Letter from the Chair

Every year is a big year at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology but 2012-2013 was bigger and better than most. Except in one respect. Our visiting labor sociologist and postdoctoral fellow Marcos Lopez – who came to us from the University of California at Santa Cruz, who taught sociology methods for two years, and who we would like to stay – is moving to a tenure track job at Bowdoin College. We are sad to see him go.

We have no replacement for Marcos on the sociology side this coming year, but we are proud to welcome the first linguistic anthropologist in the history of Middlebury College. Marybeth Nevins specializes in the Native American languages of the Southwestern United States. She comes to us from the University of Nevada at Reno. Her courses in 2013-14 will include ‘Native North America’ and ‘Language and Power.’ Every year she also will teach an introductory course not just for our own SOAN students but for any student wishing to do the new Linguistics minor.

Every year our students ask to do research with SOAN faculty but we often do not have projects
for them. Under a new grant from the National Science Foundation **Svea Closser** will recruit six to ten undergraduates to study the use of low-paid and volunteer health promoters in rural Ethiopia. Four of the students will do fieldwork with her in Ethiopia.

The very biggest news of all is our new track system. When I joined SOAN in 1997, the department consisted of three sociologists and three anthropologists. We have now almost doubled in size, so have our enrollments, and we are serving a wider spectrum of students. So the question arises: should our sociology and anthropology wings separate into two departments? Recently sociology enrollments have been higher than anthropology enrollments, and more students may be identifying with the sociology side of the program. However, splitting would make it impossible for sociology professors to share their burdens with the anthropologists. It would also make it harder for our many students going abroad to schedule their methodology and theory courses.

So after much deliberation, particularly by **Laurie Essig** and **Mike Sheridan**, we have decided to add two new tracks, one for sociology and the other for anthropology. Our traditional sociology/anthropology track will continue unchanged as a third option. Everyone gets to choose and everyone will still be a SOAN major. But the new system should help those of our students who wish to think along disciplinary lines to do so. The departmental website has details if you need them.

Our recently tenured associate professor of sociology, **Linus Owens**, will be chairing the department next year. Please include him in your prayers and, whenever you have time, drop us a line about what you’ve been doing.

**David Stoll**  
Chair 2012-2013

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**Faculty and Staff Updates**

**Svea Closser**  
Kaif (who just finished second grade) and I moved into a house in Burlington; we love our neighborhood and our new urban-sophisticate identity. I spent my sabbatical analyzing and writing up the results of a comparative study of health systems in very different context across the globe (our research group conducted fieldwork in Nepal, India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Angola). I presented the results in Beijing at a global conference on health systems research; that was a really interesting opportunity to meet people from across the globe studying health systems from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Then I traveled around China as an unabashed tourist, which was extremely fun. In the last six months, 20 polio immunization workers in Pakistan, most of them women, have been murdered while they were doing their jobs. Along with collaborators in Pakistan, I’m working on an article aimed at raising awareness about the needs of these workers.

**Laurie Essig**  
Laurie continued to blog at a variety of places including *Forbes* and her regular column at *Psychology Today*. She absolutely loved teaching her first SOAN senior seminar, ‘White People.’ She also went to a lot of wedding expos...
for her next book, *Love, Inc.* Her kids decided to travel the world, with Georgia training in taekwondo in Korea last spring and Willa living in Japan for a semester.

**James Fitzsimmons**
This past fall I received tenure, so I would say that this year was both stressful and rewarding at the same time! Over the course of the year, my second edited volume (with Izumi Shimada) was accepted for publication; it is titled *Living with the Dead in the Andes*, and is a ‘sequel’ to a book on mortuary behavior in Mesoamerica that we published in 2011. I likewise worked on my second, sole-author manuscript, entitled *The Archaeology of Death in Ancient Mesoamerica* (under advance contract from the University of Texas Press). Over the course of the spring, I explored the possibility of switching my country of research from Guatemala to Belize, as my archaeological project at Zapote Bobal has come to an end. Although publications on that site will continue, I have tentatively identified a new site for excavation in northern Belize. My summer and the upcoming academic year will be spent exploring the possible avenues for research there. See you in the fall!

**Chong-Suk Han**
Last year was a hectic year. I revised two articles that have been accepted by the journal *Sexuality and Culture*, was invited to write three book chapters for forthcoming anthologies, and did two interviews for documentary films. Luckily, I had a great time teaching a brand new class, ‘Cinematic Sociology,’ in the spring of 2013, and it was a fantastic way to end the hectic year before leaving for my sabbatical. During the 2013-2014 school year, I will be on sabbatical finishing my book and starting a new project. Currently, I am exploring two very different projects, one on racism in the gay community and another one on the way Asian restaurants market “authenticity” in rural communities. While I’m very excited about starting these new projects during my time away, I will definitely miss all of my students and colleagues at Middlebury. Have a great year everyone, and keep the place clean while I’m gone!

**Jamie McCallum**
It’s been two years at Middlebury and Vermont is starting to feel like home— learned to ski again, fixed up the motorcycle, planted a garden, got a cat, etc. This year I finished writing a book on the ways workers exercise power in the global economy. I had new teaching challenges as well—a first year seminar on globalization in the fall and a winter term class on social change organizing. The latter class began in the crowded halls of the state capital for the first day of the legislative assembly, and many of us ended up there again for the last day, months after our class was officially over. This summer I have been working with SOAN major Megan Ernst on my next book project, an inquiry into the lost art of leisure. I do not know exactly what accounts for her estimable abilities at this task, but I feel grateful. Stay tuned for more information if we ever get our heads out of the archives.

**Peggy Nelson**
Peggy Nelson continues to enjoy teaching in the fall and a different, but equally full, life for the rest of the year. She has recently joined forces with a colleague from Wellesley with whom she is madly writing articles and presenting papers at conferences hither and yon.
Linus Owens
Linus had an eventful year. In the fall, he successfully passed his review for tenure, and in the spring he traveled to Paris to work with his research collective on squatting and housing politics in Europe on putting together future book projects, as his recently written book chapters finally came to press. Additionally, he was appointed chair for the SOAN department for the upcoming three years. The year ended with a stint teaching sociology at Beijing Normal University over the summer. Somewhere in the middle of all this, he tried, sometimes successfully, to work on his writing, including collaborating with Jim Jasper on a piece on emotions and social movements.

Ellen Oxfeld
I was on sabbatical for 2012-2013. I am working on a book manuscript about the cultural and social role of food in a Hakka village in Guangdong Province, China. I returned to the village to engage in some more research in September and October of 2012 to observe an important cycle of rituals and feasts that I have always missed because I am usually teaching at that time. I also participated in a conference at Chinese University of Hong Kong in December 2012 entitled “Modern Chinese Religions, Value Systems in Transformation” where I presented a paper on moral discourses and practices in contemporary rural Chinese families. I spent most of the spring semester working on a rough draft of my manuscript. One other nice bit of news is that my two previous ethnographies are being translated into Chinese and published by the Social Science Academic Press in China (with the collaboration of the Hakka Research Institute of Jiaying University, Meizhou). One translation has already been published, and the other should be out by December. As usual, my extracurricular activity continues to be focused on single payer health care – working on educating and activating different sectors of the public so that Vermont stays on track to become the first state to create a publicly funded health care system for all residents in 2017. See page 19 for an interview on this work – Ed.

Mari Price
As always, summer is drawing to a close much too quickly. I enjoyed a fantastic vacation in Bar Harbor, Maine in July, and look forward to a return trip in September. Every waking moment was spent bicycling, hiking, kayaking and motorcycling in and around Acadia National Park. Despite my efforts, this boulder at the peak of Bubble Rock wouldn’t budge from its particularly beautiful spot overlooking Jordan Pond. My time this summer has been very quiet so I look forward to the return of faculty and students to liven things up a bit!

Michael Sheridan
The big news at my house is that we have a new puppy. Maisy is (we think) a black lab/border collie/terrier mix and a little dynamo. The other news is that I went to Cameroon this summer to do some preliminary fieldwork on my ethnobotany project. I saw a lot of royal palaces and learned how to greet a king
in the Western Grassfields (do NOT shake hands, just clap twice and say ‘mm-BAY’).

Here’s a shot of me in a throne room holding the plant I’m studying, *Dracaena*. It symbolizes the authority of the king, peace, and property rights. And yes, I know that tigers don’t live in Africa – but it’s the symbol of this particular king.

David Stoll
My first thank-you this year is to my wife **Eli Sutton** for coming up with the title of my new book: *El Norte or Bust! How Migration Fever and Microcredit Produced a Financial Crash in a Latin American Town*. My second thank-you is to Middlebury College and its generous alumni for my next sabbatical. I will expand my investigation of the debt-chains that I have found stretching from Guatemala to the northeastern United States. Exchange and obligation is one of the oldest topics in anthropology and it can shed much light on the current stage of capitalism. Another issue that has come up is the genocide trial of ex-Guatemalan president Efraín Ríos Montt. Human rights groups accuse the retired general of being the intellectual author of village massacres during a civil war between a military dictatorship and Marxist guerrillas. The testimony to convict Ríos in May came from more than ninety Ixil Mayas, the ethnic group with whom I work. Their testimony is powerful, painful and very convincing, yet some Ixil Mayas have defended Ríos Montt as their protector from both the guerrillas and army killers. As a vocal born-again Christian, Ríos Montt has always been a lightning rod in Guatemalan politics. His defenders make much of the amnesty that he offered guerrilla supporters. Unfortunately, the testimony against him suggests that some Ixils who applied for amnesty were instead brutalized. I’ll be visiting the Ixils shortly to ask what they make of the trial and how it has affected their views of the war.

**Rebecca Tiger**
I’m finishing up a blissful year on sabbatical. My book *Judging Addicts* came out with NYU Press (Alternative Criminology series) in December 2012. I continued work on my new project *Rock Bottom* about the media culture of addiction. A short article based on this project “Perez Hilton and the Celebrity Body” was recently published in *Humanity & Society*. A longer piece examining elite media coverage of celebrity drug use will be published this fall in *Contexts*. A fellowship from the Whiting Foundation is allowing me to spend most of my summer in NYC working on a “Public Sociology, Digital Media and Social Change” project focused on how to use digital media to address social inequality. I spent part of my sabbatical learning how to sew, so when I’m not reading celebrity gossip blogs or watching *Intervention* or *Celebrity Rehab*, I’m dreaming up new projects and spending my free time (and my money!) in NYC’s garment district.

**Remembering Ian Cameron**
By Linus Owens

I don’t know where to start, so I will start with the last time we spoke. I had been working with Ian throughout the spring on an independent research project, and we were meeting to discuss what he found, what he wrote, what he learned,
and what he wanted to do next. I had learned to be wary of independent studies during my time at Middlebury. They all start off with such high hopes and ambitions, too often becoming a burden for student and teacher alike, with the final product more an expression of exhaustion than exhilaration. Thus, when Ian approached me at the beginning of the semester to work with him on his research, I was inclined to say no, looking for a small respite following a tough tenure review in the fall. But Ian had a way of inviting you into his passions, of not just convincing you that he will do what he says, but inspiring you that you don't want to be left behind. During the course of that initial conversation, with Ian sitting in my office with holding a lengthy reading list in his hand, his enthusiasm and commitment filling the room, my initial response transformed from “Oh no…” to “Oh, yeah!” I am so glad I said yes. Ian not only convinced me to say yes that time, but also helped show me, and others, the value of saying yes more generally.

Ian studied male eating disorders, seeking to understand them as a social phenomenon, as both product and reproducer of larger intersections between race, class, gender, and sexuality. This topic was not simply of academic interest to Ian; he struggled with his own body image demons, and was friends with many other young men who faced similar difficulties. During our final conversation, we spent a lot of time going over the various technical research points of methodology and argument. When that conversation ended, however, we moved on to Ian’s main concern: the future. What path should he follow in order to contribute to understanding and transforming eating disorders, to better help those suffering through them, and how to remake the world in which they would be less prevalent. Although making practical impact in the world is a bit beyond my field of expertise, I still offered Ian the best advice I could, confident that he would eventually be able to sort through the many options available to him and find something that worked – both for him and for the world he wanted so much to improve.

I feel particularly close to Ian, as we met during my first year at the college, when he took his first sociology class with me his first semester. Since that class, we had many classes together, culminating in his triumphant independent study. We also share a similar unorthodox educational path, having both taking some time off during undergraduate studies. But Ian and I couldn’t be more different in other ways. Sociology, with its critical take on social institutions, can easily become a breeding ground of cynicism, a perspective I am more than happy to find comfort in. But sociology works best when it walks the tightrope between cynicism and hope, between structure and agency, between sarcasm and earnestness. That Ian’s optimistic outlook not only survived but flourished as he deepened his critical perspective is a testament to what is best about sociology, but more importantly what is best about him.

It would be against the spirit of sociology to remember Ian as an individual without remembering that he was also part of a larger social world. While I enjoyed our one-to-one work experience during his research project, Ian was at his best in the classroom, both as speaker and listener. I was not the only one forced to confront my own biases during class discussions Ian participated in. Moreover, one cannot speak of Ian without acknowledging the wonderful circle of people who joined him in the rarefied world of Sociology/Anthropology, his friends, like Evan, Tom, Brad, JJ, and Emma.

Ian’s death is a terrible tragedy. The department has lost an insightful and engaged major. The college has lost an intelligent and committed student. His friends and family have lost a kind and caring person. And we have all lost the opportunity to see what shape Ian’s future would take. Still, by remembering and learning from his passion, we can still live in a future that Ian helped, and continues to, shape.
Senior Project Abstracts

Gabrielle Arca
“An Examination of Discipline: Reflections of Vermont Teachers”
This research looked at seasoned rural Vermont teachers to better understand the ways in which teachers acquired, enforced, and reflected upon their classroom management and/or disciplinary styles. The first phase of this project studied the lack of consensus about discipline. The second phase investigated hypothetical situations in which discipline would be employed by teachers. The third piece identified the teachers, both theoretically as social actors, and personally through their narratives about themselves as disciplinarians. Ultimately, the teachers’ collective narratives about their disciplinary styles produced a new concept: flexibility. I used their narratives to work to better understand how they imagine flexibility working within their discipline styles. This analysis also led me to considering flexibility as a skill that requires incessant practice, failure, and self-reflection. I argue that flexibility is almost synonymous with expertise for these teachers, which highlights the way in which seasoned teachers have a valuable skill set all their own.

Sebastian Armstrong
“Naymlap’s Immortality: Narrative Archaeology and the Short Story”
Archaeology is an excellent way to study and understand civilizations and people of the past. We can see how people from nearly all walks of life lived, how they went about their daily activities, and how they organized themselves socially, politically, and economically. Written records also provide a wealth of knowledge. We see what was important to write down, especially in cultures with sparse writing. This wealth of archaeological and historical information can be very interesting and potentially reach a wide audience. The information is easily applicable to many different fields and mediums, both academic and popular. This project aims to take the academic information gleaned from archaeology and the historical record and bring it to a wider audience through the medium of a short story about Peruvian pre-Incan mythology.

Steve Barash
“Iron Men: Masculinity in the Twenty-First Century Superhero Genre Film”
This essay traces the expression of hegemonic constructions of masculinity by analyzing four Marvel superhero genre films from 2008 – 2011. It identifies the importance of five themes of masculinity: incorporation of discipline and technology into the body, the display of the indestructible male body, the heterosexual attractiveness and performance of the superheroic body, manipulation of the world through destruction and selective creation, and defense of the national boundary against feminized villainy. Of these, nearly all are present in each film, but the first especially accounts for 10-20% of runtimes in the films in which it is present. Violence as masculine power, too, is central, with heroes accomplishing an average of 35 kills per film, excluding uncertain deaths. The paper shows that each of these films explores its own variation of hegemonic masculinity, but they all conform to its basic themes.

Danielle Berry
“Overcoming Overwork: An Exploration of Student Parking Practices and Laziness”
This paper demonstrates through ethnography how networks of generalized exchange between students are constructed and operate, and are applied to practices of car driving and parking in a specific area of contested space on the Middlebury campus. Through these networks, students achieve a degree of success in
transforming and redefining certain parking situations on the periphery of administrative concern. Furthermore, this paper considers the idea of laziness as expressed by students in the context of a prevalent ethos of productivity and overwork. I contend that what students describe as “laziness” is actually the realization of energy spent on problem solving, an output not explicitly considered work by college students. Data for this paper was collected through direct observation and participant observation with informal interviews and focus groups. Through the examination of the politics of everyday life, this project explores the way cultural ideologies of labor affect the treatment and conception of the utility of space in a small, bounded context.

Anjan Biswas
“Stand-up Comedy in Burlington: Bakhtinian Carnival or Bourgeois Spectacle? The Discursive Construction of Power at Levy Comedy Club”

Academic sources propose that the dialogic art form that is stand-up comedy provides a ‘counter-public discursive realm.’ Stand-up comedy rooms are described as chaotic, disordered, and transgressive – reminiscent of Bakhtin’s characterization of folk humor.

I spent four months attending ‘open-mike’ nights and comedy showcases at Levy Comedy Club, a café-turned-comedy-club in Burlington, Vermont, that tapes all of its acts. During my time there, I observed the discrepancies between comics’ front-stage performances and their back-stage work. I analyzed 15 recordings of stand-up comics, categorizing the propulsion behind the humor as political, intellectual, bodily, or emotional. I then observed trends that characterized a comic’s embodied identity, and the types of humor they tended to engage in, succeed at, and fail through. I maintain that humor is a contextual, embodied phenomenon that is highly contingent on the embodiment of the individual performing the jokes and the audience that receives them. I unpack the manifestation and negotiation of power through the medium of stand-up comedy, concluding that stand-up comedy at Levy Comedy Club does not bear many similarities to Bakhtin’s folk humor and the carnival.

Addie Cunniff
“Managing Maternal Health: Feminist Thought Toward an Intersectional Discourse in Midwifery”

This essay examines the formation of contemporary midwifery practices and how an intersectional discourse may be integrated into studies of midwifery and maternal health. Feminist scholarship on childbirth emerged with second-wave feminist thought in the 1970s and 1980s. Much of the feminist scholarship on childbirth explores women’s experiences without critically assessing how race, class, and ethnicity as well as gender may affect the experience of labor and delivery. Midwifery care differentiates itself from obstetric maternal care in its focus on holistic practices. Yet, midwives are almost entirely white women while the women they serve are largely women of color. I interviewed seven midwives working in racially and economically diverse settings to investigate how a critical feminist perspective on midwifery is incorporated or suppressed within the field. The goal of this research is to expose the lack of intersectional discourse currently available on childbirth and midwifery, spark a different framing of midwifery than has been done previously, and move toward a more critically reflexive approach.
Amy Donahue
“Modes of Ideological (Re-)production in Rural Kentucky: The Use of ‘Hillbilly Logic’ and ‘Mountain Mentality’ in Interpretations of Climate Change”
Since the industrialization of the Civil War Reconstruction era, rural Appalachia has been depicted through ‘local color’ literature as a passive population of backward hillbilly mountainfolk in the larger context of the United States economy, perpetually impoverished peripheral contributors to core economic national stability through its mining, processing and exporting of coal. In the face of global climate change and the federal government’s “War on Coal,” rural Appalachians continued to be illustrated as ignorant anti-environmentalist climate deniers. A content analysis of fifteen interviews with citizens of a coal-mining county in Eastern Kentucky on the topic of climate change reveals that the subculture’s re-appropriation of the mentalities associated with the terms “hillbilly” and “mountainfolk” serve as useful lenses for understanding the many ways in which Appalachians protect their ontological security through either separating or connecting coal-mining and climate change. Taking a compound materialist and idealist approach, this paper explores the ways in which etic infrastructural relationships and emic ideological commitments will continually provide a stumbling block for the future progress of attitudes toward climate change in rural Appalachia.

Steven Dunmire
“Pre-service”: An Examination of College Seniors Becoming Teachers through a University-Based Licensure Program or Teach for America
Due to growing perceptions of teaching as a marginalized career among the student bodies of selective colleges and universities, this paper investigates the opinions and attitudes toward teaching of seven Middlebury College seniors planning to enter the field of education. Of the students interviewed, four had taken many courses in the college’s Education Studies program (ESTD), while three had not and are applying to Teach for America (TFA). The research focuses on four main areas: the basic demographic differences between the ESTD and TFA students (including ultimate career ambitions), the students’ motivations for pursuing teaching, views of effective teaching, and attitudes toward racial and class differences in educational outcomes. In analyzing the interview data, the project makes use of theories related to elite educational institutions (Bourdieu, Khan) and pre-professional socialization (Becker, McAlpine, Klossner, Chumbler). I conclude that students who have undergone the distinct socialization experience of the Education Studies program are more likely to identify with current teachers and to see effective teaching as connecting work in the classroom to the larger community. Students without the ESTD experience (the TFA cohort) show no particular identification with current teachers and see effective teaching as more situated in the individual teacher’s classroom. Considered through the lens of pre-professional socialization theories, ESTD students more thoroughly identify with their chosen career, while TFA students retain a level of distance from the profession of teaching.

Stu Fram
“Of Meat and Men: Vegetarianism among Male Athletes and Perceptions of Masculinity”
This study addresses and challenges the widely established correlation between meat and masculinity. The data for this study emerged from interviews with male and female vegetarian athletes as well as non-vegetarian members of stereotypical masculine
sports teams. Though meat-abstention is typically considered an emasculatory act, this study suggests male vegetarians do not necessarily forego masculinity. In fact, they often find other ways to express it, as through athletic pursuits. Ultimately, I conclude that masculinity is best conceived of as a form of capital that can be lost or earned in varied ways.

Jen Friedlander

“Σink, Σank, Σunk, Arink, Arank, Drunk: Pong and Other Social Capital Accumulation Strategies at Dartmouth College”

While the surrounding woods of Hanover, New Hampshire seem frozen in time, the area is not impervious to change. Within this town lies Dartmouth College, an Ivy League institution founded as an all-male college in 1769. Two centuries later, Dartmouth opened its doors to females yet a dominant culture of masculinity remains dominant on campus to this day. Fraternities host and reinforce a game of social capital accumulation in which students accrue ‘frat capital’ through displays of masculinity, which I call ‘fratty’ performances. Females must ‘undo’ their gender, becoming masculine, to partake in the masculine game and male social world. However, females are really only gaining access to the resources that are used in the game of cultural capital accumulation at Dartmouth College. Students playing this game of capital accumulation are merely playing with culture, creating and legitimizing a form of capital that is only applicable to social life at Dartmouth College. This game of capital accumulation serves to continuously re-establish a social and cultural precedence of masculinity.

Emily Galindo

“Making Mama and Tayta Proud: The Story of Second-Generation Andean Immigrants Graduating”

As I look around, I am lonely. Almost none of my childhood friends can share in my excitement of graduating from college, particularly a four-year college. Why is this? This is a question I have asked myself repeatedly during my time at Middlebury College. I know it is not because I am a genius, so what could it be? My uncomfortable questions led me to this study. Therefore, in this paper I explore the question of what factors influence whether or not second-generation immigrants attend college. Due to the crucial impact my own family played in my college matriculation, I approach this question through the lens of family relations. I evaluate to what extent first generation migrants actively encourage their children to attend college, how much are their second-generation children aware of their parents’ efforts and attitudes toward education, and what steps families take to ensure the college matriculation of the second generation.

Maya Goldberg–Safir

“The Game-Changer: Reflections on Brittney Griner and Subversion in Elite Women’s Basketball”

I examined various online social media platforms to document reactions to Brittney Griner, the ‘game changer’ of elite women’s basketball and leader of #1-ranked Baylor University. Her 6’8’’ frame and YouTube-chronicled dunking abilities have provoked a dramatic range of reactions. Focusing specifically on media representations of the WNBA alongside the emerging story of Brittney Griner, I interrogate her potential impact on the cultural discourse of gender and race in the future of elite women’s basketball. After examining the dominant narrative of gender and race in the historical and cultural contexts of elite American sports, I discuss how media representations of Griner reinforce or
challenge dominant discourses of gender, sexuality, and race. I argue that while women’s basketball – and particularly the WNBA – is a visibly subversive and ‘queer’ site, critics and fans alike police the gendered and raced transgressions of its athletes. While the WNBA and its fans contest dominant cultural understandings of male superiority in sport and homophobic attitudes toward female athletes, narratives about the league simultaneously reproduce privileged hierarchies of an oppositional sex/gender model and a standard of whiteness to which all athletes are held. However, I also argue that Brittney Griner poses a new and important threat, an embodiment of subversion that, in the context of women’s sports, holds a serious possibility of challenging the limits to ideologies of gender, race and sexuality.

Charlotte M. Heilbronn

“Beauty & the “Big Five” Beast: How the Content of Teen Magazines Affects the Way Teenagers Conceptualize Beauty”

This research uncovers the impact that teen magazines, specifically Seventeen and Teen Vogue, have on teenagers’ perceptions of beauty and physical appearance. Teen magazines are a form of socialization that advise teenage girls on the latest beauty tips, fashion trends, exercises, and makeovers. The first section of this study presents a content analysis of magazine cover headlines to reveal the underlying messages regarding beauty. These headlines focus on the physical female body. They boldly present the means for realizing a particular form of physical perfection in a manner that convinces girls to believe that they can and should achieve this entirely fabricated ideal. Discussion of perfectionist discourse and heteronormative behavior in these headlines unravels the social construction of beauty and the production of femininity. In addition, the homogenization of the content wholeheartedly affirms the universally accepted beauty ideal. The second part of this study focuses on the way in which teenagers respond to these same cover images. It becomes clear that teens are highly influenced by what is being delivered to them. The digital manipulation of these images presents a major problem for these teenagers because it propels many to both criticize and desire these manufactured bodies. Finally, the majority of the interviews addressed the concept of ‘perfection,’ underscoring the pressure these magazines place on beauty and flawlessness.

Molly Hubbard

“Tags, Tweets, and Texts: How Facebook Affects Relationships on the Middlebury College Campus”

As technology quickly advances and permeates the lives of more human beings, it is both helpful and important to understand the manner in which it affects our lives outside of the cyber realm. We have become increasingly ‘plugged in’ and connected, but how does this constant connection affect our ability to actually connect on deeper emotional levels with other people? The increased prevalence of Facebook, a social networking site that now reports to have more than a billion active users, was the major focus of this study. Throughout this study interviews and focus groups were conducted, along with participant observation, in order to gain a greater understanding of the manner in which Facebook is used and has affected current face-to-face
relationships. This study focused on college-age users of Facebook in the Middlebury College community. Students who use Facebook to find social information, stake claims to identity and status, and legitimize status. Through this study, and by delving into these three main themes, it became clear that users of Facebook were able to produce a Facebook image of themselves, although it might not actually fall in line with their real life persona.

Stephanie Machado
“‘Eat Right and Extratize’: A Critical Sociological Perspective on Language, Youth, and the Politics of Health in Southern Oregon
This sociocultural study explores how both white and Latino children and their families in Klamath Falls, Oregon depict, discuss, and interact with food. In addition, the study looks at how the groups incorporate ‘health food’ discourse in their everyday lives. In-depth ethnographic research at two local elementary schools revealed the social and cultural terms through which children construct and communicate the meanings of health and nutrition. The resulting analysis delves into the complexities of food discourse, including the various ways food is portrayed as ‘healthy’ or ‘junk’ by kids at school and at home. The research undertaken in Klamath Falls suggests that there are limitations to the structural critiques of obesity, observing that health consists of more than just socioeconomic surplus or deficiency. Although food is often defined strictly in health terms, it is highly cultural, linguistic, symbolic, and personal. Health and food discourses are deeply entwined, rendering health politics, wellness initiatives, personal interactions with food, and food meanings tricky to disentangle, negotiate, or alter. Wellness programs can do more than didactically instruct or alter kids’ visual or linguistic landscape: they have the capacity to start new conversations about what health means to students, how students interpret contradictory images and discourses, how they find meaning in meals, and how they connect food to health.

Rachel Madding
“Parental Discourse on Vaccines: Analyzing the Immunization Controversy”
The recent increase in the number of American parents who choose to not vaccinate their children reflects a growing fear of vaccines. My project synthesizes research on the history of vaccination, national-level vaccination trends, and qualitative interviews to examine parental opinions about vaccines. Although mainstream medical practice generally promotes vaccination as a key public health strategy for reducing morbidity and mortality and preventing the spread of disease, more people are questioning routine immunizations. The most common reasons people do not vaccinate their children are based on beliefs or fears that the vaccine schedule is too aggressive, the contents are poisonous, vaccines cause neurological disorders, they are not effective, and the vaccines are more dangerous than the diseases they aim to prevent. The results of this investigation provide insight into how parents in a small town in Vermont feel about vaccines and contribute to the knowledge about parental fears towards the safety of vaccines. All of the subjects worry about what is in vaccines even though most believe the benefits outweigh the risks. The fear of autism and other neurological disorders is still present in the debate. The future of vaccine acceptance remains to be seen and is of public concern because if herd immunity – protection resulting from a critical mass of the population being immunized – significantly declines, vaccine-preventable diseases might return.
Alcoholics Anonymous occupies a unique place in American history. Starting as one of the first self-help movements, it has helped millions of people to understand their drinking and themselves. The primary tenet of all 12-step programs of abstinence is that “admitting it is the first step.” This need for self-identification as an addict is the keystone to 12-step programs, yet it seems so self-evident that it need not merit consideration. This project examines how the programs apply the addict identity to willing and unwilling individuals, and what reactions individuals display after having adopted this identity. Field research consisted of observations at a seven-week outpatient drug rehabilitation facility as well as attendance at nearly 100 meetings. Ultimately, 12-step programs of abstinence act as ‘total institutions,’ as defined by Goffman, because they compel their members to conduct all of their actions under one authority, the 12 steps, in order to achieve the official goal of sobriety, with great emphasis placed on members spending time in the company of other members.

Kathryn Miller
“Mops, Money and Merit: The Language of Privilege at Middlebury College”
Considered an elite educational institution, Middlebury College can be understood as an environment of privilege. This research explores how students understand and perpetuate that privilege through an examination of student attitudes toward dining hall and custodial staff. Drawing on interviews with six “MiddKids” (three each from two quite different social class backgrounds), I analyze student responses to questions regarding interactions with and perceptions of dining hall workers and custodial staff. I demonstrate that while the students’ social class has an effect on the manner in which they discuss staff in terms of directness and diplomacy, overall, students at Middlebury College all learn a ‘language of privilege’ characterized by three main elements: saying the unsayable, ownership of staff, and sincere fictions. These components are reflective of the cultural and social capital Middlebury teaches its students. I rely on theories of privilege, accounts, and merit to interpret these findings. In the conclusion I argue that the way MiddKids learn to interact with and regard staff allows them to define their identities as distinct from employees while sustaining comfort.

Sarah O’Brien
“Reliving the Storm: Mental Health of Displaced Survivors of Hurricane Katrina”
Hurricane Katrina made landfall in Louisiana in August 2005 and created one of the worst disasters ever experienced in the United States. The hurricane revealed that the US government was largely unprepared to provide relief in the wake of such a large-scale disaster. Over 2.5 million people were displaced from New Orleans and the surrounding areas after the storm. This project examines the lived
experiences of mental illness in this displaced population. While all social services were limited after Katrina, mental health services were particularly overlooked despite the profound impact Katrina had on survivors’ mental health. This paper combines a secondary analysis of testimony from Katrina survivors with various published studies on mental illness in post-disaster contexts. Recognizing that mental illness has profound effects on quality of life, I conclude that innovations are needed to increase access to mental healthcare after disasters, and recommend the promotion of a community-based approach to mental healthcare. Community-based treatment programs are ideal in a low-resource setting and also foster resilience and a sense of community in groups of displaced persons.

Amanda Peritierra
“Resolving Filipino Identity: Memory, Magical and Real”
This project examines the role of magical realism and memory in Filipino novels as a means for resolving post-colonial identities. The importance of the particular, through which a specific individual is pinned down to a specific place, only grows in importance in the face of rapid de-territorialization inherent in the Filipino diaspora. Stitching together identity becomes an exercise in reclaiming a particular place and history. The tension between elements of magical realism – the blending of Catholic mysticism with indigenous tradition contrasting with Spanish and American colonial influences – creates a transitional space where these identities can be resolved and reimagined. The magical and the real, bound up with our memories, become the conduits to ethnic metamorphosis.

Corinne Prevot
“Rebuilding the Kingdom: Identity, Landscape, and Development in Vermont’s Northeast Kingdom”
This paper examines the complex interconnectedness of economic inequality, rural landscape, and local identity in the Northeast Kingdom of Vermont. In particular, I look at how different groups in the region see themselves through the prism of the Kingdom Community Wind Project. Although this conflict ostensibly about political and environmental economy, I argue that it reveals local place-based identities and varying definitions of ‘quality of life.’ Furthermore, I explore the development of local outdoor recreation as an economic growth strategy that reconciles these otherwise conflicting paradigms. This research reveals how values of pride, hardship, and community are embedded in the local identities that define the unique quality of life and attachment to the Vermont landscape. I conclude by arguing for an ethnographically validated program of economic development based on the patterned relationship between residents and their landscape.

Jordie Ricigliano
“Belonging in Country: Locating the Dingo in the Australian Imaginary of Native, Nature, and Nation”
How wildlife is defined, and who gets to define it, has broad implications for how cultures interact with the landscape and with each other. Few wildlife species are as ambiguous, or
contested, as the Australian dingo. At any one moment, the dingo is dually constructed as both a pest and a protected species, classified as either feral or native, and described as either friendly or ferocious. While a handful of anthropologists have broached the contradictions inscribed in the enigmatic symbol, holes remain on how exactly these competing discourses speak to, and about, the relations between the social groups who espouse them. This research probes how ever-evolving heterogeneous discourses about the dingo relate to eco-social tensions among Australia’s Aborigines, settlers, settler-descendants, and new immigrants. As these groups construct identities based upon claims of ethnicity, nationalism, and indigeneity, they invoke multivocal significations of the dingo that, as key symbols, at times collapse meanings of being Australian and at times elaborate on the perpetual processes of becoming Australian. Dingoes act as mediators between eco-social relationships by speaking directly to themes of nation, native, and natural – a triangle of unmatched importance in the construction of Australian identity, and which can, when together, unequally serve the interests of certain social groups. I analyze how each of these discursive veins leads to a central organ, which I identify is the issue of belonging, or more specifically, belonging in country. By unpacking how wildlife identities and their associated forms of ecological management are constructed, this work aids policy makers in designing more appropriate wildlife management practices.

Note: Jordie was the recipient of the 2013 Lank Prize in Sociology and Anthropology, which is awarded to a graduating senior in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for academic excellence and contributions to international understanding – Ed.

Jay Saper & Melissa Mittelman
“The Analyst and the Activist: A Look into Student Discourse Surrounding Wall Street Recruitment and Resistance at Middlebury College”

This study explores the ways that Middlebury students conceptualize Wall Street through lenses of recruitment and resistance. We suggest that there are discursive rituals that legitimate student choices to become a Wall Street activist or analyst, producing specific and elite meanings of intelligence, access and relationships. In their accounts of both demographic characteristics and personal narratives, Middlebury students create identity boundaries of the Wall Street recruit or resister that not only validate themselves through opposition but also through the reclamation of the characteristics each supposedly lacks. An understanding of the Wall Street recruitment and resistance process helps expose the ways that Middlebury students conceptualize and manifest their liberal arts education.

Note: Jay was the recipient of the 2013 Blum and Company, Inc. Award in Sociology/Anthropology, which is awarded to a graduating senior in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for high academic achievement or leadership in student and community activities – Ed.

Amy Scanes-Wolfe
“Narrating an Identity: How Swahili Women in Malindi, Kenya, and International Students at Middlebury College, Vermont, Construct Identity through Conversation”

This project uses a neo-structural approach to investigate how two different groups of speakers (50 Kenyan women and 24 Middlebury students) construct identity through conversation. The Swahili women self-identify through Islamic behaviors and beliefs, their use of the Swahili
language, and their shared experiential space. The international students possess little shared experience, radically different religious beliefs and interests, and presumably value a liberal arts education. In part due to these differences, the participants groups resolve the fundamental dichotomies of ‘individual vs. collective’ and ‘us vs. other’ differently. The study examines how group identities emerge in contrast to a perceived ‘other,’ and demonstrates how international students unite around expectations of difference and change, while Swahili women unite around expectations of similarity and continuity. International students construct a permanent self-identity in the face of transient groups, while Swahili women define individuals in relation to a permanent group. Swahili women build solidarity in shared physical space; international students create hypothetical, future, and activity-bound spaces in lieu of shared material reality. These assumptions reinforce systematic power differentials according to age and gender in both groups. My meta-analysis of conversational narratives contributes to the cross-cultural study of small stories, or stories in context.

Elizabeth Scarinci
“Moving to a Better Life: Child Domestic Servants from the Andes Mountains”
Thousands of children from remote areas of the Andes Mountains migrate to cities to become domestic workers. Most of these children live with their employers, attend school part-time and earn money to spend or send back to their families in the countryside. These children, often younger than fourteen, are vulnerable to physical and verbal abuse and undergo major transformations to their indigenous identities. Some succeed and move on to become professionals, while others lose contact with their parents and can be forced into slave labor. Do children improve their lives by migrating to the cities to work as domestic workers? Based on research I conducted in Peru and Bolivia, I answer this question through comparing the perspectives of underage domestic workers, their parents, employers, teachers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). I use the lenses of education, health and indigenous identity to describe the children’s realities in the countryside and their new lives working in the city. I argue that NGOs working on child labor issues in the Andes must better understand the needs and desires of the people they serve. They must understand what ‘work’ means to Andean people and that striving for the eradication of child labor under our North American definition may be a fruitless endeavor. I conclude that there must be more attention placed on underage domestic workers in the international arena and that the needs of this underage population are different from the needs of their adult counterparts.

Melissa Shapiro
“Blustery Landscapes: A Case Study of The Kingdom Community Wind Project in Lowell, Vermont”
This project analyzes the relationship between Vermonters’ perception of landscape and their responses to wind power development in the state. I review the distribution of wind power in Vermont as well as the major anxieties about
wind power in Vermont, such as visual, auditory and ecological impacts. I describe the land-use and alternative energy policies that have stimulated investment in wind power. In order to better understand how local relationships to the landscape influence responses to wind power, I conducted on-site interviews with the residents of Lowell, the town proximate to the Kingdom Community Wind (KCW) Project, Vermont’s largest industrial-sized wind farm. Interviews with Lowell residents, energy utilities, state policy-makers, and NGO activists showed that three social processes shaped the course of the ‘not-in-my-backyard’ debate in Vermont. Place-based identities, claims to ecological entitlements, and strategies for converting social, cultural, and economic capital are the key issues that affect the discourse about property rights, environmentalism, and wind power in Vermont.

**Howard Martin Sorett**  
*A Life History of a Former Boston Gang Leader: Risk Factor Analysis*

In 2010, there were 159 shooting victims in Boston under the age of 25. Increasing numbers of these homicides are gang-related, and the most gunshot and stabbing injuries in Boston are in the 15-19 age range. 81% of these incidents occur in the predominantly African-American and Latino neighborhoods of Jamaica Plain, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan. My experiences with high-risk African American and Latino teenage males showed me a pattern of trauma: physical abuse by family members, the torment of witnessing other forms of domestic violence, threats to life out on the street, and abandonment by parents. This project applies stigma and shame theory to the life history of a former Boston gang leader in order to show how social conditions in Boston contribute to the stigmatization of its African-American and Latino youth populations. I discuss the primary risk factors that drive a small percentage of men in Boston’s most violent neighborhoods to engage in gang violence.

**Carly Shumaker**  
*Is Small Really Beautiful?: Exploring Institutional Value Systems through Vermont’s Artisanal Food Economy*

This project explores the local artisanal food economy in Vermont in order to draw broader lessons about cultural responses to capitalism. Through out the past decade, the local food system in the state has seen a rise in the number and diversity of small-batch, specialty food producers. The state has witnessed a clear transition in the type of agriculturally-minded individuals that migrate to Vermont. Unlike the hippies of the 1960s and 70s who moved to the state with the back-to-the-land movement to live a life of homesteading and self-sustenance, Vermont now serves as a landing pad for food producers with a new entrepreneurial spirit and an artisanal mindset. Through an ethnographic exploration of the personal narratives of artisanal food producers in Vermont, I analyze their motivations and entrepreneurial aspirations as both a rejection of the capitalist system and a bid to save it. Under the new wave of entrepreneurialism, these food producers’ motivations and production styles fall into a new category that I call ‘artisanal capitalism.’ I explore the ways that specialty food production becomes an avenue through which to foster a sense of community, a space for the producers to distinguish themselves, and how this distinction manifests into a marker of social status, elitism, and social boundary definition.
Jared Smith
"Coming Out in Rio: Gay Identity Formation among Middle-class Brazilian Men"

Brazilian middle-class constructions of sexual identity and desire are the object of this interdisciplinary qualitative study. Using twelve extensive interviews of self-identified gay men between the ages of 18 and 30, I synthesize, narrate, and deconstruct the local process of sexual identity formation and negotiation. My analysis is motivated by theoretical paradigms of symbolic interactionism, queer theory, intersectionality and a hermeneutic approach to cultural studies. In addition, I elucidate the epistemological framework of sexuality in Brazil, where patriarchy and heterosexism are simultaneously reproduced and subverted by homosexual identities. Finally, I attempt to explain the ways in which my informants came to understand their gayness as a neutral or even positive element of their identity, in spite of adverse experiences in the coming-out process.

Kyle Warner
“Ethnogenesis and the Creation of Symbolic Cultural Borders: Maasai and Waarusha Identity in Tanzania”

This paper examines ethnogenesis and identity creation in the Maasai and Waarusha communities in Northern Tanzania. The Waarusha self-identified as Maasai pastoralists in the early 19th century, but had become farmers who still claimed and practiced Maasai culture by 1850. European colonization changed this identity, and today Waarusha are not recognized as Maasai. The shared ethno-history of the Maasai and the Waarusha provides an opportunity to analyze cultural continuity and social change within each group. Participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups conducted in the Maasai village of Engaruka and Waarusha village of Bangata were compared to the historical record of each group. This project focuses on why there are social, cultural, political, and economic differences and similarities between the two groups at present, and how those differences and similarities are reflected in each group’s identity.

Grace Yu
“It’s 5 O’clock Somewhere: Drinking Bordeaux in 19th Century Britain and America”

This project examines the reputation of Bordeaux wine in British and American culture during the 19th century, focusing on the response of international consumers to the phylloxera outbreak in France during the 1870-1880s. Bordeaux fine wine during this period was a status symbol for the elite, but phylloxera caused French wine production to drop in the 1870s, and led to a dramatic increase in the presence of adulterated and falsified products in the export market. This paper uses Bourdieu’s approach to capital accumulation and conversion to analyze the ways that Bordeaux wine served as a medium in the British and American media for converting money into social and cultural capital. By studying the changing reputation of wine through consumer
information and media output, this paper illustrates the relationship between foreign consumers and the domestic French industry in the 19th century, and traces the reasons for the protectionist policies that France enacted at the beginning of the 20th century.

Tshering Yudon

Bhutan has often captured the imaginations of the West for its policies to enhance ‘national happiness.’ In Bhutanese society, groups of youths have been identified as obstacles for achieving happiness. These youths are blamed for increased crime rates and the rampant sales of prescription drugs on the streets. This project moves away from this discourse of individual failure to examine the bigger picture of the Bhutanese political economy, particularly the structures of power and influence. Power operates at both the local and the global levels. The displacement and alienation experienced by these youths relate to the government’s concerted efforts to develop Bhutan in the global arena. Using theories on ‘soft despotism’ and resistance, I delineate how we can look at the youth drug and alcohol culture in Bhutan in a more critical and deliberate way focusing on individuals responding to structural conditions.

‘The Velvet Hammer’: Prof. Ellen Oxfeld and Vermont Healthcare Reform

(Editor’s note: In February 2013, Vermont Life published an account of how Vermont’s work to create a single-payer healthcare system came about (http://www.vermontlife.com/special-report-pre-existing-conditions/). It called Prof. Oxfeld ‘the Velvet Hammer’ for her gentle but relentless perseverance to make this policy change happen. Fieldnotes interviewed Prof. Oxfeld about her experience in healthcare reform)

Fieldnotes: How did you first get interested and concerned about health care reform in Vermont?
EO: I am not really sure when I first got interested, because as far as I can remember, I have always thought that health care should be a public good. However, I remember that I hosted some local meetings on single payer as far back as 1994 when there were some single payer bills in the Vermont legislature and when it was clear to me that the reforms proposed by the Clinton administration were not headed in the direction of publicly funded health care for all (though their proposal did not pass any way). That’s when I came to the conclusion that our best hope was for single states to lead the way on health care.

Fieldnotes: The Vermont Life article calls you ‘the velvet hammer’ because of the way that you gently orchestrated the interactions of key players in healthcare reform by (for example) hosting lasagna dinners. Much of your current scholarship focuses on the social contexts of food in China. How do you think the lasagna dinners shaped the healthcare debate?
EO: That is an interesting question. I think the lasagna dinners and other informal events...
around food were excellent, because as we know sharing food helps smooth social relationships and bring down barriers, and that makes it easier for people to ask honest questions and articulate their misgivings, and all of this makes for more honest discussion and helps create a context for continuing communication. Of course, the lasagna dinners and other social gatherings around food were only one organizing tool, and we were certainly not the only ones to host events around food in Vermont (Senator Sanders frequently hosts discussions about issues around meals as well).

**Fieldnotes:** Is there something specific to Vermont culture that made the move toward a single-payer healthcare system possible?

**EO:** Absolutely! We are a small state and the culture here puts an emphasis on civil discourse and participation by Vermont residents in their own democracy. You can walk into the Statehouse at any time and speak with your representatives just by hopping from one table to the other in the Statehouse cafeteria! Also, people are generally interested and come out to meetings on civic issues. Everything is still on a more personal level than in other states -- you can communicate without much money if you are interested in spending the time to organize, whereas in big states this would certainly be more difficult.

**Fieldnotes:** How does your work as an activist feel different from your work as a scholar and a teacher? Do these domains overlap or are they compartmentalized?

**EO:** I think that they are somewhat compartmentalized, but they can also inform each other as long as you are clear about boundaries. For instance, I would never advocate for a political position in a classroom, and also, my research is on China whereas my activism is in my own country. I also feel that as a scholar my role is to help students understand societies and cultures that may often be foreign to their own. And certainly, it is not my role to try to change other societies but simply to understand them, whereas as a citizen I think I have a civic duty to contribute to my community, and to play at least a small role in constructive reform. However, in terms of a larger worldview, I can see ways in which my scholarship and activism may be related. For instance, I think my choice of anthropology in the first place was probably influenced by my attraction to its commitment to learning how people really think and experience their lives, and this kind of approach is necessary if you want to be an activist as well -- you need to keep your eyes open to other people's experiences and ways of seeing and get out of your own bubble.

**Fieldnotes:** American anthropology has a long history of activism, going back to Franz Boas' tireless fight against racism. What do you think are the major topics for anthropological activism in the 21st century?

**EO:** I think this is really two questions. There is activism which springs directly from anthropological scholarship itself, and then there is the fact that anthropologists may also be activists on issues that may not be directly related to their scholarship. Looking back historically, Franz Boas was a tireless fighter against racism, and this sprang directly from his scholarship which challenged many of the racist assumptions of the day. Margaret Mead campaigned against the Vietnam War; and I do not think this was directly related to her scholarship. But on another level, it is likely that it was at
least partially related to her work as an anthropologist because of the premium our field places on understanding diverse histories and cultures. Looking into the 21st century, I think anthropologists will be involved in both kinds of activism -- some may be involved in issues of social justice that spring directly from their scholarly topics of study (as in Boas’ case). Others may be involved in activism which is related to a larger worldview made possible by anthropological frameworks (as in the case of Mead). At base our discipline helps us to see that humans have organized their societies and cultures in many different ways over history and space. I would think this would lead anthropologists to be open to ideas about social, economic and/or cultural reform and transformation, and to think more critically about conventional assumptions.

**Faculty Publications, 2012-2013**

*Svea Closser*


**James Fitzsimmons**


**Jamie McCallum**

**Peggy Nelson**


**Linus Owens**

2013 “Have Squat, Will Travel: How Squatter Mobility Mobilizes Squatting.” In *Squatting in Europe*:


David Stoll


Rebecca Tiger


Alumni News
Christine Bachman is finishing up a masters at NYU and rode a bike across the country with her husband, Ian. They kept a blog of the journey: http://goldentandem.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/heading-east-cascades/

Molli Freedman Lynde is going to start law school at Northeastern this year. Molli is particularly interested in immigration law.

Harriet Napier’s (’11.5) 2011 senior project, “The Subculture of the Suppressed: Living on the Periphery in Middlebury’s Motels” won the 2012 Bryan Award from UVM’s Center for Vermont Studies. She is now in the Andes working on healthcare programs.

Tamara Vatnick works at Planned Parenthood in DC and is finishing up a MPA at GWU.

Future Issues
As always, please send us more newsletter material at msherida@middlebury.edu! We love to hear from you.

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