kindergarten through third grade reveals certain trends in Guna-specific imagery and language that relates to traditional Guna cosmology, lending itself successfully to one principle goal of EBI and the contemporary Guna identity politics movement, that is, to reaffirm place-based identity. Figures 6 and 7 feature select imagery from multiple EBI workbooks examined in classrooms of Isla Tigre. A juxtaposition of the first grade workbook provided by the standard MEDUCA curriculum with the EBI curriculum workbook reveals vast cultural differences that pose the great potential for dislocation of Guna students. For example, a section on spelling and vowels in the MEDUCA book pictures images such as cars, buses, airplanes, and large skyscrapers while the EBI workbook is in Guna and features images that Guna students are familiar with such as boats, fish, mangos, mountains, and trees.

Besides visual aids, content implemented as a result of EBI possesses strong thematic elements from the Guna cosmology that embed students in a place-based identity centered around traditional spiritual and thematic references to traditional daily life. This poem featured in Díaz's poetry book as part of the curriculum she has created is one such example:

Dada nalgwiali The sun is rising
Nega yorguali The weather is clear
Muu billiganba In the high tide we watch
Urgan yagumagde The boats rising and falling

We anamar nana This is our mother
We anamar napa Our earth
Biddigigi nan mola We must not destroy
Mer esirmasdibe The clothes of our mother

In an interview with Díaz she spoke on the importance of creating a curriculum that not only reaffirms identity through language, but through content. She is in the process of editing and publishing a new book on Guna poetry that will also be used as an EBI curricular tool. This book features traditional Guna poems as well as Panamanian poems that she has altered to be more Guna-specific in their references to place and nature elements.



Figure 6. Maze exercise from a first grade workbook. Instructions translate to: "Help guide your father to his farm."

Interviews conducted with teachers and the director of the school reveal unanimous support of EBI curriculum, but division in effective curricular strategies. Díaz explained the importance of a Comarca-wide implementation of EBI curriculum that targets three different aspects of the Guna identity politics movement. First, restore fluency in the Guna language in both writing and reading in order to reaffirm indigenous identity in the face of a long history of colonial oppression through the Spanish language. Second, restore place-based Guna identity through the re-integration of Guna-specific themes and imagery that contain strong environmental concepts

by revitalizing knowledge of traditional Guna cosmology. Third, create an academic environment that recognizes and implements traditional knowledge surrounding agriculture and artisan work to raise social and economic value in traditional practices.

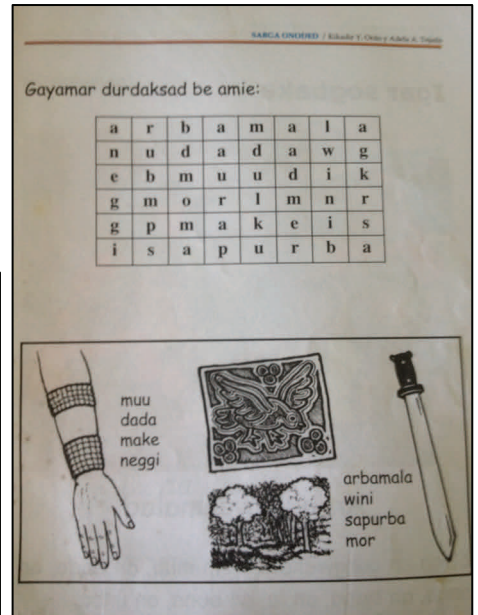


Figure 7. Word search from a first grade workbook with imagery of traditional artisan work, women's clothing, and agricultural work.

On her first point, Díaz emphasizes a need to teach the Guna language to the same level as Western languages by maintaining grammar structures and vocabulary that have been lost in the Guna-Spanish language mix that developed post-colonialism. Díaz suggests that once the Guna language is defined on paper and in practice as a complete language and not a mixed dialect, the Guna people can hold a stronger affirmation in all other aspects of their culture and identity. Díaz spoke to this concept when she said, "We are Guna first. We must all know that. When we leave here, we must be able to show that. We show that by taking ownership of our language."

Interviews conducted with members of the community from all social spheres spoke to the importance of EBI in terms of affirming identity through language. When questioned on the primary value of the new curriculum, the director of the school said, "When students know they

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are Guna because they can speak Guna first, then everything else will come easy. When they sit in their classroom and the teacher speaks their language, then they know they are Guna." Speaking to this same idea, the president of the agricultural group Baduwala stated, "When students really learn to speak Guna, they learn to be proud of who they are. Instead of constantly questioning their two halves, they are Guna first."

Parents and grandparents spoke to their own experiences in the former education system that only taught in Spanish. One community member captured the sentiment of the other parents and grandparents who spoke on this topic:

I grew up in between two languages. I couldn't speak Spanish, but I also couldn't speak Guna. I want to say that I felt proud to be Guna, but I don't know if it's more of a recent feeling. They [non-Guna teachers] made us feel wrong to speak our own language. To them we were "Indios" who were capable of being Panamanian. This is wrong. We are Guna and we are also Panamanian. But first, we are Guna.

When the EBI project was approved by the Panamanian national government in 2002, the Guna identity politics movement proved successful in terms of impacting the political and social landscape through Panama's national system. According to Brysk's framework for measuring successful social movements, EBI satisfies multiple qualifications including making institutional change. Beginning with the principal change initiated as a result of EBI, the switch from Spanish language to Guna, EBI can already be considered a success. The switch from Spanish, the colonial language of oppression, to the indigenous language subjected to destruction as a result of imposing Colonial powers, is a key component of any successful indigenous identity politics movement. Sentiments of community members noted above on the relationship between native language and personal agency speak to the idea that without revitalization of language, all other aspects of indigenous identity politics movements cannot be successful. The

explicit relationship between the destruction of language and the dislocation of persons from their place is exactly the case in Guna Yala.

Díaz's second point states that EBI curriculum will reinstate an environmental consciousness in the younger generation that is integral to traditional Guna cosmology. Her statements towards this argument in multiple interviews take base in the understanding that the Guna cosmology is built around the unique representation of environmental concepts and characters such as the guardians of the natural world, Baba and Nana, that when conveyed through a Western lens lose meaning. Like many Latin American indigenous languages, the Guna language contains expressions and terminology that when translated to Spanish lose their true significance, making the revitalization of language a key component of identity politics movements in terms of revitalizing certain cultural or cosmological histories that are otherwise lost. In several interviews with Díaz, she notes that Guna language used to talk about how human relationships with the environment differ from Western discourse surrounding the same concepts. One specific example that Díaz and the president of Baduwala highlighted is Western environmental discourse that uses words such as "preservation" and "conservation" to discuss environmentalist values. Both of these interviewees noted that these terms alienate Guna people because Guna environmental conservation rhetoric is centered around stories from the Guna cosmology in which all parts of the natural world are assigned human identities such as mother, brother, father, or sister. The president of Baduwala stated:

You wouldn't tell someone to preserve or conserve his or her mother. You would tell them to guard them, protect them, live at one with them. When we translate Guna cosmology into Spanish we lose this language and we lose the true meaning.

EBI's implementation of curriculum that teaches Guna cosmology through poetry, such as in Díaz's classroom, or through workbook activities that maintain Guna environmental discourse through language revitalizes the ethnoecology par-

ticular to Guna Yala that has been manipulated and lost due to the colonization of indigenous rhetoric.

Díaz's third point was that EBI has the power to create a restructured academic institution that recognizes, values, and teaches indigenous knowledge in terms of traditional artisan and agricultural work. While observing in the schools, I found frequent evidence of the practice of artisan crafts across all grades. For example, in the kindergarten class, I observed traditional Guna flutes the children had crafted from collected lobster legs, revealing the power of forging connections between classroom education and traditional practices. I also observed examples in the seventh grade class in which the students worked on basket weaving and hat making. Every student in the class, male and female, knew how to effectively do this practice revealing a level of effective education, either formal or informal, in artisan work. In interviews with Díaz, Rojas, and multiple other community leaders, projects such as these were valorized as areas that facilitated greater involvement or collaboration between community experts in their skills, whether in agriculture or artisan work. One important community leader mentioned that from time to time the school has worked with important communal artisans outside of the classroom during class time to learn the basics of their crafts creating school-community collaboration. Every member of the community who mentioned these educational experiences mentioned them as positive contributors to the larger goal of engaging the younger generation in traditional practices in order to revitalize a worldview and lifeway centered on environmental coexistence.

Díaz vocalized the strongest need for modifying curriculum on Isla Tigre and throughout the Comarca whereas other teachers voiced little desire to make serious modifications to their classrooms. Specifically to this third point on the potential of EBI curriculum to move education in Guna Yala away from a western framework, Díaz spoke about a desire to incorporate more field-learning activities into the classroom curriculum that would give students the opportunity from a young age to get experience working in

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agriculture or fishing with community experts. In multiple interviews, she stated that she often brought up propositions for implementation of this learning strategy as a means of maintaining more traditional practices, knowledge, and lifeways in discussions in daily congress meetings, but she did not feel that she had the full support from the other teachers in the community. My observations and interviews with the other teachers in the community on this topic revealed more of a lack of passion towards this change than an active resistance. Díaz's rhetoric was, however, in line with that of other members of the EBI curriculum team that I spoke with in their head office in Panama City who vocalized a desire to push for national recognition of a field-based curriculum.

A radical restructuring of curriculum through EBI would promote the revaluation of place-based identity and rearticulation of indigenous knowledge. Community members such as Díaz who push for the inclusion of field-based learning that is recognized by the Panamanian national government identify the opportunity to construct an educational model that is truly geared toward indigenous knowledge and the value of a place-based identity. This push within the movement draws from an integral concept of indigenous identity politics movements that wants to move away from traditional Western education models. Successful implementation of this radical change would impact the way in which the Guna community interacts with the national educational institution, in turn shaping their role in the sociopolitical landscape.

This restructuring would also help to navigate limits that EBI poses within the Guna identity politics movement, as identified by many interviewees, that result from the inherent contradiction between studying in school and working in agriculture. For this reason it is important to recognize EBI's potential to break away from Westernized Panamanian constructions of education towards a new definition of education that inspires students to value knowledge of the land that was once integral to the Guna lifeway. Consensus within the community leaders, however, seems to point

towards a greater emphasis on community involvement and the use of informal education to engage students in practices such as agriculture or artisan work. The majority of community leaders believe that if EBI can lay the effective groundwork from which students can build a strong Guna identity based around imagery, themes, and texts, students will be educated with a desire to participate in traditional lifeways. In terms of community cooperation and recognition of the goals of the identity politics movement, this research on Baduwala provides important insights into the current impact of informal education as organized within the community of Isla Tigre.

The Baduwala Cooperative: Identity Politics through Informal Education

Agricultural practices in Guna Yala have undergone both long-term fluctuations and more recent changes as a product of increasing incorporation into the global market. In reaction to the more recent changes that the community of Isla Tigre attributes to an increasing encroachment of the capitalist, national market, the community group called *Baduwala* has shifted its focus to the revitalization of traditional subsistence agriculture practices. The dedication of this small group of community members is fuelled by their overall dissatisfaction with the younger generation's lack of enthusiasm for agricultural labor.

An analysis of discourse surrounding the goals of Baduwala reveals that the group's current framework looks to reinstate the value of place-based identity in the community of Isla Tigre through recognition of the importance of knowing how to work the land and provide for one's family and community. As vocalized in many interviews, the current move away from agriculture devalues place-based identity and dislocates community members from their traditional ties to the land by putting a higher social value on the capacity of a family to buy food rather than self-produce. The recent trends moving away from subsistence farming towards the fish, crab, and lobster trade distance community members from their relationship with ecological place by institutionally supporting entanglement in a market economy. The wages received for seafood sales provide

individual family units with income that allows them to purchase the majority of their food, which has resulted in a decrease in agricultural production that has extended into the younger generation, creating a disconnect between consumption and production.

Baduwala is currently made up of seventeen males. Ages of members range from sixteen years old to 61 years old, while most members are in their late thirties or early forties. Many of the members also hold important positions in the community's political system. The president of Baduwala is also the community *vocero*.⁵ Only four members of Baduwala are below the age of 24 years old. These members are aged 16, 17, and 19 and all have education through the sixth grade. In interviews with these members each recognized the influence of their fathers in urging them to continue working with agriculture.

In an interview with the president of Baduwala, he spoke on his own motivations for switching the focus of the group to be more agricultural based. He expressed growing dissatisfaction with the younger generation and their increased attachment to material culture. He spoke on experiences and conversations he has had with his own children in which they referred to themselves and the Guna in general as "poor." This definition of poor, he says, comes from the idea that as members of the global community, there are certain material goods we "need to have." He said that with the proper engagement and efforts, Baduwala as a group has the power to shift this way of thinking in the younger generation and allow the youth of the community to redefine what it means to be poor. On this topic, he stated:

Poverty is not having a house, not having a roof, not having food. Poverty is someone in the city, in the street, that when it rains must find something made of cardboard in order to stay dry. Here, we are not poor. Here, we have all of the Mother Earth.

He spoke further to this same sentiment stating that it is a loss of agricultural and artisanal knowledge that leads to poverty. He believes that Baduwala can help pre-

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vent the kind of poverty that will result from a loss of the understanding of traditional, subsistence agriculture knowledge and practice.

In interviews with Baduwala's youngest member, he spoke to the same generational disconnect. He said, "My friends and I are the only young people who go to the mountain." When asked about his motivations for joining Baduwala, he spoke on the influence of his father, a key member of the group, and his desire to show his father that he can provide for his family. In one of several interviews with the young man's father he said, "I have told him this [agriculture] was important ever since he was a little boy. He knows that he has to contribute to the family and he knows that this is the way we [the Guna people] do that." He went on to talk about the importance of knowing how to work the land and elaborated on his dream of having his two youngest boys work in agriculture as well.

While the members of Baduwala all identified strong motivations for inspiring change in the younger generation, many also vocalized low expectations and little faith in the future of agriculture in the community. In multiple interviews with the oldest member of Baduwala, he expressed anger for the way the younger generation viewed their role in the community of Isla Tigre. He said:

They don't care about supporting their families. They don't care about learning from their elders or knowing their place in nature. Most of all, they are lazy. They don't need to go to the mountain, so they don't. They sit around all day, maybe catch one lobster to make enough money to buy hotdogs or sardines. They don't know the value of our mother earth. I hope Baduwala's younger members will be leaders towards change. We need to make people care.

Throughout my three-week research period in 2012, the presence of Baduwala as an effective community cooperative or group was barely visible. I only noted their group in daily congress meetings three times and they were only briefly noted in two interviews I had with com-

munity leaders. During my six-week period in June, Baduwala's presence had grown. They made announcements in approximately 15 congress meetings and every community leader that I interviewed immediately referred me to Baduwala upon my questions surrounding agriculture. This change is important to note in understanding the effectiveness of community organizing and cooperatives in creating small-scale changes in Isla Tigre.

In observations of the group during my second research period, I noted that the group operated on both a communal and personal level in terms of production and consumption. Most of the planting was done with the entire group, but harvesting and maintenance of the plots was most often done in small groups of 2 to 4 people. During my fieldwork, I participated in a total of eight trips to the mountain in which I observed the agricultural practices of the group or group members and asked questions about the group and the goals for the day. These trips were made up of planting tomatoes, corn, and yucca; transplanting banana trees; cleaning pineapple fields; collecting coconuts and mangoes; and bringing wood to be used for cooking.

In both my three-week and six-week field-study periods, I observed frequency of visits to the mainland for agricultural purposes and recorded these observations in categories based on type of agriculture and result of agricultural visit. From these observations, I can conclude that the large majority of trips to the mainland are to collect wood for cooking fires. These trips could be completed in relatively little time as opposed to trips to harvest or plant which happen much less frequently, but often take up to an entire day of work. Besides the members of Baduwala, I only observed two other men who regularly went to the mainland for purposes other than collecting firewood and they were both members of the older generation. I also observed two men that regularly went out at dusk with headlamps, a dog, and small guns to hunt. In my entire fieldwork period, I observed two successful hunting trips in which these men caught a deer, which they shared with the entire community. From these observations, I am able to conclude that besides Baduwala and a

select group of agriculturists from the older generation, participation in agriculture of any kind in the community is relatively low, an observation that corresponds with the rhetoric of all members of Baduwala who hope to change this.

The case of Baduwala presents tangible success in involving the younger generation in a lifeway that values indigenous knowledge and place-based identity. In my interviews with the younger members of Baduwala, a strong sense of pride and identity in agricultural work was evident. All four younger members in the group vocalized a feeling of duty to their families and their communities in the work they did. Furthermore, all four interviewees spoke on their knowledge of agricultural practices as something they had learned over time with their fathers by being on the mountain doing the work. Two of the four younger members spoke at length about other boys in their community who they felt knew nothing about how to live with the land. They both stressed a fear for the well-being of members of the community who had not developed agricultural skills. These interviews reveal the existence of a portion of the younger generation of Isla Tigre that are engaged in the identity politics movement and have been affected by the discourse present in their family units around the value of indigenous knowledge and the importance of maintaining a strong identity relating to place.

In collaboration with Baduwala, a chapter of the Ministry of Agricultural Development (MIDA, *El Ministerio de Desarrollo Agropecuario*) has defined a set of recent goals to increase community involvement in subsistence agriculture. This national organization gets funding and project ideas from the national chapter located in Colon. These projects include: (1) on-island subsistence farming and agricultural education for children through newly constructed plots in collaboration with the school; (2) control and regulation of potentially dangerous tropical plant diseases and pests; and (3) collaboration with Baduwala on traditional agricultural practices including increased use of farm space on the mountain and introduction of new crops such as tomatoes and peppers that traditionally are not grown there.

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President of the Isla Tigre MIDA chapter, Erasmo Navas, is a native Isla Tigre resident who left the community for a period of time to study agriculture in a university setting. He returned to the community with the goals of revitalizing traditional subsistence agriculture practices and introducing new agricultural methods that would allow the production of crops not traditionally grown in the Guna Yala Comarca such as tomatoes, peppers, and lettuce. He currently works as the head employee for the MIDA office in the community and corresponds regularly with the other three MIDA offices in the Comarca and the national office in Colon. He is also a highly regarded community leader and consistently participates in community leader meetings at a minimum of five evenings a week. While he principally carries out the various MIDA projects, he also often works in conjunction with Baduwala, a partnership that existed before he began working for MIDA.

Baduwala's collaboration with MIDA is an example of the utilization of increased communication as a product of globalization. However, MIDA operates effectively within the Isla Tigre identity politics movement because of its hands-off approach that results in little tangible connection between the national chapter and the local chapter. This ensures that the community is able to receive funding and knowledge from the organization at their own will. Isla Tigre's relationship with MIDA has led to the inspiration and development of many agricultural projects that may not have been possible without national funding. These include the small school plot projects run by Navas and the parasite testing kits, projects that work towards the same goals as the Guna identity politics movement, but provide resources and perspectives that otherwise would not have been present.

In collaboration with MIDA and Erasmo Navas, Baduwala is looking to incorporate a combination of subsistence agriculture with the production of products that can be bought and sold in the community. This strategy is consistent with many indigenous identity politics movements globally that recognize a belief that certain aspects of globalization do not have to be positioned in direct

conflict with traditional lifeways, but can instead work in tandem to move the group towards the desired goals. However, this strategy also presents conflicts for members of the older generation in Isla Tigre who were concerned with the loss of place-based identity posed by increasing access to technology, framing subsistence lifeways at direct odds with technology.

Outside of Baduwala, Navas's work with small subsistence plots on the island is another example of the attempt of the contemporary Guna identity politics movement to restructure the community's entanglement in both the national and global capitalist market. Similar to the discourse by the president of Baduwala, in multiple interviews with Erasmo Navas on the disappearance of a communal society in Guna Yala, he explained yet another integral element of the identity politics movement as a movement away from capitalist discourses and back into the cooperative, communal discourse from which the Guna community was founded. In these interviews, Navas was quick to cite many different indigenous socialist movements globally, one of the principal ones being the collaboration between Hugo Chavez and the Venezuelan indigenous groups to provide the benefits of a globalized society such as access to healthcare and the funding through which to develop unique indigenous education systems that break from Western traditional education structures. Navas spoke to a belief that the Guna identity politics movement must contain goals that are evolutionary in that they account for the duality of globalization and account for the inclusion of aspects of globalization that could simultaneously benefit that desire to resist its negative impacts.

Baduwala's reaction on both a global and national scale and its collaboration with the national organization MIDA represents a greater challenge to the political and economic structures imposed on Guna Yala and Isla Tigre that affect the way in which community members relate to the land through traditional agricultural practices. Baduwala represents a reaction to growing impacts of an economic shift from a communal, socialist society to a wage-based capitalist society imposed upon the Guna in the mid-

twentieth century. The discourse surrounding the president of Baduwala on the loss of communal agricultural practices asserts belief in the idea that his group has an opportunity to reassign value to subsistence living. Interviews with other agriculturists of the older generation both within and outside of Baduwala reveal the strong desire that exists in the older community to return to a time period in which the community was less dictated by capitalist, individual efforts and maintained more communal practices. Baduwala exemplifies the power of informal education in pushing goals within an identity politics movement, but also reveals the necessity of community collaboration and involvement in order to achieve a true revitalization of place-based values and a revalorization of indigenous ways of knowing.

The Conjunction of Formal and Informal Education in Evaluating Guna Identity Politics

In relation to the framework that Brysk (2000) establishes to evaluate the success of social movements, EBI proves successful in terms of institutionalizing change in line with the goals of the movement. However, EBI does not currently alter the Western structure of education and therefore does not yet exemplify a change in the political ecology of the region, as would the field-based curriculum proposed by Díaz. Her proposed change would involve a re-working of how credible educational institutions are defined to include education surrounding more utilitarian skills such as agriculture and more traditional knowledge as portrayed in stories from the Guna cosmology. These changes have the potential to alter the political and institutional structures that impact the way in which the Guna people construct their identity around a particular place, encouraging more traditional place-based identities that are tied to the land. In this way, EBI has the potential to push back against threats to environmental and human health that have resulted from a loss of place-based identity in conjunction with globalization.

The agricultural cooperative Baduwala also fits Brysk's evaluation framework in its success in involving the younger gen-

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eration, which pushes to redefine the way future generations assign value to traditional work such as agriculture. However, if the cooperative operates as a closed system that does not reach other members of the Isla Tigre community, it will prove ineffective in the identity politics movement, as it will not challenge the involvement of the majority group. But, if the cooperative can continue to function in tandem with other efforts such as EBI to foster strong informal education surrounding renewed understanding of the land, it will prove successful in asserting both social and economic value on the knowledge that comes from working the land as opposed to purchasing from the market. The rhetoric of Baduwala's youngest members is a strong example of the success of informal, community-based education in changing community dynamics in relation to economic subsistence. In this case, this cultural value shift lends itself to the fluctuating value of environmental sustainability in the greater community.

Both of these cases and the overall examination of identity politics in Isla Tigre resonate with the urge to examine the dual impact of globalization as that which not only sparks conflict and change but also produces transnational unity in the identity politics movements that emerge to push back. In the case of both EBI and Baduwala, however, it is more of a transcultural collaboration that occurs within the nation. Baduwala experiences success alongside the national organization MIDA, and EBI is representative of a collaborative effort of three Panamanian indigenous groups.

Through an ethnoecological framework, it is evident that both EBI and Baduwala are making concrete steps towards the revitalization of place-based identity in the younger generation of Isla Tigre. The operation of the broader Guna Identity politics movement in Isla Tigre exemplifies the power of informal and formal education working in tandem to reassign value to an indigenous way of knowing with strong roots in environmental awareness and cooperative subsistence living. In this way, the community of Isla Tigre challenges both global and national hierarchical assignments of value to different forms of knowledge,

reasserting the value of indigenous, place-based knowing in the broader sociopolitical landscape.

Endnotes

(1) *Comarca* is directly translated to English as "region." Throughout this paper the word *Comarca* is used instead of region because it more accurately indicates the semi-autonomous nature of Guna Yala and its national recognition as a distinct indigenous region.

(2) *Sailah* refers to the most influential community leader. "Chief" is used by some Guna scholars to explain the *sailah's* community role. Communities may have up to five *sailahs* ranked hierarchically.

(3) Community meetings always begin with a lengthy traditional song or chant performed by three of the *sailahs* in the traditional Guna language. The chant is a story from the Guna cosmology that is then translated by the *vocero* into contemporary spoken Guna. Next, the meeting opens up for community discussion and members of the community bring various topics to the group usually to discuss community projects as well as pressing issues.

(4) *Digir Dupu* is the Guna language name for Isla Tigre. Isla Tigre is used throughout the paper because it is more popularly used throughout the broader Guna community.

(5) The *vocero* is highly regarded position in the community congress. This member holds the greatest understanding of the Guna cosmology and their principal duties include translating the *Sailah's* songs from ancient Guna into modern Guna and educating the youth on cosmology stories.

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Zora Neale Hurston Award

Guidelines for the Preparation and Submission of Nomination Packet

~Each nomination should include the following:

- (1) Letter of recommendation in support of the nominee; and
- (2) Summary of the nominee's accomplishments.

~Contextualization of nominee's work should address the following questions:

- (A) What is the significance of the nominee's work within the discipline?
- (B) What is the impact of this work for the community in which the nominee works? How has this work benefitted communities?
- (C) How has this work moved the discipline forward into applications for the larger public?

~Each nomination packet must:

- Be no longer than 10 pages.
- Include 2 additional copies of packet materials for the 3-person committee.

The selection review committee consists of two appointed members of the Southern Anthropological Society Zora Neale Hurston Award Committee and the Zora Neale Hurston Award Chair. Annual deadline for receipt of nomination materials is November 1st. Supporting materials will not be returned. The Zora Neale Hurston Award may not be annual and will be awarded only if the committee deems nominees of merit.

Recipients will be contacted by March 1st so that they may make arrangements to attend the annual meeting in the spring. The Hurston Award winner will be announced and stipend and Zora Neale Hurston engraved award will be presented at the annual meeting banquet.

Please send electronically, nominations with supporting materials to:

Dr. Lisa J. Lefler
 Zora Neale Hurston Award Chair
 Culturally Based Native Health Programs
 College of Health & Human Science
 Western Carolina University
 Cullowhee, NC 28723
 Email: llefler@email.wcu.edu
 Phone: 828-227-2164

*Please note changes for the ZNH Award. Please consider nominations and submit before **February 1, 2015**.*



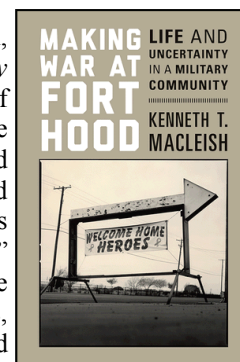
NEWS FROM THE JAMES MOONEY AWARD COMMITTEE

~Betty J. Duggan (International Museum of Folk Art), Mooney Committee Chair, 2010-13

Each year SAS presents the James Mooney Award to an outstanding new anthropological book about culture or cultural groups in or of the American South. James Mooney (1861-1921) was an ethnologist for the Smithsonian's famed Bureau of American Ethnology of the National Museum (NMNH) for nearly 40 years. Mooney, the son of Irish immigrants, initially worked as a journalist. His early writing targeted general audiences. His later extensive ethnographic and ethnohistoric research about American Indian cultures still lent a wide readability and utility to his academic publications. His body of work and individual classics, including *Myths of the Cherokee* and *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, continue to be read and consulted by scholars, tribes, government agencies, and an interested public.

We had another good showing of nominations from academic presses, but again none from individuals. For 2013, the Mooney Committee selected a winning and an honorable mention book to honor. Both books tackled the roots and consequences of serious problems in today's world from unique angles and a combination of methodologies. Together they bracket the start and the culmination of careers.

The 2013 James Mooney Award winner, announced at the Society's awards banquet in March, was Kenneth T. MacLeish for his book, *Making War at Fort Hood: Life and Uncertainty in a Military Community* (Princeton University Press, 2013). MacLeish, an anthropologist, is Assistant Professor of Medicine, Health, and Society at Vanderbilt University. It is the first ethnography to closely examine the everyday lives of soldiers, their families, and associated communities, in intimate detail, intertwined, and within the broader defining contexts of the Army as institution and its bureaucracies. This much-praised book, which also received third-place for the Victor Turner Prize for Ethnographic Writing (SHA), builds on MacLeish's dissertation. MacLeish's fieldwork began in 2007-08 as the U.S. prepared for "The Surge" in Iraq. His study follows multiple deployments and returns to and from Iraq and Afghanistan through the mass shooting at Fort Hood in 2009. *Making War* demonstrates violence as a way of life--for soldiers, families, and military and support communities. It explores violence from brute mind-body physicality and vulnerability in the moment of warfare and in aftermath to immediate and lasting social and personal consequences at home, for life. MacLeish's book has been variously praised as "intellectually deep," "ethnographically rich," "sensitively-written," yet "difficult to read," "depressing," and even "horrific" [in details]; in sum, "provocative" and "required reading for all policy makers, military leaders," and those who live and work with returning soldiers. One British reviewer claims that *Making War at Fort Hood* reveals the face and human costs of 21st century warfare, anywhere and everywhere.



Shirley Brice Heath's book, *Words at Work and Play: Three Decades in Family and Community Life* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) received the selectively-given Honorable Mention Certificate from the James Mooney Award Committee. Heath, a social historian and ethnographer, is Margery Bailey Professor of English and Dramatic Literature and Professor of Linguistics, Emerita, at Stanford University. *Words at Work and Play* is the culmination of four decades of research with the 300 black and white families from the Piedmont Carolinas, first encountered by readers in her 1983 book, *Ways with Words*. Here Heath continues the families' journeys and struggles through three generations of out-migration, and now return migration for some. Heath's means of study and understanding are primarily linguistic and ethnographic. Revelations often come through personal and family stories that carry in them changing ways of work, play, vocabulary, and language interaction, between and across generations, from individuals and families who are in transit or separated, short- or long-term. In Heath's skilled hands, their lives as revealed in their words and relations are beautifully, often poignantly communicated, and the telling yields broader implications regarding important economic and social opportunities and constraints for working class people in Americas' modern culture and economy.

The Mooney Committee also reports several changes for 2014. In March, I stepped down from the Committee after five years to become SAS President-Elect (2014-2016). The Society's immediate past President, Robbie Ethridge (University of Mississippi), has returned to the Mooney Committee as the new Chair. Kate Ingersol (St. Mary's College of Maryland) continues as the second member, and Matthew Richard (Valdosta State) rotates on as the new third member. An especially noteworthy change is happening now as long-time Mooney Award Coordinator, Daryl White, retires from his position at Spelman College and from his duties for this committee, although we hope to keep him active in SAS for years to come. Past and present Mooney Committee members and the Society are very grateful to Daryl for his steady presence, his historical memory of our organization and this committee, and for his active service each spring and summer, contacting (and re-contacting) academic presses to remind them of the submission deadline, then shipping sets of nominated books and support materials to Committee members for their review each fall, and often answering the Committee's historical and procedural questions during reviewing. More than once, Daryl stepped in temporarily as a reviewer, when an unexpected Committee vacancy occurred. A search is currently underway to find a new Mooney Award Coordinator (one with necessary institutional support and time) to fill this key position for a 10-year commitment (contact: bdugganj@hotmail.com).

The Southern Anthropological Society requests nomination for

THE JAMES MOONEY AWARD

The purpose of the James Mooney Award is to recognize and thereby encourage distinguished anthropological scholarship on the South and Southerners. Presented annually, the award includes a \$500 cash prize and certificate of recognition to be presented to the winning author at an awards ceremony. In addition, an Honorable Mention Award includes a certificate of recognition. The winning presses will also receive a certificate of recognition and will be granted free exhibit space at the Society's annual meeting and, for one year, free advertising space for the winning books in the Southern Anthropologist. Previous recipients of the James Mooney Award may be found at: <http://southernanthro.org/>

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

To be considered for the **2014 James Mooney Award** (presented in 2015), a book must have been published in 2013 or 2014. The judges welcome works on the South or Southern peoples and cultures (past or present) in, of, or from the region. Books may be from any subfield of anthropology or from other disciplines so long as the primary perspective of the work is anthropological. Co-authored books may be nominated, but edited volumes may not. The nomination must clearly be for a single book, even if it builds on prior work by the author or others.

NOMINATION AND SUBMISSION PROCEDURES

Nominations for the 2014 James Mooney Award may be submitted by a press or an individual. The nomination should include a letter briefly describing the subject, identifying the anthropological significance of the work, and giving the name, address, and telephone number of the author. The letter of nomination should be accompanied by three copies of the book, one for each member of the selection committee. (In lieu of submitting book copies, individuals may submit a brief summary or review of the nominated book. The Mooney committee chair may then opt to seek copies from the publisher.

An unsuccessful title may be re-submitted once.

Titles must be submitted for consideration by **September 31, 2014**. Please send submissions to Daryl White, the Mooney Award Press Coordinator, whose address is below.

Books will be judged by a committee of anthropologists from different subfields in the discipline. The winner will be announced in April of 2015 at the [annual meeting](#) of the Society in Athens, Georgia

CONTACT:

SEND BOOKS TO:

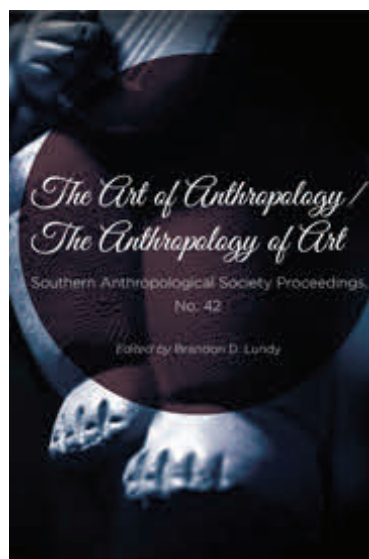
Daryl White, Mooney Award Press Co-ordinator
Professor & Chair, Department of Sociology & Anthropology
Campus Box 1702
Spelman College
350 Spelman Lane SW
Atlanta, GA 30314
Phone: 404.270.6053
dwhite@spelman.edu

ALL OTHER INQUIRIES:

Robbie Ethridge, Mooney Award Committee Chair
Professor of Anthropology
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Mississippi
University, MS 38677
Phone: 662-915-7317
rethridg@olemiss.edu



SAS Proceedings




The newest volume of the Southern Anthropological Proceedings is available from Newfound Press, *The Art of Anthropology / The Anthropology of Art*, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings No. 42 edited by Brandon D. Lundy (<http://newfoundpress.utk.edu/pubs/lundy/>). This book is fully available open-access online, but also may be purchased in paperback. The price is \$35.00, or call 1-800-621-2736 to ask for the SAS member 20% discount. We would especially like to thank Jayne Smith for their hard work and support of these volumes.

The Art of Anthropology / The Anthropology of Art brings together thirteen essays, some of which were presented at the March 2011 annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society (SAS) in Richmond, Virginia. Collectively, the essays in this volume explore not only art through the lens of anthropology but also anthropology through the lens of art. Given that art is a social phenomenon, the contributors to this volume interpret the complex relationships between art and anthropology as a means of fashioning novelty, continuity, and expression in everyday life. They further explore this connection by reifying customs and traditions through texts, textures, and events, thereby shaping the very artistic skills acquired by experience, study, and observation into something culturally meaningful.

In *The Art of Anthropology / The Anthropology of Art*, contributors revisit older debates within the discipline about the relationship between anthropology's messages and the rhetoric that conveys those messages in new ways. They ask how and why anthropology is persuasive and how artful forms of anthropology in the media and the classroom shape and shift public understandings of the human world. The papers in this volume are organized in four groups: Textual Art, Art Valuation, Critical Art, and Art and Anthropology in Our Classroom and Colleges.

Southern Anthropologist Call for Submissions

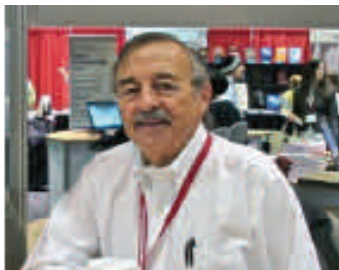
SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGIST EDITORIAL BOARD:
 -Robbie Ethridge, University of Mississippi
 -Heidi M. Altman, Georgia Southern University
 -Carrie B. Douglass, University of Virginia
 -Hector Qirko, College of Charleston

 Southern Anthropologist Journal of the Southern Anthropological Society	
Volume 36	Winter 2014
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The *Southern Anthropologist* is the official journal of the Southern Anthropological Society. Published annually or biannually, the journal aims to contribute to the discussion of contemporary issues sounding anthropology as a discipline and to current research in all subfields of anthropology. Although most members of the Society are from institutions in the southeastern United States, the review process is open to all. The journal is seeking contributions in three categories: (1) articles and essays documenting current research or broader issues related to the discipline of anthropology as a whole, (2) research notes that might address a project in process or nearing completion, and (3) book reviews or review essays on literature from 2010 to the present. WE CAN EVEN TAKE A BOOK REVIEWS FOR THE CURRENT ISSUE TO BE RELEASED BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

For more information or guidelines for manuscript preparation, contact the co-editors Julian Murchison (murchjm@millsaps.edu) or Matt Samson (masamson@davidson.edu).

In Memoriam: J. Anthony Paredes



James Anthony "Tony" Paredes

James Anthony "Tony" Paredes, 73, ethnologist and applied anthropologist passed away peacefully with family at his side on August 24, 2013 in Atlanta. Tony was professor of anthropology for 30 years at Florida State University, becoming professor emeritus in 1999. From 1998 to 2006, he worked with the National Park Service Ethnography Program as cultural anthropologist and chief of Indian affairs. Known for his lifelong work among American Indian peoples, Tony's interests extended to commercial fisheries, multiculturalism, social impacts of hurricanes, and capital punishment. Tony served on AAA's Executive Board and was past president of the Association of Senior Anthropologists, the Society for Applied Anthropology, and the Southern Anthropological Society.

Born September 29, 1939 in New York City to Antonio and Mildred Paredes, Tony was raised in Florida. He received his BA in liberal arts from Oglethorpe University (1961) and was a Woodrow Wilson Fellow (1961-62). He received his anthropology MA (1964) and PhD (1969) from University of New Mexico. *Anishinabe: 6 Studies of Modern Chippewa* (1980) includes results of his dissertation on Chippewa Indians urban adaptation.

After arriving at FSU, Tony began research among the Poarch Band of Creeks in Alabama in 1971, forging a relationship that lasted until his death. *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late Twentieth Century* (1992) and *Anthropologists and Indians in the New South* (2001, with Rachel Bonney) illustrate the diversity and range of issues faced by the Poarch, other tribes and communities in this region.

Tony was instrumental in obtaining federal acknowledgment and recognition of the Poarch Creeks as an Indian tribe in 1984. Working with tribal researchers, the Native American Rights Fund, and researchers at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Tony began preparing the Poarch petition in 1978. Drawing on his research and association with the tribe and conducting additional research, Tony developed documentation to demonstrate the Poarch had existed as a tribe since treaty times. The outcomes were dramatic, "resulting in extraordinary advances in housing, education, cultural restoration, employment, tribal revenues, and health care" (AN 53(3): 10). The Poarch honored Tony for his service in 1990 and the Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs recognized his contributions in 1993.

A distinguished and productive scholar who blended theory and practice in captivating prose and presentation, Tony published and presented extensively. Undeterred by diagnosis of cancer in 2011, he participated in conferences and published *Red Eagle's Children* (2012, with Judith Knight), two contributions to *Expanding Anthropology 1945-1980: A Generation Reflects* (2012, Alice Kehoe and Paul Doughty), and "Happiness Anthropology Redux" (AN, 2012).

Tony's true legacy is best measured by the more intangible qualities of his forthright character, his kindness and warmth, his generosity of time and talent in helping others, his humor, often self-deprecating, and whole body laugh. He is sorely missed by all whose lives he touched.

Tony's parents and daughter Anna Teresa "Risa" Lesinski predecease him. He is survived by his wife Alleen Deutsch, children Anthony Paredes, Jr. and Sara Campbell and their families, and a large, extended family. (Mary Margaret "Peggy" Overbey with contributions from Paul L Doughty, George Roth, and Alleen Deutsch)

Anthropology News. (2014, June 6). In Memoriam. Retrieved at <http://www.anthropology-news.org/index.php/2014/01/08/james-anthony-tony-paredes/>

[Anthony Paredes was an active member of the SAS and served as the SAS President from 1988-1989. He touched a lot of lives and will be missed sincerely by everyone who was lucky enough to have known him.]

In Memoriam: Robert Shanafelt

Georgia Southern University anthropology department mourns the loss of one of its longtime professors. Robert Shanafelt, Ph.D., passed away on March 26 after losing a fight against non-Hodgkins lymphoma. “He was a masterful teacher; he was a brilliant scholar, and every bit as good and amazing of a human being as he was either of those things,” Tim Prizer, former student and friend of Shanafelt, said. Prizer attended Georgia Southern before Shanafelt arrived and was told that Shanafelt was a folklorist, which was the area of anthropology that Prizer was interested in. When Shanafelt arrived Prizer approached him about the subject, spurring Shanafelt to create the Introduction to Folklore class, Prizer said. “My passion for learning and academia really took off under Dr. Shanafelt. That intro to folklore class was huge in my academic development. I can remember scribbling down notes and almost trying to write down verbatim what he was saying in class because I was so fascinated by it,” Prizer said.



“I know he was very caring towards his students, he really cared about students, a very caring person,” Barbara Hendry, Ph.D., associate professor of anthropology, said Hendry and Shanafelt attended graduate school together at the University of Florida before becoming reacquainted at GSU as colleagues. Shanafelt even helped Hendry with some of her dissertation, Hendry said.

“He [Shanafelt] wanted me to have a little more theoretical background [in folklore], so he devised an independent reading class for me on folklore theory and that was the class where I was the only one who took it and there was no set time that the class was offered. I just met with him once a week to discuss the readings,” Prizer said.

Shanafelt was an expert on Africa, especially on Lesotho where he was placed during his time in the Peace Corps and then where he conducted his dissertation research. He knew how to speak one of the African click languages, Hendry said. Shanafelt had a witty, dry sense of humor that will be missed, Hendry said. “Some of my fondest memories were some of the faculty meetings we would have when we would be bringing up some various problems and issues and Bob would always interject some dry, humorous remark that would really lighten us all up,” Hendry said. Shanafelt was a consummate anthropologist, loved research, loved teaching, was a true intellectual and was always there to help with administrative tasks, Hendry said.

Soft-spoken, mild mannered, gentle, warm and he smiled and laughed a lot. Shanafelt could make complex ideas simple to understand for students and could carry on engaging conversations with undergraduate students, Prizer said.

“We are all still kind of in shock about this. It is just difficult to imagine our program without Bob, he was such an integral part of it,” Hendry said.

“He was very inspirational to me, as I look back now he was the first professor to treat me more as a colleague than a student,” Prizer said. Shanafelt was very influential and a positive influence on Prizer both as a person and in terms of what he wanted to do and has done academically, Prizer said.

Shanafelt earned his Ph.D. in anthropology in 1989 from the University of Florida with his dissertation entitled: *Talking Peace, Living Conflict: The Mental and the Material on the Borders of the Apartheid*. He worked as the interim assistant director for the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida, was a folklorist for the Florida Department of State under the Division of Historical Resources in the Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs before arriving at GSU in 2002. At GSU, Shanafelt taught Introduction to Anthropology, Biological Anthropology, Cultural Anthropology, Folklife, and Religion and Cultures of Africa as well as a graduate seminar in Social Theory.

“He [Shanafelt] wrote his own textbook for his students which is really creative and innovative,” Hendry said. He did it because the textbook used for the Introduction to Anthropology class did not satisfy his needs.

Critchlow, Tayler. (2014, April 3). Anthropology professor passes away. Retrieved at <http://thegeorgeanne.com/2014/04/news/anthropology-professor-passes-away-2/>.

[Bob Shanafelt served as an SAS Councilor from 2004 to 2010 when he took over as the SAS Proceedings Series Editor. He was instrumental in the publication of four Proceedings volumes with Newfound Press (<http://newfoundpress.utk.edu/pubs/sas/books.html>). He will be sorely missed by his students, colleagues, friends, and family]

SAS Endowment Fund

To: Southern Anthropological Society Members and Friends
From: Max E. White, Endowment Treasurer

Greetings everyone. Please consider donating to the SAS Endowment Fund. All contributions are tax deductible and will help us attain our goal of creating an endowment to be used to promote Anthropology and anthropological research in the American South.

The Endowment Fund of the Southern Anthropological Society was established several years ago and continues to grow. The stated purpose of the Endowment Fund was to support and encourage anthropological research in the South (or about the South), and to promote anthropology in the South. The original thinking was to create a fund of some \$30,000 which could be drawn upon at the discretion of the Executive Board. The total amount in the Endowment Fund is approaching our stated goal (\$25,259.81 as of March 31, 2014)! We welcome any and all contributions, especially in this year of the SAS's golden anniversary. Please consider contributing to this worthy cause, and keep in mind that all contributions are tax-deductible.

You may make the check out to **SAS Endowment Fund** and mail to:

Max E. White
SAS Endowment Treasurer
Department of Social Sciences
Piedmont College
Demorest, GA 30535

You will receive a letter of acknowledgement in return mail. Thank you in advance for your support, and I look forward to seeing you at the meeting in Athens in April.

Sincerely,

Max E. White, Ph.D.



Photo Credit: David M. Johnson

2014 SAS Keynote
Speaker: Dr. Raymond
D. Fogelson (University
of Chicago)

Donate to the SAS
Endowment Fund.
It is tax deductible!



Photos Credit: David M. Johnson

Max E. White (left)
and J. Anthony
Paredes (right) at
the 2012 SAS Open-
ing Reception, Bir-
mingham, AL



Photos Credit: David M. Johnson

SAS Business Meeting, Cherokee, NC, 2014

SAS Secretary-Treasurer's report 2014

Southern Anthropological Society

Summary Financial Statement
Brandon D. Lundy, Secretary-Treasurer

Checking Account Balance, 4 September 2014 **\$30,892.31**

The total cost for the 2013-2014 annual meeting in Cherokee, NC was \$12,722.53. Western Carolina generously donated \$4,000.00 to the SAS for the Opening Reception the clubs expenditures \$8,722.53. Revenue brought in for this year's meeting including the sale of banquet tickets, SAS membership, and meeting registration totaled \$12,783.03. Therefore, the club continues to operate in the black for another year!

Highlights from the 1 April 2014 Board Meeting minutes in Cherokee, NC.

- Most recent issue of SA (Volume 36, Number 1) has been posted to the website and the next issue is planned to be released in the next few months. (<http://southernanthro.org/publications/southern-anthropologist/>)
- Robbie made a motion to constitute an editorial board of the SA journal made up of the last four past presidents charged to help with the review process and drum up submissions and interest in the SA (Robbie Ethridge, Heidi Altman, Carrie Douglass, Hector Qirko). This would be on a rotating basis with new presidents rotating on and others rotating off. They would also be responsible for expanding the reviewer network. Vinnie seconded. Passed unanimously.
- Bob Shanafelt, the SAS Proceedings Editor, has passed away. It was a big blow to the organization and he will be missed tremendously. We feel his loss in many ways. SAS sends our condolences to his family and friends. Bob was working on clearing the backlog of unfinished Proceedings volumes. There is still one or two Proceedings volumes in the pipeline. Bob also served as the liaison with Newfound Press. It was decided that for the near future, we will maintain the General Editor position. Over the next couple of months, we should be thinking about who could take over that position. This person would serve as a go between with the current meeting editor and the press. No names were forthcoming for nomination at this time. Aaron will be responsible for naming Bob's replacement. We are currently working to locate and digitize back issues of the newsletters/SA. Please send any missing issues you may have directly to Brandon.
- Daryl will be stepping down as coordinator of the Mooney Award. His replacement needs to be a person with a stable address and plans to stay in the position over the long-term because this person needs to foster a relationship with the presses. Should be a 5-10 year commitment. Daryl will continue on through the Spring 2015 to mentor his replacement. Suggested nominations should be forwarded to the President for appointment. The Board would like to thank Daryl for his many years of service. He is responsible for making it the esteemed award that it is. The winner is listed in the Program (Princeton University Press – Kenneth T. MacLeish. 2013. *Making War at Fort Hood*; Honorable Mention – Cambridge Press – Shirley Brice Heath. 2012. *Words at Work and Play*). Thank you to the committee for their hard work again this year in selecting such excellent books. Betty is rotating off as Committee Chair and Robbie will be her replacement along with Kate Ingersoll and a third person yet to be nominated. Kate will become Chair of the committee after Robbie. These are usually three year terms.
- Vinnie's time as Chair of the Student Paper Prize Committee is ending along with the other committee members' service. Vinnie would agree to stay on as Chair if no one else is interested. This year there were three Honorable Mentions: Christopher Webb of UNC Asheville for his paper, "The Camouflaged Minority: Culture, Trauma, and Repatriation of the Student Veteran Diaspora"; Elisabeth Green Geyer, of UNCA, for her paper, "Joking About Rape: Exploring the Contexts of Dark Humor and Sexual Violence in American Pop Culture"; Linnea Kuglitsch, of Mary Baldwin College for her paper, "Blueprints to Control: Medicine and Space in Two Historical Medical Institutions." One Winner: Natalie Williford of Davidson College for her paper, "Indigenous Identity Politics in Guna Yala, Panama: the role of education and agriculture in revitalizing place-based identity."
- We would like to thank Lisa for stepping in at the last minute and organizing a wonderful meeting. 137 papers were presented, 4 concurrent sessions, 25 panels, and 10 posters. Great turnout!
- 2014 Election results, reported Vinnie Melomo, chair of the nominations committee. Thanks to Vinnie for his efforts! Results: President (2014-2015): Aaron Bowman; President Elect (VP) (2014-2015): Betty Duggan; Secretary-Treasurer (2014-2016): Brandon D. Lundy; Councilor 1 (2014-2017): Abby Wightman; Councilor 2 (2014-2017): Vincent Melomo; Councilor 3 (2014-2017): Robbie Etheridge.



Photo Credit: David M. Johnson

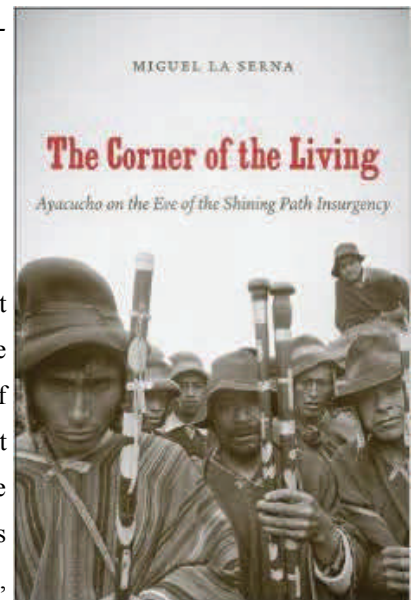
BOOK REVIEW

The Corner of the Living: Ayacucho on the Eve of the Shining Path Insurgency. *Miguel La Serna*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012, 286 pp.

William Yaworsky

University of Texas at Brownsville

The Shining Path insurgency, which lasted roughly from 1980-2000, remains topical not only as a case study in peasant revolutions, but because of the extremity of the violence generated. The death toll (69,000) may have been similar to that found in the civil wars of El Salvador and Nicaragua, but the Shining Path developed a methodology of violence that set it apart from the Sandinistas and the FMLN. Author Miguel La Serna journeys to the region that was at the heart of the insurgency in order to make sense of this tremendous cataclysm. What he discovers is that cattle rustling, intervillage land conflicts, migration, racial tensions, and the breakdown of traditional community authority all played a greater role than ideology and class struggle in the generation of peasant support for Sendero Luminoso. Also of importance: peasants don't always resist domination, they sometimes submit and approve. They are most willing to submit to domination they view as legitimate, that is to say, when the authorities hold up their end of the bargain by punishing criminals. The author calls this a "power pact" and it can be viewed as a "moral economy" phenomenon. But when the power holders—mestizo or indigenous—break the power pact by refusing to control crime, all bets are off.



The author blends participant observation, interviews, and archival research to closely examine three villages (Chuschi, Huayachao, and Quispillaccta) in Ayacucho in order to understand their varied responses to the Shining Path insurgency. In Chuschi, high migration rates led to rising expectations, and the hopes for an urban education fueled cattle rustling as a means of paying for it. The state and its local functionaries did nothing about the problem, even in the most egregious cases. Villagers tired of cattle rustlers going unpunished threw their support behind Sendero Luminoso. In Huayachao the authority of the local elders stayed intact, and there was little migration, little in the way of rising expectations, and the cattle theft that occurred was punished. Sendero was thus seen as intrusive. In other words, the local power pact was intact, and peasants duly joined the counterinsurgency.

Intervillage rivalries were handled differently too. Huayachao's leaders aided the authorities of other villages in criminal investigations. In contrast, Chuschi's leaders, and those from neighboring Quispillaccta, were often part of the criminal rings and in no mood to collaborate with their rivals to solve crimes. This added an extra layer of conflict to the already existing intervillage dispute between Chuschi and Quispillaccta thus complicating matters as villagers selectively used both the state and the rebels to settle old scores. The drawing in of outsiders such as the military or rebels to settle scores strikes me as something that veteran ethnographers working in rural Latin America will have seen before.

BOOK REVIEW

The book is clear, concise, and well-written. There are plenty of colorful vignettes about local history, most notably those involving “The March of Death” (a brawl between the two communities of Chuschi and Quispillaccta involving hundreds of participants) and “The Rock of Justice” (a device used to punish criminals and deviants in Huayachao). Ransacked churches and stolen virgins also exacerbate tensions between villages. In one episode, a mestizo politician is saved by the villagers from Shining Path punishment because he supported them in The March of Death. Meanwhile, the author demonstrates that while the mestizo power elites were generally resented, villagers happily replaced them with indigenous elites, suggesting that class struggle was not first among villagers’ priorities. We also learn about village level sexual mores, the transition from hacienda days in Huayachao, and there is much background information on the Velasco Alvarado-era land reform programs.

The old adage that “all politics is local” comes to mind. When it came right down to it, villagers didn’t give a hoot who was punishing the cattle rustlers, so long as they were punished. In Chuschi, the state lost any interest in performing this function so when Sendero Luminoso stepped in to dole out their brand of justice, folks didn’t mind.

The author concludes by pointing out that by understanding grievances and disruptions of local power pacts, policy-making efforts can be better appraised. La Serna specifically relates his findings to the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, demonstrating a relevance that extends beyond Andeanists. He is to be commended for completing a superb study. I recommend this book without reservation to those interested in peasants, insurgency, and Latin American politics.

Do you have something to share with the SAS? The SAS Newsletter is the perfect outlet for SAS-related news, updates about activities of the membership, and information on forthcoming publications. If you would like to contribute to the Winter 2015 issue, please contact:

Brandon D. Lundy
SAS Secretary-Treasurer
Newsletter Editor
Email: blundy@kennesaw.edu



Southern Anthropological Society

For more information, contact:

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Southern Anthropological Society

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES & CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

Year: 20 _____

Every person planning to attend the annual meeting MUST pay both membership dues and the registration fee. Please send this form AND check, made out to the "Southern Anthropological Society," to:

Brandon D. Lundy, SAS Secretary-Treasurer
3693 Iroquois NW
Kennesaw, Georgia 30144

Alternatively, submit this form by email to blundy@kennesaw.edu with the subject line "SAS Membership and Registration" and pay online through PayPal (you do not need an account: <http://southernanthro.org/home/annual-meeting/online-registration-and-dues/>)

ANNUAL Membership Dues:

Professional	\$ 75.00
Student/Retired	\$ 35.00
Joint	\$100.00
(for couples who want to join together)	

Conference Registration:

Professional	\$ 75.00
Student/Retired	\$ 35.00
Joint	\$100.00
(for couples who want to attend the meeting together)	

Total amount \$ _____

Name(s): _____

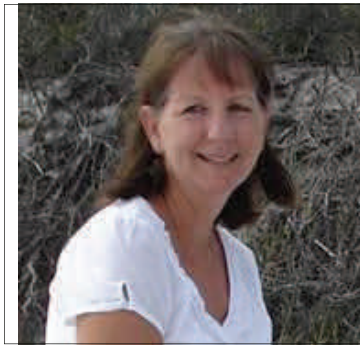
Institutional Affiliation(s): _____

Address: _____

Email address: _____

NOTES: _____

Robbie Ethridge,
SAS Immediate
Past President



A Note from the Immediate Past President

Dear SAS Colleagues,

I hope everyone has had a grand summer. I wanted to write a note to express my heartfelt thanks and appreciation to everyone in SAS for making my presidential tenure smooth and headache free. I would also like to send a special thanks to the entire Executive Committee for their help and guidance through my presidential years. Their collegiality, professionalism, good advise, and investment in the organization is something to be emulated. It has been a true honor to serve as your president, and I look forward to helping Aaron as he takes the reins. I also look forward to seeing everyone in Athens in 2015!

-Robbie Ethridge,
SAS Immediate Past President
Professor of Anthropology
University of Mississippi