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Reports on Completed Research for 2021

REPORTS ON COMPLETED RESEARCH

The following research projects, supported by Foundation grants, were reported as complete during 2021. The reports are listed by subdiscipline, then in alphabetical order. A Bibliography of Publications resulting from Foundation-supported research (reported over the same period) follows, along with an Index of Grantees Reporting Completed Research.

ARCHAEOLOGY

JOSE M. CAPRILES, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Emergent Social Inequality among Terminal Archaic Period (4,500-3,600 BP) Hunter-Gatherers in the Bolivian Eastern Andes." Recent anthropological research has called attention to the significance of inter-generational resource transmission for reproducing social inequality. In the South-Central Andes, the Terminal Archaic Period (4,500-1,600 cal BP) marks a critical transition between egalitarian mobile foraging and increasingly hierarchical sedentary agricultural communities. This project involved collecting primary data to evaluate the degree to which hunter-gatherers were experiencing emerging social inequality in Tarija, a region located and between the Andean highlands and the Chaco lowlands in southern Bolivia. Specifically, researchers excavated ten locations, which contained various formal and informal features including burials that exhibited a wide range of variability in terms of labor investment and demographic parameters. All the burials were directly radiocarbon dated between 3,900 and 3,200 years ago and had carbon and nitrogen stable isotopes suggesting a diet based on animal protein and plants that excluded maize as well as strontium values consistent with reduced mobility. In combination with previously collected data, the end of the Archaic Period in Tarija seems to have featured conditions that incentivized emergent leadership based on embodied and relational wealth, intercommunity violence, and enhanced territoriality. Continuing research in the region will help to further clarify the causal factors behind these patterns.

JAMES DAVENPORT, then a graduate student at University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Hand of the State, Hand of the Potter: Communication and Imperial Control in Tawantinsuyu," supervised by Dr. Francis Hayashida. To create and maintain control among their subjects, empires produce feasts, rituals, ceremonies, and other events in the provinces. These events require objects in imperial styles for their production, but in some empires the production of these objects is decentralized and carried out by subjects. This study investigates the organization of production for Inka style pottery at Pachacamac, once the political and ritual capital of the Ychsma polity on

Peru's central coast which was transformed into a major Inka provincial center. It found that this organization was complex. Some Inka pottery was produced by local Ychsma potters. Additionally, groups of potters from Peru's north coast and potentially other regions were relocated to Pachacamac to work full-time making pottery for the state. Some of the pottery was also imported to Pachacamac from other Inka centers. Different groups of potters supplied different areas and activities at Pachacamac, and there is evidence for task segmentation of different parts of the pottery production process, with potters from different groups and backgrounds forming and decorating Inka pottery that was used at Pachacamac. The complexity in this organization indicates that there may be ontological distinctions in how the pottery was made or what its intended use was.

FABRICE DEMETER, Musee de I'Homme, Paris, France, was awarded a grant in October 2016 to aid research on "Early Modern Human Evolution and Dispersal in Mainland Southeast Asia at Tam Pa Ling Cave, Laos." Tam Pa Ling (TPL) is a cave site that has been excavated annually since 2009. During this time researchers have recovered fossils from at least three early modern humans from a secure stratigraphic context dated to ca. 50 thousand years ago (ka). Given the research potential of northern Laos and the richness of TPL in particular, the research objectives included continued excavation at TPL and large-scale survey of the surrounding limestone karstic system. Further excavation at TPL had two major goals, the first of which is a focus on sediments that are dated between 40-60 ka and that are most likely to yield human material based on the pattern of fossils previously recovered. This optimized the potential to recover fossils that will help answer questions regarding early migration and habitation in Southeast Asia and begin building a biological profile of the early humans occupying this site. The second goal of these excavations was the continued collection of microfauna and the addition of pollen analyses for reconstructing the environment of the region during the Late Pleistocene. Given the dynamic environmental changes of the late Pleistocene, particularly changes in sea level and land cover with the exposure of the Sunda shelf, understanding the paleoenvironmental history of Southeast Asia is critical to understanding human migration and dispersal in the region. In addition to excavation at TPL, this project also included large-scale survey of the limestone cave system in the region surrounding the Pa Hang cliff where TPL is located to identify additional sites for future excavations, concentrating on the caves and their breccias, rock shelters and other fluvial deposits associated with the limestone formations of the Annamite Mountains.

LOUISE ILES, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, United Kingdom, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2019 to aid writing and research on "From Sand to Spear: Metallurgical Participation and Innovation in Precolonial Eastern Africa." Iron metallurgy was of great significance to precolonial communities in sub-Saharan

Africa, integral to trading networks and tribute systems, bridewealth, kingly power, agricultural productivity and military might. It was a technology that permeated almost every facet of society and a great diversity of landscapes, yet it is often portrayed as highly ritualized, fixed in time, and hostile to change. Based on research in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania, this monograph challenges assumptions about the socio-cultural and economic relationships that structured participation in iron production in eastern Africa and considers how intricate networks of actions and knowledge facilitated the sustainability of metallurgical production in the face of changing social and environmental landscapes. *Rethinking Participation and Innovation in Early African Metallurgy: Women of Iron and Forests of Fuel* will be published by Routledge. Its core message explores social relationships as key to understanding change and innovation, including an important reassessment of the role of women in iron production industries, particularly how gender roles change through time. It presents a new framing of iron metallurgy in sub-Saharan Africa, adding a critical perspective on the roles of individuals and groups in negotiating change, with relevance both within and outside of the African continent.

JILLIAN MICHELLE JORDAN, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, received funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Investigating the Effects of Societal Collapse on Information Exchange, Community Interaction, and Social Boundaries in the Maya Lowlands." The original project could not be completed due to the COVID-19 pandemic and restrictions on international travel. Focus was shifted to conduct additional analysis on the grantee's dissertation ceramic sample (also funded by Wenner-Gren). Previous research revealed important regional patterns regarding pottery production and interaction. However, additional analyses (NAA, SEM-EDS) were required to fully evaluate the dataset and will be vital to completing the original project in the future. Research used petrography and NAA to document variability, determine provenance, and characterize the organization of production of pottery tempered with volcanic ash. The grantee argues that these vessels were produced at the site of Baking Pot in the Belize Valley by specialists for consumption across the eastern lowlands. Knowledge about the physical properties of clay, temper, and heat were likely shared between potters and the people responsible for the construction of architecture. The data indicate that information exchange among craftspeople in the Late Classic Period (AD 700-900) included both regional and site-level interaction networks. Both datasets will be used in future research to address the effects of societal collapse (AD 900+), regional depopulation, and migration on learn and exchange networks in the Belize Valley, Belize.

OLADUNI TINA LASISI, then a graduate student at Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania, was awarded a grant in October 2019 to aid research on "Investigating the Thermoregulatory Function, Genetic Architecture, and

Evolutionary History of Human Scalp Hair Morphology," supervised by Dr. Nina Jablonski. This research was carried out in the ancient palace of Ijebu-Ode, the capital of Ijebu kingdom. The grantee excavated fifteen units at the King's quarters, Queen's quarters, background forest, and Palace courtyards. These series of excavations yielded diverse range of artifacts of royalty including, beads, bronze bell anklets, knife blades, etc. Of great importance is the discovery of the first evidence of ceramic pavement in Ijebu kingdom. Two pavements were found at the palace complex; one is a carved pavement that is an effigy of a local deity, the other is a geometric pavement with astronomical alignments that might have been used as a sundial in ancient times. Overall, the research showed how the spatial layout within the palace complex is a reflection of the spatial layout of the Ijebu kingdom itself. The King's palace complex was designed to reflect cosmic worldviews by paying attention to astronomy, and symbolically placing gardens, ritual spaces, etc. in specific cardinal points on the landscape. The entire city on the other hand also follows suit with surrounding towns deliberately designed spirally around the capital while paying homage the palace complex during the time of the year when the sun is just beginning its movement on the horizon. This research showed that behind the organization of a landscape of valor lies a well-designed and integrated architecture, ritual/religion, astronomy, politics, governance, and commerce, all of which functioned as a system.

KOJI LAU-OZAWA, then a graduate student at Stanford University, Stanford, California, received funding in October 2019 to aid research on "Connected through Confinement: An archaeology of the Gila River Incarceration Camp," supervised by Dr. Barbara Voss. This project examined the material remains of the Gila River Incarceration Camp, where 16,000 Japanese Americans were confined between 1942-1945. Research was conducted in collaboration with the Gila River Indian Community Cultural Resource Management Program and focused on analyzing landscaping features and material culture from the camp's refuse deposits. High resolution UAV mapping was conducted and paired with intensive ground surface survey to understand the landscape modifications made by incarcerees. Analysis of this material suggests coordinated efforts to build gardens and enhance residential structures with paved walkways and basements. Portable X-ray florescence (pXRF) analysis of basalt incorporated into landscaping features further allowed for the identification of procurement sites and indicates centralized strategies for gathering materials. Utilizing a low impact catch-and-release survey strategy, over 2000 artifacts associated with the incarceration camp's trash dump were identified and analyzed in the field. Analysis of this material suggests significant transformations from pre-WWII consumption patterns, and the use of material culture to maintain social connections across diverse networks. The landscape and material culture analysis has greatly expanded knowledge of the strategies employed by incarcerees to navigate the complex and ever-changing demands of camp life.

BRADY LISS, then a graduate student at University of California, San Diego, California, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Copper, Culture, and Collapse: Modeling Natural Resource Depletion and Societal Collapse in Faynan, Jordan," supervised by Dr. Thomas E. Levy. This project examined the possible relationship between human-driven natural resource degradation/depletion and societal collapse through a new theoretical lens and archaeological case study in the Faynan region of Southern Jordan. During the Iron Age (ca. 1200-800 BCE), society in Faynan witnessed intertwined technological and cultural revolutions, transforming from opportunistic copper production by dissociated pastoral nomads to industrial-scale metallurgy connected to a regional polity (the Biblical Edomites). Previous research in Faynan identified a pinnacle in metallurgy in terms of scale and efficiency during the 10th-9th centuries BCE; yet these advancements were followed by an abrupt industry abandonment by the end of the 9th century BCE with no associated archaeological evidence of natural or human intervention (such as a drought or warfare). It is hypothesized here that the significantly developed metallurgical technologies in Faynan led to over-exploitation of diminishing copper ores during the Iron Age, causing a failure of metallurgy, a subsequent breakdown of economic relationships, and societal collapse (in this case, a return to predominantly pastoral nomadic lifeways). By testing these hypotheses with an innovative methodology and theoretical perspective, this project investigated current understandings about the intimate relationships between society, technology, and the environment.

RODRIGO LOYOLA, then a graduate student at University of Paris 10-Nanterre, Nanterre, France, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Hunter-Gatherer Social Networks and Lithic Procurement during the Early Peopling of the Atacama Desert," supervised by Dr. Jacques Pelegrin. This project studies the interaction networks of the pre-Columbian societies of the Atacama Desert (22-23ºS), from the early peopling (12,500 cal BP) to the late Formative period (1500 cal BP) through the circulation of obsidian artifacts. Through X-ray fluorescence analysis and neutron activation, the sources of origin of 590 obsidian samples recovered from archaeological excavations and museum collections were determined. Together with complementary evidence, the results point to the existence of extensive interaction networks that connected the Pacific coast, the Atacama Desert, the Andes highlands, and northwestern Argentina on the other side of the Andes Mountain. Contrary to the current view, this study concludes that early pre-Columbian societies managed to maintain high levels of organization on wide spatial scales from early periods. Social cohesion was assured thanks to different mechanisms such as periodic aggregations, ritual feasts and collective hunts between trans-egalitarian groups. These results allow researchers to discuss the established idea of an amplification of the interaction networks due to the

establishment of agro-pastoral life and caravan traffic in later periods. Results indicate that broad and flexible networks were a key strategy that ensured human settlement in the arid Atacama Desert.

DEBRA L. MARTIN, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Nevada, received funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Contextualizing Massacres in Small Scale Societies: A Pueblo Case Study." Massacres have a deep history with human groups across all time periods and in all regions of the world. The earliest known massacres occurred approximately 10,000 years ago. Massacres have three unique aspects to them when compared to other forms of warfare and violence. They often involve the complete annihilation of the bodies of the victims, the victims often include men, women, children, infants, and companion animals, and the event is usually a spectacle that is meant to communicate culturally specific messages to bystanders, witnesses, and victims who escaped. This project re-analyzed a number of disarticulated skeletal assemblages from the Ancestral Pueblo groups living in the American Southwest prior to contact (~AD800-1400). Earlier studies suggested these intentionally cut and broken bones were the result of anthropophagy (cannibalism). Multiple lines of evidence were brought to bear to support the hypothesis that these assemblages were the result of small-scale massacres. The data brought to bear included the placement and type of cutmarks, anvil abrasions and fracture patterns, the lack of any human tooth marks on any of the bones, the placement of the bone deposits within sites, the demographic features of the assemblages, and the selective use of burning. These intentional and culturally specific modifications to the bodies after death suggest a highly ritualized form of killing and post-mortem processing that had deep meaning to the groups carrying out the massacres that was akin to a cultural "reset" with regeneration and transformation through these acts of extreme violence.

DOLORES PIPERNO, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, Washington, DC, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on "Pre-Columbian Occupation and Modification of Forest in Western Amazonia: Terrestrial Soil Phytolith and Charcoal Records." This project carried out phytolith (plant biogenic silica) and charcoal analyses of ancient terrestrial soils underneath interfluvial forests of two previously unstudied, remote regions of the northeastern Peruvian Amazon. The regions were Medio Putumayo-Algodón (MP-A) and Iquitos to Nauta. The goals were to address major questions concerning the impacts of prehistoric human populations on Amazonian forests by reconstructing vegetational and fire history, together with their modern legacies. Phytolith reference collections (used to identify ancient phytoliths) were significantly expanded through the analysis of 400 species of plants with a focus on previously understudied eudicotyledon representatives of the diverse Amazonian Forest. Palms were also intensively investigated to test newer methods of identification and more closely study possible

palm cultivation and management. Phytolith analysis of the 5000-yr-old sequence from MP-A showed little to no prehistoric impacts on the vegetation. Trees of mature forest did not decrease through time, major annual seed and root crops were absent, herbaceous indicators of human disturbance were rare to absent, and palm cultivation and management to the point of increases in economic palms in the flora were not indicated. Charcoal occurred infrequently in the soils, was dated to 2300-1800 years ago, and indicated that fire was not synchronous or recurrent across the landscape. The results from the Iquitos to Nauta records dating from about 3600 years ago to the present were the same as from MP-A. The results further indicate that human occupation and influences were heterogenous across the vast Amazonia interfluvial landscape, from intensive to sparse, depending in part on factors such as annual rainfall, soil type, and distance to watercourses. These results also showed that prehistoric Indigenous societies in the studied areas were stewards of their forests, highlighting their importance to modern conservation and sustainability efforts.

R.J. SINENSKY, then a graduate student at University of California, Los Angeles, California, was awarded a grant in October 2017 to aid research on "Niche Construction and Common Pool Resource Management in Marginal Environments: A Diachronic Approach," supervised by Dr. Gregson Schachner. Funding provided an opportunity to investigate the development, maintenance, and transformation of diverse land management practices and foodways among Ancestral Pueblo farmers in the Western Puerco region prior to and immediately following the development of the first large sedentary villages in the upland US Southwest. Anthropologists have long been concerned with the range of collective institutions developed by small-scale societies to manage resources. To this end, archaeological survey excavations and collections-based research in marginal and more productive areas for maize agriculture, documented social and economic diversity among contemporaneous farming groups throughout the third through tenth centuries AD. In the Petrified Forest—the most arid portion of the region—early farmers maintained spatially extensive and remarkably resilient food production practices contingent upon a high degree of residential mobility and less exclusionary conceptions of land ownership. Other contemporaneous farming groups in more productive locales, however, maintained more spatially restricted food production strategies and more exclusionary land tenure arrangements. Cocreation of knowledge between Hopi cultural resource advisers and the grantee support the interpretation that Ancestral Pueblo farmers in Pongwovi (Petrified Forest) developed agricultural practices, land tenure arrangements, and social relationships that ensured equitable access to resources even during prolonged periods of drought.

RAFAEL SUAREZ, University of the Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay, was awarded a grant in August 2020 to aid research on "The Paleoamerican Exploration of the Uruguay Middle River during the Late Pleistocene." The excavation carried out expanded evidence of different aspects of the oldest human occupation of the middle Uruguay River. It confirmed that there is an important cultural diversity during the early prehistory, characterized by human groups that used different designs of projectile points. A new early point was discovered dated between 11,300-10,500 years cal BP that was used by hunter-gatherers during the early Holocene. Two points found in stratigraphic context correspond to these new designs tentatively call Jaguar points. These new data suggest that human adaptations found in the Uruguay River indicate weaponry reorganization with the emergence of a variety of point types during the Pleistocene Holocene transition. The morphological changes in the designs of projectile points and the emergence of the Jaguar points are possibly adjustments related to the reorganization of weapons, generated by hunters who must have had to face a new choice of prey during the early Holocene. Technological innovation and the appearance of Jaguar points represents the human adaptation to new weapons in response to drastic changes in the climatic, ecological, and faunistic parameters during the Pleistocene Holocene transition.

PHYSICAL/BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

ANDREW BEST, then a graduate student at University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts, was awarded a grant in October 2019 to aid research on "Diversity and Evolution of Human Eccrine Sweat Gland Density," supervised by Dr. Jason Kamilar. Sweating via eccrine glands is a key adaptation in the human genus but little is known about its origins or the patterning of sweat gland diversity in contemporary humans. This project measured functional eccrine gland density (FED)—the density of eccrine glands responding to pharmacological stimulus—in 78 volunteers of varying childhood climates and geographic ancestries. An additional group of nine endurance athletes were recruited to test the relationship between FED and heat dissipation capacity. Results indicated no effects of childhood climate variables (average annual temperature and humidity) on adult FED, nor did geographic ancestry explain diversity in FED. FED was not associated with heat dissipation capacity. Taken together these results suggest that the range of contemporary variation in FED, roughly 62-133 glands/cm2, has little physiological consequence, perhaps because skin coverage in sweat can be maintained even at the low end of this range, and sweat output per gland can be adjusted to match sweating capacity to demand. Further research is needed to determine if low FED is associated with impaired evaporative heat dissipation while dehydrated.

CANAN CAKIRLAR, Groningen Institute of Archaeology, Groningen, The Netherlands, was awarded funding in October 2017 to aid research on "Hidden Hybrids: Camels and Cultural Blending in Ancient Near East". This project investigates the origins of human-mediated hybridization of two species that have evolved separately in diverse regions of Eurasia for more than five millennia: the Bactrian camel of central Asia and the Dromedary from Arabia. It tests the hypothesis that they may have been deliberately inter-bred with each other already in the first half of the first millennium BC, somewhere in Iran. Larger than both parents and double the strength of its contributory species, the hybrid camel was the world's first engineered hybrid transportation. The researcher's starting point was that creating hybrid camels required ceremonial transfers of technological knowhow akin to present day camel wrestling spectacles, attracting diverse audiences. Through these camel networks not only goods were quickly spread, but also traditions, languages and ideas blended, leading to unprecedented forms of cultural hybridization. In effect, the hybridization of camels led to accelerated cultural hybridization. As such, hybrid camels are phenomenal embodiments of biocultural evolution. The Hidden Hybrids project searched for archaeological bone and tooth remains of potential hybrid camels from 1st millennium BC contexts in Southwest Asia. More than twelve key sites (e.g., the Neo-Assyrian capital of Dur-Katlimmu in the Khabur Valley of Syria, the harbor site of Kinet Höyük on the Turkish Mediterranean, Tell Jemmeh in the southern Levant) were probed for more than 200 camel specimens. Palaeogenetic analyses shed light on the ancestry of the specimens, with limitations due to DNA preservation and contamination. To overcome such methodological challenges, this study developed osteomorphological and osteometric methods to identify archaeological hybrid camels, using modern day hybrid camels from Iran, acquired from slaughterhouses in western Turkey.

NICOLE FORNIER, then a graduate student at Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, received funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Childhood in Times of Change: A Diet and Life History Reconstruction from San Francisco Bay," supervised by Dr. Shannon Tushingham. This study took an interdisciplinary approach to studying childhood during significant environmental and social changes in the past, specifically how diet, health, and life history patterns of San Francisco Bay Area children were impacted by the Medieval Climatic Anomaly (MCA) and socioeconomic changes (e.g., transition to terrestrial economy, sedentism, increased social inequality) that began during the Middle Period and intensified during the Late Period. By reconstructing the diet and health profiles of 45 juveniles from five prehistoric Bay Area sites (CA-SCL-134, CA-SCL-215, CA-ALA-329, CA-SCL-623, and CA-SCL-870), individual diets were studied, as well as patterns observed in life history milestones relating to diet (e.g., weaning age and age at which children begin independent foraging) within the sample. Results suggest that the aforementioned changes could have influenced weaning behavior, based on a

decrease in the mean age of the start of weaning during the Late Period. However, independent foraging appears to be a typical part of childhood and not simply a consequence of stress. This study contributes to the important anthropological discussion of the facultative nature of childhood and life history.

STEPHANIE FOX, then a graduate student at University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Social Tolerance and the Function of Differentiated Relationships among Wild Female Chimpanzees," supervised by Dr. Melissa Thompson. It is widely recognized that stable social bonds between non-kin are a hallmark of human behavior, yet models that attempt to reconstruct the evolution of female social relationships in humans and non-human primates have largely focused on relationships between kin or sex differences in behavior. This project sought to investigate whether social and ecological factors constrain the formation of strong social bonds among female chimpanzees and determine whether social bonds can confer benefits to females. Although female chimpanzees rarely engage in overt social behaviors, such as grooming, the study focused on measuring social tolerance, an underutilized measure of dyadic relationship quality that might confer benefits. Its aim was to investigate two constraints on social relationships (male aggression and energetic constraints) and three benefits (coalition formation, offspring socialization, and mediation of social stress). Funding allowed the grantee to collect one year of matched behavioral and hormonal data on adult female chimpanzees in the Kanyawara community (Kibale National Park, Uganda) as well as to study long term data collected by the Kibale Chimpanzee Project. Ultimately, this study aims to help understanding differences in the evolution of female social behavior between humans, chimpanzees and bonobos.

CARMEN HOVE, then a graduate student at University of California, Santa Barbara, California, received a grant in August 2020 to aid research on "Investigating Time-dependent Effects of Breastfeeding Behavior on Maternal Immune Regulation and Perceived Somatic Health," supervised by Dr. Amy Boddy. Skin-to-skin breastfeeding evolved as bi-directional relationship between mother and infant, resulting in opportunities for both congruence and conflict. With the invention of infant formula and rudimentary breast pumps, the 19th century introduced evolutionarily novel alternatives to skin-to-skin breastfeeding that are now commonly used across numerous populations. While the ill-effects of curtailed breastfeeding on infant immune development and health outcomes are well-known, the consequences for maternal immune function and short-term morbidity are comparatively understudied. Using a sample of 96 mothers living in the US, this study tests two main hypotheses: 1) the degree to which skin-to-skin breastfeeding is preserved (i.e., proportion of infant feedings delivered via breastfeeding) will correspond to reduced inflammatory activation and better self-reported health; and 2) these

benefits will be strongest in the early postpartum period, when infant and maternal optimums are most likely to overlap. Study results indicate that mothers who report a greater proportion of infant feeding bouts using at-the-nipple breastfeeding exhibit fewer symptoms of depression and physical illness as well as reduced inflammation and more optimal diurnal immune cycling. Findings also indicate that these benefits are generally most robust in the early postpartum period, indicating that breastfeeding behavior exerts time-dependent effects on maternal immune status and health.

KATHERINE M.N. LEE, then a graduate student at University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, received funding in October 2017 to aid research on "Life History Tradeoffs Affecting Bone Maintenance and Development in Premenopausal Polish and Polish-American Women," supervised by Dr. Kathryn Clancy. This project compares bone density and markers of bone turnover in rural Polish women and urban Polish-American women. Lifestyle factors such as physical activity affect bone through multiple pathways during the life span. This research uses inter- and intra-population comparisons to understand how life history and lifestyle factors independently and interactively contribute to bone health. Previous work at the Mogielica Human Ecology Study Site in rural Poland demonstrated that women in this region have a later age at menarche, lower circulating reproductive hormones, and higher physical activity levels than in the US. Understanding bone health in women as both a function of earlier life experiences—as well as a reflection of current reproductive status and physical activity patterns—will distinguish the key factors that explain variation in bone properties and health. This research is among the first to combine markers of bone turnover with measures of bone density at both locomotor and non-locomotor sites to understand how bone varies with age, physical activity, and life history. Integrating life history traits, biological measurements of current reproductive and bone-related status, and current nutrition and physical activity habits allows us to understand bone health as a function of biological and cultural contexts.

STEPHANIE MARCINIAK, Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Biological Consequences of the Agricultural Transition: A Multi-Proxy Biomolecular and Skeletal Investigation of Stature across a 9,000-Year Transect." The origin and spread of farming in Europe 12,000 years ago led to the emergence of complex urban societies, population increases, and exposure to new diseases. Fascinatingly, despite the positive impacts of agriculture, analyses of human skeletal remains during this period suggest that early agriculturalists may have regularly experienced poor health. This project combines paleogenomic and skeletal data to examine the impact of genetic variation and environmental forces on human height variation as well as health across the shift to farming. By comparing the differences between genetic

contributions to height and observed skeletal height for each individual before, during, and after the agricultural transition, this project provides a framework to explore how gene-environment interactions impacted individual growth outcomes in diverse contexts. The findings of the project thus far reveal that during the initial agricultural transition, individuals were on average, skeletally shorter than expected based genetic contributions and that stature positively rebounded afterwards. There is also a potential influence of childhood stress on height, particularly during the early stages of the shift to farming. Further paleogenomic analyses, which will reveal the interactions between skeletal stature, genetic variation, and health across Europe, are currently underway.

ALEXANDER J. PRITCHARD, then a graduate student at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Variation of Stress Coping: Life in a Socially Complex World," supervised by Dr. Ryne A. Palombit. Stress often results from extrinsic challenges associated with unpredictability and lack of control, and can have major consequences for how an organism interacts within its social group. Individual differences in managing such stress have been proposed to reflect evolutionary tradeoffs resulting from outcomes of decision-making processes. The coping style and stress reactivity framework offers a compelling way to conceptualize such differences. Between November 2017 and April 2019, the grantee completed a 17-month field study on 44 wild adult olive baboons (*Papio anubis*) from two groups at a field site in Laikipia, Kenya. The project utilized: 1) experiments to quantify coping styles and stress reactivity; 2) surveys of individual monkeys by experienced raters to measure personality traits; 3) focal animal sampling to collect behavioral data for dominance hierarchies, social group structure, and behavioral tendencies; and, 4) fecal sampling to attain concentrations of fecal glucocorticoid metabolites. Labwork was completed in the Laboratory for Primate Dietary Ecology and Physiology at Rutgers University. Results are being submitted to peer-reviewed journals as four manuscripts. These publications explore how individual differences in the stress response influence the management of psychosocial stress, through social support and uncertainty.

MICHELLE A. RODRIGUES, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on "The Biological Impact of Tend-and-Befriend Strategies: How Female Social Relationships Mediate Stress in Female Scientists." Modern anthropology is no longer the study of the foreign "other:" today we explore the effects of culturally shaped social experiences on both dominant and marginalized groups next door. This project compares the effects of racial and gender discrimination between women of color and white women scientists to understand the embodiment of stress via cortisol and systemic inflammation, and how it is affected by social identity. Invoking tend-and-befriend

theory, the research examined how social support, particularly female friendship, moderates the embodiment of stress. Data was collected from female scientists of color (N=20) and white female scientists (N=20). Participants collected daily urine samples (N=40) and filled out daily surveys. Urinary hormones, including cortisol and inflammatory biomarkers, were assayed via enzyme-linked immunosurbent multiplex assays. Preliminary research from the women of color indicates that workplace incivilities and racial microaggressions are associated. Analysis from a subset of women of color (N=10) indicates that talking to partners, but not friends or family, was significantly negatively associated with somatic symptoms and sleep latency, and somatic symptoms and daily social media use were associated with daily elevations in cortisol. Further analysis will be performed with the full dataset.

ELIZABETH GRACE VEATCH, while a student at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, received funding in April 2018 to aid research on "Interpreting Hominin Subsistence Strategies from Small Mammal Remains at Liang Bua, Flores, Indonesia," supervised by Dr. Jessica Thompson. This project was designed to understand the role of small mammals as a dietary resource for modern (*Homo sapiens*) and non-modern humans (*Homo floresiensis*) on Flores. The study aimed to identify the main sources of predation that caused the accumulation of hundres of thousands of murine skeletal elements at Liang Bua and compare human accumluation patterns between *Homo floresiensis* and *Homo sapiens* occupational units. Data were collected on thousands of skeletal elements, including bone surface modifications, burning patterns, skeletal completeness, species identification and murine body size. Results show that both *Homo floresiensis* and *Homo sapiens* incorporated murines into their diets: *Homo floresiensis* consumed murines of medium (~300 g) and giant (~3 kg) body size from more-open environments while *Homo sapiens* consumed murines of all body sizes (~50 to 3,000 g) from multiple habitats. Overall, this project found that *Homo floresiensis* engaged with their surrounding environment in fundamentally different ways—sourcing only locally available and abundant resources—compared to the more generalist approach observed in modern humans.

ELIZABETH WERREN, then a graduate student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was awarded funding in October 2019 to aid research on "Human-specific Gene Expansion underlying Human Brain Evolution," supervised by Dr. Stephanie Bielas. Gene duplication is a common source of new genetic material that can lead to the emergence of new traits shaped by natural selection. Human-specific duplicate genes, expressed in the developing human brain and within genomic loci associated with neurodevelopmental disorders, are good candidates for genetic factors that have contributed to the evolution of unique features of the human brain. One candidate, the neuroblastoma breakpoint gene family (NBPF), has undergone gene duplication in primate genomes, with the largest expansion humans. Although expressed in the developing brain, the functional role of NBPF

proteins remain unknown. The hypothesis that expansion of NBPFs underlies the biology of brain development that has evolved in humans was tested by comparing NBPF biology in human and chimpanzee-derived neural progenitor cells (NPCs)—cells that determine brain size and cortical neuron composition. NBPF expression is significantly higher in human NPCs, compared to chimpanzee NPCs, and NBPFs exhibit distinct subcellular localization. In human cells, NBPF proteins localize to microtubules, the Golgi apparatus, and the midbody of dividing cells. Depletion of human-specific NBPF protein led to a significant reduction of proliferating NPCs. Together, these findings provide evidence that NBPFs play a role in determining human brain size during development.

AN-DI YIM, then a graduate student at University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, was awarded a grant in May 2019 to aid research on "Ontogeny, Evolution and Ecogeographic Patterns of Human Limb Morphology," supervised by Dr. Charles Roseman. Modern humans expanded into nearly every region of the world, adapting both culturally and biologically to a range of natural environments. Past research in human skeletal biology has shown that the human limb skeleton shifts toward a shorter, more robust morphology in cold-adapted populations and a taller, less robust morphology in heat-adapted populations. This project examined how evolutionary processes have shaped this diversity in the human limb skeleton through changes in growth and development (ontogeny). Using a global sample of osteometric measurements taken from bone specimens of archaeological groups and 3D modules reconstructed from CT scans of contemporary groups, this research teases apart these different evolutionary forces by first showing that the relationship between overall body size and various skeletal traits represented by linear measurements will be conserved among different groups and across age. A linear mixed-effects model was built to study the ontogenetic trajectories of the dimensions of the limb skeleton. The results show population structure arising from neutral evolution, the allometric variation associated with the change in size, and directional effects from climatic factors all contributed to the variation in ontogenetic trajectories of all major long bone dimensions in modern humans.

LINGUISTICS

SONIA N. DAS, New York University, New York, New York, received a grant in October 2018 to aid research on "Fighting Words or Speech Rights? A Linguistic Ethnography of Police Discretion in the US South." Research was conducted between June and August 2019 and July and August 2021. This project investigated how police discretion might lead to the violation of free speech rights in police-civilian encounters in Richland County, South Carolina. Also examined were the interactional achievements of escalation and de-escalation, training protocols that teach police officers which verbal or gestural practices count as evidence of the

intent to incite harm, and audio and video recordings impacting the determination of guilt and attributions of what counts as unprotected speech. The methodologies followed during this research were participant-observation, interviews, and media analysis. Evidence collected included personal narratives from officers in the Columbia Police Department, fieldnotes of traffic stops during "ride-alongs" with officers, video recordings of training sessions in de-escalation at the South Carolina Justice Academy, interviews with judges, attorneys, and criminal defendants involved in DUI and other criminal cases, and newspaper articles discussing bodycams. Research findings indicate that officers and civilians predict aggression against themselves based on their social identities and language ideologies; also, officers rely extensively on their discretion to determine what speech, gestures, and movement count as escalation.

E. MARA GREEN, Barnard College, New York, New York, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2019 to aid research and writing on "The Fragility of Sense: Language, Ethics, and Understanding in Deaf Nepal." The book, *Making Sense: Language, Ethics, and Understanding in Deaf Nepal*, draws on 23 months of fieldwork to explore what it means to live in a world where language cannot be taken for granted. In Nepal, roughly 5000 deaf persons—those involved in deaf schools and organizations—learn Nepali Sign Language (NSL). Most deaf persons, however, use "natural sign," an NSL term that refers to communication using a fairly small repertoire of conventional signs complemented by iconic and indexical strategies. These particular characteristics make understanding natural sign both possible and precarious. Through ethnography and video analysis of interactions, this book reveals that making sense to and of others depends not only on the skillful use of available semiotic resources, but also on securing potential addressees' attention and willingness. In other words, natural sign conversations become intelligible only when the people involved take the ethical position that such intelligibility is possible in the first place.

STEPHANIE V. LOVE, then a graduate student at City University of New York, Graduate Center, New York, New York, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on "The Life of the Dead: Linguistic Infrastructure and the Signs of War in Post-Colonial Algeria," supervised by Dr. Jillian Cavanaugh. Since independence in 1962, the material, political, and linguistic vestiges of the Revolution (1954-1962) continue to exert power over Algerian society, reflecting the enduring consequences of colonialism, war, and civil violence on postcolonial social formation. This twelve-month field research project investigated the remaking of postcolonial urban space and politics in Oran—Algeria's second largest city—by asking: How do linguistic and material invocations and representations of the Revolution's martyrs shape urban subjectivities and collectivities? How is the past inscribed onto or erased from the cityscape? How do Algerians make sense of these

urban spaces? Using linguistic anthropological, ethnographic, and archival methods, this project examined the narratives of civil society actors, taxi drivers, students, urban protestors, and others, finding that everyday urban poetics—i.e., attention to the forms of placenames, graffiti, stories, metaphoric quips, and creative play with pronouns—have become repositories of alternative historical knowledge and creative contestation to power. For project interlocutors, the postcolonial state lost the political and moral authority to commemorate the dead and govern the country. Ordinary city-dwellers have developed an alternative repertoire of historical memory and contestation in which the colonial past is revivified to speak to the injustices of the postcolonial here-and-now.

ARON SEEGERS MARIE, a graduate student at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, received funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Two Subjects, One Voice? The Everyday Ethics of Voice in Sign Language Interpreting in Hà Nội, Việt Nam," supervised by Dr. Michele Friedner. This dissertation, (renamed "Sharing Voice: The Interdependence of Sign Language Interpreting and Deaf Activism in Hà Nội, Việt Nam") examines how deaf people and sign language interpreters creatively and interdependently use language to construct public representations of themselves and each other. The slogan "Nothing About Us Without Us," captures one of the core tenets of disability movements: the right to engage in self advocacy. Yet for deaf signing people in Việt Nam (and most elsewhere), having a "voice" to engage in self advocacy requires the use of sign language interpreters. At the same time, interpreters depend on deaf activists to advocate for the growth of interpreting as interpreting is not recognized as a profession by the Vietnamese state. The dissertation asks: how do deaf people and interpreters in Việt Nam debate, imagine, create, and inhabit new ethical norms around voicing and self-advocacy? This study examines how norms of Vietnamese political speech and international self-advocacy politics present barriers for interdependent voices like deaf people and sign language interpreters. The study complicates theories of power by showing how allies and professionals who work with disabled people can be rendered precarious through their work. Finally, the dissertation draws inspiration from the creative work of deaf people and interpreters in Hà Nội, Việt Nam to imagine how we can build more sustainable futures for both disabled people and their allies.

SOCIAL/CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

JAMES R. ADAMS, then a graduate student at University of California, Irvine, California, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Data Ideologies in Energy Politics: Negotiating Infrastructure Transition in Austin, Texas," supervised by Dr. Kim Fortun. This dissertation consisted of twelve months of ethnographic research on Austin's energy politics, investigating how diverse actors have come

together and collaborated in the planning and practice of a city-scale transition to renewable energy. Data collection included media and archival analysis, ethnographic interviews, and participant observation with four unique-yet-overlapping collectives of clean energy practitioners: Austin city bureaucrats, data scientists and engineers, clean energy entrepreneurs and industry advocates, and climate and social justice activists. The research considered how these collectives diverged according to ideas about the kinds of data relevant to energy transition, how these data should be produced, and how they should be translated into climate/energy discourses, policies, and practices. Research findings showed the complex, multi-scalar fashion by which Austin's techno-political regime of energy transition emerged and operated, prompting the refinement of a multi-scalar heuristic for guiding further energy humanities and social science research. Austin's successes in the transition to renewable energy were also found to be powered by and entangled with investments in structural racism and fossil capital. Despite recent struggles to develop more equitable methods, concerns, and strategies for planning energy transition, these attempts are still haunted (and therefore attenuated) by persistent logics of colonialism and petrocapitalism.

NIKHIL S. ANAND, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, received a grant in October 2018 to aid research on "Urban Sea: Living in Anthropogenic Waters." How are the sodden coastlines of megacities inhabited in climate-changed times? This study examines ongoing fisher and scientist practices in Mumbai's seas to provincialize extant governmental and terrestrial modes of acting in the city. This project is also interested in ways that climate planning is deferred and approached in a city whose future is often represented as being consumed by rising seas. Taken together, the research examines what coastal seas hold, how they are being transformed at a variety of temporal and spatial scales, and how these transformations are generative of emergent understandings, both of cities and planning in a climate-changed present.

ROXANA M. ARAS, then a graduate student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Everyday Confessionalism and Olfactory Aesthetics: The Case of the Rum Orthodox in Beirut," supervised by Dr. Paul C. Johnson. This project applies a complex nexus of sensorial aesthetics, social networks, and lived religion in the case of the Rum Orthodox in Lebanon. Here the study asks how members of this Arab Christian minority negotiate their identity through sensory codes, discursive representations, and urban material culture. With archival and ethnographic research conducted between 2019 and 2020, this work is located within the multi-confessional environment of Beirut, disrupted by sectarian conflicts, nationwide uprisings, and the COVID-19 pandemic. Using a grand narrative of Orthodoxy as a "way of life," it focuses on two intertwined dimensions of religion as lived experience. First, it

investigates how Rum Orthodox authenticate their identity through religious practice that combines particular sensorial aesthetics, ethical sensibilities, and scripted traditions. Second, it explores Rum Orthodoxy as a dynamic, everyday social practice that engenders and reflects specific sensory registers, affective dispositions, and cultural categories. Here, the Rum Orthodox sensorially negotiate their status as a religious minority in everyday social interactions, within the urban topography of Beirut, and through regimes of precarity and uncertainty.

ZOE BERMAN, then a graduate student at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, was awarded a grant in August 2020 to aid research on "Intergenerational Memory Practices and Social Transformation in Post-Genocide Rwanda," supervised by Dr. Jennifer Cole. In recent years, concerns about psychosocial well-being of the youth born after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi have spurred Rwandans of all ages to establish formal and informal intergenerational dialogues in which to discuss the past. Building on these observations, and drawing on studies of memory, generations, and post-conflict contexts, as well as initial fieldwork, this research explores how Rwandans are using memory practices to reconfigure social relationships, with implications for how "Rwandan" identity will be understood in the future. By memory practices, this work refers to the material, affective, and semiotic processes through which memories are internalized, externalized, and rendered capable of circulating. It hypothesizes that through such practices Rwandans negotiate a complicated relationship to the past to transform social boundaries and imaginaries. Tracking the work of official and unofficial memory practices within and across three multi-generational youth-focused organizations, as well as in popular media and at the level of policy, this project explores how "memories" are made tangible in the present and their import on social life. What practices enable individual and collective resolution after violence, and how do these practices change over time?

KATHRYN R. BERRINGER, then a graduate student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was awarded funding in October 2019 to aid research on "Caring for LGBTQ Detroit Youth: Replicability and the 'Science' of Care," supervised by Dr. Damani Partridge. This project explores how social and medical services providers seek to produce safety and enact care for Black LGBTQ+ Detroit youth in the context of profound disinvestment, the collapse of urban infrastructure, the dispossession of public goods, and ongoing crises of racial and economic injustice. In doing so, it examines the politics of recognition, representation, and surveillance, as practitioners engage in modes of activism that seek to expand visibility and improve outcomes for LGBTQ+ youth in various systems of care and public institutions. It also examines how practitioners, working towards this goal, take up, advance, and sometimes contest the principles of "Implementation Science"—an emerging but largely unscrutinized field in health care and social service research. In this mode of

practice research, practitioners work to produce care as measurable, testable, and replicable social interventions in order to establish an "evidence-base" for practice tailored to LGBTQ+ youth. In examining these various forms of care and epistemic activism—that is, activist engagements in knowledge production—this project examines how practitioners and youth negotiate visibility, confront marginalization, and seek to resolve the ethical dilemmas inherent to this work.

IRTEZA BINTE-FARID, then a graduate student at University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, received a grant in August 2020 to aid research on "Ethical Self-Cultivation amongst Black Muslim Youth," supervised by Dr. Kathleen Hall. Black Muslim youth in Philadelphia engaged in ethical self-cultivation through Islamic learning and through increased activism for black lives during the pandemic. Many Black Muslim youth drew on Islamic explanations to explain racial inequality—religious belief, therefore, was not separate from racial understanding. Students found religious community online through Instagram and Zoom. Racial self-understanding developed in multiple sites, including Instagram, Zoom history classroom, as well as virtual discussions with peers. Many Black Muslim youth supported Black Lives Matter (BLM). However, they overwhelmingly critiqued the America-centric focus of BLM. Students advocated for African lives to matter too under BLM. Students also hoped for justice for persecuted Muslims globally. The greater use of online platforms during the pandemic encouraged student expressions of political activism, particularly in regards to preserving black life. The history classroom provided a space for students to discuss variable ethnic understandings of black history, particularly about the Atlantic Slave Trade. Blackness is not monolithic and, for the students, history enriched their understanding of racial and ethnic identities. Some students also used Islamic rationales to explain the pandemic. Religious explanations of the need for expiation framed their view of coronavirus, underscoring the importance of religion in people's everyday lived experiences.

USMON BORON, then a graduate student at University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on "Secularity, Aspiration, and Religious Failure in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan," supervised by Dr. Amira Mittermaier. In the 1920s the Soviet state began forcefully secularizing Muslim-majority Central Asia. By the beginning of WWII, the state closed down most mosques in the region, eradicated traditional legal and educational institutions, and marginalized Islamic practices of ethical self-cultivation (i.e., the five daily prayers, veiling, fasting). Nevertheless, most Central Asians continued to believe in God and identify as Muslims, and despite being alienated from legal and theological aspects of the Islamic tradition, they held on to Islamic life-cycle rituals such as male circumcision, marriage ceremony (nikah), and funeral prayer (janaza). After the collapse of the USSR, Central Asia witnessed a rise of Islamic pietistic movements that urged lay

Muslims to learn the basics of Islamic theology and to fulfil daily ritual obligations. Based on two years of ethnographic research in Northern Kyrgyzstan, this dissertation project examines the living legacy of Soviet secularism against the backdrop of the ongoing Islamic revival. More specifically, it engages with non-observant Muslims belonging to the last Soviet generation, focusing particularly on concepts, sensibilities, and modes of argumentation that constitute the ways they understand Islam and relate to the changing religious landscape of their country.

HANNAH EISLER BURNETT, then a graduate student at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, received funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Making the Future Environment: Restoration Science in Southern Louisiana," supervised by Dr. Joseph Masco. Renamed "Making the Future Coast: Ecological Restoration on the Edge of Louisiana," this project aimed to understand how environmental change is linked to ideas about the passage of time. What should the future environment look like, and when would such a future arrive? How far into the future should people make plans for the landscape, and whose voices are included in those plans? In order to answer these questions, the researcher spent sixteen months investigating the topic in southern Louisiana's Mississippi River Delta. This is a region where environmental change and disaster are unfolding at many different timescales: from the acute impacts of hurricanes and the slow unfolding of toxic contamination to the rapid pace of coastal land loss and the long-term plans to counteract that loss through restoration efforts. The researcher found that people frequently used idioms of claim-making and property to express connections between value, time, and environmental change. Through interviews, participant observation, and archival research, the researcher tracked emergent technologies of claim-making among lawyers, restoration scientists, and oyster fishermen from a variety of backgrounds. Ultimately, the research has the potential to show how those with power seek to stabilize their claims in coastal areas, when the constitution of water and land are both radically changing.

DANA BURTON, then a graduate student at George Washington University, Washington, DC, was awarded a grant in October 2019 to aid research on "Difference and Multiplicity in NASA's Search for Life," supervised by Dr. Ilana Feldman. Retitled "Interplanetary Microbial Encounters in NASA's Search for Life," this project investigated the methodological strategies utilized by NASA astrobiologists in their efforts to search for evidence of life in outer space, Funding supported the portion of the project that began at Ames Research Center in California and expanded to include a multi-sited network of NASA centers across the United States, as well as many academic, scientific, and commercial communities and nonhuman entities that are connected to life detection efforts. The central research question that guided this project was: as scientists work in laboratories on Earth to understand life on an interplanetary scale, how do their efforts reconfigure

biology as a schema to account for the multiplicity of life? The data gathered contributed to a mapping of the interconnected webs of scientific knowledge producers. Specifically, scientists' conversations about the fundamental requirements of life helped to clarify both the limits of life's ability to survive in extreme environments on Earth, as well as the limits of scientists' ability to define what life was and upon what it relied upon on Earth and beyond. The dissertation analysis of this data and the nuances therein are a significant source of information to advance current scholarship about the anthropology of outer space and STS.

J. ANDREW BUSH, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Islamic Law in a Quasi-State: Husbands and Jurists at the Fatwa Council in Iraqi Kurdistan." When Muslim men engage legal forums on questions of marriage and divorce, several layers of uncertainty surround their status as husbands. Within those forums, practitioners of civil law and shari'a in the Kurdistan region of Iraq work across multiple layers of uncertainty about legal authority in a landscape characterized by legal pluralism. Fieldwork and remote research combined extensive textual analyses of the shari'a tradition and civil laws promulgated by the federal Iraqi government and Kurdistan regional government with observations of courtroom proceedings and interviews with lawyers, judges, and public prosecutors. Research tracked how the figure of the husband has appeared in different legal forums and the texts that perform legal debates stretching to the 18th century. Results suggest that the dynamism of legal doctrine and the genealogies of legal pluralism have not been occluded by 21st century legal practice, but rather refigured alongside textual practices that continue to emphasize the dynamism of texts themselves. Multiple, shifting procedures for adjudicating marriage and divorce have remade men as husbands in these forums.

JESSICA CERDENA, then a graduate student at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, was awarded funding in April 2018 to aid research on "Biosocial Embodiment of Intergenerational Trauma in Latin American Migrant Women and their Infants," supervised by Dr. Richard Bribiescas. How do Latin American migrant women accommodate traumatic histories and motherhood amid the COVID-19 pandemic? This mixed-methods dissertation research examines trauma and resilience among structurally vulnerable Latin American migrants who give birth during the public health and socioeconomic constraints imposed by COVID-19. Through 98 interviews conducted with migrant women prior to and following birth, clinic staff, and local community leaders, this research narrates how women construct their life arcs in the vibrant and diverse community of New Haven, Connecticut. This research informs the fields of medical anthropology, public health, and history, and motivates policy advocacy supporting migrant and maternal-child health.

SOPHIE CHAO, University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia, was awarded funding in October 2019 to aid research on "Capitalism beyond the Human: The Multispecies World of Oil Palm." This project interweaves environmental anthropology, Indigenous theory, and plant science to investigate the multispecies lifeworld of oil palm, one of the world's most ubiquitous and controversial cash crops. The project examined how monocrop regimes are shaped by the knowledges and practices of agronomic scientists and the biological attributes of oil palm as vegetal organism and industrial cash crop. This secondary and archival research-based component was complemented by ethnographic fieldwork conducted by an Indigenous Research Assistant in West Papuan. This fieldwork investigated how Indigenous Marind inhabiting the Papuan monocrop frontier conceptualize oil palm's ecological relations and impacts against the backdrop of ongoing political colonization, ethnic domination, and capitalist incursion. The project draws on inter-species relations of domination and subordination in plantationscapes to rethink intra-species relations in a region where Indigenous peoples are treated as sub-human and killable before the law. Attending to the complex intersections of race, ecology, and culture, the project highlights the importance of attending equally to the politics within, and not just the poetics of, more-than-human relations in emergent capitalist natures and their broader (settler-)colonial contexts.

PAUL CLARKE, then a graduate student at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was awarded a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Private Security, Masculinity, and the Commodification of Force in South Africa," supervised by Dr. George Paul Meiu. At the end of apartheid, South Africa was home to the fasting growing private security industry in the world. In the years since, the industry has only grown, becoming the largest of its kind globally and taking on duties thought to be the sole purview of the police. As state policy has failed to reduce inequality and generate economic growth, private security has come to play increasingly pivotal role in South African political economy. With distrust of the police at all-time highs, security is the only reliable source of protection for the propertied. In a country with unemployment over 30%, security is one of the few jobs left open to young men without higher education. And as a "recession-proof" sector in a shrinking economy, security is often seen one of best bets for investors, who are flush with cash but short on investment opportunities. Blending ethnographic research on private security firms in South Africa's most populous province Gauteng and archival research on the long history of policing in Southern Africa, this project draws on the anthropologies of policing and capitalism to explore how "risk"—financial and existential—came to be the imagined vehicle of value-production for labor and capital alike.

KYLE B. CRAIG, then a graduate student at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, was awarded funding in May 2019 to aid research on "'This City Needs

Color': The Political Temporalities of Graffiti and Street Art in Amman, Jordan," supervised by Dr. Jessica Winegar. This dissertation examines the intersections of youth temporalities, the affective resonances of urban material, and the politics of public aesthetics via graffiti and street art in Amman, Jordan. Long-standing narratives describe Amman as a site of absence and dislocation—a city that lacks social cohesion or a unified aesthetic, has poor infrastructure, or offers little economic opportunity. Based on both on-site and remote fieldwork, this research attends to the multitude of ways Amman residents respond to and reframe these narratives and experiences by deploying public art across the city. Artists channel their frustrations with Amman as an "empty" and "futureless" space into colorful public art projects that for them represent small steps in the constitution of the ideal future city. This research also highlights how artists' imaginations of a future Amman both complement and diverge from the agendas of municipal authorities and NGOs who support many of these arts initiatives. One core impetus for this project is to underscore the need to move beyond the often restricting and romanticized framework of "resistance art" when examining the nexus between youth politics and aesthetics, particularly in the MENA region.

ANGELA CRUMDY, then a graduate student at the City University of New York, Graduate Center, New York, New York, received funding in April 2018 to aid research on "Education from the Margins: Black Women Educators in 20th and 21st Century Cuba," supervised by Dr. Dana-Ain Davis. This study is a feminist analysis of labor and uses social reproduction theory to better understand the lived experiences of women primary school educators in Cuba during the contemporary teacher shortage. Using a mixed method approach, the study argues that the experiences of Black women teachers in Cuba today are in many ways shaped by the colonial legacies of slavery and gender inequality, which the 1959 Revolution failed to rectify. Interlocutors expressed discontent in knowing that they performed essential (re)productive work for the sake of the nation while their capacities to fully participate were curtailed by long work hours and low pay. Teacher shortages are not specific to Cuba, however, this case is unique in that the 1990's Special Period, a term used to refer to the economic turmoil triggered by the demise of the Soviet trading bloc, intensified race and class-based cleavages reminiscent of times prior to 1959 when racial segregation was common and social mobility was limited. Research findings will contribute to the anthropology of education and broaden scholars' understanding of women's labor practices in Latin America and the Caribbean.

SAMUEL DERBYSHIRE, Oxford University, Oxford, United Kingdom, was awarded a grant in October 2019 to aid research on "Reconfiguring African Pastoralism: A Historical Ethnography of Resilience, Mobility and Ingenuity." This project seeks to develop and refine the concept of resilience as a characteristic of contemporary

African pastoralism by means of an innovative and pioneering, cross-regional and cross-cultural comparative ethnographic study. Research thus far has taken place over the course of two years and has comprised a detailed ethnographic investigation of communities in northwest Kenya. This research has facilitated the exposition of a range of hitherto neglected historical narratives. The data accumulated serve as evidence that might facilitate new ways of thinking about resilience and socio-economic change in pastoralist contexts. In the future, through the comparison of this research with research to be undertaken in other African pastoralist contexts to the north and east, the project will seek to foster new discussions about how pastoralist institutions, livelihoods and economies take shape through substantial contextualising transformational processes.

DOMINIQUE DILLABOUGH-LEFEBVRE, then a graduate student at London School of Economics, London, United Kingdom, received funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Development as Insurgency: Ethnonationalism and the Politics of Land Contestation in Kayin State Myanmar," supervised by Dr. Katy Gardner. This research focuses on the topics of agrarian change, labor, and cultivation as they relate to local religion and cosmology amongst Karen peoples of the Hpapun Hills. This is an area straddling the Thai-Burma border. The research has examined the different forms such labor takes in the context of legacies of violence, displacement, and increased infrastructural development in this area of Southeastern Burma. Alongside this lies a focus on the social labors of care and education involved in agrarian work, militarization, conservation and nation building, and the affinities which lie at the heart of these endeavors. Land thus becomes a window through which to explore social relationships and processes of social change in an area with a subsistence cultivation driven economy. Central to this are the relationship between animism and Christianity in the area, and how displacement has affected the persistence of animist practices in the region.

CHLOE FAUX, then a graduate student at Columbia University, New York, New York, was awarded a grant in October 2019 to aid research on "Valuations of Black Life in Death: Risking an Ethics of Care in South Africa," supervised by Dr. Rosalind Morris. This study investigated the historical and emergent dilemmas of black reproductivity in post-apartheid South Africa. To do this, the researcher considered the double bind that has historically both demanded and condemned Black women's reproductivity in South Africa, even as the masculinist project of national redemption is coded as rebirth. The study was oriented by the convergences between race and gender, sacrifice and ritual, violence and desire. The researcher was especially interested in how "traditional healing," mobilized and regulated by the state in the current conjuncture, intersects with the psychoanalytic and other forms of care. Taking into account the active role *amadlozi* (ancestral spirits, the living-dead) play in the lives of black South Africans, the study asks what ontologies

of life and death might the ancestral realm offer that the actuarial framework of risk cannot. For the researcher, ancestrality was at once an "explanatory idiom," for thinking through the ruptures and relations between the living, the dead, and not-yet-born, and a methodology for examining the logic and exercise of sexual violence.

JOSHUA B. FRANKLIN, then a graduate student at University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was awarded funding in October 2018 to aid research on "Childhood Gender Diversity and Transgender Medicine in Philadelphia, PA," supervised by Dr. Adriana Petryna. In recent years, there has been a surge of attention to transgender children and youth. In medicine, this has meant the establishment of pediatric gender identity clinics, which provide hormones and other medical interventions as well as social support for young people who choose to transition. This research focused on one specialized clinic at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia to understand the ways that childhood gender is changing in the United States today from the perspective of transgender children who are receiving gender-affirming care. Based on interviews and ethnographic fieldwork with patients, families, and practitioners, this research found that child-centric medical practice represents a distinct form of clinical reasoning, which is not unique to transgender medicine, but rather a reflection of prevailing norms of U.S. adolescence. This research also identified normalcy as a central concern with divergent but overlapping meanings for young people, parents, and health professionals. Finally, interviews conducted revealed the extent to which access to gender affirming medical care is distributed unequally along lines of race and class.

VANESA GIRALDO GARTNER, then a graduate student at University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts, was awarded a grant in August 2020 to aid research on "Governing Reproduction in War and Peace: Contraception, Abortion, and Maternity among Ex-Combatants in Colombia," supervised by Dr. Thomas Leatherman. This research examines how reproductive politics shape women's participation in the armed conflict and peacebuilding in Colombia by analyzing and comparing the reproductive experiences of ex-combatant women who demobilized before and after the 2016 peace agreement between the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC. The government has alleged that mandatory contraception and forced abortions were ordinary forms of sexual violence against female fighters, who made up from 30% to 40% of the fighting force. During peace negotiations, however, female leaders of the FARC responded to these accusations arguing that being a mother was a choice and not an obligation for them. This research complicates the narrative of victims versus rebels by analyzing the centrality of governing women's reproductive lives in war and peace. It combines traditional and non-traditional ethnographic methods, including 38 interviews, multi-sited participant observation, one digital storytelling workshop, attendance to Facebook events, and co-hosting a radio program. Findings suggest that governing

reproduction in war is an essential biopolitical strategy to incorporate women in armed groups, regulate their bodies, and determine the relationships of the groups with communities. In the aftermath of war, reproductive policies influence the political participation of women in peacebuilding and the reconstitution of their communities.

TALIA R. GORDON, then a graduate student at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, received funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Why Resilience Now? Cultural Ideologies of Responsibility and Collective Life in the Postwelfare United States," supervised by Dr. Eugene Raikhel. Set in the former industrial heartland of the United States, this project explored ethnographically how conditions of adversity are remaking American cultural ideologies of responsibility in the aftermath of social welfare retrenchment. During this period of increasing inequality in the US, "resilience" has become a popular concept for understanding the effects of adversity on individuals and communities. Resilience-building strategies epitomize a paradox of postwelfare-era social life, wherein local populations are not only required by neoliberal doctrines to be economically self-sufficient in the face of growing inequality, but are enlisted as responsible for recovering—and emerging strengthened—from the adverse consequences of retrenchment. Investigating this paradox, the project examined the uptake of resilience-building strategies and other local responses to adversity in Flint, Michigan, a community particularly affected by the changes to social welfare policy, disinvestment in public infrastructure, and racial, economic, and political disenfranchisement that characterize the postwelfare period. Focused on how people organize themselves in relation to one another, to place, to the state, and to other sites of institutional power, the project found a strong disidentification with "resilience" as a mode of self-understanding. These findings suggest that under protracted conditions of material inequality, long-standing American cultural ideologies of personal responsibility and strength in adversity are giving way to other modes of self-understanding and social organization.

ALISON HANSON, then a graduate student at University of California, Santa Cruz, California, was awarded funding in October 2019 to aid research on "Scripting Sexual Violence: The Politics at Poetics of Title IX at UCSC," supervised by Dr. Megan Moodie. This project examines how legal, administrative, and narrative practices on campus at the University of California, Santa Cruz (UCSC) script sexual violence and constrict possibilities for survivors. Federal regulatory guidance over the past decade has enabled survivors to seek remedy for sexual violence and harassment at universities through the legal framework of Title IX. Yet in 2020, federal rulemaking narrowed Title IX jurisdiction to bolster due process rights for respondents, which spurred broad conversation about the limits of Title IX on campus and shaped survivors' access to administrative processes. Using research methods of

participant-observation with campus administrators and student survivors, interviews, surveys, discursive analysis of legal texts, and social media analysis, this project studies how sexual violence is produced and talked about in the campus environment. The findings illuminate how dominant scripts of sexual violence are changing at UCSC in the wake of this dynamic sociopolitical environment brought by Title IX guidance and the #MeToo movement, as well as the unexpected context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Ultimately, this research suggests the need for a broader capacity for hearing survivors' stories that do not align with dominant scripts to build more supportive campus environments.

COLIN HOAG, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2020 to aid research and writing on "Landscapes of a National Natural Resource in Lesotho, The World's First Water-Exporting Country." The Fellowship supported writing up a book manuscript, *The Fluvial Imagination: A Crisis of Lesotho's Water-Export Economy*. For a century, Lesotho acted as a labor reserve for South Africa's mining industries. As mining employment collapsed in the 1990s, Lesotho signed a treaty with South Africa to build a series of dams and divert water to arid Johannesburg, the subcontinent's economic epicenter. Lesotho had become the world's first "water-exporting country." As water rose in national importance, however, its very nature came into question, inciting debates about how it flows across the landscape. Conservation experts worry that soil erosion and reservoir sedimentation might imperil this massive project, but the extent and causes of erosion are contested. Whether blame should lie with rural livestock production or with changes in Lesotho's rainfall regime, what is clear is that Lesotho's water-export economy has exposed a crisis of environmental interpretation. A fluvial imagination, its author shows, is crucial to navigating water issues in the Anthropocene. The manuscript is forthcoming in Fall 2022 with University of California Press.

INDIVAR JONNALAGADDA, then a graduate student at University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, received funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Securing Land, Legitimacy, and Life: Informal Land Rights and Markets in Hyderabad, India," supervised by Dr. Nikhil Anand. This dissertation project, retitled "Conditional Land Rights and Subaltern Citizenship in Hyderabad, India," examines the intersecting politics of citizenship and property for marginalized groups in urban India. Since April 2020, the grantee has pursued and expanded four broad research tracks: land rights; informal markets; politics of regularization; and slum governance. The findings present the slum as a dynamic site for negotiating the meaning of legality and contesting the normative distribution of urban resources. By focusing on property relations beyond the law, and exchanges of property beyond formal real estate markets, this study shows the strategic political processes generated in response to legal regimes of development which are drained of any

substantive progressive potential. The research has relevance for the rich literature on the politics of citizenship among marginalized groups, on law and property relations, and on urban governance. It builds on the lived experiences of subaltern citizens and their everyday encounters with obstacles to flourishing and economic advancement, to argue that citizenship claims for the poor are often articulated as property/possessory claims. This has important implications for how development is pursued in populist democracies, and for what kinds of urban politics we can anticipate in response to transformations sparked by climate change.

NICHOLAS KAWA, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Waste or Resource? The Contested Use of Human Excreta in Midwestern Agriculture." Prior to industrialization, human excrement was commonly employed as a resource for agricultural fertilization. Following the advent of the hydraulic sanitation system, however, it became increasingly directed into waterways rather than reincorporated into terrestrial agroecosystems. To counter this trend, many industrial cities are seeking to use treated sewage sludge, or "biosolids," as a renewable resource that can be applied as a soil amendment for agricultural production as well as use in urban recreational settings, including parks, gardens, and golf courses. This research demonstrates how the use of biosolids in the American cities of Chicago and Columbus (Ohio) comes to "make sense"—experientially, economically, and ecologically—to users and wastewater experts. Specifically, this project highlights how direct sensorial experiences (particularly of odors or their absence) as well as notions of economic and ecological "good sense" contribute to the social acceptability of biosolids usage. Furthermore, it shows how sanitation infrastructures, socio-cultural norms, and health considerations both contour and constrain such usage. Lastly, this research draws attention to how contaminants of emerging concern that are barely perceptible in sanitation waste raise profound questions about the challenges of urban sustainability in this period known as late industrialism.

MIRIAM KILIMO, then a graduate student at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Gender Quotas, Law, and Nationhood in Kenya," supervised by Dr. Peter D. Little. This project examined the impact of gender quotas in political representation in Kenya, a country that introduced the legislation in 2010. When few women won seats by election, political parties fulfilled the gender quota by nominating hundreds of women as members of county assemblies (MCAs). Although much research has been conducted to investigate which gender quotas work best to increase the number of women in political office, little scholarship has considered how these women experience the political system. Using participant observation, interviews, and document and media analyses, this study examined the participation of female MCAs in the county assembly and in the community, their relationship with male MCAs, and the ideas

about them that are circulated in public. The findings of this research show that female MCAs are active participants in the political system. They balance their legislative work with community expectations, such as acting as financial patrons. They expand their political networks by collaborating with male MCAs. They urge nongovernmental organizations to not just train them on leadership, but to also support them financially. Ultimately, the study shows how female MCAs actively create their political futures, challenging assumptions that paint them as pawns of male politicians and political parties.

REGINA KNAPP, an independent scholar living in Berlin, Germany, was awarded a Fejos Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2019 to aid completion of an ethnographic film "Revitalising Kula: Gift Exchange and the Global Economy in South-East Papua New Guinea." *Voices of Kula* tells a story of empowerment, of local responses to cultural and economic changes and of the strive to revitalize cultural heritage. Confronted with the destructive impacts of cash-economy on *kula*—a traditional system of exchanging shell-valuables around a "ring" of approximately 40 islands in Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea—a group of kula masters and a cooperating anthropologist take action. Together they set out on an adventurous journey around the "kula ring" to strengthen the old exchange practice. *Voices of Kula* joins the group on their fascinating quest for economic and cultural autonomy. The film is produced from footage taken during two research expeditions around the island network in 2016 and 2018. It introduces *kula* and shows further how it has been changing in recent times through external influences. These changes affect the societies in the network. Will there be a way to find common solutions to today's problems and bring *kula* safely into the next generation? The film takes the viewer on a journey into an intriguing inter-island network of exchange-relationships—with some stunning encounters along the way.

RIJUL KOCHHAR, then a graduate student at Massachusetts Inst. of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was awarded funding in August 2020 to aid research on "Antibiotic Resistance, Planetary Crisis, and the Anthropology of Waiting," supervised by Dr. Michael Fischer. This doctoral dissertation examines how antibiotics—once regarded as a signal achievement of modernity—are confronting ruination within a century of their development and mass deployment globally. Specifically, it explores an emerging "post-antibiotic era" as a problem of planetary insecurity, a time in which common infections and minor injuries can once again kill. Yet, this time of crisis also presents moments of possibilities, causing a resurgence of interest in moribund, alternative techniques and epistemologies of infection control such as bacteriophage therapy that have long been cast aside as superfluous knowledge. These "bacteria-eating" viruses—found abundantly in nature and used extensively in genetics research—once functioned as an alternative "ecological" tool for controlling infections in the USSR and South Asia more broadly. However,

bacteriophages were not a popular form of medical intervention elsewhere during the Cold War. As this research reveals, the viruses, themselves, have a more complicated history of indigenous-scientific origins in India, in rivers such as the Ganga and Yamuna whose believed curative propensities have long held mythic-religious and medical significance in local traditions long buffeted by colonial encounters. Phage therapy did not gain traction in the West during the Cold War for ostensibly geopolitical reasons, and the use of bacteriophages or antibiotics were largely political decisions. With the end of the Cold War and the crisis of antibiotic resistance on the rise, bacteriophage therapy—once an "inferior" science—is emerging as a revenant medical, biosecurity, and biotechnological strategy from India to the US to its epicenter, Georgia. By ethnographically unearthing global historical flows of epistemologies and experiences of endangerment, this dissertation project shows how India, ex-Soviet Georgia, and US are connected and located at a crossroads of biotechnological history, western and non-western systems of medicine, and terrains of bureaucratic-scientific and mythic-religious rationalities of illness, microbial danger, and healing. Rethinking the scales and locales of knowledge, this project provides a much-needed reconciliation between planetary ecologies, global history, and local interventions that are generating newer forms of scientific and medical life. Deploying the analytic of "waiting," it aims to show how provincialized forms of knowledge, which have long been marginalized in scientific discourse, are (re)emerging as frontline responses against an unfolding planetary crisis of mutant pathogens. As antibiotics await their own finitude, this project examines unstable political economies of pharmaceuticals; emerging One Health views of public health security or species-symbiosis supplanting 19th Century "germ theory" paradigms of biological damage; and new forms of publics, markets, and epistemologies which are re-integrating bacteriophages as promissory, world-making actors in post-antibiotic worlds.

ALEX KORSUNSKY, then a graduate student at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, received funding in August 2020 to aid research on "Relocalizing Agriculture in a Transnational World: Settled Farmworkers and the Political Ecology of Place," supervised by Dr. Norbert Ross. Despite the rise of U.S. alternative food movements in the past half-century, farming remains highly racialized: the overwhelming majority of farmers are white, while most laborers are Mexican (im)migrants. Opening U.S. agriculture to farmers of color is therefore an issue of equity—but is it also, as food-justice/food-sovereignty scholars and activists hope, a path towards a more humane and sustainable food system rooted in diverse agrarian traditions of land stewardship? Drawing on fieldwork in western Oregon's Willamette Valley, this project investigates how Mexican immigrant farmers' experiences in agriculture—on family farms in their home communities, as laborers in the US, and as participants in nonprofit initiatives—inform their farming styles and aspirations. While scholars of immigrant agriculture often center agrarian

tradition and organized alternative food initiatives, this study finds that unaffiliated farmers are more conventional in their practices, replicating the techniques they learned on U.S. farms as hired workers. While both categories of farmers draw on elements of their agrarian heritage in forming their aspirations, these findings suggest that the effects of tradition on farming are more contingent than scholars and activists may believe and urge caution on a field often drawn to the romance of agrarian Others.

LAURA KUNREAUTHER, Bard College, Annandale-On-Hudson, New York, received funding in May 2018 to aid research on "Translating Voices, Interpreting the Field: On the Labor of U.N. Interpreters." This research explores the work of field interpreters for U.N. missions, whose labor is typically invisible but essential to global organizations. Unlike professional interpreters at U.N. headquarters, field interpreters describe constant movement through dangerous territory to translate often deeply traumatic testimony, with little or no training—in conditions that unsettle their own sense of humanity. What is entailed, materially and affectively, in standing between the U.N. field officer and the local source, speaking two voices at once—neither of which is "one's own?" What happens when the medium for circulating the voices of so-called "global citizens" is another human being whose labor is often imagined as the output of a machine? Drawing on research in Nepal, Geneva, and among refugee interpreters from Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, this analysis centers around two competing ethical positions that remain in tension and structure interpreters' work in the field. Interpreters must become neutral conduits of voice who translate information faithfully in the first person, in a seemingly transparent fashion. At the same time, interpreters become ear-witnesses, who listen and bear an ethical responsibility to convey difficult testimonies in ways that play out in and through interpreters' bodies. At its broadest level, this project explores historical and cultural connections between the invisibility of U.N. interpreters' labor and the bureaucratic ideals of transparency and global citizenship, asking how these ideals are embodied, or not, in the day-to-day work of U.N. missions.

NATHAN LANE, then a graduate student at University of California, Davis, California, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Making Waters in the Strait of Gibraltar," supervised by Dr. Suzana Sawyer. This research was carried out in the Strait of Gibraltar. Using both interviews and participant observation, this fieldwork analyzed the positions of oceanographers, port officials, and environmental remediators with respect to the role of the waters in the Strait of Gibraltar. The Strait of Gibraltar, while enjoying a symbolic role as the historic passage from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, is also the site of intensive oceanographic study and extensive maritime shipping. Oceanographers in Málaga, Cádiz, and at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution consider how to understand its multilayered

exchange and whether the Mediterranean and Strait can serve as a "model ocean," or a "laboratory," that might help model the global ocean. They characterize the Strait as both a site of scientific collaboration and as a site of political contention. Port officials and environmental remediators both sought to monitor the waters of the Strait, whether to manage thousands of ships through its narrow passage or to track the dispersion of pollutants like petroleum. This research hopes to demonstrate the ways in which the waters of the Strait of Gibraltar materially and politically shape the ways in which oceanographers, port officials, and environmental mediators understand it.

DAWA LOKYITSAND, then a graduate student at University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Kinship and Sovereignty in Exile: Care Interventions and Education in the Tibetan Refugee Community," supervised by Dr. Carole McGranahan. How does family ground political sovereignty? The modern political subject has long been associated with education, but in the case of the Tibetan refugee community, education had to be paired with the maintenance and creation of family ties to secure the national project. This project will study how Tibetan educational institutions (boarding schools) fostered notions of kinship and sovereignty in exile. This project will examine the shifting relationships of three generations of Tibetan schoolchildren in India to educational institutions, based in part on their differing and similar experiences of familyhood. This study decenters existing work on sovereignty-in-exile, which has been built largely on the interventions of state and NGO actors, by focusing on the work of Tibetans in creating and legitimizing a state-in-exile through an extensive network of pedagogical institutions. The project will consider the development of kinship through pedagogy through a historical lens, interviewing alumni and administrators of these schools as well as delving into archival work to support the ethnographic data produced through this project.

SARA LONING, then a graduate student at University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa, was awarded a grant in May 2019 to aid research on "Generation After: The Reconstitution of Kinship and Family Relations in Everyday Post-Genocide Rwanda," supervised by Dr. Fiona Ross. This research examined how kinship works in the afterward of violence by exploring the social worlds of young people born from rape during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. Through ethnographic fieldwork carried out throughout Rwanda and remotely during Covid-19, the study sought to uncover how relationships that derive from violent circumstances are brought into the everyday; what forms of relationships become possible, impossible, enabled or dismissed, and with what consequences for young people born of rape and their families? The research shows that (broken, fractured and productive) kinship relations are dependent on where young people live, their mothers' experiences, and the support received from organizations. Young people

themselves take an active role in the reconstitution of kinship, particularly with their biological fathers' family, mothers' family, and stepfathers. Local organizations play an important role in creating "families" of support and solidarity and provide assistance with the disclosure of young people's *inkomoko* (origin, inception), which revealed to be significant in mending strained relationships between mothers and their children. Additionally, while being born from rape holds complexities in the context of marriage, having children and starting a family of their own transformed young people's place and experiences within their communities.

KIMBERLY MARSHALL, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "Remembering the Boise Valley People: Representational Sovereignty and Erasure in the City of Trees." Sovereignty is a central concern for scholars working in Indigenous contexts—it even permeates literature on culture and the arts. And yet, while scholars of political/economic sovereignty have begun to understand it as interdependent processes of entanglements and partnerships, this project extended this insight to the realm of cultural sovereignty. This research studied the representational assertions of interdependent sovereignty in the settler-colonial context of Boise, Idaho. Due to the forced removal of indigenous inhabitants in 1869, Boise is a space characterized by remarkable silence about its Native past. Furthermore, contemporary assertions of voice by descendent communities, such as the annual Return of the Boise Valley People gathering, are challenging this erasure. This research studied the stories that Boise tells itself about itself: from the Idaho-shaped bumper stickers to the formal histories enshrined in the Idaho State Historical Museum and at all registers in-between. Through participant-observation at Boise's annual events, critical historiography, as well as ethnographic interviews with Boise residents invested in social justice and human rights, this research documents the extent to which processes of forgetting and remembering can still neglect the building of strong, interdependent relationships with Native people, to the determent of interdependent projects of sovereignty.

PAULA MARTIN, then a graduate student at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, received funding in April 2019 to aid research on "Practicing Gender: The Meanings and Uses of Gender Affirming Medicine for Youth in the United States," supervised by Dr. Eugene A. Raikhel. This research investigated the meaning and uses of gender-affirming medicine for young people in the United States. Following the themes of embodied gender, knowledge-making and temporality, the researcher engaged in ethnographic participant observation, in-depth interviews with young people, parents, and experts, and analysis of documents both contemporary and historical over the nine months. Observing daily clinical activities at a specialized gender clinic for adolescents as well as attending conferences and interviewing professionals permitted the researcher to investigate the practices that work to

align bodily characteristics with individually held gender identities. Furthermore, the researcher attended to the clinical research activities working to produce evidence justifying the effectiveness of interventions such as puberty suppression or treatment with gender affirming hormones. This research characterizes practices of care according to how possible failures of care are named and navigated, and how subjective experiences are valued as knowledge.

JOHN McMANUS, British Institute at Ankara, Ankara, Turkey, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "The Emirate of Men: Masculinities and the Forging of Qatar's World Cup." This project explored the relationship of race, class, and gender among the diverse population of Qatar as the nation prepares to host the 2022 FIFA Men's Soccer World Cup. Currently 88% of Qatar's population are migrants and three out of four people in the country of 2.6 million are male. The project used the rubric of "sport" to gather together the experiences of different types of migrant workers and Qatari citizens. The entwinement of sport in political economies, global capitalism, and migration patterns has led to a perpetuation of iniquity and precarity for many. Yet "sport" also has intensified the focus of human rights charities on injustice, and sporting games are one of the few realms where migrants can take a step back and build solidarity. Such multifaceted rendering suggests that anthropology should take more seriously sport's theoretical potential.

JORGE NUNEZ, University of Cuenca and FLACSO, Cuenca, Ecuador, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship to aid research and writing on "Markets of Excitement: Debt and Playfulness in Times of Austerity in Catalonia." *Markets of Excitement* theorizes how play arises in the field of finance through three modes of speculating with debt that gained currency during the Great Spanish Recession (2007-2015), including regional government bonds, corporate debt obligations, and a financial derivative known as "contract for differences" (CfDs). The broader context of the book includes the rise of Catalan secessionism and the Eurozone crisis. In *Markets of Excitement*, debt is not inherently productive or destructive, but it is a site of constant improvisation, contestation, and negotiation. Play theory is instrumental to understanding the multiple registers of affect, knowledge, and value that inform how people use debt to respond to economic uncertainty and financialization. *Markets of Excitement* is not an invitation to imagine an inclusive and fair global financial system. Financialization could hardly develop without extractivist and predatory forms of financial inclusion. However, investment bankers and professional traders are neither alone nor are they the only ones excited about speculative financial capitalism. Everyday people are also invested in various processes of financialization. During this fellowship, an article was also published in relation to this work in *Economic Anthropology* (2021, Vol. 8, Issue 1).

HAFSA OUBOU, then a graduate student at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, was awarded funding in April 2019 to aid research on "The Making of a Neutral Teacher of Islam: The Politics of Neutrality, Religion, and Education in Belgium," supervised by Dr. Katherine Hoffman. This research examines how the intersection of education, religion, and race—in public schools in Belgium—shapes religious and ethnic minorities. After the 2016 attacks in Brussels, teachers of Islam and imams (prayer leaders) have become subjects of discrimination, accused of allegedly failing to teach the democratic values of *le vivre ensemble* (co-existence) and the principle of neutral teaching of religion. The teaching of Islam in public schools in francophone Belgium suddenly became a point of contention rather than evidence of co-existence, leading to a growing suspicion towards teachers of Islam and a heated debate among political parties to remove courses in religion from public schools. Many teachers of Islam have recently engaged with the idea of *le vivre ensemble* as an Islamic value while navigating increasingly visible challenges: teaching Islam in a political climate that sees it as a threat to national security and responding to controversial education reforms that target courses of Islam. Using ethnographic methods, this research explores how teachers of Islam translate and interact with the values of co-existence and neutrality in an historical moment characterized by rising Islamophobia and extreme-right politics in Belgium as a way to examine the question of Islam in Europe today.

JULIA PERCZEL, then a graduate student at University of Manchester, Manchester, United Kingdom, was awarded funding in May 2019 to aid research on "(In)formalizing the E-waste Economy: Environmental Legislation and E-Waste Work in Delhi," supervised by Dr. Penny Harvey. What values and value transformations that characterize and organize the business around e-waste? The research takes the recent E-waste (Management) Rules of 2016 as the lens through which to understand the socio-economic and material transformations that are affected by the legal framework that is aimed at making big business take environmental responsibility. The study traces the value of e-waste, environmentally sustainable recycling services, labor, and people by following the dealings of Sahih Kaam, a new, for-profit producer responsibility organization (PRO) in New Delhi, India. PROs are companies that can provide environmentally sustainable solutions to electronics producers to fulfil their legally determined targets of recycling a certain percentage of past-year sales responsibly. Following the struggles of the PRO in trying to make business and establish their credentials for caring for the environment reveals the contradictions entailed by the dual profit of making profit and being responsible, as well as the shortcomings of the regulatory ecosystem. At the same time, the people who make up and make possible the PRO activities—employees and scrap dealers—provide an interesting angle to the cross section of the Indian metropolis' inhabitants, their values and hopes for livelihood and love.

MICHELLE PFEIFER, then a graduate student at New York University, New York, New York, received funding in October 2019 to aid research on “Your Voice is (not) Your Passport: The Mediated Voice and Sonic Borders,” supervised by Dr. Helga Tawil-Souri. This project analyzes the use of automated language recognition and its related history of voice analysis and anthropological voice recordings in the context of asylum determination, refugee registration, and border control. During fifteen months of research in Germany, ethnographic interviews with linguists, immigration lawyers, policymakers, software engineers, and ethnographic field visits to refugee registration centers and refugee camps in and around Berlin, and research at online conferences of security and biometrics industries were conducted. This ethnographic research is combined with archival research conducted at the German Federal Archives, the Berlin Sound Archive, and the Political Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This project demonstrates that data-driven projects that are framed as governmental reforms—purportedly meant to fix the perceived “crises” of migration—function to deepen inequalities and enhance border policing. The project shows how the implementation of data-driven technologies in migration and border policing—while couched in a language of efficiency and objectivity—is replete with technological failures and contestations that reproduce racial inequalities. The project situates contemporary border technologies within a colonial genealogy of producing racial difference in Europe. This genealogical approach decenters temporalities of crisis and emergency and reveals the postcolonial continuities of digital border regimes.

JANAKI PHILLIPS, then a graduate student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was awarded funding in October 2019 to aid research on “Divining Uncertain Futures: A Comparative Study of Contemporary Tarot Practice,” supervised by Dr. Matthew Hull. The grantee was four months into this original research project on the everyday interactions with ghosts and spirits in Shimla, a North Indian hill station, when lockdown began. After five months of lockdown in India, the grantee was able to return to the US and began redesigning the study. Drawing on initial fieldwork experience and foundational interests on the relationship between enchantment and modernity, temporality, uncertainty, and the circulation of ideas around spirituality and the supernatural between India and the West, a comparative study was formulated on the digital practices of tarot readers in two trend-setting global cities: Los Angeles and Mumbai. During a tarot reading, readers help clients negotiate their deepest anxieties, hopes, and sense of agency over their own future through the interaction. Research found that readings can reveal the specific moral investments of practitioners and their social contexts. One of the predominant differences observed between LA’s “post-New-Age” milieu and Mumbai’s array of traditional diviners was that tarot has largely become a tool of individual psychological and spiritual development in the US, whereas in India it is largely used as a predictive tool alongside astrology and other techniques.

LAURENCE RALPH, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on "Tensions of Force: Policing, Security, and Governance in New Orleans." This study examines how law enforcement and community residents differently define "excessive" use of force in New Orleans, Louisiana. During the research phase supported by Wenner-Gren Foundation, in-depth interviews were conducted with residents of six neighborhoods in New Orleans to explore local residents' understandings of police use of force and violence.

SARA RENDELL, then a graduate student at University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was awarded a grant in April 2018 to aid research on "Closeness through Distance: Geo-Political Intimacies between the US and West Africa," supervised by Dr. Adriana Petryna. How do families, separated across distance, make contact—feel and feel in return? And what becomes of human relations without correspondence, without call and response, without movement in return? This research examined how immigration policy and enforcement affects transnational kinship groups, with an explicit focus on the downstream effects of U.S. immigration-related policies and enforcement since the 1990s that compromise the kin integrity of marginalized groups. Not only do immigration legal processes of sorting close ties break some families; they also make others. Overall, this research asked how kin groups in a global political context that separates them from each other—whether they are spread across continents or walled off from each other in immigration detention centers—redefine what it means to be close to loved ones. The study explores the simultaneous disaggregation and intensification of kinship across a transnational kin network, spread from West Africa to North America, as well as inside U.S. immigration detention facilities. This research focused on the work of making and maintaining intimate relations among kin. How is transnational kinship intimately made and remade while state immigration policies—and those enforcing those policies—dictate which kinship relations matter, and how they matter?

ANNA REUMERT, then a graduate student at Columbia University, New York, New York, received a grant in April 2019 to aid research on "The Etiquette of Migration: Sudanese Labor Practices and Genealogies of Servitude in Lebanon," supervised by Dr. Nadia Abu El-Haj. Based on multi-sited fieldwork in Lebanon and Sudan, this dissertation research follows migrant workers who became caught between two revolutions in 2019-20, and examines the relationship between labor, crisis, and political subjectivity. Mapping the transregional economies of labor and conflict that have brought generations of Sudanese men to work as servants in Lebanon, the study presents a historical anthropological study of labor, class, and race. Linking this history to the contemporary moment of transregional political upheaval, the

dissertation is also an ethnography of two revolutions told from the perspective of those who were migrants in one and expat-citizens in the other. The project examines this from four ethnographic perspectives: First, through oral histories with three generations of Sudanese male migrants who witnessed war, revolution, and economic crises in Lebanon and in the region, it argues that their stories upset hierarchies of belonging between citizens and migrants. Secondly, through fieldwork in migrant community spaces, political clubs, and sit-ins, it examines how Sudanese migrants in Beirut organize politically and endure material precarity by creating social economies of co-survival. Thirdly, it examines the intersection of gender and racial violence by following Sudanese and Ethiopian migrant families who are subjected to Lebanon's biopolitical disciplining of migrant reproductivity. Fourth, following migrants back to post-revolution Sudan amid Lebanon's crisis, it explores how the migrants' return to rural pastoral communities in western Sudan resurfaced unpaid debts in their relationship to land and kin.

KATHLEEN F. RICE, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2018 to aid research and writing on "Rights and Responsibilities: Gender, Personhood, and the Crisis of Meaning in Rural South Africa." South Africa has an exceptionally egalitarian, rights-based Constitution, yet contends with high rates of economic inequality, gendered violence, and HIV/AIDS. The societal effects of this have often been framed as crises of youth, social reproduction, and masculinity. Drawing on rural fieldwork, the grantee argues that these abovementioned crises are crises of meaning. Rights-based laws and public discourse promote self-actualizing, autonomous individuals, but poverty and care demands mean that people are heavily interdependent. While interdependence is longstanding, today dependencies are being reconfigured in ways that destabilize established hierarchies while interpersonal obligations—"responsibilities"—go unfulfilled. Navigating the tensions between more independent and egalitarian, and more interdependent and hierarchical notions of gender, generation, and personhood entails a crisis of meaning about the content of gendered and generational subjectivities and renders moral action uncertain and situational. Relatedly, the study demonstrates that tradition (as idiom, as a collection of practices, as a way of organizing relationships) sustains and produces gender hierarchy and difference; human rights threaten identity and personhood by refusing mechanisms (e.g., gender violence) through which this social order is maintained. Finally, it explains how relational and individual rights might be harmonized, thereby contributing to theory on how human rights can be reconciled with relational personhood.

KATHERINE A. SCHUMACHER, then a graduate student at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, received funding in April 2018 to aid research on "An Ethnographic Study of Psychotropic Drugs and Professional Practices in Illinois's Child Welfare

System," supervised by Dr. E. Summerson Carr. As child welfare systems across the US have begun to oversee and monitor the prescription of psychotropic drugs to youth in foster care, Illinois's regulatory model has served as an exemplar. This 18-month multi-sited ethnographic study was designed to follow drugs through Illinois's regulatory process by moving between the state's oversight program and a residential treatment center, sites that are linked by the documents through which prescribing practices are regulated. In both settings, professionals are trying to regulate clinical experiments, though not of the same kind. While state regulators work to ensure prescribers are conducting rational, evidence-based medication treatment, administrative staff at the residential center try to ensure that professionals create a therapeutic holding environment rather than simply enforcing institutional rules. In the former setting, drugs are considered therapeutic agents that treat neurochemical disorders. In the latter, they are considered therapeutic mediators that facilitate treatment by reducing the severity of problem behaviors (thus preventing institutional disorder) so youth can engage in therapeutic relationships. The study concludes that while the focus on facilitating clinical experimentation has reparative possibilities, it also elides the fact that drugs—and the professionals who work with them—are not just experimental objects. They are laborers.

JANNA SERRES, then a graduate student at Oxford University, Oxford, United Kingdom, received funding in October 2019 to aid research on "'Taking Africa to the World:' Celebrity Culture as a Vehicle for Collective Aspirations," supervised by Dr. David Pratten. Entertainment and self-fashioning are increasingly central to the global economy through their nexus to corporate advertising. Across the world, platform capitalism is fueled by communities with limited opportunity and representation challenges actively seizing upon the possibilities offered by the new economy, investing it with collective aspirations that destabilize the commonly assumed dynamics of neoliberal globalization. Nigerian artists in particular have taken the global pop scene by storm through the savvy use of digital tools, to the celebratory cheers of "#AfricaToTheWorld" from youths across the continent and the diaspora. This project (renamed "#AfricaToTheWorld: The Nigerian Music Industry as a Vehicle for Collective Aspirations and Postcolonial Identity in the Age of Platform Capitalism") explores processes of world-making, identity formation, and wealth distribution as the future of Nigerian participation in the global economy is negotiated by young entertainment entrepreneurs in the post-oil era. The ethnography was conducted mainly in Lagos, the economic and cultural capital of Nigeria, but also in Dubai, a major hub for the Nigerian music industry, in corporate offices in Paris, and across Nigeria. Preliminary results indicate that the adoption of entrepreneurial subjectivities among Nigerian music professionals should be understood in the continuity of other emancipatory ideologies. Commercially successful artists and music executives, as they move beyond social and geographic

limitations, propose a moral and political project of gaining access to individual and African sovereignty through a work on the self that resonates with widely shared postcolonial aspirations.

DIANA E. SZANTO, University of Corvinus, Budapest, Hungary, was awarded a Fejos Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2018 to aid filmmaking on "Walpole Street." With the help of the Fejos fellowship, a 75-minute documentary with the title "Manish" was realized. The film talks about the successes and failures of the post-conflict democracy building in Sierra Leone, from the point of view of homeless disabled communities. The film's hero is a polio-disabled boy struggling to remake his life shattered by the war. As a child, he ran away from his family to try his chance in the capital, where he survived—like many others—on begging. He joins a squat where he finds new friends and starts to invest hope in a musical career. His spectacular transformation from a street child into a young star is but superficial. He carries traumatizing memories and a deadly disease. The forces that put him in the war's way and pushed him to the street come for him again. The film opens a reflection on the possibility and the value of hope on the ruins of a failing global capitalist system. The anthropologist, who tells the story, remains in the background but assumes a subjective position as the narrator. The anthropological intentions also transpire from the film's webpage. Here short scenes are matched with pedagogical texts inviting users to further discussions. Link to the trailer: https://vimeo.com/429175685/bafd13c3ff and web page: https://manish-movie.org

GABRIEL TORREALBA, then a graduate student at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois, was awarded a grant in October 2019 to aid research on "Images of Debt: Kukama Perceptions and Experiences of Indebtedness in Nauta, Peruvian Amazonia," supervised by Drs. Jonathan Hill and David Sutton. Initially conceived as an ethnographic project, after the COVID-19 pandemic hit, this proposal was redefined as a historical anthropology investigation combined with the study of online media content produced by the Kukama people from Peru. Archival research showed evidence of the existence of noticeable moral ambivalences around the *habilitación* system (debt-peonage) in the Peruvian Amazon during the early twentieth century. Historical documents illustrate how Peruvian liberal elites' discourses were condemning this institution but on occasions legitimizing it through the idiom of business. Findings also reveal the crucial role of debt as a mechanism of moral and legal legitimation of slavery practices. On the other hand, the exploration of Kukama digital media (accessible through platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, or SoundCloud) allowed this research to include contemporary indigenous voices. Digital media pointed to the way historicity is becoming one of the building blocks of an unprecedented political strategy against neoliberalism and extractivism in the area. Kukama people in Nauta have been documenting and

broadcasting local mytho-historical narratives about the violence of rubber times as part of an ongoing struggle against environmental destruction and cultural assimilation. Such mediatization of historicity is providing novel frameworks for reimagining politics in Peruvian Amazonia.

BRIAN WALTER, then a graduate student at University of California, Santa Cruz, California, received a grant in October 2019 to aid research on "Sedimented Futures: Heritage and the Racial Politics of Flood Infrastructure in the South Carolina Lowcountry," supervised by Dr. Melissa Caldwell. With a 50% increase in annual flooding and a major hurricane every year for the past five years, an environmental crisis is building in Charleston, South Carolina. In 2018, the city government named flooding "the Number-One priority" and began actions to preserve the city's famous tourism-generating antebellum heritage sites, while African-American neighborhoods and settlement communities received little relief from their chronic inundation. Though city officials claim that "water knows no boundaries," this project follows floodwater and the communities it impacts to understand the ways inequity is channeled, routed, and racialized, through infrastructure and mitigation projects. This research utilizes historical research, interviews, participant observation, collaborations with local organizations, public discourse analysis, and engagement with the landscape to describe the divergent ways that flooding is produced and experienced in "The City Where History Lives." The findings illustrate Charleston's hydrology as ethnographic terrain, characterized by uneven political, historical, and technical entanglements with a changing environment, contributing a situated investigation of racism as a historical and ecological landscape assemblage.

JERRY CHUANG-HWA ZEE, University of California, Santa Cruz, California, was awarded a Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship in October 2018 to aid research and writing on "Desert/Storm: Experiments on a Chinese Dust-Stream." The Hunt Fellowship afforded time to complete and revise an ethnographic monograph, *Continent in Dust: Experiments in a Chinese Weather System*, forthcoming from the University of California Press (2022). This monograph is a political ethnography of strange weather in China. It traces a dust-transporting airstream that links sandy lands in China's interior, Beijing's dust-afflicted atmosphere, and eventually downwind places like the United States and South Korea as a seasonal meteorological zone, rutted out in the flows of major dust-storm events. Along this zone, the book explores experiments in politics and environment addressed to dust, desert, and particulate matter as three possible phases of a substance-relation called wind-sand, which, for Chinese environmental engineers and bureaucrats at all levels, indicates a stunning capacity of landscape and weather to phase into one another. By considering these phase shifts by which the material interphase of land and air comes to matter as a crucial political problem, the book pioneers an ethnographic

method that attends to how political systems and weather systems tangle, each changing with the other. It argues that China's meteorological contemporary, a time in the geohistory of the nation defined through strange embroilments of earth and weather, reworks "the rise of China" as a literal problem of a country lifting into and becoming its own sky, posing challenges for analysis and for ethnography.

SHANNI ZHAO, then a graduate student at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was awarded a grant in October 2018 to aid research on "Affective State and Civic Intimacy: Public Matchmaking under Contemporary Chinese Socialism," supervised by Dr. Jean Comaroff. This project studies the current Chinese state investment in individual marriage, particularly through constructing an urban matchmaking enterprise with civil partners. It delves into both the affective and institutional constitutions of the enterprise, and the practices therein, to reveal how the state might revitalize marriage or regain affinity to society after four decades of marketization and privatization. While urban marriage is perceived to be in crisis nowadays given falling marriage and fertility rates, it still carries social values of self-worth and "true" adulthood. Mobilizing mass anxieties and longings surrounding marriage, the enterprise could attract over 10,000 participants each year in Chinese metropolises like Beijing and Shanghai. However, it rarely succeeds in producing marriages. Instead, it generates multilayered affective attractions—romantic love, urban belonging and state care, and affective attachments—between men and women, youths and civil agents, and youths and the state. Moreover, individual failures in mate selection produced in participants less an awareness of state or civil agents' incompetence than that of self-inferiority and an inclination to rely on the civil institutions for intimacies. This study conceptualizes these processes as a mechanism of affective power, which is becoming an ever-dominant modality of power the state exercises over individuals.

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