A note from the Chair

It has been a busy and productive year for both faculty and students in the Department. Two longtime faculty members—David Napier and Ted Sasson—left the Department to pursue other positions. David Napier resigned his position at the College last summer to work full-time at University College, London, where he directs a program in medical anthropology. Ted Sasson, who had been dividing his time teaching in the Department in the fall semester and conducting research at the Cohen Center at Brandeis in the spring, will be here teaching in International Studies beginning next year. Ted’s research interests have shifted dramatically in recent years from a focus on crime in America to the Sociology of Israel. While we are sad to see these two valuable colleagues leave the Department, I am pleased to report that we have successfully hired two very capable replacements in tenure track positions.

Svea Closser is a medical anthropologist who is finishing her Ph.D. at Emory University in Atlanta. Svea also has a M.P.H. from the Rollins School of Public Health at Emory and a B.A.
from Pomona College. Her dissertation research focused on culture and polio eradication in Pakistan. Pakistan is one of four countries in the world with endemic polio, and the Polio Eradication Initiative is the largest public health project in history. Svea’s analysis explores the complex negotiations of power between the UN and other bilateral agencies over the Pakistani health system. In addition to teaching a yearly course in Medical Anthropology, Svea will also teach Ethnographic and Qualitative Research, a seminar in Global Health, and the Anthropology of Muslim Cultures.

Rebecca Tiger’s scholarly interests focus on the sociology of law, deviance, and social control. Rebecca recently completed her Ph.D. at the City University of New York, where she wrote a dissertation on American drug courts and coerced treatment. Rebecca has an extensive background in policy analysis and applied social research having worked for the New York City Mayor’s Office of AIDS Policy Coordination and as a research associate at the New York Academy of Medicine on topics that included HIV/AIDS and drug use. Rebecca will teach courses such as Deviance and Social Control, Sociology of Drugs, Sociology of the Law, Punishment, and Society and the Individual.

I am also pleased to report that the Department has hired Todd French as a one-year leave replacement for Michael Sheridan, who is on leave during the 2008-2009 academic year. Todd is finishing his Ph.D. in Anthropology at Boston University, and he has been teaching at the University of New Hampshire. His dissertation, “Remembering the land: Memory and restoration of landscapes in central Mozambique,” explores the importance of social memory in the reconstruction of landscapes and livelihoods in central Mozambique in the aftermath of civil war and environmental disasters. Todd will be teaching Topics in Anthropological Theory, Continuity and Change in Africa, Africa: Environment and Society, and Human Ecology.

As of July 1st, I handed the duties of chair for the next two years over to my colleague David Stoll. I wish him and my Departmental colleagues well in the coming academic year.

Burke Rochford
SOAN chair, 2007-2008

Faculty and Staff Updates

Charlene Barrett
I am already working on recruiting for this new academic year, so we are off to a good start! I am also trying to get a bit of sunshine while taking walks, in between the frequent rainstorms this summer. The newest addition to my house this summer is puppies – beautiful yellow/white labs. They are keeping my family busy with lots of play time and laughs.

Laurie Essig
I enjoyed teaching courses in Heterosexuality, Freakishness, Theory and Gender. I was glad to run the senior thesis/essay program this year and am even happier to be through with it. I am working on a book on the intersection of cosmetic surgery and a debt-based economy called Plastic! I also was a media contact for Middlebury this year and got to talk to journalists about things like Facebook. I continue to sit on the steering committee for Women and Gender Studies and this year we are excited to add Queer Studies and the Queer Studies House to our programs. I am also part of a faculty steering
committee for the Carr Center for Race and Ethnicity and helping to plan some very exciting things for next year. I continue to have way too much fun with my daughters, Willa and Georgia, and our dogs, both named Katie (don't ask).

James Fitzsimmons
I recently finished my book, *Death and the Classic Maya Kings*, to be published in 2009, and soon I will be sending an edited volume to the University of Arizona press. I gave a paper at the AAAs in November and sent off a couple of articles in May. I am currently writing about the Zapote Bobal site, and have been doing fieldwork in Guatemala in the summer of 2008. I have been supervising student field and laboratory archaeological projects in New England, including one with the Vermont State Archaeologist. Two of our majors are off on an archaeological project in Peru for the summer of 2008, and I am looking forward to hearing their stories and seeing what they have accomplished. I am excited about setting up the archaeology lab in Munroe over the next year too, and hope to get more students involved in local archaeology as well as fieldwork abroad.

Peggy Nelson
I have been on leave enjoying a less-pressured existence. On the work front, I’ve been drafting a new book tentatively entitled (thanks to Laurie Essig), *Parenting Out of Control: The Roots and Dynamics of Child Rearing Among the Professional Middle Class*; I’ve also been putting the finishing touches on a co-edited collection of essays (with Anita Garey of the University of Connecticut), tentatively entitled (suggestions welcome), *Monitoring Families*, which will be published by Vanderbilt University Press. On the leisure front, I’ve spent more time than usual traveling to Boston to play with my granddaughters, taking long walks, and reading mystery novels.

Lynn Owens
In addition to adjusting to the pleasures and demands of being a new assistant professor at Middlebury, I have been wrapping up old projects and starting new ones. After spinning off a couple articles from my research in Amsterdam, I have been putting the last touches on its book incarnation which will be appearing in the fall. Having finally put that part of my life almost behind me, I have ventured forth into other avenues of social movement research. In one project, I collaborated with senior Izzy Marshall on an analysis of the ways that cameras are being used, and being represented, in contemporary political protests, exploring the costs and benefits of how the camera operates to reveal and conceal politics. In another vein, I am following activists as they trot across the globe from protest to protest and enact their own forms of not just "anti-globalization" politics, but also their own forms of alternative globalizations.

Ellen Oxfeld
I'm busy this summer working on the revisions to a book that investigates moral discourse in a Chinese village. When this project is finally complete, I plan to turn to an analysis of the new material I gathered during my leave year (2006-2007) on changes in the food culture of rural China as seen through my research in a village in rural Mei Xian (Guangdong Province).

Burke Rochford
*See A note from the Chair, page 1*

Michael Sheridan
After teaching 9 years straight, I’m now on sabbatical to really devote myself to some writing. I have two projects these days -- #1 is my book on the political ecology and history of land management in Tanzania. #2 is an ethnobotanical project about a particular plant with similar social functions across tropical Africa, which mostly revolve around boundary-marking (e.g., property rights, graves, and sacred sites). I recently went to St. Lucia in the Caribbean to document the similar uses of a similar plant in the African diaspora. The other big news is that my book on African sacred
groves is finally out (see p. 20). Much of my time this year, however, was spent working on the Middlebury College Task Force on the Status of Women and writing an ethnographically-inflected report on gender relations and social organization in the peculiar culture that calls itself “Middkids.”

David Stoll  
I have been on sabbatical this year, but you can see what I’ve been up to on page 15.

Senior Essay and Thesis Abstracts

Evan Akashi  
“Obeying the giant: The art of Shepard Fairey and the effects of convergence culture”  
This essay looks at the relationship between contemporary art and society through an art historical and sociological analysis of contemporary artist Shepard Fairey. He is famous for his Andre the Giant stencil image and international Obey Giant street art campaign, is considered a cultural and artistic phenomenon. His initial fame as a “street artist” has led to further artistic production and acclaim as a “fine artist.” The first section of my essay analyzes the influences, themes and social commentary in his art. The second section situates Fairey's art within a broader social context and investigates the social process of art in today's corporate-capitalist society. My data set included artwork, interviews, critiques, documentaries, and his own internet website and books. Fairey's art shows how the effects of brand culture, corporatism and convergence culture influence the arts. Through this analysis of Shepard Fairey and his work, we understand how the contemporary social context of a postmodern, late-capitalist society affects its arts.

Sage Bierster  
“Os Meninos da Casa Dom Bosco: Coming of age in a shelter”  
This thesis examines the interactions among a group of adolescent boys that live in a long-term residence shelter in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. I show that the boys form part of a highly stigmatized population in Brazil, and that this stigma leads them to be taken off the streets and put into shelters. Through these two dominating power structures, the boys are stripped of their agency. However, they manage to create new areas in which they can exercise their agency by making choices about whether to stay in the shelter or return to the streets. If they do decide to stay, they can be said to be in a liminal stage between the streets and “housed” society, as well as between childhood and becoming an adult. They become socialized into this group through rites of passage and the formation of communitas. During these rites they also reinforce preexisting power structures and hierarchies, and they create or reinforce alternative forms of power amongst themselves. I analyze these dynamics through three kinds of symbolic interactions centering on food, possessions, and the body.

Emily Block  
“Become an Instant Vixen! Heterosexual fantasy and economic strategy in Cosmopolitan and Jane”  
This essay explores the role of heterosexual fantasy in women's magazines. It analyzes Cosmopolitan, a mainstream women's magazine, and Jane (now defunct), a more feminist alternative women's magazine. The study of fantasy is significant because it serves both as a cultural text and as an economic strategy. By creating fantasies of ideal womanhood, women's magazines instruct teenagers what to value and how to behave. In addition, the fantasies sell magazines. Adapting
fantasy to appeal to certain audiences in the market is a commonly implemented economic strategy for women's magazines. For this project, textual analysis of Cosmopolitan and Jane was conducted to decipher the heterosexual fantasies of each magazine. The results offer insight as to why feminist ideology cannot survive in the mainstream women's magazine market.

Carolina Caeiro
“The Bradford riots of 1995 and 2001: From multiculturalism to community cohesion”

With the development of a new discourse on community cohesion, Britain has moved away from a multicultural social policy to minority integration. This essay studies this transformation by comparing the 1995 and 2001 riots in Bradford. The central questions of this study are to what extent Britain’s response to the Bradford riots addressed the grievances of the Asian community involved in the riots, and what the Bradford case tells us about Britain’s new approach to minorities. Britain’s focus on community cohesion has drawn attention away from the economic grievances of the Asian community, and has concentrated on issues of cultural difference and criminality. As a result, the Asian community has been further marginalized, which has created new grievances in a new generation of British Asians.

Erin Costelloe
“Becoming a global citizen? Comparing the study abroad experiences of American and international students”

This project surveyed two types of study abroad students: Americans who studied abroad for a year and international students who came to Middlebury to study. By exploring how these students had adapted to their new surroundings, this essay examined how study abroad experiences transform students’ identities and sense of their place in the world. There were significant differences between the two groups, determined mostly by their differing reasons (not to mention methods and time periods) for studying abroad.

Joy P. Erdman
“Back to the land: A look at Vermont homesteaders in 2007”

In a time of increasing consumerism and environmental concern, a group of Vermonters have turned back to the land in an attempt to live a life defined by their own morals. This essay looks at Vermont homestead weblogs and interviews with four Vermont homesteaders and one farmstead in an attempt to understand how homesteads serve as forms of both cultural critique and environmental activism. Drawing on theories of liminality and counter-culture, I found that these Vermonters turn to homesteading as a personal form of existence. Their connections to society through weblogs and business provide outlets for a way of life that acts as an unintentional form of activism and cultural critique.

Kolbe Franklin
“The politics of reproductive ‘rights’ in Argentina: An analysis of the National Program of Sexual Health and Responsible Procreation”

In the United States today, reproductive health is generally understood as a basic human right to control, choice, and agency in decision-making about procreation and family planning. When reproductive health policy in developing countries is discussed and criticized by Western governments and organizations, it is often judged based on its success at protecting reproductive ‘rights’ as understood in Western terms. Without knowledge of the local contexts of these policies, what ‘rights’ mean in these cultural contexts, and how reproductive rights are viewed in these societies, policy can be misguided. Western activists often apply their own ideas about reproduction to other societies. This thesis examines the politics of reproductive rights
issues in Argentina as illustrated by Law 25.673 (which created the National Program of Sexual Health and Responsible Procreation), in order to understand how the cultural context of Argentina affected the course of its debate on reproductive health issues. By investigating the historical context of these issues, the law itself, and the public discourse surrounding the law, I evaluate the applicability of universal reproductive rights. The Argentinian government’s goals were different from those of outside agencies and activists. I show how cultural and historical context shapes the perception of reproductive health issues and how this limits the legitimacy and applicability of Western interventions.

Molli Freeman-Lynde
“Queering the church: Middlebury College students negotiate sexuality and religious identity”
This thesis explores how queer-identified students at Middlebury College negotiate their identities in the context of organized religion, and examines the structural forces that control those negotiations. I develop a theoretical framework using the work of Max Weber, Michel Foucault and Chrys Ingraham to examine social control and three modern ideologies about productivity, sexual identity and romance. A textual analysis of religious sex education manuals compares how restrictive and permissive religions teach sexuality. Finally, I document trends in the experiences of twenty-three queer-identified college students showing how different religious structures affect individual experiences with religious and queer identities. I categorize these students into three groups; those who have little or no problem reconciling their religion and their sexuality, those who reject their religion entirely, and those who struggle to create an identity that allows them to explore their sexual identity but remain within their religious community. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the struggle between the power of social structures to erase differences among people and the power of individual agency to develop separate identities.

Molli was a co-winner of the SOAN department’s Blum and Company, Inc. Award for 2008.

Trinity Gaddy
“My education story: Perceptions of self”
This autobiographical ethnographic essay is based not only on my classroom experience, but also in my encounters with the institutionalized racism that exists in American society. I discuss the differences between formal education and informal socialization, and the effects that unequal education has had both on me and society as a whole. The first part tells my story from first grade through my senior year of college. I use my own life experience as data to reflect on how the confluence of race, class, and educational tracking affects students. Whether black and poor or white and poor, education is tainted by social and institutional expectations.

Kelly George
“Trickster exists”
In this essay I analyze the characteristics and the techniques that Trickster, a mythological character identified in Trickster Makes this World by Lewis Hyde, utilizes to transform society. I use the work of comedian Dave Chappelle, essayist Ana Castillo, and my own Trickster performance as case studies. I drew concepts from the structuralist school of anthropology, especially the work of Victor Turner (on social performance) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (on linguistic analysis). Trickster is a mythological character, but there are people like Chappelle and Castillo who embody the Trickster in various ways. Tricksters are quintessential agents of change because they demonstrate analysis and social critique. In my essay I discuss how the Trickster helps us to become aware that aspects of our society and culture are contradictory.

Lisa Gerstenberger
“Changing attitudes towards farmland conservation easements in Addison County, Vermont”
A conservation easement, as a restriction on land use, protects certain resources on a piece of land. The ways in which people balance the benefits and drawbacks of conservation easements change as land trusts age. Land trusts, institutions that oversee easements, must understand these changes in order to plan for land trusts’ future roles. This essay analyzes interviews with 28 owners of property in Addison County conserved with the Vermont Land Trust. One method of examining changes in landowner satisfaction is through the framework of mental models, the personal stories that people create to explain how things work. I discuss three types of mental models: models of how land trusts operate, personal value models and models of personal experiences with conservation easements. Each of these models contributes to an individual’s conception of and opinions about land trusts. The use of this framework illuminates the importance of social capital development in leading landowners to feel satisfied with the land trust. In order for land trusts’ operations to remain popular and effective in the future, land trusts should design methods to make second-hand landowners’ overall experiences similar to those of first-hand landowners.

Lisa’s essay won the 2008 Andrew E. Nuquist Award for Outstanding Research on a Vermont Topic from the Center for Research on Vermont, based at the University of Vermont.

Andi Giddings

“Discourse on culture within the Fair Trade movement”

The Fair Trade movement is an alternative trade movement that seeks to create more equitable economic relationships between coffee growers in the global South and coffee roasters, distributors, and consumers in the global North. The coffee growers receive a higher price for their coffee, and the Fair Trade coffee certification process spurs the formation of local cooperatives, regional environmental policies, and new forms of global trade relations. The movement sometimes incorporates culture into environmental issues by focusing on the interconnectedness of economy, ecology, and culture. This essay explores how people on all sides of the movement talk about culture with relation to coffee growing, the environment, and the Fair Trade economic system.

Steven A. Gordon

“Religion in a secular world: Assessing how Jewish and Catholic students narratively conceptualize and express their religious identity at Middlebury College”

Academic and religious elites have both displayed increasing anxiety over decreasing religious involvement among college students. Traditional religious institutions no longer have much relevance in today’s young adults’ lives. However, as Robert Wuthnow has detailed, these people are reinventing how they experience and express religious identities. He argues that the religious identity of college students is growing stronger. I conducted sixteen in-depth qualitative interviews to learn how Judaism and Catholicism are conceptualized and expressed by college students. What impact does a liberal arts campus environment have on religious expression for these students? I framed my research using narrative identity theory, which argues that conversations, discourses, and storytelling are tools for extrapolating an individual’s self-identity. This theory provided the necessary foundation to support Wuthnow’s claims that while many of these students do not associate with traditional religious institutions, they do in fact possess strong religious affiliations. However, these individuals have learned to compartmentalize their religious identity, and choose when, where and if they express it. Moreover, in contrast to Wuthnow, I separated the Jewish and Catholic narratives in
order to identify how their distinctive qualities affect religious expression.

**Lynn Gray**
**“Reframing the learning disability label”**
This study analyzes how learning disability labels are constructed by examining the interaction of parental orientations and the established norms of social institutions. Sixteen parents of children who had been diagnosed with a learning disability were asked to narrate the story of how their child was evaluated for a learning disability, their reaction to the diagnosis, how these parents communicated the results to others, and finally how they use learning disability labels with their child. This study examined intragroup differences by analyzing parents’ decision-making processes and the factors that impacted their labeling orientations and behavior. Findings showed that the decision to use a learning disability label is only one step in a complex series of events, in which parents navigate institutional contraints, social norms, public stigma and other “barriers” to their children’s success in order to obtain adequate resources. The use of a label is often a coping strategy for parents as they attempt to resolve the differences between their perceptions of a child’s ability and the evaluations of institutions, social groups, and the child regarding what his or her characteristics are.

**David Green**
**“Resisting temperance: A subcultural study of Middlebury College student binge drinking”**
This thesis focuses on deviance in American college life. I wanted to show how a moral issue can become blurry when perceived through various observational lenses. The topic of my research is student binge drinking, which is defined as four drinks in a night for women and five for men. I spent six months interviewing students to learn why they drink and examining the primarily survey-based and normative sociological literature on college student drinking behavior. In my more qualitative research, I conducted a series of interviews with ten students. I found that most binge drinkers at Middlebury fall into three subcultural categories - athletes, hypersocialites, and recreational drug users. These groups of students (especially athletes) consume excessive amounts of alcohol because of exogenous subcultural pressures more than any other reason. In all of these social groups, it is preexisting subcultural rituals, customs, and values that determine how students drink.

**Chris Gude**
**“Sacrifice, mimesis, and the geography of counter-hegemony: A particular look at Les Maitres Fous”**
Shot in 1953, Jean Rouch’s ethnographic film *Les Maitres Fous* documents a Haiku spirit possession festival in the Gold Coast (colonial Ghana). The spirits that arrive in this festival mimic West African colonial officials. Because of the cult’s mockery of these colonial figures, many have interpreted the ritual in the film as an example of resistance to colonial hegemony. In considering it as a counter-hegemonic act, however, scholars have yet to properly analyze the role of the sacrifice in the ritual. A deeper understanding of the sacrificial element of this possession ritual adds to the understanding of the ritual in general, but more specifically to the debate surrounding its counter-hegemonic qualities. In analyzing the role of sacrifice in *Les Maitres Fous*, I draw upon the ideas of mimesis in the work of René Girard and Michael Taussig.

**Micah Gurard-Levin**
**“Bridging Otter Creek: Town and gown relations in Middlebury, Vermont”**
The relationship between Middlebury College and the town of Middlebury has, for many residents, become less symbiotic in recent years. This is despite the College’s ongoing efforts to demonstrate that it contributes substantially to the town even though it is exempt from property
taxation. This project compares the perspectives of College administrators and town leaders about the recent creation of a mixed-use space at 51 Main Street. I found that town-gown relations in Middlebury are microcosmic examples of the general tension between globalizing and localizing interests in all societies. Understanding this complex, and often contradictory, relationship is vital for healing the rift between the College and the town.

Pendery Haines
“Spend an extra buck or two to get something that’s been made in a country that supports human rights: How Middlebury College students use their agency in regard to their consumption habits”

This project documents how and why Middlebury College students consume – how do they rationalize their own consumption, where do they see themselves in the global system of cause and effect, and frankly, do they even care? I use the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu’s *habitus* and Giddens’ concepts of agency and structure to determine how students use their agency, or buying power, in response to the global system of consumption. Goffman’s theories on the presentation of self help me to link students’ social identity and their consumption habits. My methodology included a survey, in-depth interviews, and participant observation to learn what students are consuming, what they think about this, and the role they see themselves playing in the global system. I categorized Middlebury students into three different groups: those who use their agency in relation to their consumption on a daily basis, students who almost never use their agency and students who vacillate between the two. I found that most students fall into one distinct category, but because agency is an intensely complex issue, there are a handful of students who fit into more than one category depending on the context.

Albert Handy
“The pursuit of happiness”

This is a sociological and economic analysis of happiness among Middlebury College students. I used regression analysis on survey data to show relationships between various inputs and self-reported happiness. The major findings were that peer effects have a large significant effect on student well-being, GPA has diminishing marginal returns to happiness, and the amount of time spent on homework has a significant effect on well-being but no significant effect on GPA. I conclude with a series of policy recommendations for the College.

Andrew Herzik
“Drawing a line in the sand: Beach usage and perceptions at Los Angeles County beaches”

This thesis explores differences in beach usage and spatial perceptions at twelve beaches in Southern Los Angeles County. Lifeguards with experience working at all of the beaches were surveyed to determine differences in the quality of these beaches. I divided the beaches into three social categories (hegemonic, intermediate, and marginalized) based on the survey results. I distributed a second surveys to beachgoers at each of the twelve beaches. I expected that, based on race and class patterns, patrons would live close at hegemonic beaches, visit them frequently, and therefore value the beach strongly. People at the marginalized beaches were predicted to live further from the beach, visit less frequently, and therefore value the beach less. Results demonstrate that beach usage does differ dramatically between the hegemonic and marginalized beaches. However, perceptions about the beach did not differ dramatically, and in some cases were equivalent between the hegemonic and marginalized beaches. The results indicate that the marginalized beachgoers choose to visit the marginalized beaches and therefore create communities of silent resistance against the dominant social order at the beach.
Dana Isaac
“Man is the remedy of man: The disconnect between the United Nations Development Goals and Senegalese society”

The United Nations Development Program is currently charged with the difficult task of implementing programs associated with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, a global development strategy created in 2000. Senegal is one country in which the programs are being instituted, but little progress has been made in the last eight years. This is largely due to the contradiction between how Senegal is viewed by the UNDP and its actual social organization. These differences become apparent when one looks closely at the ideal and actual characteristics of communities, families, and economic relationships. The development programs rely on the western notions of community as a homogeneous spatial unit, the concept of the nuclear family, and the view that the economic self-interest determines social interaction. Senegalese society is instead driven by complex patterns of exchange networks which bridge non-traditional communities, form fictive kinship, and create an economy based on informal investments in which people, and relationships in particular, are regarded as wealth. This disconnect is largely to blame for the poor results of the Millennium Development Goals, which suggests that the UNDP should focus on network-based programs that are rooted in a clearer understanding of socioeconomics in Senegal.

Dan Kelley
“The hybrid structure of Instant Messaging”

This study is an examination of the linguistic properties of Instant Messaging (IM) programs. After collecting transcripts of IM conversations from regular users of the AOL Instant Messenger program, I compared IM’s linguistic features to spoken and written language. The samples were analyzed for the rate and manner in which users communicated with each other, the paralinguistic information included in their utterances and the error rate within their conversations. The trends found were then compared to the Grice’s Conversational Maxims for spoken conversations. The way users communicated over IM was found to be a new hybrid model of communication, not just a text-based form of speech. The social distance between the speakers, and the tone and register of the conversation, led them to draw upon different aspects of the two mediums. I concluded that the greater the social distance, the less likely users were to speak about serious or formal matters, whereas social distance was less important in informal conversation. Results were later corroborated through a series of interviews with a second set of IM users.

Talia Lincoln
“Non-governmental organizations in northern Thailand”

This thesis examines the development work of one non-governmental organization, the Upland Holistic Development Project (UHDP). UHDP works with upland farmers in northern Thailand on projects ranging from microfinance, citizenship, and sustainable agriculture. Interviews conducted with both the staff members of UHDP and the upland farmers provide insight from two important perspectives into the benefits of utilizing a participatory approach to development. UHDP has had success identifying and solving the largest issues faced by the upland farmers because of its participatory approach. Difficulties have emerged, however, in engaging groups with low social status, particularly women, precisely because of this participatory approach.
Izzy Marshall
“The Native Americans of the Anglo-American imagination: Early 20th century productions of the southwest American Indian”

A particular image of Native American people and the southwestern U.S. is visible in representations of Indians and the southwest published by the Fred Harvey Company. A dominant tourism company in the late 1800s through the mid 1900s, the Fred Harvey Company created and marketed iconic Native Americans identities, and so constructed the southwest as a tourist destination. Rooted in the historical and cultural context of biological and cultural racism, these representations pushed Native Americans into a marginalized world reserved for “others.” The productions of the Fred Harvey Company (ranging from live displays and performances to tourist brochures, postcards and playing cards) are replete with signifiers of primitivism, savagery, obedience, and exoticism. These particular identities have endured over time, and now affect how Native Americans and non-Indians alike identify themselves and others in the American southwest. The iconic imagery of Native Americans is problematic because it promotes racist attitudes and prevents Native Americans from achieving equality in American society.

Sarah Norton
“A drop of tea, some garlic, and a little ginger: How female refugees, undocumented migrants and legal migrants discuss their perceptions of, and experiences with, the U.S. medical system”

Different forms of ethnomedical knowledge are increasingly coming in contact with scientifically based Western medicine. These differences affect immigrants’ ability to integrate into American society. My ethnographic research resulted in eight narratives concerning different “cultures of care” as represented by women across the world. The women rarely discussed the structural impediments they encountered. Although the available case studies of immigrant communities in Vermont have a male bias, these narratives do address how structural factors dictate the immigrant experience. An analysis of these different discourses reveals the complex cultural and structural barriers that impede immigrants’ use of healthcare services. Using theories on the differences between Western biomedicine and cultural ethnomedicine, and the role of women as healers, I explore the ways these portrayals of migration and healthcare act as a “cultural language” to illuminate immigrants’ cultures, histories, and experiences. Immigrants – women in particular – face contradictory pressures to preserve their traditional cultures and also

international scale. This study found that membership in one or more organizational groups and the intensity of greenhouse gas emissions by sector were the most influential factors in business decisions to address climate change. However, in a regression model containing only U.S.-based companies, engagement in previous corporate social responsibility or sustainability initiatives and company size are relevant factors for predicting corporate response to climate change.
conform to U.S. society. A form of cultural brokerage and translation would help to facilitate the transition of these women into a new social and cultural tradition and enrich existing systems of healthcare.

**Charlie Parker**

“Globalization, postmodernism, and subcultural vehicles of expression: A study in the origins and proliferation of hip hop”

This project compares hip hop in northern European and North American case studies. I describe and analyze hip hop culture's recent spread throughout the world system. Drawing on interview material from hip hoppers in Berlin, I argue that the diversity found in cultural globalization shapes people's everyday lives and identities. This process is particularly salient in cities, where language, local culture, and global culture mix and fuse to create hybridized and localized forms of global phenomena. Hip hop is a “technology of the self,” for expressing something highly personal, sometimes secret, but most importantly, local identities. I argue that the globalization and spread of hip hop should not be seen as reification, but are rather a fluid, ever-changing social dynamic.

**Morgane Richardson**

“Nalini Malani's resistance of the bazaar: Women's role within the contemporary Indian art market”

This thesis provides an art historical and anthropological examination of the relationship between the contemporary Indian art market and the messages that female contemporary artists in India are expressing through their artwork. I examine a painting, *Appeasing Radha* (left), by Nalini Malani, to better understand the effects of culture on Indian women's artwork. I review the historical position of women in India and investigate the themes that contemporary Indian artists draw upon to produce art. A second section analyzes Malani's art, with particular attention to the voice that she gives to Indian women today. I discuss the economic, social and political ideologies that draw connoisseurs into the Indian art market. Through the examination of women's historical position in Indian society, the work of a contemporary female artist, and the process through which buyers consume art, one can understand how the past greatly affects Indian women's ability to free themselves through the arts.

**Gretchen Schrafft**

“Provincetown’s art colony: Creativity, community, and the conflict therein”

Based on historical research and in-depth interviews, this work explores the tensions inherent within a successful art community. On the one hand, art and creativity require a strong, supportive community that makes it possible for artists to take risks. On the other hand, this is exactly the sort of community that appeals to non-artists, both fans and those with more commercial intentions. Provincetown, one of America’s oldest and most successful artist colonies, struggles with these conflicts, but from this struggle comes new ways of understanding the nature of both creativity and community.

**Marissa Sharpe**

“Constructing the perfect child: A sociological discussion of anomaly and disability in America”

This thesis examines the discourse about anomalous bodies and disability in the United States. Through an ideological, theoretical and historical analysis of the medical field, the framework in which the human body is understood and treated is explored and discussed. The ideology of the American social eugenics movement has been incorporated into society and acts as a framework for evaluating change. Through medicalization, western culture
has narrowed the definition of normal, and thus typically calls for more medical intervention. A detailed analysis of Down syndrome and intersex births reveals America's tendency to prevent and fix anomalous bodies and disabling conditions as opposed to expanding social parameters in order to accept such physical diversity. In short, American society has stigmatized anomalous bodies as diseases, and medical technology has advanced to treat and cure the resulting epidemic.

Julia Shipley
“There's no plate like home: How Vermonters consume and confuse the local”
“Buying local” is the new moral imperative of today's environmentally conscious shopper. But while we all have a vague sense of what local means, if we look a bit under the surface we see that the term is actually much more complex. While some of this is attributed to the way the “local” is now being branded and marketed, there is more to it than that. Even locals themselves hardly know what it means. Part of its meaning depends on where the local is. This research explores the construction of the local at various spots – from the food co-op to the farmer's market, from the small farmers to the small college on the hill. Through discourse analysis and interviews, the concept of the local is brought into question, evaluated for its role as the moral anchor for such key concepts and practices as community, justice, and belonging.

Alison Spiegel
“Education in the temple: Pan-American Hinduism and the changing role of Hindu temples in the United States”
Hinduism is an integral part of Indian culture, and children learn about the religion – the rituals, the deities, and the stories – simply by living in India. More then just a religion, Hinduism is a way of looking at and living in the world, which Indian children internalize through socialization. Indian-American children, on the other hand, do not grow up in a society that lives and breathes Hinduism, and so must learn about Hinduism in a different way. In recent years, education programs for these youths have become increasingly popular within Hindu temples. These education programs mark the tendency in Hindu temples in the United States towards communalism. This is a phenomenon unique to the Hindu diaspora, and also indicates the growing movement to transform Hinduism into a standardized, ecumenical religion that reaches and applies to all American Hindus, despite their regional or sectarian differences. In this way, Hindu education, finding new footing in the temple, articulates a pan-American Hinduism that unites American Hindus, providing the community and identity they seek as an immigrant group.

Kristen Ward
“From One More Step to College for Every Student: The evolution of a nonprofit organization in two Adirondack schools”
As a college degree becomes increasingly important in American society, schools are failing to prepare students adequately to access postsecondary education. Government agencies and nonprofit organizations have developed programs to address inequalities in college access. This thesis examines a nonprofit organization, College for Every Student (CFES), which is helps under-served youth access postsecondary education. I interviewed CFES staff members, teachers, and administrators in upstate New York and Connecticut. I learned that the New York teachers experience CFES as a school reform organization, although CFES has evolved into a college access organization. External pressures to secure financial resources and to maintain its legitimacy in the field of educationally-focused nonprofits propelled the organization's transformation, which I analyze using new institutionalism and resource dependence theory. The organization's desire to maintain its school reform work while promoting a new mission of college access
resulted in looser linkage between its ideals and the on-the-ground experiences of the teachers, particularly in regards to the differing definitions of success.

Kristen was a co-winner of the SOAN department’s Blum and Company, Inc. Award for 2008.

Whitney Wildrick
“Vanishing acts: The faraway father and the disappearing daughter, eating disorders and the role of the father”
This essay investigates the role of fathers in their daughters’ eating disorders. The literature on this topic suggests that mothers are more significant in the onset of girls’ eating disorders. I explore, however, the role of the father in the manifestation of eating disorders in females between the ages of 18-24 years. Through varying multigenerational and sociocultural factors, fathers have become not only physically, but also emotionally disconnected from their families. This paper highlights how this distance affects girls’ development of body-image and self-esteem. I discuss the complex power relationship between a father and his daughter. For most girls, her father is the first male she encounters and interacts with, therefore she uses him as a sounding board for to construct her own identity in a male-dominated society. But because men and women are socialized differently – men learning to separate and maintain emotional distance, while women learning to connect and maintain emotional awareness – there is a contradiction. Daughters crave closeness, but fathers, valuing separateness and independence, remain at a distance. Eating disorders are not just shared between mothers and daughters, but are also formed from father-daughter relationships.

Sarah Wilson
“Loving discipline: A case study in U.S. women’s elite gymnastics as a cultural institution”

This is a study of the ways in which women's elite gymnastics in the United States socializes athletes into the particular values and practices of the gymnastics world. Research consisted of interviews with eighteen gymnasts, coaches, and parents at one of the premier gyms in the country, as well as observations of a number of their practices and social events. My major finding was that while it exemplified a “total institution” in Goffman's terms, and also reflected a focus on discipline as described by Foucault, the gym encouraged its athletes to maintain a balanced lifestyle by maintaining connections with the world beyond the gym. I therefore used a “soft” application of the theory of total institutions and discipline to show that high levels of institutional involvement and outside support combine to shape gymnast culture. My account of gymnasts’ ideal of “loving discipline” and their assertion that gymnastics is a means to develop life skills and character traits, such as discipline and work ethic, follows Foucault. I differ from his approach, however, because I found that the gymnasts are active agents in their own discipline.

Tracy Young
“A world away: Female migration and the renegotiation of gender in Morocco”
Many young, middle-class Moroccans see emigration as their only option in a country that can educate but not employ its youth. Morocco has a long history of international migration, but it is only recently that Moroccan women migrating alone have become a part of this pattern. The motivations of young Moroccan women to migrate go far beyond economic reasons. The women in this study collectively express the narrative of a gendered escape; they imagine a type of migration in which they can
escape what they describe as the constraints of the Moroccan family and society. Many Moroccans are anxious about solo female migration and question the motives and the morals of women who decide to migrate alone. Through their decisions to migrate, women risk their ability fit the gender norms of Moroccan culture, and those who do leave often find that migration is not always as simple as “crossing over” to a new place where one can assume a new gender identity. While most Moroccan women in this study wish to migrate, few of them ever will, and their hopes of gender escape will remain as fantasies of migration to idealized spaces.

Tracy was the winner of the 2008 Lank Prize in Sociology and Anthropology.

Htal Htar Yu
“Ethnography of identity: The case of a Burmese displaced person”
The month of September 2007 was a crucial moment in my life. It was the month when more than 200,000 people in Burma risked their lives to protest against the ruling military regime. It was the biggest political protest since the bloodily repressed 1988 uprising. Now the moment had come, the moment that could free Burma from one of the most brutal military regimes in the world. I had yearned for this moment all my life. I had lived my life for this moment, and I had planned my life around this moment. Everything about me was this moment. At first, I cried because I was happy. Then I was silent. After that I was overwhelmed by confusion. I was panicked by the need to act. I asked myself if I should change my major from Sociology/Anthropology to Economics? Do I leave the U.S. and go back to Burma? Can I go back home? Am I a Burmese citizen? Who am I? Am I Burmese? Where do I fit in? I asked all these questions of myself, but I had no answers. Moreover, I was left with more questions. Who had I been up until this moment? What was I living for? In this essay I explore these issues of ethnic identity and the burden of choice that refugees face when activating these identities at times of crisis and opportunity.

Study and experience at home and abroad

The bubble economy of Nebaj, Guatemala
By David Stoll
Nebaj is a Mayan Indian town in the Guatemalan highlands. Most people speak Ixil, one of Guatemala’s twenty-two Mayan languages. In the early 1980s the Guerrilla Army of the Poor succeeded in organizing many Ixils, to the displeasure of the Guatemalan army, which burned down all the villages. Since then the Ixils have been relocated and pacified, at a high cost in lives, and many have become born-again Protestants. I began doing fieldwork in Nebaj in 1987, just as the town became a magnet for international aid programs. Judging from how often photos of Ixil women appear in promotional literature, every international organization in Guatemala has started projects here. Ixil women and their traditional dress have aroused so much admiration that outsiders tend to leap to the assumption that Ixils have a strong sense of community. In actuality, Ixil social life is extremely competitive. The most obvious reason for all the elbowing is that the population is doubling every thirty years. Even though land has become too scarce to survive through subsistence farming, Ixil women continue to have an average of six children, producing legions of youth who have no choice but to work for their elders at low wages or leave home. As for all the aid projects, the language of community empowerment has not prevented many Ixil development workers from channeling the
benefits to their own relatives and cronies. Despite many efforts to develop new sources of income—the latest ideas include Haas avocados, Japanese horse-radishes, and snails—Nebaj’s main export is still manual labor.

Yet Nebaj has become a boom town. The streets are filled with pickups, motorcycles and careening three-wheel cabs. Teenage girls clump by in high-heels gabbing on cellphones. A few years ago a delegate from the European Union visited for the first time, saw all the new three and four-story houses going up, and exclaimed, “this has got to be the drug trade!” Nope, but he was close. Over the last decade, thousands of Nebajenses have paid human traffickers an average of $5,000 to smuggle them into U.S. labor markets. Last year they sent back $18 million through two Nebaj financial institutions. When Ixil bandits kidnapped and held a local trafficker for ransom last year, hundreds of men poured out of surrounding villages to rescue him.

Where do Guatemalans earning $5 a day find $5,000 to go north? They borrow it, if possible from one or more of the 17 revolving-loan funds, savings-and-loans and banks that have set up shop here. If Ixils have already maxed out their credit, or their collateral is tied up in a family feud, or they want to leave in a hurry, they borrow from a neighbor at the local interest rate of 10% per month. Moneylenders are often middle-aged women who, for one reason or another, must fend for themselves. Their business model is borrowing money from institutions at 2% interest per month in order to loan it to neighbors at the 10% rate. This is very profitable until they lend to deadbeats who, once in the U.S., fail to pay them back.

Until 2005, Ixils who reached the U.S. could find jobs so quickly that many were able to pay their travel debts within months. Unfortunately, because Ixils do not speak English, they must follow in each other’s footsteps and have flooded the low-wage labor markets where they congregate. Yet negative reports from Ixil meccas such as Homestead, Florida, over the now-ubiquitous cellphones, have not ended the steady stream of fortune-seekers heading north. “Our mind travels,” a sadder-but-wiser returnee told me. “A dollar is equivalent to seven quetzals, it surpasses Guatemalan currency. We think that life in the United States is a lot different than here, that it is more comfortable.” When newcomers cannot find steady work, their debt increases and endangers the property they have pledged as collateral. Currently, Nebaj’s financial institutions are trying to figure out how to avert chain defaults.

Over the next year, I will continue talking with Ixils about how institutional credit and loan-sharking interact with migration to the U.S. and the desire of U.S. elites for cheap foreign labor. For anyone interested in the problem, I recommend Pierre Botello’s *Doméstica*, on the reemergence of servants in California households, and Sonia Nazareno’s *Enrique’s Journey*, on what happens to Central American children when their parents leave them behind to come work for us.

**Digital Audio Recording workshop**

*By Elizabeth Boles ‘10*

When I first arrived at the Vermont Folklife Center I was struck by the diverse group of people attending the workshop, some highly proficient in audio recording, others like myself completely new to the medium. Equally surprising was the variety of applications each individual was interested in exploring through audio. One woman wished to record local Vermont lore and observations of the natural world as part of the Nature Conservancy’s 75th anniversary. Another was interested in preserving the audio material currently residing in the Vermont Historical Society’s collections.
The session was both informative and interactive. Andy Kolovos guided us through a PowerPoint presentation of the technical aspects and terms related to recording, including how microphones pick up sound and the pros and cons associated with different microphones. This included a discussion of the best format to save digital files and how to transfer interviews to CDs. Then we had the opportunity to get hands-on experience with the equipment through an exercise in which we traveled to different stations set up around the Folklife Center. At each station a partner and I took turns conducting a mock interview in order to experience how a different microphone and a different space affected the sound quality.

The workshop offered a targeted learning experience on how to deal with the practical aspects of doing audio recording in fieldwork. I had attended the workshop to prepare for my future ethnographic research while studying abroad in Mexico and left feeling slightly discouraged by the number of pricy gadgets necessary for doing effective audio recording. However I was glad to learn about this particular approach to doing ethnography and I was interested to hear Kolovos and the other participants speak of their personal experiences with audio recording. The Vermont Folklife Center is a fantastic resource and I strongly encourage other Middlebury students to take advantage of these workshops.

Liz received a small grant from the SOAN Department to support her at this workshop.

From SOAN at Midd to Europe
By Mike Stevens ‘04

The true value of the mindset that one develops by concentrating in Sociology and Anthropology is never fully evident while still at Middlebury. While this is true of most college majors and specializations, I wasn’t fully able to appreciate the extent to which my studies provided me with a deep-seated array of analytical tools with which to better understand the different realities existing within each society. Whether it be relationships with other cultures, or the unique meaning that the environment had infused into the language, I have been well-prepared with regard to breaking down and rapidly internalizing systems of meaning in the countries where I’ve lived since graduating in 2004. The outlook that was taught to my fellow SOAN students and I at Middlebury has since manifested itself differently for each of us – in my case, it has gone hand in hand with the study of languages, especially useful in my current function as a translator performing work for various magazines and agencies throughout Italy. Moreover, prior to my current job, I spent some time at the United Nations Geneva Office, where not only did my analytical abilities come in handy – they were actively sought after by international development agencies. Many NGOs place high value on their employees being able to “think outside the box” with regard to economic and political problems in developing nations. They are well aware that the study of subfields such as Human Ecology and Sociological Methods – which students at Middlebury are fortunate enough to study in a single major – provide a broad view of the interaction of cultural and social factors which are often overlooked in disciplines such as economics. The failure of many earlier development projects based purely on neoclassical economics has led to a growing appreciation of the analytical toolkit which results from the study of Sociology and Anthropology. SOAN students must realize that they’ve been given a full palette of colors to choose from. By mixing and customizing the tools they’ve acquired, the results are unique and beautiful for anyone wishing to use them to the fullest.

Building a Brighter Planet
By Emily Wheeler ‘07

I’m currently working as the Community Outreach Coordinator for Brighter Planet, a
company started by two fellow Midd grads. We've recently launched the Brighter Planet Visa® card that supports renewable energy projects as a rewards program. One of the most compelling aspects of our company is the type of projects we support. My SOAN-ES coursework prepared me to think critically about the quality of projects and how the local people will be affected by them. It's important that we evaluate how clean, renewable energy is good at every level of society. That's why we only support projects that are community-based, that wouldn't happen at all without our funding, and that add social value to their communities. For example, one of our projects is a wind turbine for a school district in eastern Colorado. This fall, I will have the opportunity to work with students in Colorado, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and Minnesota to show how renewable energy is affecting these communities. If you want more information or want to be in touch, my e-mail is emily@brighterplanet.com and you can visit our site, www.brighterplanet.com

Emily’s 2007 senior essay on wind power in Vermont won the Bryan Award from UVM’s Center for Research on Vermont.

**SOAN’s first Ph.D. in Anthropology**

By Peter S. Allen ‘66

Before coming to Middlebury I had contemplated a major in history specializing in ancient history and possibly a career in archaeology. After coming to Midd I chose Sociology and Anthropology largely because there was little ancient history to be had and no archaeology at all. It was not my Middlebury profs who shaped my anthropological career, however. I spent my junior year in Greece studying with Anne Fuller, a former student of Robert Redfield who had gone into anthropology from archaeology (she was with Sir Flinders Petrie for his last season in Egypt). Anne and I often went to an island or some remote area to hike around talking to shepherds and villagers. Even though I spent the next summer working for the Greek archaeological service, I found I was more interested in live Greeks than the dead ones.

I returned to Midd for my senior year and graduated in 1966 with a degree in Sociology and Anthropology and may not have gone directly to graduate school if it were not for the Vietnam War. I went to Brown, and wrote my master’s thesis on colonial U.S. archaeology. For my Ph.D., I went back to sociocultural anthropology and returned to Greece. I did so because I had a head start with the language (I am not good with languages – I had flunked French at Midd), knew people there who could help me and even had a research project ready. So, armed with a fieldwork grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, I set out in the spring of 1970 to study the effects of depopulation in a small village in southern Greece.

I spent 22 months in a village that had 150 people when I moved in and 122 when I left. I finished my dissertation, “Social and Economic Change in a Village in the Southern Peloponnese,” in 1973, and received my Ph.D. I believe I am the first Middlebury SOAN graduate to complete a doctorate in anthropology. I took a tenure track job at Rhode Island College in Providence. I got tenure right on time and was promoted to full professor just three years later, becoming one of the youngest full professors in the college’s history. Although I love teaching, I found the majority of RIC students to be less than stimulating since I was required to teach a lot of general education ‘service’ courses that fulfilled various requirements, but were unpopular with the students. It was hard to inspire these students, although I did manage to recruit one or two anthro majors from each class I taught.

I discovered that I got more satisfaction from research, publishing, and professional service. I have focused on the contemporary ethnography of Greece and have spent more than ten years living and researching in Greece. My
second interest is anthropological and archaeological film. My third interest is ethnoarchaeology which I pursued for five seasons on the island of Cyprus at the site of Dali (ancient Idalion). I have published a couple of monographs, more than 30 articles (mostly in collections and refereed journals), reviews of over 100 books and more than 200 films. I served as the Film Reviews Editor of the American Anthropologist for nine years and in the same capacity at Archaeology magazine for 17. I am currently the Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Modern Greek Studies, and I recently completed my second term on the Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association. All in all, I have had a very rewarding career after Middlebury and look forward to another half dozen years of work. I’m thinking about retirement, but I need to see my children (ages 21, 18, 16, and 14) through college.

**Sociology in public service**

By Heather Lank ‘84

After graduating from Middlebury, I spent some time in the hospitality industry (which I loved!) before deciding that waitressing would probably not be a satisfying long-term career. So I returned to school, obtaining my M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Toronto. My doctoral dissertation was on the adaptation of Canadians living in Switzerland, a topic that was at the intersection of sociology, anthropology and social psychology, as had been my undergraduate thesis at Middlebury on the re-entry experiences of students who had spent their junior year abroad.

My studies complete, I began my public service career as an operational auditor (not a financial auditor) for the Correctional Service of Canada. The skills I had developed in the course of obtaining my degrees, including interviewing, analytical and writing, were essential to the job, and I found working in a prison environment to be fascinating. Understanding the relationship between formal policies, rules and procedures and the more informal, but equally powerful, prison culture contributed to my effectiveness in the job. I was then offered an opportunity to broaden my knowledge and experience by becoming a committee clerk at the Senate of Canada, serving as the procedural, administrative and information officer of several committees.

While this job does not require a sociology background, my academic training has served me well. The position requires non-partisanship in a very political environment, and it did not take long for me to grasp the organizational and political culture in which I was working. Parliament is an environment where the relationship between individuals, political parties and organizational culture is highly complex, and to be effective in this environment requires an understanding of this complexity. It also requires strong interpersonal and communication skills, and I was fortunate to develop these skills in the course of my sociological studies. So, while I have not pursued a career in sociology per se, I have no doubt that my academic training in the field has contributed in large measure to the richness of my career.

**Faculty Publications 2007-2008**

Laurie Essig


2008 Foreword (in Russian) to Love with Four Arms, a collection of queer erotica by Lida Yusopova and Margarita Meklina. Moscow: Kver.

James Fitzsimmons

Peggy Nelson

Lynn Owens


Michael Sheridan


Alumni News

Phil Aroneanu ’07 is spreading the message that getting back to 350 ppm of CO2 is vital for having a sustainable planet – see http://350.org

Carolyn Barnwell ’06.5 (left, with a friend) has been traveling the world with a Watson fellowship to study how island nations are preparing for climate change.

Julianne Baroody ‘03.5 works for the Rainforest Alliance in New York. She specializes in climate change issues and sustainability certification.

Lydia Beaudrot ‘05 is starting a Ph.D. program in ecology at UC Davis. She is specializing in southeast Asian primates.

After three years helping direct a Chinese environmental NGO in Beijing, Lila Buckley ’04 has accepted a Blakemore-Freeman Fellowship to study advanced Mandarin full time at Tsinghua University for the 2008-2009 academic year.

Chris Murton ‘03 is in Boston working on medical ethics and is thinking about moving into urban planning.

Jason Price ’99 is starting a Ph.D. program in medical anthropology at UC-Berkeley.

Stephanie Savell ’03 was a Fulbright scholar in Benin, and now works for Ashoka, a social entrepreneurship NGO.

This newsletter is available online, in glorious color, and with image credits, on the SOAN Dept. website: http://www.middlebury.edu/academics/ump/majors/soca/
### Image credits

(note: to be published only in the online version – otherwise we’d end up with a 21-page newsletter, which would be difficult to print.)

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