PLATFORUM

Journal of Graduate Students
in Anthropology

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CONTRIBUTORS

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Chelsea Klinke is an anthropology master's student at the University of Calgary. Her current research analyzes the resilience dynamics of camelid pastoralists in the face of climatic and extractive pressures in the Bolivian Andes. Alongside Bolivian partner organizations and community counterparts, a community-based participatory research initiative grounded in digital storytelling will highlight the role of an agroecological model in shifting landscapes and livelihoods. This collaboration will continue into her Ph.D. program.

2. *HILARY HO*

Born and raised in Singapore, Hilary completed her Bachelors of Social Science in a joint sociology and anthropology department at the National University of Singapore. Her main area of interest lies in medical anthropology, with a particular focus on conceptions about the body and work. Hilary also enjoys trying to understand why her life is the way it is by applying anthropological theories to her lived experiences and reminding herself: #Ihaveagency.

3. *KIKILA PERRIN*

Kikila is a hwunitum of predominantly Germanic and Celtic descent and spent most of his life in Tio'tia:ke ("Montreal") on Kanien'kehá:ka territory. He became an uninvited guest on Lkwungen and WSÁNEĆ territory in 2015 and began his PhD at UVic in 2019. An environmental activist, Kikila participates in Indigenous-led Land Defence and Land Back actions as an ally. He holds an MA from Concordia University (Cultural History). His work supports Indigenous resurgence and settler decolonization.

4. *RAE DIAS*

Rae Dias is currently completing her master's degree in anthropology under the supervision of Dr. Alison Murray at the University of Victoria. Her research interests include paleoanthropology, biomechanics, and primatology. For her thesis, Rae is using an

engineering-based musculoskeletal modelling software to analyze the relationship between the function of the *gluteus maximus* and the hamstrings in humans, chimpanzees, and *Australopithecus afarensis,* and the implications that the results have for inferring fossil hominin locomotion.

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Kate Elliott is an MA Anthropology graduate from the University of Waterloo. Her key research interests include feminism, intersectionality, homelessness, structural violence, and menstruation. She is currently acting as Co-Founder and President of Changing The Flow Inc.–a social enterprise dedicated to achieving menstrual equity through awareness, education, and implementation in Waterloo, ON.

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Moustapha Faye is a PhD student in medical anthropology at the Université Laval Faculty of Social Sciences. His areas of scientific interest include vaccination, global health diplomacy, sexual and reproductive health, and the Field of West Africa studies: Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Benin, Togo, Mauritania, and Ghana.

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8. *EMILY THIESSEN*

Emily Thiessen is an artist and illustrator living on Lekwungen and W̱SÁNEĆ territories. In 2018 she graduated with a BA in Anthropology from the University of Victoria, where she explored how to tell ethnographic stories with comics and drawing. Now, she makes visuals for community groups, and tries to make the revolution irresistible. Sometimes she even gets to use her anthropology degree! Find more of her art at emilythiessen.ca or @archipelagic on Instagram.

PLATFORUM,

VOLUME 18:

HUMAN

CONNECTIONS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME

For people around the world, 2020 was a year of unprecedented disruption. In January, whispers of a potentially deadly novel coronavirus (COVID-19) originating in the city of Wuhan, in the Chinese province of Hebei, began infiltrating international news headlines. Ease of travel and global networks of exchange enabled the virus to spread quickly across borders, and what was once regarded a distant threat became an imminent crisis and concern for populations, governments, and healthcare institutions around the world. The World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID-19 a global pandemic on March 11, 2020—a designation that would empower governing bodies to implement and more strictly enforce public health protocols and social gathering restrictions intended to slow the spread of illness. Words and phrases such as "social distance," "isolation," and "quarantine"—all *antonyms* of connection—became commonplace in our everyday vocabulary. And yet, in what has often felt like a long and lonely year, alternative and innovative ways to connect have emerged and been increasingly normalized. On the one hand, we may find the most familiar spaces and faces of our closest companions to be distant, inaccessible, and beyond reach. On the other hand, we find ourselves facing similar circumstances and searching for solutions to the same problems as people we may have never felt we had much in common with before (culturally, geographically, or otherwise). On a daily basis, individuals are encouraged to consider how their choices and agency impact a larger societal whole. We are routinely asked to act in the interest of a "greater good" in order to ensure the health and safety of those most vulnerable, marginalized, and predisposed to illness in our communities. And so, while some ways of being connected are profoundly disrupted, others are illuminated.

2020 also gave rise to thriving ecological and social justice movements in Canada that constituted their own forms of connectedness. We witnessed thousands of participants from across the nation come together to take part in peaceful protests and occupations in solidarity with Wet'suwet'en land defenders and leaders of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. Such events demanded the attention and engagement of both citizens and people in positions of political authority alike. These demonstrations—and the important discussions they inspired both on and offline—made visible the kinds of present-day connections that are reified through expressions of allyship, while also centering peoples' connectedness to ancestral lands and cultural teachings. In order to effectively address contemporary concerns (eg., discriminatory present-day policies, laws, and policing practices) and pave the way for a more inclusive and equitable future, it must first be understood how specific histories of oppression, displacement, and dispossession have enabled ongoing systematic violence perpetrated against Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour (BIPOC) by the settler-colonial state. In reflecting on various events of the past year, it becomes pertinent how the connections and relationships that fundamentally form people's individual and shared cultural worldviews extend across both spatial and temporal dimensions.

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CONNECTIONS

The connections we make with various people, objects, places, and other living and non-living beings critically shape our view and understanding of the world, as well as inform our sense of identity, purpose, and belonging within it. In anthropology, one is inspired to explore the relations between various facets of a culture, as no one phenomena exists within a vacuum, nor can it be understood devoid of context; everything anthropologists study is part of a larger conversation, one that evokes both past and present understandings, particular histories, as well as shared attitudes and beliefs. Archaeologically, we can unearth material remains that depict a point of articulation between the past and present or consider how our visions of the past affect the views of ourselves and our place in the world today. Biologically, we can determine how our actions affect our musculo-skeletal system, or how strongly human DNA connects us to one another despite the wide variety of phenotypes we see globally. Socio-cultural anthropology can examine how historical

processes and thoughts affect the present and how we connect with one another or other non-human entities in modern times. Recalling the focus of anthropological inquiry, the editors of PlatForum's 18th edition invited a range of creative and critical submissions engaging the theme of "human connections." In particular, we encouraged contributions that took an *applied* approach as a way of emphasizing how anthropological knowledge can be shared beyond academia and implemented into practice to transform everyday lives, challenge dominant narratives, and broaden perspectives in the public sphere.

SUMMARY OF SUBMISSIONS

In her article *"Through a Lens of Connection,"* Chelsea Klinke critically examines the ontological turn in anthropology in which scholars shifted from doing "objective" research "of" a certain culture to doing public anthropology, where scholars actually connect and collaborate with research participants for the benefit of the community rather than the scholar's career. Chelsea pays particular attention to how visual anthropology is aptly suited to bridge the epistemological gap between academia and the public, while at the same time challenging the hegemonic power dynamics in dominant discourse.

In her paper, *"In The Absence of Blood: Forming Kinship Ties Through Religious Belief"* Hilary Ho weaves together both personal and theoretical insights to explore the emotional bond shared between blood and non-blood relatives. Using the example of the relationship between her own mother and her biological and foster grandmothers, Hilary examines the role of religious belief and cultural expectations of filial piety as a means of honouring and reifying kinship ties.

In his auto-ethnographic paper entitled, "*Enhancing the Call of Place and Entangling Identities: A Braiding of Materials, Media, and Infrastructures to Place and Being,"* Kikila Perrin reflects on his own experiences and positionality as a settler-activist of predominantly European descent engaging in environmental and land-based decolonial movements in both Canada and Aotearoa (New Zealand). He discusses the role that particular materials (a lava rock), media (a song), and infrastructures (ceremony) play in sustaining his connection to places he may be geographically distanced from.

Rae Dias' "*Tree Climbing and the Locomotive Connection Between Past and Present Hominins*" critically examines scholarly discussions of locomotion among our hominin ancestors. Specifically, Rae argues that the scholarly focus on bipedalism disconnects modern humans from previous hominins while suggesting that humans have somehow been "released" from nature due to their ability to walk on two legs. In reality, the hominin proclivity for arborality remains to this day, cementing anatomically modern humans' connections with nature and past hominins.

Drawing on ethnographic interviews conducted at a shelter in Ontario, Kate Elliot highlights the connections made between women who experience homelessness in her article entitled *"Using Sociality to Manage Health Amongst Women Experiencing Homelessness."* In the everyday conversations these women share, they contest dominant neoliberal narratives that would have others believe they are responsible for their own plight while perpetuating cycles of structural violence that prevent them from escaping it.

Carole Therrien shares with our readers her interpretation and critique of Welborne et al.'s (2018) book, *The Politics of the Headscarf in the United States*. Her book review dives into Welborne et al.'s assessment of immigrant and refugee Muslim-American women's personal, social, religious, and political identities, highlighting the challenges of cultural citizenship and "belonging" in a globalized world. The hijab is cited as the means by which Muslim-American women create these varied identities and show their connection to both American values and their faith.

Moustapha Faye evaluates the humanitarian response to the Ebola epidemic in West Africa in his paper *"Ebola Virus Epidemic in West Africa in 2014: Senegal Standing the Test of Global Health Diplomacy."* He pays particular attention to how the neocolonial nature of the relationship between humanitarian organizations and those affected by the epidemic impacted virus response and treatment afforded to those afflicted. In this sense, Moustapha is engaging with connections between the past and present and the connections between various countries in this globalized world.

CONCLUSION

The 2019-2020 PlatForum editorial team welcomes you to the 18th edition of our publication. As the longest running student-organized Anthropology publication in Canada, we strive to create an accessible and open platform providing all Canadian anthropology graduate students the opportunity to contribute. In volume 18, we continue the tradition of featuring the works of students from a cross-section of Canadian universities.

The editors extend thanks to all those who contributed to the making of this issue –in particular, we would like to recognize our authors, cover illustrator, and team of peer reviewers, who through this difficult year continued to put in the hard work involved in bringing this journal to fruition. We are grateful for the new connections and relationships we have built along the way.

We invite our readers to read, reflect, and connect.

Sincerely,

Jenna Hendrick & Rebecca Duerksen

The PlatForum Editorial Team, Vol. 18

THROUGH A LENS OF CONNECTION

CHELSEA KLINKE

ABSTRACT

A paradigm shift within academia, and visual anthropology in particular, calls researchers to attune their lenses of human connection—vis-à-vis their digital lens and epistemologies. This paper will argue the potential of contemporary visual anthropology—employed as a community-based research methodology, form of knowledge mobilisation, and pedagogical tool—to challenge hegemonic asymmetrical power dynamics in dominant discourse and praxis. Through personal anecdotes conducting participatory research alongside counterparts in Peru and Panama, I will illuminate the ways in which applied visual anthropology bridges academic-public divides and cultivates intentional relations through its transdisciplinary, collaborative, and transformative agendas.

INTRODUCTION

The ways in which we as humans view the world and build connections are informed partly by our epistemological and ontological lenses (how we come to know and exist) as well as by images presented through digital lenses (i.e. photographs and film). Knowledge production, dissemination, and mobilization are actively situated between powerful systems of meaning, where the narratives, norms, and images of dominant members of society are overwhelmingly represented (Clifford and Marcus 1986). As indicated by Nicholas Dirks (2002), representations in narratives have been used to assert dominance over marginalized groups by generating a singular 'truth' in knowledge production, conjuring false images of places far away, presenting them as facts, and privileging the position of the 'scholarly researcher' over that of the public or participants. In these positions of power, members of the functioning intellectual groups have the potential to become 'deputies' exercising social and political hegemony, while groups on the margins are systematically excluded from or misrepresented within discourse and imagery (Gramsci 1971; Spivak 1988).

Historically, ethnography and visual anthropology—the study and production of film, photography, performance art, and multimedia to analyse, communicate, and interpret deeper meanings of human and non-human behaviour (see Society for Visual Anthropology 2020)—has reinforced such asymmetrical power systems through techniques of 'Othering' (Dirks 2002). However, when employed within transformative agendas of community-based participatory research (CBPR), visual anthropology has the ability to attune our epistemological and image-making lenses to support and illuminate the vast array of human connections around the world. By recounting experiences of engaging in interdisciplinary and visual anthropological practice in Latin America, I will illustrate the importance of widening visual anthropology's represented narratives and audiences to propel societal and policy change.

How we formulate or represent the present, which eventually becomes the past, shapes future understandings and views of particular groups

of people (Said 2012). Therefore, one must be historically attuned, recount the conditions in which anthropological knowledge has been produced over the years—recognizing the ethnographer's position as shaping and shaped by their historical social experience (Dirks 2002)—and learn from the successes and shortcomings of past visual anthropologists. I will therefore begin by following the paradigm shifts in visual anthropology to date, offering critiques of hegemonic approaches to research, academic discourse, and image-making techniques. Differing from non-ethnographic documentaries, I will detail how visual anthropology—and particularly ethnographic film—has used images to represent and explain theoretical and methodological concepts as they pertain to the study of humans and societies, past and present. Personal anecdotes conducting CBPR in Peru and Panama will then demonstrate visual anthropology's contemporary ability to provide "open-ended space[s] for an expansive encounter between" participants, ethnographers, and audiences, through which forms of understanding emerge (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2015: 265). To conclude, I will call for a paradigm shift within and beyond academia that centralizes activist scholarship, challenges dominant narratives, and strives to transform everyday lives.

PARADIGMS IN VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Before a visual anthropologist engages in filmic or textual ethnography, they must reflect upon the purpose and responsibility of their scholarship. Drawing from Kim Fortun's analysis of James Clifford and George Marcus' 1986 *Writing Culture*, scholars must "recognize how discursive forms, including those of ethnography, stage, direct and limit, what is said and not said, who is heard and benefits, who and what remains subaltern, outside articulation" (Fortun 2012: 448). At the intersection of aesthetic and scientific meanings, Michael Fischer (2018) argues that both textual and filmic forms of ethnography have consistently reinvented themselves to portray existence, reality, becoming, and relational being.

With roots in the early 20th century, Fischer claims that the initial role of ethnographic film was to portray a modernist sense of 'being there,'

there being a specific locale in time composed of a particular group of people. The scope and objective of a study were narrowed to capture a particular skill (e.g. hunting, boat building, weaving) or cultural institution (e.g. religion, kinship, subsistence strategy) 'before they disappeared.' Referred to as process film, this "literal or descriptive documentation of technological or cultural practices" became a means of systematically archiving groups of people in a way that bridged science and film (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2015: 258). The aim of film as a means of scientific inquiry emphasized indexical recording capacities over the fluidity and dynamic nature of cultural processes and peoples. This objective was most poignant in Tim Asch and Napoleon Chagnon's film series on the Northern Amazonian Yanomami. In the pursuit of understanding social behaviour in terms of genetic relatedness, Asch and Chagnon violated cultural taboos and ethical protocols of informed consent for the 'sake of science' and their own professional prestige (Homiak 2012).

The mono-sited, static temporality of salvage anthropology is mirrored in textual ethnographies produced during this time period, which were often set in relatively small communities in an 'exotic, far-off' place (e.g. *Coming of Age in Samoa* by Margaret Mead, *The Nuer* by E.E. Evans-Pritchard). Whether through text or film, archival ethnography as a methodology tended to produce reductionist, inauthentic and homogenous categories of people, conflating the many 'others' into a singular 'Other' (Dirks 2002). Although the 'Other' was increasingly more visible in Western films, photographs, and manuscripts, it was still an external researcher who controlled what narrative was being told, the language in which it was delivered, and the portrayal of the community members. Racialized and exoticized representations often resulted in the perpetuation of problematic stereotypes and further isolation of communities from expansive globalization (David and Craven 2016). Misrepresentations, by way of camera or pen, can potentially disempower or even endanger people when decontextualized sound bites are taken as facts. "The camera generates data about events and activities that are then juxtaposed with explanatory frameworks that originate outside the unfolding cultural moment itself...conceptualizing filmmaking as about data production results in the amplification or modification of established

understandings rather than a questioning or subversion of them" (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2015: 262).

During the mid-to-late 20th century, both textual and performative approaches to anthropology took an ontological turn as they began integrating multiple voices and spaces to portray the plurality of the 'human condition' (Fischer 2018). Analytic and visual retrospection and restudies, self-reflexivity, feminist critiques, and comparative analyses were emphasized through emerging forms of experimental ethnographic documentary, particularly *cinéma vérité* (translating to "truthful cinema") and Third Cinema. Emerging leaders in *cinéma vérité*, including, but not limited to, Ricky Leacock, John Marshall, David MacDougall, and Jean Rouch, were critiqued and admired for their novel approaches to visual anthropology that stripped down embellishments to centralize realism.

Third Cinema, which originated in Latin America, catalysed a postcolonial critique of hegemonic productions of knowledge and power through their use of documentary footage and dialogic narrative. Triangulated methodologies were argued to more accurately reflect the dynamic nature of cultural assemblages, ontologies, and stories. Overarching, elaborate frameworks and explanatory categories for data collection were abandoned, as *ciné-transe*—a theory linking cinematic ontology with trance—and event film— footage capturing short daily interactions—became exploratory processes of moving through the world and its dynamic and improvisatory flows of unfolding relationships and states of consciousness (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2015). The camera became a mobile extension of the senses and body, generating knowledge between the participants, filmmaker, and world through these unfolding relations, as opposed to through "pre-existing interpretive frameworks provided by the anthropologist" (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2015: 264). A key argument among filmmakers of this time was that ethnographic films should be produced by people about their own cultures and communities to foster endogenous cultural critiques, thematic analyses, and sociopolitical positionings. Filmmakers began relinquishing their privilege and control over the filmmaking process

while taking up a partial, situated position as a facilitator among community counterparts.

The repositioning of visual anthropologists within content creation, and intersubjective engagements of phenomenology—the philosophical study of the elements of consciousness and experience—are central to the reconfiguration of dominant narratives in discourse (Bernard 2017; Clifford 1983; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2015). Dána-Ain Davis and Christa Craven (2016) challenge ethnographers to unveil the untidy and improvisatory process of fieldwork, the stories of failure, and a deep reflection of their own role and positionality in the process of research. Referred to by Tim Ingold as the 'minor key' within knowledge production and dissemination, presenting partial truths (Clifford and Marcus 1986) and genuine experiences "can afford a freedom that is real rather than illusory" and can lead us "out of structures of authority that are manifestly unsustainable" (2017: 37). Further on in this paper, I will recount how deeper cross-cultural exchanges between myself and local digital storytellers were strengthened when I acknowledged my limitations and stepped back from the camera or pen. What now appears so blatantly obvious was the realisation that the stories of my fellow community researchers were best told in their terms, languages, and culturally situated modes of communication.

The ontological turn in ethnographic and visual anthropology centring marginalized voices occurred towards the end of the 20th and into the early 21st century. The challenges and dynamics of groups were no longer analysed in isolation but were brought into the fold of multi-temporal and multi-scalar structures of power and positionality. No longer were visual images simply aids to ethnographic insights, but didactic modes of knowledge production determined by the participants and community researchers (Davis and Craven 2016). Postcolonial, transnational, and capitalist relations, as well as environmental concerns and structural inequalities, were at the forefront of participatory and action-based ethnographic film, performance and theatre, and art and exhibition (see Figure 2). The diverse pedagogical modes of communication in recent experimental ethnographies "play up and down the entire scale, from ground to

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theory, policy to reality, and across globalized, distributed, or value chain processes, from locus to locus" with the intent of cultivating alternative responses to social change, and building future worlds (Fischer 2018: 44).

This shift—referred to as public anthropology—strives to bridge the gap between academia and community, whether that be our global network or the spatial communities in which we live and work. By building a "constituency of support," scholars can harness their research for transformative agendas by directly improving conditions or by advancing knowledge that in time will benefit others (Borofsky 2019: 216). When applying anthropological knowledge, theories, and methods, however, it is essential to do so in collaboration *with* people *for* their own utilities. Fischer (2018) argues that this can be accomplished through a 'horizoning', or broadening, of analyses that interact with local, national, and global industries and processes. Differing from historical approaches in ethnography—that were *of* and *among* peoples in physical environments for the use of philosophizing and comparative criteria—visual anthropologists must articulate deeply situated narratives alongside potential breadth of locality to elicit collective mobilisations and social transformation.

In this section I have demonstrated that visual anthropology has become more participatory and less positivist over time, with greater consideration of non-hegemonic ontologies. Next, I will recount my own visual anthropological fieldwork to exemplify practices that are illustrative of the ontological turn and are grounded in principles of community-based participatory research. This will provide evidence for my conclusion that community-based participatory visual anthropology, which privileges a broad non-academic audience, can support societal and policy change by attuning our image-making and epistemological lenses.

COLLABORATIVE METHODOLOGIES THAT FOSTER
HUMAN CONNECTION

An approach to collaborative visual anthropology that is gaining momentum is community-based participatory research (CBPR),

which involves the distributed knowledge of all partners in the research process and works towards social change identified by the participants (CCHD 2017). When visual anthropology is implemented as a methodology within the framework of CBPR, it will have a higher capacity to support and make visible communities' transformative agendas, encourage positive self-perception and self-empowerment among trained citizen researchers, and help to break down racial, ethnic, and class barriers (CCHD 2017). There is no restriction for who can be involved in CBPR, but generally, it includes people most affected by the identified issue, other members of the affected population and community members at large, decision-makers, public agency staff, and academics— such as myself— with an interest in the issue. Lengthy and frequent collaborations among the entire research team will facilitate more opportunities for relationship and capacity-building, deeper analyses and understandings of the issues at hand, and an increased potential for long-term impacts.

The first time I engaged in knowledge mobilization and community engagement via visual anthropology was during my University of Delaware undergraduate thesis fieldwork with the Ese'Eja Nation of the Southern Peruvian Amazon. Translating to the 'True People', the Ese'Eja are one of the few extant foraging societies of Peru. In their origin story, Ese'Eja Elders impart how their nomadic ancestors came down from the Sky World on a cotton thread into the Madre de Dios region thousands of years ago. Community Elders can still recall this exact spot in the Tambopata National Reserve (declared a reserve in 2000), as well as many other significant ancestral places that used to span across the region into Northern Bolivia.

With limited or denied access to these lands—due to centuries of colonization and territory restrictions—cultural practices and oral histories tied to their subsistence strategies and nomadic way of life are increasingly challenged. Environmental threats from logging, mining, large-scale agriculture, and infrastructural projects include polluted waterways, a poisoned food chain, loss of habitat biodiversity, soil erosion, and loss of plants for Ese'Eja medicine and material culture. To preserve their long-held customs and conserve their ecosystem, Ese'Eja Nation leaders partnered with the Amazon

Center for Environmental Education and Research (ACEER), the National Geographic Society, and a team of interdisciplinary researchers from the University of Delaware to gain rights and access to their ancestral lands. While employing a multi-pronged methodology, our team conducted a cultural mapping initiative to document Ese'Eja language, histories, practices, beliefs, medicinal plants, and material culture items. Created in partnership with the Board of the Ese'Eja Nation, the objectives of this initiative included cultural and historical preservation, environmental conservation, educational programming, and support for a sustainable future.

The core method that supported film and photography was participant observation, a technique involving first-hand intensive interaction with the people with whom the ethnographer conducts research (Bernard 2017). As an ontological commitment, participant observation acknowledges that we can come to know the world only because we are a part of it (Ingold 2017). The more I participated in daily activities, such as gathering *tamshi* vines for basketry and pounding *yanchama* bark for traditional clothing, the more I understood the multidimensional cultural meanings embedded in the practices and relationships with the land.

Further inquiries were carried out during semi-structured interviews, which allowed for a depth of understanding of the reasons that motivate the choices made by individuals in relation to their cultural practices. During interviews, photographs previously taken by community members were reviewed in a visual data collection process called photo-elicitation, wherein interviewees described their thoughts, feelings, and actions upon seeing each image (Collier and Collier 1986). These techniques were complemented with material culture cataloguing, plant voucher specimen cataloguing, mapping of ancestral sites using geographic information systems (GIS), map drawing, and digital storytelling of oral histories.

This initiative culminated in the publication of a photojournalistic book, *Ancestral Lands of the Ese'Eja: The True People* (Cox and Martínez 2017), which was developed by the team's leaders in partnership with an editorial committee of Ese'Eja Elders. A traveling

exhibit with over 70 material culture items also reached wider audiences across the United States and Peru. Proceeds from the book, exhibit, and donations go into the Ese'Eja Community Development Fund managed by ACEER. Funds are then divided among the contributing communities in support of initiatives they choose, which thus far have included a Community Culture Centre, educational resources, and an Indigenous Rights Lawyer for access and control of their ancestral lands. Through a CBPR process, the community research team—in partnership with local non-governmental organizations and academic researchers from anthropology, art, education, and plant sciences—determined the issue, structured the research activities, carried out the plan, disseminated the results, evaluated and reflected on the process, and continued the research process endogenously (CCHD 2017).

Upon graduating from the University of Delaware, I carried with me a zeal for public anthropology as I began a two-year service with the United States Peace Corps. As an Environmental Health Extensionist living in a rural Ngäbe community in Bocas del Toro, Panama, I harnessed my training in ethnography and visual anthropology to facilitate CBPR capacity-building initiatives geared towards improving water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) at the grassroots level. Expanding beyond a WASH framework, a wider cross-cultural exchange of knowledge fostered invaluable human connections. For instance, drawing upon the interdisciplinary methods taught to me in Peru, I supported Ngäbe Elders in the creation of a Botanical Manual from local plant voucher specimens of medicinal and cultural flora (Figure 1). Visual anthropology techniques, including photography and videography, were relied upon to collaboratively develop a visual archive of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) for future generations.

	Kika
Parte II: Plantas Culturales	#1

Figure 36

Nombre: Español: Pita
Ngäbere: Kika
Latín: *Aechmea magdalenae*

Descripción: Hojas grandes y verdes con espinas al rededor. Crece en un grupo alto.

Función: Hacer chácaras (kra), usa las fibras para un arco

Cómo lo Usa: Cortar las hojas y sacar las espinas. Cortar el parte delgado arriba y el parte grueso abajo. Dejarlo a secar por una noche. La siguiente día, empezar el proceso de sacando las fibras.

Figure 1: Part II of the Botanical Manual- Cultural Flora. Photo Credit to Chelsea Klinke (2017).

One culturally significant plant, *kika*, that is utilized to make Ngäbe material culture items, such as a *kra* or woven bag, is increasingly deforested due to external extractive pressures. Customarily made by females, the *kra* holds both a utilitarian and cultural significance. It is used by women, men, youth and elders as a burden basket, symbol of Ngäbe identity, and artisan craft adding to the informal economy. The *kra* is central to the daily practices of most Ngäbe families in Bocas del Toro, including foraging, fishing, and farming. From birthing ceremonies to coming of age rites, the *kra* is also representative of larger social narratives and shifting Ngäbe identities. To demonstrate this interconnectivity visually and to disseminate distributed knowledge to wider audiences, I handmade a tangible curated photo essay for 2019-2020 University of Calgary graduate student conferences (Figure 2). Situated against a traditional Ngäbe dress, the *nagua*, a prose narrative warps and wefts the resiliency and adaptive nature of community members in preserving cultural customs in the face of contemporary pressures.
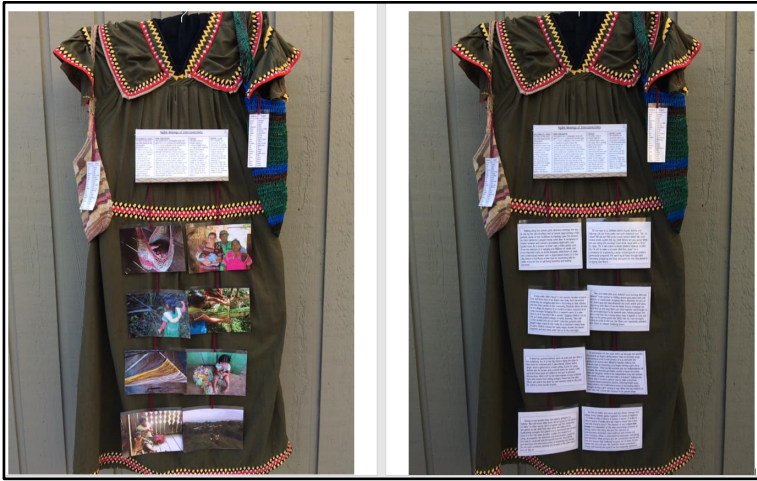
Figure 2: Ethnographic Photo Essay of the Kra. Photo Credit to Chelsea Klinke (2020).

These experiences highlight the interdisciplinary nature of visual anthropology, which can be utilized in conjunction with a myriad of other methodologies. They also illustrate the importance of engaging wider audiences—via film, photography, photo essays, and performances—which in turn can propel effective changes in public policy that benefit communities (Borofsky 2019). To truly make a difference beyond the academy, Luke E. Lassiter (2005) argues that researchers must integrate theory and practice, objectivity and advocacy, engage wider publics within and outside of academia, emphasize subjectivity and dialogue, and from the onset, employ collaborative methodologies that foster human connection.

A PARADIGM SHIFT BEYOND ACADEMIA

Robert Borofsky, in *An Anthropology of Anthropology: Is It Time to Shift Paradigms?* (2019), argues for the creation of a new institutional paradigm in lieu of resisting the existing one. Instead of searching for 'alternatives' and looking 'at the margins,' we need to develop new norms and constitute new centres of inquiries (Dirks 2002). The hegemonic structures within academia shape its productions of

knowledge as well as the approaches to, and dissemination of, research among those who work within the institution. Even the ways in which faculty productivity is measured are often heavily skewed toward quantifications of publications, funding, and citations, as opposed to the impact of the research process on the larger society. In addition to fostering new forms of faculty accountability and addressing power imbalances in publishing and tenure-track hiring, the role of citations in pedagogy, according to Nicholas Dirks (2002), needs to move beyond a perpetuation and institutionalization of the enshrinement of disciplinary theoretical guides. Rather, scholars should accept and naturalize citations as doxic—of, relating to, or based on intellectual processes—that build off intellectual precursors while stressing historical discontinuities, and cite those who continue to be marginalized (Clifford 1986; Davis and Craven 2016).

Who speaks, listens, records and valorizes what is said is constructed in historical processes and institutionalized socially through political and economic influences (Trouillot 1995). The cyclical processes of knowledge-making and codification of normatives continuously shape our social hierarchies and positions of power (El-Haj 2008; Foucault 1990). "The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism" (Said 2012: xiii). Furthermore, the jargon-heavy language in which these narratives are told often obfuscate the research objectives and outcomes, which hinders its accessibility to wider audiences outside of academia and within other disciplines (Davis and Craven 2016).

Limitations also exist within modes of visual anthropology, including its inaccessibility due to the digital divide—the gap or uneven distribution in the access to, use of, or impact of Information and Communication Technologies. Which groups of people cannot access the internet? Who faces digital paywalls or is blocked entirely from accessing content due to governmental restrictions? Depending on the objective and content of the ethnographic film or photographs, an ethical dilemma of confidentiality within research also presents potential risks for participants. What undue harm may arise from participants actively speaking out against the challenges they are facing? For these reasons, it is vital that the risks and benefits of

employing visual anthropology be discussed among the entire research team, so that participating members can make informed decisions regarding their anonymity. Concurrently, ethical concerns that underlie the principles of anonymity within informed consent (e.g. establishing authority by displacing the possibility that details can be refuted by participants) must be questioned (May 2010). Who is really being protected by anonymity? How can participants reflect upon and respond to data if they are removed from it entirely? Shannon May (2010) argues that such ethical concerns limit the development of public reason as they extend beyond research implementation to hegemonic knowledge production.

It is also essential to discuss ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP®) of content created with and by community members. OCAP® is a registered trademark of the First Nations Information Governance Centre (FNIGC) and emphasizes that the "rights of First Nations communities to own, control, access, and possess information about their peoples is fundamentally tied to self-determination and to the preservation and development of their culture." Whether data is disseminated as digital stories or as textual ethnography, a paradigm shift in academia will reposition anthropologists from primary 'scholars' involved in the 'research' to co-authors of a co-conceptualization of data collection and co-production of theory (Borofsky 2019; Clifford 1983; Rappaport 2008). "Once "informants" begin to be considered as co-authors, and the ethnographer as scribe and archivist as well as interpreting observer, we can ask new, critical questions of all ethnographies" (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 17).

Although visual anthropology may not be able to provide the depth of analytic and contextual insights as ethnographic text and has the potential to reinforce dominant narratives in discourse, its dynamic, multi-temporal, polyvocal capabilities can promote a decolonizing paradigm shift within and beyond academia that stimulates human connection. In a dialogue between textual and visual modes of relational knowledge production and dissemination, fluid social processes that are embedded within globalizing occurrences and macro-constructions of social patterns will unveil how peripheries,

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semi-peripheries, and centres connect and disrupt one another (Dirks 2002; Marcus 1995). Although Clifford's (1983; 1986) scepticism of the unavoidable hierarchical arrangements of power-laden fields of discursive positionings holds true, contemporary visual anthropology creates spaces for intersectional narratives, provides a pathway for a more intentional academia and self-reflexive researcher, and fosters human connection through broadened epistemological and image-making lenses.

CONCLUSION

I argue that visual anthropology—employed within a framework of community-based participatory research—has the potential to challenge dominant narratives, broaden perspectives within and beyond academia, and transform everyday lives. These objectives are what I also hope to accomplish while conducting community-based visual anthropology throughout my forthcoming graduate fieldwork with llama pastoralists in the Bolivian Andes.

Before going into the field, I seek to critically acknowledge my limitations and positionality as a researcher who is not Bolivian, Andean, or a llama pastoralist. By fostering a self-reflexive, critical awareness of myself (a middle-class, white, female graduate student) I can more acutely reflect upon my enculturated biases, preconceived perceptions, and positions of power that have the potential to affect my fieldwork and partnerships. The visual incorporation of oneself within their methodology and mode of communication offers a path for researchers to transparently situate themselves within exchanges and dialogues that viewers may be interpreting. As a multidimensional modality, visual ethnography is also a way to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities of lived experiences within multi-sited frameworks (Marcus 1995).

Epistemologically humanistic, visual anthropology offers a way to deepen our understanding of human connection through polyvocal and dialogic textualizations of partial truths that yield multiple and divergent interpretations (Bernard 2017; Lassiter 2005; Tsing 2015). As a pedagogical tool, it can serve to "expand the scope of this

dialogue; to make a conversation of human life itself," and to open paths of growth and discovery (Ingold 2017: 58). Through its ability to explore dynamic assemblages of knowledge (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2015), the multidimensional lenses of visual anthropology not only render culture a fluid process of unfolding relations, but support and illuminate the vast array of human connections around the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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IN THE ABSENCE OF BLOOD: FORMING KINSHIP TIES
THROUGH RELIGIOUS BELIEF

HILARY HO

ABSTRACT

This is a personal reflection essay on my mother's experiences
growing up with her foster mother and her biological mother. The
relationship between mother and daughter challenge normative ideas
of how maternal love is formed and understood. I first wrote this essay
for my undergraduate course on kinship where I wanted to explore
how larger social structures and beliefs can influence kinship ties
between mother and child. I write this essay to reflect on the emotional
labour involved as my mother navigated the social intricacies of her
relationships with both of her mothers.

INTRODUCTION

*"Every child is conceived either in love or lust, is born in pain,
followed by joy or sometimes remorse"* ~ Jennifer Worth, The
Midwife: A Memoir of Birth, Joy, and Hard Times

After reading a good number of fairy tales like *Snow White* and *Cinderella,* whose protagonists were punished by their stepmothers, one would think the statement 'blood is thicker than water' would hold true. After all, procreation and marriage are how kinship ties are formed. However, unlike those fairy tales, for my mother, her 'true' mother does not share her blood. My mother has stronger kinship ties with my foster grandmother (FGm). The kin relations between my biological grandmother (BGm) and my mother, on the other hand, are dynamic and fluid because at different points in time and under different circumstances, both mother and daughter did not acknowledge the kinship ties between them. How is it that water triumphs over blood? Janet Carsten argues that "nature cannot be regarded as having primacy over culture" (Carsten 1995: 690). I agree. Biological blood ties alone do not determine the relationship between mother and child. Carsten (1995) further explains that in the absence of blood that forms a 'natural' kinship relation between mother and child, time and effort are needed to naturalize this fictive relationship.[i] However, I believe that religion also played a role in shaping the relationship between my mother and my two grandmothers. Religious teachings such as astrology and karma, giving way to the notion of 'fate' or 'God's will,' had an adverse effect on the way my mother perceived her circumstances and her relationship with both of my grandmothers.

In writing this paper, I wanted to understand my mother's relationship with both my grandmothers. Specifically, using anthropological theories, I wanted to contextualize the grief and anger in my mother's early life that she often relived. I write in first-person not to speak on behalf of the women I write about here, but rather to convey what I had witnessed and learned about the relationship between my mother and my grandmothers. I hope that I become a conduit through which you, the reader, can glean what love looks like for my mother, and

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maybe for other families growing up in poverty in Singapore in the '60s.

FOSTERING A CHILD

In a 'traditional' Chinese household in Singapore, a married woman is expected to become a mother. My FGm was unable to conceive during the first few years of her marriage. Adhering to local religious belief or superstition, my FGm fostered my mother in hopes that she would be able to have a biological child of their own. Such belief stems from Taoism that consists of certain Buddhist teachings, including the concept of karma and compassion. This means that when love and compassion are shown towards a foster child, merits are earned and my FGm would be granted her deepest desires of conceiving biological children of her own. Therefore, in recognizing my mother as her daughter, my FGm had to put in considerable effort into nursing my mother with little resources and help. In the late '50s, my FGm lived in a house with a thatched roof and a bucket for a toilet. Like most women living in poverty, she did various odd jobs. She was a housekeeper, a babysitter, a dishwasher, and a coffee picker.

The relationship between my mother and FGm was often challenged by poverty. My mother sometimes resented her responsibilities as the oldest child which included caring for her three younger siblings and buying the family's sparse dinner every day. Her protest on these matters caused my mother to be wacked by the bamboo handle of a feather duster. Upon completion of her O-levels (a national exam taken at grade 10), my mother was anguished and resentful when my FGm refused to support her postsecondary education. My mother felt like she was unloved and was entrenched in poverty. To pursue a postsecondary diploma in accounting, my mother got a job at the shipyard where my FGm worked. That was when my mother's feelings of resentment towards my FGm changed. After her children were older, my FGm had worked in the shipyard cleaning the fuel tanks of tankers for a meager pay of 7 dollars a day to provide for the family. This basic and mundane practice of making ends meet for her family was an act of maternal love. Carsten (1995) explains that maternal love is an abstract entity, which can be transformed into

tangible material through the production of bodily substance, such as sweat, and then by converting this bodily substance into money through the means of earning wages. The daily production of sweat was an everyday expression of love from my FGm where she hoped to meet the material needs of her children. This bodily substance is also seen as a form of maternal sacrifice and the daily production and circulation of bodily substances- from sweat to wage, and from wage to food- reaffirms kinship ties that strengthen through time (Carsten 1995). Over time, my mother began to recognize the sacrifice my FGm had made for her and her other siblings[ii]. Realizing that my FGm's lack of financial support stemmed from the reality of poverty and not bias towards her biological children, my mother began to acknowledge my FGm as her 'true' mother. Looking at the daily production of sweat had shaped my mother's understanding of what constitutes maternal love in poverty.

My mother reciprocated my FGm's love through filial piety by providing my FGm with her material needs through similar production of sweat. In Singapore, filial piety is understood as a Confucius ethic—a form of virtue that commands one to respect their elders. This is often characterized as duty, responsibility, and repayment (Lieber, Nihira, and Mink 2004). However, I would like to talk about the biggest act of filial piety and love as seen through the funeral of my FGm. You might assume that one's family members and community are homogenous in their religious beliefs. In Singapore, however, colonization and globalization have created a diverse social and cultural background within society, and it is not uncommon for children to convert to other religions such as Christianity. After attending Catholic school, my mother had converted to Catholicism during her 20s[iii]. When it came to my FGm's funeral she was in a dilemma because she had two particular tenets of the ten commandments that she had to obey:

'Thou shall have no other God before me'
'Honour thy father and thy mother' (Exodus 20: 1-17)

Although Christianity demands that children participate in their parent's funeral, as stated in the second commandment, praying and

doing rituals of a different religion is prohibited. This is because praying in the ways of other religions would break the first commandment. The deep bond my mother had with my FGm led my mother to disregard this commandment and fulfil her duty as a daughter to her 'true' mother as a symbol of her love. This decision to carry out the last rites for my FGm was a form of respect, and perhaps even a form of repayment of gratitude. In a way, this was an act of abiding by both Confucian and Christian teachings whereby my mother honoured her parents. Performing last rites in Taoism is significant, as the funeral is a ritual that transforms a person's physical death and reconstitutes them into ancestors (Mathieu 2008). Therefore, the participation of family members at the funeral represents the continuation of life for the deceased as an ancestor and prevents a social death from occurring. Although both women did not share the same blood, my mother's participation in the funeral becomes proof that they recognized their relationship to be that of a mother and daughter.

THE DUTY OF AN UNWANTED CHILD TOWARDS HER MOTHER

My mother's act of filial piety was very different when my BGm passed away. Despite sharing blood with my BGm, neither of them recognized the other as kin. In my mother's opinion, 'it was God's plan' that she was given away. My mom was the fourth of twelve children, and the only child who lived under a different roof. Legally, however, my mother was registered under the name of her biological parents. When my mother turned 15, she needed a parent's signature to receive her government-issued identity card. My mother approached my BGm. She did not get a signature but returned home to her foster family after her biological mother cursed and swore at her[iv]. When I look back, it is as if my BGm wanted to sever this relationship. Avoiding putting her name on paper is a form of omission of her role as a mother. If maternal love is represented through sharing bodily substance between mother and daughter, this bodily substance moved in one direction. My mother was expected to help her biological siblings. When my mother became a certified accountant, she helped her biological siblings file taxes for their company. While

she was pregnant with my brother, she helped them with little or no compensation and often under tight deadlines. When my older brother was born prematurely with boils, my mother blamed herself for overworking and going to bed at three in the morning during her pregnancy. After that, my mother refused to help her siblings. For this, my mother was cursed and yelled at by my BGm. In my mother's eyes, she was seen as a daughter by my BGm only when she was needed. Their relationship was based on transactions, where my mother was bound by the duty of a daughter and yet received nothing in exchange for her moral obligation that was imposed onto her.

When my BGm passed away, my mother participated in some parts of the ritual, which she deemed to contain little religious significance. My mother excused herself from collecting the cremated ashes of my BGm and stowing them into the columbarium. This is a significant part of the ritual, which only people with kinship ties can participate in. This is because, through cremation, physical transformation takes place in which turning a corpse into ashes represents the spiritual or the social transformation from a disembodied spirit to an ancestor. The collection of the ashes represents the receiving and acknowledgment of the deceased as an ancestor. Since my mother is seen as non-kin, she is excused from participating in this ritual. In my mother's eyes, the physical death of my BGm also became a social death. My family is henceforth excused from ancestral worship. Therefore, my mother's participation at her funeral was merely to thank my BGm for giving birth to her. The lack of maternal love provided her with sufficient reason to excuse herself from full participation in the full funeral ritual. The social memory of my BGm will fade over time as no other ritual, such as ancestorial worship will revive or rekindle my mother's social memory of my BGm. To my mother, my BGm will experience social death.

LIFE AFTER THE DEATH OF BOTH HER MOTHERS

My mother's childhood was shaped by poverty. Religion gave my mother a new life with my FGm who cared for her the best she could. Arguably, religion saved my mother from an unhappy life with my BGm and it also became a tool for my mother to express her feelings

towards both my grandmothers. For my mother, religion allowed her to understand what love looks like in poverty. It has been ten years since the passing of my FGm and religion continues to play a significant role in my mother's life.

The role of religion in the everyday lives of Singaporeans remains understated. To the outside eye, Singapore appears modern and secular. However, by looking closely at the relationships between family members of a working-class family such as mine, you see how the legacy of colonialism and poverty continues to shape these relationships and kinship ties. The Singaporean pursuit of upward mobility and the status of a world-class city is accompanied by new ideologies and religions. Notably, this includes the introduction of new cultural ideas and values of family and childhood. While I understand my mother's love as being comfortably tucked into bed or going on a family outing to the beach with my new rollerblades, for my mother, having dinner in and of itself is symbolic of maternal love. As new values flow into the lives of individuals in Singapore, it also reconfigures relationships and notions of rites and duty between parent and child; and with that, new possibilities of expressing one's affection towards parents and children arise.

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[i] Fictive kinship refers to ties that does not derive from the sexual ties, as a result of marriage or by birth.

[ii] My mother believes that my FGm worked in an extremely toxic environment as she breathed in the fumes of fuel that later resulted in cancer on the skin of my FGm's lungs. My FGm did not smoke regularly, perhaps only occasionally when she used the outhouse to mask the smell.

[iii] My mother attended a catholic school during her primary and secondary education, during which my mother attended mass during school hours and was met with a kind and compassionate principle that demonstrated the values of Christianity. This inspired her to become Christian. I should add that my FGm did not ban my mother from attending mass. Instead, she reminded her not to receive the host as she was not baptised. My FGm's respect for Jesus later influenced my mother's decision to perform the last rites for my FGm.

iv I should add here that my mother eventually did get her signature, from my biological grandfather and she received a watch for her 15th birthday. Although I talk about women here, men in both families also shaped my mother's childhood experiences. You see, I should add here that my mother did not get a fairy-tale ending. Although my mother was generally accepted by her foster family, the relationship between my mother and my foster grandfather was poor and remained strained to this day.

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ENHANCING THE CALL OF PLACE AND ENTANGLING
IDENTITIES: A BRAIDING OF MATERIALS, MEDIA, AND
INFRASTRUCTURES TO PLACE AND BEING

KIKILA PERRIN

ABSTRACT

Life is experienced in place. It is grounded, and we are connected
through our experiences being grounded together in place. The call of
place brings people (humans and more-than-humans) into a relational
coexistence through sharing our interactions, and by being together in
places. In exploring how meaningful cultural understanding between
Indigenous land defenders and settler-descended activists can occur in
these sites of coexistence, this paper examines how cultural
entanglement that occurs through the shared experience in place can
be enhanced through relationships to materials, media, and
infrastructure. By evaluating if these different forms can enhance
place's call beyond its physical location, materials, media, and
"infrastructure" can each be understood as a braiding of multivocal
meanings capable of supporting the alteration of European worldviews
to be more relational in a meaningful way that supports Indigenous
resurgence.

INTRODUCTION

"We're a part of something special,
We're a part of something special,
We're a part of something special,
It's a crack in time, a wrinkle"

-Nahko and Medicine for the People [MFTP], "Wash it Away,"
Wash it Away (2014).

Wandering where we wander, it is often easy to forget where we have been. As a settler of predominantly European descent, this is apparently our way of things: Lands are commodities and the people we find there, if they haven't used those lands in *our* ways, ought to be removed (Coulthard 2014:7). At least this is the case, it seems, if you aren't listening. The "Call of Place" is not something that is easily heard if you don't know what to listen for (Larsen and Johnson 2014: 2), particularly if you – like me – come from a people who long ago forgot how to live in relationship with the land (Green 2013: 72). The call of place is that which draws us into relationship with territory and with land through being in place with beings other than ourselves. Larsen and Johnson (2014) have further distinguished this call as something wholly unique and deeply relational, claiming, "it's not like a calling to a faith or a profession, but rather summons to encounter, dialogue, and relationship among the humans and nonhumans who share the landscape" (2). Authors such as Rodman (1992), Basso (1996), Elliott et al. (2009), de la Cadena (2010), Di Giminiani (2016), and Larsen and Johnson (2017) have described the importance of place and its call to the (re)formation of Indigenous and place-based identities. They illustrate how place itself is an active and affective agent within an exchange, and how it creates the basis for relational ways of knowing both the self (Williams 2012:94) and other members of your cosmological community (Larsen and Johnson 2017:2).

In this paper, my intention is to illustrate how the call of place can be enhanced and maintained even when an individual is no longer in that place, how that call is made constant, renewed, recalled, momentarily or constantly (re)experienced in memory, dream, vision, through

relationships with "things" that (re)call and (re)constitute that place despite distance, and how this supports a relational way of knowing that can lead to increased settler support for Indigenous Resurgence through (re)experiencing their time in Indigenous territory. Further, this paper suggests that in answering the call of place, by engaging with and being influenced or shaped by material, media, and infrastructure, we weave ourselves into those braids. While this paper describes how these material and media interactions reinforce or enhance the call of place among settler activists in the environmental movement, and how reinforcing the call of place can lead to entangled worldviews that are expressed through the ceremony of being in place with Indigenous cosmologies as tied to Indigenous-led, place-based movements,[v] this paper does not specifically address the function of this place-based process of transculturation (Ortiz 1995:102-103). Rather, aspects of the braidwork that make meaningful cultural exchange possible are examined once removed from a specific place. The term "braidwork" is employed as an alternative to "infrastructure," as the latter term is specifically industrial and therefore hegemonic in my experiencing of it. This is to examine how different materials, media, and "infrastructures" enhance the call of place once removed from place. To do this, my paper will explore and analyse my relationships to a lava rock (a material), a song (a media), and to ceremony. This is to understand the nature of the braid itself, the collective agency manifest through the weaving together of three "types" of actors that can draw others into a deeper relationship with place that lead towards meaningful transcultural exchange (Zamel 1997: 350) with Indigenous ways of being *through* connection to place. Seeing the strands of this braidwork as not only (re)connecting "things" to place, but place to "things," the kincentric and relational aspect of being in place becomes visible (Beckwith et al. 2017:424) – not as a thread within the braid, but as something produced by the braiding of all of these strands together.

"Things" themselves occur in different forms: materials, objects, belongings, songs, dreams, dances, ceremonies, and so on. They go by many names, though one characteristic that is consistent is that they are often overlooked as affective beings in the lives of humans. "Things" come from place, they enter into a relationship with a person

the moment they meet, when that person takes that "thing" from place. If the relationship between person and material began in place, then my paper asks if place's relationship with a person might be "enhanced" (continued, strengthened, evoked, remembered, manifested) through the subsequent relationship between the person and the material coupled in place. My attempt here is to tease out a few strands from a braid or braidwork of interrelated ideas that is itself a metaphor for our connections to place (and place's connections to us, to "things," and between us all) before re-braiding these strands and again forming that interaction of place, of putting materials, media (songs, dreams), and "infrastructures" (ceremony) back into the braid that constitutes our interwoven being *in place*. The metaphor of a braid feels appropriate for understanding these forms of interconnection and relationality because it expands the concept of the node (Latour 1996: 369). The braid cannot exist without the strands being woven into it, nor do the strands themselves resemble the completed braid. Basically, a braidwork suggests that aspects of "things" (including people) have their own trajectory, though they are woven into the trajectories of other "things" where they each mutually impact each other. Braidworks are emergent, agentive points of interconnection and interinfluence that maintain the agency of the constituent threads while manifesting their own unique agency as a collection of threads. That items themselves can carry with them the call of place is something that interests me greatly because of personal experience. It is my recognition that materials are always-already tied to place, memory (Maracle 2015:49), and one's being in ways that can evoke those places, memories, and ways of being in individuals and groups (Cuerrier et al. 2015:428). Like place, materials have agency (agency being the ability for something to influence or affect another) (Latour 2005:64-65).

Media – the plural form of "medium" and a means through which something is communicated – have similar agency in how they (re)constitute identity (Williams 2012:92), relationships (Durham Peters 2015:14-15), and histories (Solomon and Thorpe 2012:250-251). Both materials and media are subject to the social, cultural, and spiritual interactions that emerge through "infrastructure" (Proulx 2009:295), defined in this paper as the binding of materials and media

into structural forms that are more than their constituent parts. Infrastructures are capable of replicating the agency of those parts and of manifesting an agency of their own. They represent a braidwork in themselves as interwoven relationships capable of reconstituting relationships even while displaced, making them central to understanding the call of place.

"We felt like we were returning,
To our land rebels, and the shepherds to the sea,
Takers are taking what the leavers will leave.
So grieve me the black prince cicada,
Such a loud voice for a tiny creature,
Teach me to let go of all of my pain,
I do forgive, I don't forget these things,
I do forgive, I don't forget these things."
-Nahko and MFTP, "Wash it Away."

A POINT OF ARRIVAL

The majority of my lineage is European (*hwunitum*, in Coast Salish territories, "the hungry people"). But Europe was always the past – it was a point of departure, a place that members of my family were obliged to visit, but not a place of return. Growing up, Europe felt to me like a place we were all exiled from while at the same time it heavily defined who we were. During the 1988 Winter Olympics I asked my dad which country he was cheering for and was surprised when he replied "Switzerland." Switzerland is where he was born and where his paternal line has lived since the 16th century when they fled the Huguenot genocide in Normandy, but it was not where he lived in 1988. It was the same with my maternal grandfather, a man who watched golf and swore in German when his players missed puts. When asked how he had survived World War II, he said that he had stayed at the back. Otherwise, he rarely talked to me about Germany, or our ancestral town of Plattling. Even as a child this disconnection struck me as strange since my father was always proud of the hand-painted cow bells his mother sent us. The old furniture in my grandparent's place in "Ottawa"[vi] was similarly reminiscent, with framed photos and other belongings that spoke of my grandfather's

life in pre-war Bavaria. Clearly, even though they spoke rarely of it, they wanted to remain connected to where they were from in a material way.

To talk about the women in my family is to change subjects in a lot of ways. Because of Euro-North American patriarchy, the women were in many ways erased. This is unfortunate, as it is through the women that my lineage offers some hope to reconnect to my ancestors and the places in their lives. My father's mother's line was French and descended from the place-based Celts of pre-Roman Europe. My mother's mother was English from her father's line, and Québecois and Haudenosaunee on her mother's side (two obvious stains on an otherwise well-worn Anglo disguise for my German grandfather as he hoped to hide his own heritage in wartime "Montreal"). Little remained of either of my grandmothers in the imaginary of my grandparents' generation, and it is hard for me to speak to them now, despite my best efforts. Between the self-exiles of my father and maternal grandfather, and the erasure of my grandmothers, there was relatively little to be handed down to remind us of our lineage. A single Swiss cowbell painted by my grandmother that is beside me as I write this, and the desk my maternal grandfather restored that I am sitting at now are two of the only material items that have found their way through the years to me. Despite multiple attempts to erase our familial connections to place, materials that remind *me* of *them* remain, but not the places they were from. Born in the colony to parentage seeking something new in what is known as "Canada," my inherited imaginary has always been about moving away from European places and displacing Indigenous peoples in the places that we occupy.

Born in the traditional unceded territory of the Algonquin Anishnaabeg people ("Ottawa"), my childhood and youth were spent in the Upper Canada Treaty territories of the Anishnabek, Huron-Wendat, and Haudenosaunee peoples (so-called Lanark County) before moving to Kanien'kehá꞉ka territory ("Montreal") at the age of 10. The so-called Canadian Shield and the "St. Laurence" lowlands were merely backdrops to my experiences then. It was not until more recently that I considered these places as actors that informed my experiences and future relationships with these territories. What *were*

actors (in terms of the agency at work on my lived experience) were the bus routes that allowed teenage me to explore downtown "Montreal," to connect with other musicians, and to get into trouble. When the internet arrived in the late 1990s, it changed my reality in ways my ancestors would probably have understood on their own levels. These – the busses, the music, and the internet – had the agency to impact my youthful life, and these were the actors that played a role in my life.

If there is a moment that changed these aspects of my life, it came later. After submitting my master's thesis at the age of 33, I left so-called Montreal and my path eventually led me to Aotearoa. Stepping off the plane it was still "New Zealand" to me then, but as the fresh air found me, and my naked toes touched the soil, the land itself began speaking to me as *Aotearoa*. Like Nahko Bear sings in his song "Wash it Away" (see below), being there felt more like a return than a first encounter. For whatever reason – be it that "New Zealand" is a settler colonial state very much like "Canada," or that Māori activists were quicker to speak to me because of my outsider status (not being a settler Kiwi, I was not *their* colonizer), or the very call of place itself – Aotearoa became a place of transformation through self-reflection, acceptance, accountability, and responsibility. It was where a Māori land-defender named T, after a day both of us had spent protesting deep sea drilling off the coast of Kaikōura, pressed his forehead to mine in a hongi and told me "now, you are a defender of this land, just like me" (journey notes,[vii] 1 December 2013). Since that time, my path brought me once again through Kanien'kehá꞉ka territory, and then to the unceded and un-surrendered Coast Salish, Nuu-chah-nulth, and Kwakwaka'wakw territories that make up so-called Vancouver Island (The Island). My decision to come to The Island was itself the result of a call that is impossible for me to explain. Since returning from Aotearoa, it has become drastically important to me that I participate in place-based land defence in the places I colonize.

"We danced the ghost dance in two separate countries
To this old song
So familiar to memory

The road will teach you how to love and let go
It can be lonely but it's the only thing that we've ever known
It can be lonely but it's the only thing that we've ever known"
-Nahko and MFTP, "Wash it Away."

EXPERIENCING THE CALL OF PLACE IN MAKAPU'U

My understanding about how materials can carry with them the call of place began at Makapu'u Beach Park, a small stretch of coast wedged between highway 72 and the Pukakukui Channel that separates O'ahu from Rabbit Island and the island that now serves as Kāohikaipu Island State Seabird Sanctuary. It found us just before the winter solstice in 2019 when my partner and I were cruising around O'ahu in a rented campervan. Having just left Hawaii Kai, we were making our way up the east coast of the island to the North Shore. We promised to stop anywhere that caught either of our attention. My then-partner saw a sign for the Makapu'u Lighthouse trail with a long line of cars parked near the entrance. The way the highway was laid forced us to continue for a mile before we found parking for Makapu'u beach. When we pulled into the lot, we saw several stone circles and cairns which we recognized as a heiau or "traditional Hawaiian temple" (Becket and Singer 1999:175). The path the afternoon had been taking was altered in a very significant way.

> "As soon as me and [my partner] figured out what it was we both became pretty reserved, and quiet. For me, stumbling on a Heiau was humbling…being at a sacred site, my first thought was about praying and being respectful and trying to understand the depth of the place…not knowing the protocols outside of Kapu Aloha I thanked the ancestors of the heiau (it felt and looked like an active community temple) and the gods. It felt very important to me to be <u>humble</u>, and <u>calm</u>" (journey notes, 11 December 2019).

Heiau were (and in some cases still are) a central part of pre-contact Hawaiian culture and serve similar functions to the marae in other parts of Polynesia (Kirch and Ruggles 2019: 3). Part of my reason for wanting to visit Hawai'i in 2019 was to visit a heiau. This desire was

tied to another place we were planning on visiting on that journey, and while both our planned destination and being called to the Makapu'u heiau sounded like different experiences, they were very much linked. Our trip included a two-week stop on the Island of Hawai'i where we planned to spend three nights at the Mauna Kea "protest" camp where Kānaka Maoli land-defenders had then been holding space against the construction of a thirty-meter telescope on Mauna Kea for (then) nearly 200 days. My partner and I had participated in similar de-occupations or decolonial movements in 'Namgis territory during the "Fish Farms Out" actions. Having the chance to show our support – as settlers – for such a powerful and connecting action bordered on spiritual for me. Chancing into contact with an active heiau on O'ahu grounded the experience of being there. But that wasn't the only reason I was excited about this chance.

Polynesians were some of the most skilled mariners the world has ever seen, and their relationship with the ocean was not one of fear the way it was with European "explorers" of the so-called "age of discovery" (Manke 1999:228). Rather, the ocean was a well-travelled *place* of meaning, connection, and identity (Hau'ofa 1994:7) and a bridge that linked Polynesian cultures together. For the ancestors of the people who became the Hawaiians and the Māori of Aotearoa, connection to the Ocean was as important as the new islands that they sailed to (61). Like the Hawaiian heiau, the Polynesian marae are points of spiritual, ceremonial, and communal importance that continue to (re)constitute Polynesian identity (Kirch and Ruggles 2019: xxix). Each heiau/marae contains a piece of their own ancestors: stones from "celebrated marae" were often carried with Polynesian voyagers as they sailed towards a new home where that stone became the foundation for a new heiau/marae, creating a lineage between the people, the places from where they had come and the places where they made their new homes (Hīroa 1949:481).

Stepping outside of the larger stone circle that formed the outer limit of the heiau, my feet brought me closer to the beach where a small lava stone caught my eye. It was the idea that Polynesians since time immemorial had participated in this tradition that called me to take that stone, to offer thanksgiving and place a similar stone that had

travelled with me from Diitiida ("Jordan River," "British Columbia") on Makapu'u beach, and return to L'kwungen territory with the lava stone—to carry the Polynesian tradition, and that place, with me. The stone now sits in a very special place in my apartment. It connects me to that coastline and the heiau overlooking the Pacific, to those that still live around Makapu'u heiau, and to their ancestors going back to the beginning. It also constitutes my relationship with the ancestors of the territories that I occupy, for it is impossible for me to see my relationship to place without acknowledging the impact of my life on the people where I call "home." That stone passed with me over the waters separating O'ahu and Hawai'i and was close to my heart the entire time we were holding space on Maunakea. It has become a part of those experiences, and each time its rough, brittle, comforting edges touch my fingers it brings me back to that sunny point overlooking the waves. The stone itself has become my connection to Makapu'u, and to the Hawaiian archipelago in general. Even though the stone does not come from the heiau itself (I am not Polynesian, and the ancestors that are held within and honoured are not mine, in my heart this would have constituted a theft, and obvious appropriation of Polynesian culture), my intention was not to cause harm but to build a relationship between myself and that place. There is agency in that stone in how, now removed and dis-placed, it evokes a very specific place and (re)constitutes my attachment to being in and sitting with the agency of *that* place (Larsen and Johnson 2017:18-19). It reconstitutes my outsider connection to the moment I was there and allows me to honour a people and a place who will forever have my respect. It also challenges me to be a better member of *this* community of settler supporters on Coast Salish territory, as an activist and academic, to be aware of the bonds that I form and the bonds I break – between people, places, and materials.

"Then sister crow came with the murder that day,
So we tattooed the bird nation onto our faces.
She said, "we sing to let go of all of our pain,
We dance the story
To remember when things changed."
Remember when things changed,
Remember when things changed."

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-Nahko and MFTP, "Wash it Away."

CEREMONY, AND HOW "THE SONG OF OUR STRUGGLES CAME STRAIGHT FROM THE FIRE" [viii]

Beyond the individual experiencing of place, its call, and those materials that enhance that call, there are collective ways that a place's call is enhanced and even taken up. Materials are not the only "things" that can carry the call of place. They are also not the only "things" involved in the constitution of a "spatially experienced body of knowledge" (Wildcat 2009: 15). Songs, like the lava stone, contain within them aspects of the places where they originate. The hairs on the back of my neck still tingle when listening to the song "Wash it Away," reminding me of several places, several experiences, people and peoples, and of journeys and returns. My first-time hearing "Wash it Away" by Nahko and Medicine for the People was in 2017. It was during a time in my life where I was getting more involved in activism and being drawn into new relationships and new ways of being in relationship. Listening to the song now, preparing to write about it, is as powerful an experience as those times and places where I have sung it. Listening to a song can be a powerful experience, but it can also be a banal act as well: there is something that we bring to the listening that changes the impact of the music, and sometimes the song, time, and place of its listening or playing dictates our reaction. This is because listening, like *playing* music, is a conversation—once you have entered into conversation with a song, something more can happen (Racy 2003:41). Nahko Bear, the singer and principle writer for Nahko and Medicine for the People, is an Indigenous artist whose lyrics (and the guiding notion for his band) are each acts of resurgence performed in an intercultural and contemporary way that brings the ceremony of song into a slightly new format without altering the agency of the medium (Mamo 2020). His songs, like the songs of his Apache heritage, are *stories* and his stories are *ceremonies* that share teachings to audiences that normally would not have access to them (Ball 2000:271; Bear Fluence).

Like ceremony, song transmits ideas about how to be in place and ways of understanding them. Song *is* ceremony (Pedri-Spade 2016),

as it is also grounded and grounding in and of ceremony (Bell 2018: 179). Ceremony, like song and materials, are specific to place (Goeman 2013: 143). Verran (2002) refers to "micro-worlds" as places of generalizations that appear universal, though they are generalizations only insofar as they explain the microworld in which they are facilitating (731-752). The following paragraph builds a set of generalizations that may read like universals though they are generalizations that support the microworld of the experiences with song, ceremony, and place in my life, informed by the (mostly Indigenous) ideas and scholarship that inform this project. Much like the ceremonies of research (Wilson 2008:8) and activism (Larsen and Johnson 2017:78) that (re)constitute themselves as ceremony as they reconstitute relationships through participation, song-as-ceremony can be (re)constituted through listening, provided there is an active understanding and acknowledgement of the relational nature of those activities, one that the listener is aware of and participates in cultivating (Fellner 2018:38). In other ways, my suggestion here is that song is a medium through which ceremony can be accessed in ways that have the potential to challenge the dis-placed generalizations of Western textuality as experienced by individuals. In my experience of them, writing, film, speaking, and even language are all examples of media as vehicles of ideas, and in many ways, any can serve (analytically) in a similar means for transmitting and reconstituting ceremony. Within this microworld, an acceptable generalization might avoid a textual analysis of texts *as ceremony,* stepping away from what the colony itself deploys as a means of securing and validating its hegemony (Jeyaraj 2009:469) through the textual "ceremonies" of the law, the police state, racial superiority, etc. (Said 1994 [1978]). Language is also problematic in my analysis as the colony works to reduce the number of Indigenous and place-based languages, replacing them with a colonial language (like English) (Phillipson 1992:116, 131). Given my personal context as a settler, and my mother tongue being English (also due to (re)colonialization), a linguistic discussion would feel hypocritical to me. Song feels to me something older than both written texts and the English language, something recognizable among us all within the microworlds of place-based connection (Verran 2002: 749) as a medium for expressing, exchanging, and transmitting a great deal in a great many ways with a

depth of nuance. As a medium for transmission of culture, song existed in pre-occupation Turtle Island (Walker 2005: 12), as well as pre-colonial Europe (Kunej and Turk 2000:235-6). Song allows for participation in a special way where even someone who does not know the words or the melody can take part in the ceremony of the song rhythmically or through dance (Walker 2005: 4-5). Music as art is very much a connecting piece, particularly in being shared and taken up as the materials, media, and artists are all "remade by the process of making," and in participating with this process "you become a different person" (Hayalthkin'geme 2020). Like many other cultural practices, song can (re)connect an individual or group to a longer tradition, to a braidwork of interactions that are understood as ceremony (Pedri-Spade 2016:388). And it is in this way, this manifestation of a (re)connective apparatus, that "Wash it Away" interacts with me almost every time I hear it.

Ceremony often includes song, and song often supports, reinforces, and legitimizes ceremony. When the Kwakwaka'wakw carver, artist, scholar, and activist Hayalthkin'geme (Carey Newman) installed the Earth Drums near the Cedar Hill Golf Course in so-called Victoria, "British Columbia," song was a focal part of the ceremony. The drums themselves were designed to make "music of and for the earth," and their purpose was "to engage people in reconciliation by asking them to change their relationship with the land" (Saanich 2019). In essence, music is the drums' reason for existing, yet music was also a part of their introduction to the community. Before installing the drums in their permanent home, Hayalthkin'geme asked Bradley Dick, a Walas Kwagul, L'kwungen, and Ditidaht First Nations' artist to compose a song to be gifted to the drums (Songhees Nation 2012). "The drums have their own song and identity," they have their own agency. A central aspect of the drums' installation was the "sharing of ceremony to place the song onto [the drums]" (Hayalthkin'geme 2020). This is an example of how song-as-ceremony can be central in reciprocally connecting community, material, and place.

As Pedri-Spade (2016) and Bell (2018) point out, song has long been an aspect of Indigenous traditions and ceremony; song is grounding, and often contains teachings and instructions on protocol. Song has

been one of the central aspects of certain ceremonial collections encountered in my experiences as a member of a Blackfoot Buffalo Lodge that is held in W̱SÁNEĆ territory. Song in those contexts brings the participants together, while at the same time connects the singers, drummers/musicians, and listeners to the ancestors that first birthed those songs, and the descendants that will sing the song in the future. Even more, these songs connect people to the places those songs came from, and to aspects of the world that generated them. Like in the ceremony of the Earth Drums, song is the (re)constitution of worldview that is indicative of a braidwork of interwoven relationships that are renewed through the singing of it.

Experiencing song in this way ought not be reserved for Indigenous artists alone, particularly as many of us have also felt this powerful connection to a piece of non-Indigenous music. Nahko's intention to use music as medicine and to infuse Indigenous ways of being and teachings into his songs allows for this reading to be more than inference or projection on my part. Intention on the side of the author can be accessed by the listener, for the agency of the song places artist, listener, and song into a relationship that was created ceremonially – the connection of conscious intent. My intention in learning to sing and play "Wash it Away" was also to experience music as medicine, and I have brought it with me to various moments of my life where ceremony, place, and relationships were all manifesting in very potent ways.

Since learning it, the song itself called to me several times, asking that it be shared in particular moments and places. One example came in 2018 during my first visit to Kax:iks, the so-called Central Walbran, on The Island (Nuu-chah-nulth territory). My journey to Kax:iks was not then as an activist, but as a guest. A storied place, Kax:iks is a portion of old growth that was not "protected" when the province of British Columbia created Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park. The valley has yet to be completely logged, though many of us are dreading the time when it will be, so having the chance to visit that spectacular place in a time of relative peace was a true blessing. A place that speaks to those who visit it, my singing "Wash it Away" in that valley came from a desire to honour the message of the song in building a

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relationship between myself and the valley. It was an offering of thanksgiving to the forest and a hope to be brought into relationship in a very particular way while at the same time deepening the relationships between myself and the friends who were there with me. Simply listening to the song can transport me to Kax:iks' riverbanks, to the Marble Canyon and the golden, sun-washed waters that flow under towering red cedar beneath a rarely clear sky. My relationship with each of these places and beings is different, yet they are now held in a ceremonial relationship with me through that song. Just as the lava rock from near the Makapu'u heiau *is* that place, complete with its call, so does "Wash it Away" (re)create the spirit of those places where I have sung it (Larsen and Johnson 2017:18). In answering their call with my own, I am drawn into a closer relationship with the places I have been, even if my feet do not touch those territories as often as I would like. With its personal references, non-specific metaphors that make the song recognizable to many listeners of many different backgrounds, and ritualistic repetition of particular parts, "Wash It Away" itself is about being connected, sharing experience, and being in place and ceremony. In my playing it, a circle is formed, and the ceremony itself is repeated, reproduced, and expanded beyond the bounds of the song itself. It becomes multivocal (Rodman 1992:649), and it becomes recallable in that vocality. The song has made the place a part of me. The song is the point of connection between us that can be evoked through the act of playing it.

"My bullets are my words
And my words are my weapons
Chain me to the pipeline
For our rivers and mountains, we scream
Today's a good day for my ego to die
Today's a good day for my ego to die"
-Nahko and MFTP, "Wash it Away."

OUR FINGERS, WORKING OVER A BRAIDING, TOGETHER

Gathering with shared intention in what is often called "activism" within the colonial context paradoxically entangles the ceremony of settler democracy (where citizens can assemble to publicly voice their

discontent) with a decolonial ceremony, challenging the hegemony of the dominant settler state. This is the "infrastructure" mentioned in my introduction – a material collection that also serves as medium, becoming a structure, as it were, that is able to express the agency of its aspects, and a new agency that would not have existed without the binding of materials and media together. What do lava rocks, beaches, forest valleys, and folk-rock songs have to do with this collection? For lack of a better way to phrase it, my answer would have to be: *everything.* Place is primary, it is the beginning of the various relationships described above – place and person, person and song, place and song, etc – for without knowing ourselves in place, then we know ourselves in a semiotic and spatial vacuum that simply does not exist (Larsen and Johnson 2017:19). In many ways, everything written above has been about the same thing, ceremony of and in place, and ceremony as (re)constituting that place. But why has this been important? Because place itself can be contested, and through the various cosmopolitics (the politics of differing worldviews) (de la Cadena 2010:346) that occur in place (336), it is important to my personal journey (aka "research") to see how these multilocalities (Rodman 1992:642) might be capable of entangling settler worldviews (Thom 2017:141) and of de-colonizing aspects of settler ways of knowing to better the conditions for Indigenous resurgence within and counter to the occupation of Indigenous territory that is the settler colony. It is in this hazy horizon where place and ceremony cease to be distinct, where points of intervention (be they places, moments, of materials) that subvert the banality of colonial hegemony might be identified, and where emergent identities are (re)constituted by those ceremonies that happen in place.

Standing at the British Columbia Legislature, surrounded by a couple hundred people, we share the silence of the cool, grey, late-winter morning. We have gathered here for a very specific purpose, one that in many ways publicly shames the provincial government. Over the course of January and into March of 2020, a group of Indigenous youth from various nations across Turtle Island began a series of "occupations"[ix] around "Victoria" (Johal 2020). Between the 23rd of February and the closing of many public spaces due to the COVID-19 pandemic in mid-March 2020, the group calling themselves

"Indigenous Youth For Wet'suwet'en" (IY4W) occupied the Legislature of so-called British Columbia several times (the longest period being about two weeks) (Hunter 2020). These ceremonies coalesced at a cosmopolitical intersection, "a new pluriversal political configuration" (de la Cadena 2010:361) where the meaningful and not performative or appropriative transmission of a kincentric, relational worldview to settler colonists might become possible (journey notes, 11 February 2020). Central to the occupation of the Legislature was a ceremonial or sacred fire that burned throughout the IY4W occupation (CTV News 2020). This fire was re-lit each time the IY4W returned to the Legislature after their arrests and releases. In that crowd of mostly European-descended settlers like myself, we listened quietly to the Indigenous Youth as they led us in prayer, as they drummed and sang, as we collectively changed the very nature of the political and what constitutes "ceremony"[x] in this heavily colonized and actively colonial space (please see figure 1 below) (de la Cadena 2010:361; journey notes, 7, 11, and 14 February 2020).

In many ways the act of holding Indigenous ceremony in this space challenged the nature of coloniality in British Columbia, creating "an indigenous counter public sphere" (de la Cadena 2010:341) that publicly and visibly critiqued the dominant narrative. As mentioned above, ceremony in this context is *of* place, yet can simultaneously *constitute* place (Larsen and Johnson 2017:78). Place is constituted through relationships while at the same time it reconstitutes those relationships, reinforcing a relational way of being (Wilson 2008:13). Ceremony is a braid that can – and often does – exist within other braidworks. Ceremony itself is a collection of strands that are then woven together, where those strands pass into the braid, interacting with and being influenced by those other strands, remaining cohesive so long as they are actively woven together. Being in ceremony in that space, with the collection of people(s) that were present, created the context for what came next for me: the agency of the ceremony itself cultivated the shared meaning that was created through participation in that ceremony (Proulx 2009:295).

Figure 1 Indigenous Youth For Wet'suwet'en and Settler Allies decolonizing the Legislature (Feb 7 2020)

> "I honestly believe we breathed life into that dead stone building. A building from the sand in my territories [Kwakwaka'wakw], built on the soil of another ppls territory [L'kwungen], that dictates how territories all over BC are handled, or rather mishandled…Anyways, I love this contrast, of culture + city, of spirituality + colonial structures…we may have not been 'on the land' but we didn't let that stop us from practicing culture, engaging in ceremony, or in being true human beings." (@MrBranches_ 2020)

Constituting and cultivating this multivocality (the hearing of multiple voices or narratives) could not have been done without ceremony, for the agency of ceremony itself allowed the multilocality of the space (the crossroads of all of those many places – the worlds of Indigenous, settler, visitor, and even the deer that wander the city that all compose that geographic location) that the Legislature occupies to become visible (Proulx 2009:295-6). Ceremony allowed distant lands to be called into being where they ought not to have been, and places

covered and erased through the act of colonial dis-placement were manifested again. The ceremony evokes and (re)constitutes connection with the land and situates the land as an anchor within intercultural engagement (Larsen and Johnson 2017:48). Here, the territory where the Wet'suwet'en people have lived since time immemorial was called into being on the grounds of the Legislature at the same time that this calling revealed the L'kwungen territory that had been dis-placed by the construction of – and laws passed through – the Legislature. The ceremony discussed here points to the problematic cosmopolitics (de la Cadena 2010:361) of place inherent in the multilocality of colonized lands. Ceremony here de-problematizes them in grounding participants in ceremony in order to understand how to return to that anchor, to hear the call of place through the din of coloniality, and to remain in relationship with it while reconstituting it. My path has never taken me to the *Yintah*, the territory of the Wet'suwet'en, yet in those moments of prayer, of participating in the ceremony of holding space, the *Yintah* was foremost in my heart. It transcended a location, a physical and geographical site which could not have occupied the same geographical location that the Legislature was assembled on. Rather, the aspects that make the *Yintah* what de la Cadena (2010) describes as an "earth-being" (those "geographic" features that express an agency on local communities and cultures) (336) were brought into life at the Legislature – the agency of the *Yintah*, its sacred interactions with those place-based people who have been in relationship with it since time immemorial were manifested, and my understanding grew to include an awareness of the nature of that relationship. Yet at the same time, my comprehension of those relationships and the cosmological foundations of place-based identity allowed me to see the bent, broken, and colonized L'kwungen territory under my feet as more than a site of protest, for it too is an agent, and like the *Yintah* so far away, my ears now hear the call to join it
in relation.

"Uncle Mana taught us like an elder
Took us under, older brother
He said:
This is powerful country

This is powerful country"
-Nahko and MFTP, "Wash it Away"

ARRIVING AT A POINT

The Māori have an expression, "*ka mura, ka muri*," which means "we walk backwards into the future," (Rangiwai 2018:604) which is a fitting beginning (and ending) to my paper: now that we can see which road brought us here, we can understand where we are going. The land and our/its relationship with it/us calls to us in many ways, in many voices. The voice we need to hear becomes audible inside of each of us when it is ours to hear. It was my intent to describe how the call of place can be enhanced through our relationships with materials, media, and "infrastructure."[xi] Now that we are back at that point of departure, maybe it is easier to understand the call of place as having been the anchor that brings all of these aspects together from the beginning. The call of place *is* material, media, and ceremonial in how it is interwoven with the stones that come from that land, or the songs sung about it, on it, in community. This is my reason for moving away from the idea of an "infrastructure" (a modern, technical, colonial term) and coming towards the braidwork – for each of these strands (material, media, ceremony, relationship, the land, being, the reader, you, the writer, me, etc.) are always and already plaited into this weaving. These threads are mutually affected by and affect the other strands, though their path and their length causes them to leave the braid once our paths draws us beyond, yet perpetually connected to those points to each other, drawing inspiration from these relationships that have perhaps even altered the directions of our paths in subtle or substantial ways. Each strand is an agent, one whose agency is formed within an ecological web where interconnections form each strand. We are actors, moving through existence, tied to place (for without place, on Earth, what is there?). We are our songs, and our songs are us *in place*. We are those materials, those items we carry, for they are us, and we are together *in place*. Ceremony tightens the braid, for ceremony – perhaps – is the word we use to describe the braid itself, not its constituent parts, and woven within that *is place*.

"Fallen from the nest, young eagle

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I will pull my feathers out
Stay humble
Stay humble
Stay humble
Stay humble
Stay humble."
-Nahko and MFTP, "Wash it Away."[xii]

ENDNOTES

[v] This is the focus of my doctoral research.

[vi] The term "so-called" and quotation marks ("") around a placename are used interchangeably throughout this paper. Both connote the problem caused by the colonial practice of renaming Indigenous places.

[vii] My decision to use the term "journey notes" rather than "field" notes is because of my discomfort for referring to active places where humans have lived since time immemorial as "the field." This form suggests that these notes are related to my personal experiences (my journey) and not as deriving universals from the process of Othering.

[viii] Nahko and Medicine for the People 2014.

[ix] Can Indigenous people "occupy" the colonial buildings that are occupying and dis-placing Indigenous peoples?

[x] In her opinion piece on the longest period of "occupation," Justine Hunter specifically notes that the entry that the IY4W were "occupying" was the "ceremonial front entrance" of the Legislature. While she does mention that the fire was also "ceremonial," she undercuts this by speaking to the invasive aspect of the smoke from the fire without acknowledging the contrast of these notions of the ceremonial, and the imbalance of power that informs her undervaluing.

[xi] Hopefully, at this point in my paper, it is clear why the word "infrastructure" is problematic.

[xii] Since writing this paper, Nahko Bear has been accused of sexual assault. Through discussions between the author and the editors, we have agreed to publish this paper because it remains a credible piece of original scholarly work.

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TREE CLIMBING AND THE LOCOMOTIVE CONNECTION BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT HOMININS

RAE DIAS

ABSTRACT

Bipedalism is considered one of the defining traits of past hominins and modern humans. It has long been assumed that the adaptation to bipedal locomotion came at the cost of tree climbing ability. Recent studies are showing that contemporary humans are still capable of tree climbing to acquire resources. The results of these studies suggest that tree climbing remained an important form of locomotion for certain species of past hominins and certain groups of humans today. In this way, tree climbing could represent a connection between humans in the present and to hominins in the past.

INTRODUCTION

Humans are the only species of living primates to move exclusively with an upright, two-legged bipedal posture. While other primates, such as chimpanzees, bonobos, and gorillas have the ability to walk bipedally and have been witnessed doing so, they are not obligate bipeds. In other words, walking upright is not their primary form of locomotion and so their skeletal and muscular systems have not specifically evolved for a bipedal posture and movement like we see in humans today. As a result, this highly specialized form of terrestrial locomotion is predominantly seen as one of the defining traits of a hominin, as well as a connection between modern humans and our evolutionary past. Due to this, the subject of bipedalism and its specific musculoskeletal adaptations have dominated paleoanthropological literature on hominin locomotion (Bramble and Lieberman 2004; Lieberman et al. 2006). This is not to say that the behavioural and physical shift towards bipedalism does not hold an important place in human evolution. Rather, the issue lies in that bipedal locomotion is given priority in anthropological research and so it influences what questions are asked about the locomotor abilities of likely human predecessors, such as *Australopithecus afarensis* and *Australopithecus africanus*. Despite the fact that fossil evidence shows that tree climbing was the dominant form of movement for our predecessors and other non-human apes for millions of years, tree climbing as an important type of locomotion in hominins has received minimal attention in these discussions. Any arboreal traits are often seen as mere encumberments to the bipedal model and unimportant traits by themselves (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014; Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). As Kozma and colleagues (2018) have pointed out, it is commonly thought that the ability to efficiently walk upright came at the *cost* of arboreal climbing. While it is certainly true that humans have lost many of the arboreal adaptations that would likely make our species more adept at tree climbing, recent research shows that humans are still capable of vertical tree climbing.

The main questions surrounding the lack of research into arboreality are twofold. Firstly, why do anthropologists place more emphasis on

studying the emergence of bipedalism in past hominin species and frequently show a disinterest in exploring questions about the role that tree climbing could have played in hominin evolution? Secondly, why are not more questions being asked regarding the likely continued importance of tree climbing in both past hominins and in humans today? Despite modern humans being highly specialized for bipedal locomotion, experimental and ethnographic studies suggest that humans are still competent tree climbers (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014; Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). What is the significance of this dual-functionality? By asking more questions regarding the importance of tree climbing in both past and present humans, the rich diversity of human behaviour, such as the ability to adapt to living in a variety of environments across the world, can be better encapsulated and appreciated both within the academic realm and beyond it. In this way, meaningful connections can be formed *between* contemporary humans *and* hominins who may be our distant ancestors and relatives.

THE HISTORY OF BIPEDALISM INQUIRIES

Human bipedalism has captivated the interest of anthropologists and other scholars alike for over a century. Even before the discipline of anthropology had been established, the fact that humans stood and walked upright, unlike other apes, captured the interest of naturalists in the 19th century. In his article, "Stand and Be Counted: The Neo-Darwinian Synthesis and the Ascension of Bipedalism as an Essential Hominid Synapomorphy", Tom Gundling covers the history of bipedalism inquiry, which will be summarized in the following section.

In 1809 Jean Baptiste Lamarck speculated on what might happen to a quadrupedal animal if they were forced to walk upright on their feet, and theorized that the big toe would presently become aligned with the other toes. While Lamarck's general theory of evolution has long since been disproven, his above speculation is notably akin to that of discussions regarding the transition to bipedalism. In 1871, in *The Descent of Man*, Charles Darwin also describes a transition to

bipedalism, although his theoretical approach was entrenched in natural selection and not the now infamous Lamarckism. He speculates that as predecessors to humans became more and more upright, their hands became more specialized for prehension and their legs and feet would have also changed for "firm support and progression" (Gundling 2012:187). A decade or so later, in Alfred Russell Wallace's *Darwinism,* he agreed that the transition to bipedalism and thus freeing up the hands was "the first major change associated with the human lineage" (Grundling 2012: 187-188). In reviewing the observations of Lamarck, Darwin and Wallace, Grundling (2012) concludes that their respective works agreed that bipedal locomotion was the first significant evolutionary step that set humans apart from an ape ancestor.

He also notes that in 1951, Sherwood Washburn stated that the origins of modern humans began with the advent of bipedalism. Washburn's statement represented a paradigm shift in how researchers approached the study of fossils and human evolution, as Gundling notes that "[i]t is now incumbent on paleoanthropologists to demonstrate that any fossils claimed to be those of a hominid must display bipedal features" (206). With this conclusion in mind, one begins to understand why paleoanthropology's philosophical stance is so deeply rooted in asking questions about bipedalism, such as when this form of locomotion first became evident in the hominin lineage and the ways in which humans and their predecessors are physically adapted to this upright posture. Yet the study of the evolution of bipedalism is still filled with speculation, because postcranial fossils are not commonly found and when they are, they are often fragmentary or not easy to match to the cranial remains (Tuttle 1981).

THE BEGINNING OF TREE CLIMBING INQUIRIES

One of the key questions regarding the evolution of bipedalism is *how* the shift to this form of locomotion occurred. While this question has been pursued by anthropologists for over a century, a definitive answer has yet to be found. As early as 1900, Klaatsch speculated that vertical tree climbing might have been a pre-adaptive behaviour to

bipedalism due to the enlarged size and shape of the human gluteus maximus (Stern 1972), which allows for powerful hip extension and the hyperextension needed for an upright stance. This speculation is particularly noteworthy because it appears to be the first proponent of what came to be formally known as the vertical climbing hypothesis some 70 years later. Before this hypothesis was formulated, research regarding past hominin locomotion attempted to answer questions focused on terrestrial forms of movement rather than arboreal modes. A common discussion for more than half a century was that terrestrial bipedalism arose from "arboreal giant apes'' who became adapted to plantigrade quadrupedalism before transitioning to bipedalism (Tuttle et al. 1974: 390). This theory was put forward by Arthur Keith in 1903 and focused solely on lower limb adaptations, although it was later refined to include the argument by the palaeontologist Gregory (1916-49) that brachiating was a pre-adaptation to the upright position needed for bipedalism (Tuttle et al. 1974). This came to be known as the Keith-Gregory model. However, Keith later abandoned the brachiationist model in the 1940s, although Gregory and other scholars continued to argue for this hypothesis. The debate continued for several decades in various forms. Upon the advancement of biomolecular science in the 1960s, there was an abundance of evidence that showed that humans, chimpanzees, and gorillas were genetically similar to each other (Tuttle et al. 1974). In an attempt to include this genetic affinity into discussions regarding the evolution of bipedalism, Washburn proposed in the 1960s and 1970s that knuckle-walking had been a transitory locomotion phase between brachiation and bipedalism (Tuttle et al. 1974).

In the 1970s and 1980s, several scholars began to question this theoretical approach and an alternate hypothesis was presented that challenged the terrestrial knuckle-walker model: the vertical climbing hypothesis. The hypothesis states that "... protohominins adaptations for arboreal locomotion were later adapted for terrestrial locomotion, forming key precursors to bipedalism" (Bartlett et al. 2014: 125). Instead of a transitory knuckle-walking phase, there was a more direct transition from moving around in the trees to walking upright on the ground. Prost (1980) was one of the first anthropologists to attempt to empirically measure the field patterns of human and chimpanzee

locomotion, and he observed that the lower limb patterns and trunk position of chimpanzee quadrupedal vertical climbing and human bipedal walking was remarkably similar. He suggested that a transitory, hominin-like species would possess upper limbs adapted to brachiating and a pelvis and lower limbs more human-like and adapted to bipedal walking locomotion. Given that australopithecines display this mixed morphology of arboreal and terrestrial traits, this would suggest that they were adapted to vertical tree climbing while also having the ability to be facultative bipeds and move about on the ground (Prost 1980).

Russell H. Tuttle is also particularly well-known for arguing that the upright upper body position and lateral flexion of the spine required for vertical climbing was a pre-adaptation for terrestrial bipedalism (Tuttle et al. 1974; Tuttle 1981). He also directly disagreed with the knuckle-walking hypothesis, instead arguing for a hylobatian model in which… "vertical climbing on tree trunks and vines and bipedalism on horizontal boughs were conspicuous components of their locomotor repertoire. They commonly stood bipedally while foraging in trees and employed bipedalism during intraspecific displays" (Tuttle 1981: 90). The vertical climbing hypothesis was explored further by a multitude of scholars in the 1980s, such as Stern and Susman (1981) and Fleagle and colleagues (1981). For example, Stern and Susman (1981) used electromyography (EMG) in an attempt to answer the question of gluteus maximus activation in non-human apes and humans. They found that in the powerful hip extension that is utilized during movements such as standing up from a chair or rising from a squatting position, the human gluteus maximus is activated in a similar way to the gluteus muscles in apes when they are vertically climbing (Stern and Susman 1981). They also found that the medial rotation of the thigh occurs in a similar fashion in both vertical climbing and bipedal walking. Stern and Susman (1981) interpreted this data to mean that climbing could have been a pre-adaptation to bipedal walking, which harkens back to Klaatsch's speculation in 1900.

While anthropologists have yet to reach a consensus regarding how bipedalism arose in hominins and what forms of locomotion were the

predominant precursors to this behaviour, one thing remains clear from these findings and more recent paeloanthropological research: the locomotion repertoire of past ape and hominin fossils is likely to have been varied and complex, regardless of whether bipedalism arose from terrestrial quadrupedalism or tree climbing. For example, research on the foot of *Ardipithecus ramidus,* a 4.4 million year old fossil, suggests that this species used a mixture of terrestrial quadrupedalism similar to that of gorillas and chimpanzees, as well as tree climbing to move around (Prang 2019). Analyses of the mixed morphology of both arboreal and bipedal traits in *Australopithecus afarensis* and *Australopithecus africanus* (two hominin-like species from approximately 4 to 1 million years ago) also suggests that there was a great amount of locomotive diversity in past hominins (Georgiou et al. 2020; Ibáñez-Gimeno et al. 2017). This begs the following question: despite the fact that there is an abundance of experimental studies and evidence to support the vertical climbing hypothesis, why does climbing as an important part of hominin locomotor repertoire continue to be largely ignored in the anthropological literature?

DARWIN AND THE BIPEDAL APE

According to Tuttle and colleagues (1974), Darwin approached the subject of hominins prior to the modern human form with a great deal of caution. While he correctly hypothesized that the closest living relative to humans were the African apes (specifically gorillas and chimpanzees) and that Africa was the place in which geologists would find a common hominid ancestor, he was brief in his speculation as to what this common ancestor may have looked like and what selective forces acted on this ancestor (Tuttle et al. 1974). He did venture to describe them as "... hairy, bearded, tailed creatures that could move their pointed ears freely. They possessed prehensile feet with opposable great toes. The males had large canine teeth that were used as weapons. They were arboreal inhabitants of tropical or subtropical forests" (Tuttle et al. 1974: 389). Other than this description, Darwin and his contemporaries, Huxley and Haeckel, did not speculate further about the appearance of this ancestor or the evolutionary mechanisms by which these features developed. Perhaps they realized that it was

difficult, if not impossible, to predict what a human ancestor would look like given they did not have the rich collection of hominin fossils and knowledge that anthropologists have access to today. In other words, they may have been exercising caution in order to avoid making incorrect inferences. Tuttle and colleagues (1974) also remark that these scholars instead focused their efforts on proving that humans had some sort of kinship with the great apes.

Yet while their intentions were well-meaning (in the pursuit of science, et cetera), the way in which they went about demonstrating this affinity was to the detriment of future tree climbing discussions. While Darwin was controversial for his time because he believed that humans were superior to other apes not in kind but in *degree*, he nonetheless saw humans as being above all other apes (Ingold 2004). Darwin believed that by attaining a higher intelligence humans were freed from natural instinct and thus transcended nature (Ingold 2004). As Ingold (2004) remarks, "Unlike the quadruped, with four feet planted solidly on the ground of nature, the biped is held down only by two, while the arms and hands, released from their previous functions of support and locomotion, become answerable to the call of reason" (318). This paper does not disagree that humans are complex in intelligence compared to other animals and that the process of walking upright on two feet did indeed free up the hands for more complex tool usage, et cetera. What this paper takes issue with is the belief that humans are superior to other apes because becoming bipedal "released" them from nature. By doing so, this approach attempts to sever the connection between humans and other species by viewing humans as "above" nature. In *Man's Place in Nature*, originally published in 1863, Thomas Huxley presents an illustration of the skeletons of a gibbon, an orangutan, a chimpanzee, a gorilla, and a human to demonstrate the anatomical changes made by humans to become bipedal (see Figure 1). Ingold (2004) argues that the illustration has been purposefully constructed to depict the human being's progression to bipedalism and to a position above the other apes and to the top of the animal kingdom. Indeed, when one examines the illustration and compares the relatively upright posture of the

human to the other apes, the gibbon skeleton, followed by orangutan skeleton, stands out as having the most upright posture after the human. Yet instead of being placed closer to the humans to demonstrate this thought-provoking similarity, these two apes are placed as far away from the human skeleton as possible. While it is impossible to know for certain what Huxley intended by this order of skeletons, it is important to acknowledge that they might have been ordered in this fashion because at the time, orangutans and gibbons had already been classified into two distinct genera, while chimpanzees and gorillas were thought to be part of the same genus (Huxley 1894). Yet this still begs the question: why highlight the posture differences between the apes and humans instead of discussing the potential significance of their similarities? Why not discuss the meaning of these similar postures and what it might indicate about the role of tree climbing in hominin history?


Skeletons of the

GIBBON.   ORANG.   CHIMPANZEE.   GORILLA.   MAN.
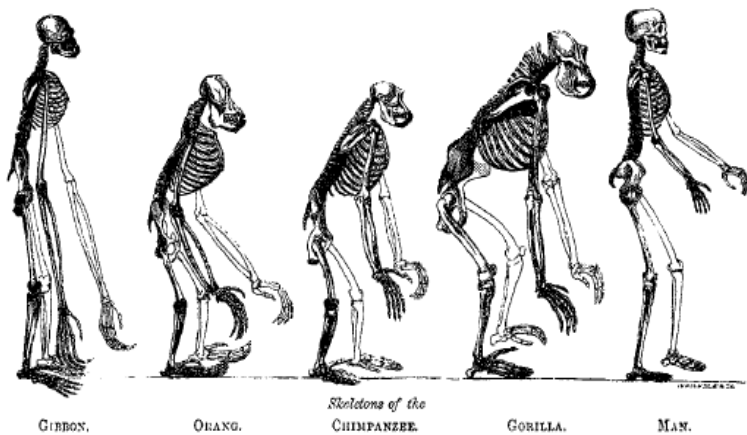
Figure 1 - Anatomical comparison of human and ape skeletons, from Huxley's (1894) Man's Place in Nature Source: Ingold, 2004:316.

It is clear that arboreal and bipedal locomotion have a complex relationship with one another. Yet the challenge still lies in answering the questions of *how* and *when* the shift to bipedalism occurred in hominins (Prost 1980). Disagreements have also arisen over the timing and nature of the emergence of habitual bipedalism, partially because there are differing interpretations regarding the extent to which the shift towards bipedalism affected tree climbing ability (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014). While these are not easy questions to answer and anthropologists have amassed a number of theories as previously discussed, one thing remains clear. The emphasis on bipedalism has led to a dichotomous relationship between arboreal-terrestrial forms of locomotion in comparative primatology and paleoanthropology research (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014). This philosophical stance in anthropology has limited what questions are being asked regarding tree climbing. By placing the utmost importance on the presence of bipedal traits in fossils, arboreal traits are often not treated as significant. When anatomical signs of bipedalism are found in the fossil record, such as ankle and foot similarities between contemporary humans and *Australopithecus afarensis*, the possibility of tree climbing still being an important part of the species' locomotor repertoire is dismissed (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014). Instead, there is the assumption that if humans or past hominins climbed trees, they did so in an inept and awkward fashion (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014). Yet did the shift to a bipedal locomotion actually come at the expense of climbing ability?

Anthropologists have contentiously argued over the answer to this question, such as when it comes to the morphology of *Australopithecus afarensis* (Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). This is due to the fact that *Australopithecus afarensis* has a mixture of traits we would generally classify as bipedal or arboreal. For example, this early hominin shows lower body adaptations to bipedalism, such as a rigid ankle, an arched, non-grasping foot (Venkataraman, Kraft,

and Dominy 2013), a long femoral neck (Georgiou et al. 2020), a relatively broad sacrum (Kimbel and Delezene 2009), and a shorter ischium (Kozma et al. 2018). Yet this species also shows a variety of upper limb arboreal adaptations, such as long, curved fingers and a cranially oriented glenoid fossa (Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). This mixture of bipedal and arboreal traits has resulted in decades of debate regarding the locomotory behaviours of *Australopithecuafarensis* and of other species of *Australopithecus,* such as *Australopithecuafricanus* and *Australopithecu. sediba* (Georgiou et al. 2020). Given the presence of these more "primitive" arboreal traits, Ibáñez-Gimeno and colleagues (2017) point out that there are two main interpretations regarding the locomotory behaviour of *Australopithecu. afarensis*. The first one suggests that the arboreal traits were no longer functional or adaptively significant but merely retained in the species' morphology due to a lack of strong selection pressures against it. These arboreal traits are seen as "primitive retentions" (Ibáñez-Gimeno et al. 2017:789). The second interpretation posits that these traits are still present because they were being selected for by the environment and so were still functionally relevant to the behaviour of the hominin (Georgiou et al. 2020; Ibáñez-Gimeno et al. 2017). It has also been noted that the divergent upper body and lower body morphology of some hominins might represent a selection for *both* arboreal and bipedalism locomotion (Georgiou et al. 2020).

While these debates continue in the anthropological literature today, recent research utilizing three-dimensional (3D) modelling software technology has shown that locomotion in the past was highly variable between hominin species. For example, Georgiou and colleagues (2020) analyzed 3D scans of the trabecular (internal bone structure) of the femur (upper leg bone) of one specimen classified as *Australopithecus africanus* and a second specimen who is thought to have either been an early *Homo* member or a *Paranthropus robustus* member. The results show that the *Australopithecus africanus* specimen's trabecular bone pattern is actually more similar to a modern human's patterning, while the unknown / possible early *Homo* / *Paranthropus robustus* specimen's pattern is more similar to an ape's trabecular bone, specifically that of a bonobo. These patterns indicate

that *Australopithecus africanus* was an obligate biped, while the other specimen regularly adopted a highly flexed position typical of arborealism. There are several particularly interesting aspects about these results. Firstly, the results suggest that *Australopithecus africanus* did not engage in arboreal locomotion as much as was previously thought. On the one hand, this may appear to fit into the first interpretation described by Ibáñez-Gimeno and colleagues (2017), that arboreal traits are merely remnants from a form of locomotion no longer used, although importantly, they still maintained the ability to climb trees. On the other hand, the unknown / possible early *Homo / Paranthropus robustus* specimen's results may provide support for the second interpretation as described by Georgiou and colleagues (2020) and Ibáñez-Gimeno and colleagues (2017), that the presence of arboreal traits suggests that they were still being selected for because they provided some kind of benefit or advantage in that particular hominin's environment. It is also particularly interesting that the unknown specimen is geologically *younger* than the *Australopithecus africanus* specimen, yet it exhibits more evidence of regularly engaging in some form of tree climbing. While this could be seen as evidence that the specimen belongs to the *Paranthropus* genus as opposed to *Homo*, one must keep in mind that the only evidence for arboreality in this genus has been found in a scapula, a humerus, and a radius (Georgiou et al., 2020). It is also possible that an early *Homo* specimen could exhibit arboreal traits, as another *Homo* specimen called the Olduvai Hominid exhibits arboreal adaptations as well (Georgiou et al., 2020). With these results, as well as the diverse mixture of arboreal and bipedal traits in other hominins such as *Australopithecus sediba*, *Homo naledi*, the Burtele foot, and *Ardipithecus ramidus*, the authors' results suggest that there was a great amount of locomotor diversity in the hominin fossil record and that the shift to bipedalism was not as linear as once thought (Georgiou et al., 2020).

CONTEMPORARY HUMAN TREE CLIMBING

There is an area of anthropology that has largely been overlooked in discussions regarding the significance of tree climbing in hominin evolution: modern human tree climbing. Despite the fact that there are

many groups of modern humans (especially hunter-gatherers) around the world who frequently engage in tree climbing to acquire resources, they have been largely ignored in discussions regarding the evolution of hominin locomotion and behaviour (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014; Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). Due to the difficulties of inferring locomotory behaviour from fossils (due to lack of preservation of soft tissues such as muscles, tendons, and ligaments), modern human tree climbers are particularly relevant in helping to shed light on hominin arboreality (Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). Given that they are definitive proof that humans are fully capable of climbing trees, at least for the purposes of acquiring resources, this data is particularly relevant in trying to answer the question of whether bipedalism resulted in a trade-off in climbing abilities. That being said, it is unlikely that any anthropologist would argue that humans are as deft and skilled in the trees as the other great apes.

Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy (2014) observed that human tree climbers typically move more slowly and cautiously in the trees than other apes such as chimpanzees. Yet it has been pointed out that given the various forms of locomotion in chimpanzees that have been extensively studied (such as their quadrupedal knuckle-walking, tree climbing, and facultative bipedalism), to overlook modern tree climbers is to overlook the full range of human locomotor capabilities (Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013)). The fact also remains that these hunter-gatherer groups are sufficiently successful at acquiring food by way of tree climbing without the assistance of technology (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014) and that it forms an important part of their locomotor repertoire that they are willing to expend valuable energy on. This activity has fitness consequences both in the form of risks and rewards, which begs the question: why do humans climb trees? Worldwide, hunter-gatherer groups go to great lengths to acquire honey, for example, as it is an extremely high-energy resource (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014; Marlowe et al. 2014; Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013) as well as other resources such as fruit, nuts, seeds, and palm products (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014).

Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy (2014) go into great detail regarding the various aspects of human tree climbing behaviour and the rewards and risks associated with it. For example, they describe how honey is also a sought-after resource because it is nutrient-dense, preserves for a long time, and has antimicrobial and antiviral effects, amongst other properties. Honey can even have sociological significance, such as in the case of the Mbuti people in the Ituri Forest in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where it is used to maintain and foster social relations. In some groups, such as the Sekai in Malaysia, if a man is a good climber he is seen as a more appealing prospective husband. It is also interesting to note that human climbers appear to climb higher on average than great apes during honey acquisition, despite the fact that it is an extreme dangerous activity with often fatal consequences. Worldwide, tree climbing is also a strategy employed in hunting activities. For example, the Efe hunter-gatherers of the Democratic Republic of Congo perch in trees in order to ambush duikers who feed on the fallen fruit on the forest floor, and the Batek people of Malaysia move within the trees (and up to forty meters in the canopies) in order to hunt animals such as birds, monkeys, bats, and rats using blowguns. The Hadza people of Tanzania also sometimes use trees to stash meat from hunting. While it is known that non-human primates also use trees as a form of protection against predators, such as by nesting and sleeping in trees, this behaviour appears to be less analogous with humans, although the Ache people of Paraguay have been known to climb trees in order to avoid a charging predator.

Yet despite the rewards, tree climbing has high morbidity and mortality risks. Given the great heights that are sometimes climbed, such as in order to attain honey (sometimes as high as 51 m in the tree canopy), the consequences of falling out of the trees are often fatal. While the data is sparse regarding the types of non-fatal injuries sustained by human tree climbers, evidence of long-bone trauma in non-human primates that is consistent with falling has been found. Previous studies have shown that in countries such as Papua New Guinea and Nigeria, tree fall-related injuries accounted for a significant portion of hospital admissions, and it is known that falling from significant heights can result in injuries to the spine, legs, arms,

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and internal organs. Therefore, one can see not only that the rewards of tree climbing in certain hunter-gatherer groups are seen to outweigh the often-fatal risks associated with this form of movement, but that humans are proficient enough at tree climbing that they are extremely successful at repeatedly using trees to acquire resources.

Now that is has been established that certain groups of humans frequently engage in tree climbing for resource acquisition, the following question must be asked: how might this behaviour inform studies regarding tree climbing in fossil hominins? More specifically, what do we know, and what do we *not* know, about tree climbing morphology in modern human tree climbers, and are there connections between their morphology and past hominins? Given that the skeletal morphology of human tree climbers does not appear to reflect the morphology that we see in arboreal apes, what might this say about soft tissue plasticity in humans and potentially in fossil hominin species? While more data from human tree climbers needs to be collected before appropriate comparisons can be made with other living primates and hominins, Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy (2014) point out that studies on skeletal morphology associated with tree climbing ability in humans could allow for inferring climbing behaviour in the fossil record, something that is not typically easy to do in paleoanthropology. Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy (2013) discuss the Twa people in Uganda, who use extreme ankle dorsiflexion during climbing. The position of their ankles during climbing is comparable to the dorsiflexion seen in chimpanzees; an action that anthropologists had previously assumed was not physically possible in our species. The advantage to this position of the ankle is that it places the climber's center of mass closer to the tree and thus lowers the energy expenditure and the risks of vertical ascent (Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). Yet the dorsiflexion seen in the Twa climbers is not reflected in the skeletal morphology of their ankle, but rather in plasticity of their soft tissues. The ankle joint is a complex system of bones, ligaments, and muscle, all of which contribute to ankle flexibility (Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013). This finding is particularly significant when considering the morphology of *Australopithecus* specimens, as this genus has a distinctively non-arboreal foot and ankle (Venkataraman, Kraft, and

Dominy 2013). As the authors demonstrate with their study of the Twa people, morphological adaptations to climbing do not necessarily have to be a skeletal change, but rather can be changes in the soft tissue. Therefore, this soft tissue plasticity, as well as the overall competence of human tree climbers, must be taken into account when paleoanthropologists are formulating their questions regarding the role of arborealism in past hominins.

CONCLUSION

For the past two centuries, scholars have been asking questions regarding how our unique behaviour today (that is, bipedal locomotion) connects us to hominins that lived millions of years ago. Cross-species comparisons between humans and other apes led scholars to try to identify which physical traits set humans apart from all other animals, and how these traits might have arisen in the evolutionary process. One of the most apparent differences between humans and apes, and in fact all other animals, is that humans habitually and exclusively (or so it was thought) walk upright on two feet. Due to this observation, this form of locomotion and thus the anatomical adaptations associated with it are treated as the defining trait of hominins both past and present. Thus, when a fossil discovery is made one of the first questions to be asked is whether the specimen was bipedal or not. The skeleton must exhibit an adaptation to bipedalism in order to be classified as a hominin and to be considered either a possible direct ancestor or cousin species of modern humans. The great importance placed on bipedalism since the writings of Charles Darwin in the 19th century has greatly influenced the theoretical framework in which many paleoanthropologists formulate their research questions. This biased perspective has led to the frequent dismissal of other forms of locomotion being important in hominin locomotion studies, such as tree climbing. When a fossil exhibits a mixed morphology of bipedal and arboreal adaptations, it is commonly assumed that the specimen was either clumsy or awkward at tree climbing (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014) or that the arboreal traits are vestiges from a past arboreal lineage that has yet to be selected against by the environment. One of the main limitations that paleoanthropologists face is that it is impossible to entirely and

definitively reconstruct the behaviour of fossil hominins. While this is true of any discipline that strives to study past human behaviour, this is a particularly challenging aspect of paleoanthropology because soft tissues such as muscles, ligaments and tendons do not preserve in fossils, and no cultural artifacts are typically found with older fossils such as *Australopithecus*. This means that answering questions regarding the behaviour of these hominins, such as what their locomotive repertoire was, is inherently difficult. Yet there are promising areas of research that are attempting to both mitigate these limitations and that are asking questions that consider a more comprehensive range of locomotion in hominins. In the past ten years, anthropologists have also been calling attention to the fact that there are groups of humans worldwide who frequently engage in tree climbing to acquire resources (Kraft, Venkataraman, and Dominy 2014; Venkataraman, Kraft, and Dominy 2013), some of whom demonstrate soft tissue plasticity in response to selection for climbing trees more efficiently. All of these studies have significant implications for future studies regarding fossil hominin locomotion, as they prove that specimens who show more adaptations to a particular form of locomotion such as bipedalism do not necessarily experience any apparent trade-offs when engaging in another form of movement such as tree climbing. These studies, as well as future inquiries, will help address the areas of ambiguity in paleoanthropology, such as whether bipedalism did actually come at the cost of tree climbing ability, and how the transition from a predominantly arboreal locomotion to a terrestrial locomotion occurred.

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USING SOCIALITY TO MANAGE HEALTH AMONGST WOMEN EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS

KATE ELLIOTT

ABSTRACT

This research combines non-participant observation, a focus group, and semi-structured interviews with both residents and staff at a shelter open to cisgender women, families, and trans and non-binary individuals. The shelter, Valdridge House, is in a medium-sized city in Southern Ontario. This research explores how women experiencing homelessness manage their health through sociality within the shelter space. Adapting to the perceived inaccessibility of the healthcare system, residents use sociality to narrate their mental health and trauma, placing blame on their environment rather than themselves for their situation. Here, they create support amongst residents without any perceived judgement.

INTRODUCTION

Despite Canada's advancing movement of women's rights and intersectionality both in public discourse and academics, women experiencing homelessness often remain on the outskirts of this progression. To address a portion of the homeless population that are stigmatized for their gender as well as being homeless, this research examines how women experiencing homelessness locate their health within this experience. To identify the health issues faced by women experiencing homelessness, their causes, and how women manage and narrate them, I conducted research at a shelter called Valdridge House, located in a medium-sized city in Southern Ontario. Here, I used a combination of observation, a focus group, and in-depth interviews with shelter staff and shelter residents to gather data that could account for the experiences of the population.

This research uses anthropological understandings of structural violence and gendered dynamics of homelessness as well as the data collected to identify how women experiencing homelessness understand and describe their health issues in and outside the shelter setting. In the face of a perceived inaccessible healthcare system, gender-based violence, lack of affordable housing, and insufficient state support, these women manage their health through sociality and narration based on complex understandings of different social spaces and different audiences. I conceptualize sociality as intrinsically linked to greater power dynamics that influence human interaction (Herzfeld 2015:24). The idea of power within this research refers to macro ideas of structural violence alongside the power within the shelter through rules and regulations, as well as the interpersonal power dimensions of human interaction that may be differentiated by age and race, etc. Thus, the shelter, which automatically marks residents as being 'homeless' just by its physical boundaries, is a prime site to understand how structural violence influences its victims, manifesting in both friendship and tensions where social interactions cannot escape the contextual power.

A VIEW FROM THE TOP: UNDERSTANDING STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

To understand how and why individuals who belong to a certain group face unequal hardship, sociologist Johan Galtung (1969) introduced the concept of structural violence. In its inception, it was applied to homelessness by identifying how structural violence can impede people from meeting their basic needs and leave them in vulnerable economic and social positions. Since then, the term has gained traction across disciplines, including anthropology, as a way of shifting blame away from a marginalized individual towards power imbalances hidden within a social hierarchy (Farmer 2004:313). Bourgois and Schonberg (2009) offer a concise definition that shows the application of structural violence to any marginalized group: "Structural violence refers to how the political-economic organization of society wreaks havoc on vulnerable categories of people" (16).

Despite the emphasis on 'structural' within the term itself, it is, in fact, an approach that combines the everyday experiences of an individual within a group with the recognition that these experiences are the embodiment of structural violence. Structural violence can then be understood as a critique of the idea of one's agency within a hierarchy and particularly of neoliberal ideology, thus, shifting blame from the individual to the systemic factors for whatever inequality is at hand. For example, a prominent feature of neoliberalism, which is the social and economic context in Canada and elsewhere (Johnstone et al. 2017:1444), is the discourse of equal opportunity where anyone can achieve their goal and ascend the class ladder through hard work (Harvey 2005). Thus, ability to climb the class ladder implicitly means that those at the bottom are there by their own failings (Kingfisher 2007:101).

In contrast, structural violence disrupts this narrative of equal opportunity (Farmer 2004:313), suggesting that neoliberalism has created both winners and losers by removing forms of social solidarity and social welfare systems such as unions and social housing, thus forcibly removing what many people relied on for support and stability. Following these changes, winners are those with capital, and the poor become losers who, supposedly, through both choice and fault, are unable to partake in the free market (Johnstone et al.

2017:1453). This minimized state intervention and lack of social support targets those of lower socioeconomic status which negatively affects the already homeless but also leads more people into homelessness (Young and Moses 2013:9). Therefore, not only does pre-existing stigma result in marginalization for certain groups (for example, through racism), neoliberalism serves to institutionalize this ideology and place fault onto the individual.

Having shown structural violence as a pivotal term in conceptualizing inequalities, I now turn to gender-based inequalities that constitute a key characteristic of structural violence in the context of employment. Discussions of structural violence are crucial in showing how women are often denied jobs or employed in lower-paying and less secure jobs (Montesanti and Thurston 2015:8). This financial insecurity that women may face is crucial to understanding gendered structural violence. Indeed, research on interpersonal gender-based violence is adamant that women often stay in abusive situations because they do not feel they have another option due to lacking individual financial security (Duff et al. 2011:4). Accordingly, gender-based violence against women is often recognized as a public health issue that results from women having been placed in vulnerable societal positions due to unequal power arrangements that can lead to homelessness (Montesanti and Thurston 2015:10).

METHODS

To collect data, I used general observations of the workings of the shelter and communal areas, combined with a focus group with shelter employees, and face-to-face semi-structured interviews with shelter clients. The final participant group of shelter residents was made up of six cisgender women between the ages of 26 and 40, one of whom was Indigenous, and the other five were white. With only one Indigenous participant, it was not possible to conclude how this feature of her identity may affect her experiences within my research context. Nonetheless, the disproportionate amount of Indigenous people experiencing homelessness is an important feature of Canadian homelessness (Bingham et al. 2019; Kingfisher 2007). As all participants were cisgender women, sex and gender can be understood

as aligning within my research. Other potentially intersecting characteristics were not mentioned.

Interviews were conducted and audio-recorded in a private and discrete room within the shelter. The interviews followed a semi-structured interview guide that allowed the interview to largely be shaped by how participants responded (Bernard 2018:212). A focus group was also conducted with four staff members at Valdridge House following the same process as the interviews. The recordings were then transcribed, and subject to thematic analysis. To maintain the anonymity of participants to the highest level possible, pseudonyms are used in participants' stories. Participants' ages have also been varied within three years to protect the participant but allow consideration of how age may impact their experiences.

ANALYSIS

This analysis will show how women experiencing homelessness find alternative ways to manage their health when not accessing the healthcare system. Residents instead form social relations that empower the women to label themselves by their mental health and trauma despite isolation and strains caused by structural violence. Within this research, sociality is being used with the understanding that it is a way in which surrounding power dynamics are manifested through behaviours (Herzfeld 2015). For instance, despite the shelter not having constant surveillance, residents still face daily rules of leaving the shelter and returning so as to 'not lose' their bed, as well as the threat of expulsion if an altercation were to occur. Thus, interactions within the shelter represent friction between individual autonomy and a regulatory paradigm, making them key to understanding power within a setting. Henceforth I will integrate quotations from participants, allowing their own narration to take precedence.

MENTAL HEALTH AND THE SHELTER ENVIRONMENT

Although there were many health issues present amongst residents, the dominant concern throughout was mental health. The staff expressed how residents were overall "high acuity," meaning that residents are likely to present unexpecting medical conditions that are unpredictable and require more response: "We have many clients that have lots of health issues … whether it's drug use, or lifestyle, or just simply because they've been homeless for a number of different years" (Staff member). Alongside a multitude of physical health issues, mental health issues were also extremely visible and dense amongst the shelter population.

It is not surprising that mental health issues are rife within the shelter. It is already understood that mental health can be both a pathway into homelessness as well as a result of what it means to experience homelessness. Furthermore, those who are experiencing homelessness are likely to have been living in poverty beforehand and, consequently, with high levels of stress that can deteriorate mental health (Bungay 2013:1017). This trend is also the case for what happens at Valdridge House, which residents describe as being a stressful and undesirable environment. Cath, a 35-year-old resident who had been at Valdridge House for roughly three months at the time of the interview, expressed how she felt her existing mental health issues became harder to manage:

> [I have] concerns of my mental health deteriorating while I'm here. I've been put on stronger antidepressants and I still feel lousy every day, worse each day. It's because not only do I have a great deal of stress, but the environment is just absolutely chaotic. There's no structure at all. I wasn't struggling [before Valdridge House]. I've been mentally ill for many years, but I have not been struggling without any medication for the past seven years until I came here. I anticipated taking steps backwards coming here because the environment is chaotic and I have chronic post-traumatic stress disorder. That's because I lived in a very unhealthy environment when I was a kid. So, to be in the loud obnoxiousness constantly is bringing flashbacks to stuff that I

haven't had to face because my environment is serene when I'm able to build it on my own. (Cath, 35)

Cath's mental health diagnosis went far beyond PTSD, and she was certainly not alone in expressing the difficulties of managing her mental health. Although she stated that she is now taking medicine within the shelter, she still expressed a feeling of "taking steps backwards" (Cath, 35). She blamed this feeling on environmental factors, referring to social conditions at the shelter and how it reminds her of her childhood experiences in its chaos. In this manner, we see how Cath understands her current mental health state as being determined by things outside of her control, rather than taking on blame for her homelessness and consequent struggle.

Each resident that I interviewed expressed a multitude of mental health diagnoses and how, again, they see the shelter environment as worsening their experiences. As Laura, 26, said: "Even if you're not feeling those [mental health] issues yourself, you're around it so much that you're going to adapt to your environment, and you're going to start feeling those things." Once again, Laura is understanding her mental health as being determined by factors external to her, such as the behaviour of others in violence and/or substance abuse. Cath and Laura's narration of their individual experiences being outside of their control shows an objection to internalizing fault for their situation despite neoliberal ideology.

Participants were not only open about their mental health with me within interviews, but it was also a daily conversation topic in communal areas amongst other residents and myself. Here, residents would talk openly about their medication, how they were feeling that day and the root of their mental health issues. Residents, such as Amanda, 28, expressed that this behaviour was not 'normal':

Even if there are people that don't have mental health issues, there's enough of us that do that you feel very understood or at the very least not judged. Like I myself have a couple of

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different mental health diagnoses, I have bipolar, borderline personality disorder, histrionic personality disorder, anxiety, insomnia, mild PTSD. So that's actually quite a bit and it sounds like a lot. I don't want to use the word normal because there's no such thing as normal but, for lack of a better term, a normal person walking down the street, if I were to admit all that they're like "What the hell? What is wrong with you?". Whereas here I'm like "Well, I have all these [diagnoses] but when I take my medication it calms me, it keeps me level, and I'm okay", and they're like "Yeah, I got you because I'm on this for this and it makes me the same way". But other people they just hear all that and they're like "You are going to like stab me in the eye with a fork aren't you?", and you're like, "no". (Amanda, 28)

Here, Amanda identifies an apparent uniqueness of the shelter as a space where every day mental health struggles are a normalized and shared experience. Within the shelter, Amanda is comfortable communicating her diagnoses, and thus legitimizing them in this context. However, Amanda expresses discomfort at the idea of discussing her mental health outside of the shelter due to the stigma she believes she would receive. Amanda also constitutes herself and those in the shelter as 'other' to what is considered normal. This distinction could be understood as spatial in how the physical bounds of the shelter allow for these conversations. But it also demonstrates the labelling of 'normality' or 'abnormality' within a category that could be 'homeless', or 'someone with mental health issues', or perhaps both. Instead, this label is used positively to refer to how she bonds and forms friendships within the shelter, as opposed to the negative label that she believes an outsider would assign. With this analysis, we see how residents use the aforementioned negative shelter environment to create an environment of understanding amongst one another. Residents see these conversations as a way to "look out for each other" (Laura, 26), and although "[fellow residents] may not necessarily have answers or be able to tell you, like, guide you to where to go, but just sometimes having that sympathetic ear to listen makes all the difference in the world, you know" (Pauline, 40). In this, the complex nature of shelter sociality is evident in how there is both

an affective manner in which residents feel support, as well as instrumentality that can be inferred from residents exchanging support.

Those experiencing homelessness are often isolated from family and pre-existing friendships, resulting in feelings of exclusion from their life before homelessness and distrust for strangers (Neale and Brown 2016:558). Yet, the shelter is a space that creates implicit trust in certain situations from what residents expressed as a lack of judgement. Jo, 37, explains the significance of this trust to her:

> I don't pass judgment on people. I've been through a lot in my life and I know shit happens, life is not always fair, and people have their own issues from dealing with whatever they've dealt with in life, right. And I've got my own issues and knowing that there are people out there who care and don't judge me for my issues because of what I've been through, it makes a big difference. When you know there are people out there judging you it makes that struggle and what you're going through so much more difficult because they don't understand. Like some people have had great lives. They have money. They have homes. They have family. They have everything. And then there are people like me who, I'm in a situation where I've got nothing. And I'm struggling and it's like, people don't always understand what it's like to be at that rock bottom. (Jo, 37)

Within this discussion of mental health, residents expressed feeling no judgement and see it as an opportunity to find ways to relate to one another. I witnessed various occasions where intense and honest discussions of mental health occurred without residents necessarily knowing each other's names prior. It is not possible to say whether this feature of the population is due to gender, but the linkage between social connections and positive mental health is considered more significant amongst women than men (Buer et al. 2016:71; Kawachi and Berkman 2001:461). The shelter, understandably, is a space that marks these women as experiencing homelessness. Thus, one dynamic of shelter sociality, as demonstrated above, is the support that it creates whereby residents can interact with one another through a discourse of mental health, knowing that by being within the physical bounds of

the shelter they are likely to have similar experiences. Discourses can reflect "continual acceptance, resistance, and negotiation" (Speed 2006:29), and here residents are demonstrating the choice to legitimize their biomedical diagnoses and accept them within the shelter.

Despite the imposition of structural violence, this does not eliminate residents' individual agency. Residents have found ways to adapt to what structural violence has inflicted upon them and have shown agency in reshaping the environment to suit their needs. Certain degrees of agency may seem restricted by a lack of power, but there is not a *lack* of agency. Instead, it is a question of *how* agency is enacted which may be in the form of resistance, and it may be in submission. Here, I am using agency to explain how residents adapt to a distinct lack of power from their multiple marginalities and exhibit a supportive social dynamic that can be seen for both its affective and instrumental capacity.

GENDERING EXPERIENCES AND NARRATING THE SELF INTO STRUCTURE

Thus far, I have identified how the shelter acts as a locale for residents to narrate their mental health and in turn, find and offer support. Beyond mental health, residents also delve into their life history. In doing so, the influence of gender on their lives becomes apparent. It does not seem appropriate to quote explicit stories of trauma that participants had experienced, but these were shared both within interviews and within these communal social interactions that I have mentioned. Women experiencing poverty are more likely to have experienced intimate partner violence, trauma, depression, and other mental health issues than their male counterparts (Benbow et al. 2019:180), and it has been suggested that gender-based violence is a significant pathway into homelessness for women (Schmidt et al. 2015:7).

As my research did not take a comparative approach to gender by also researching the experiences of men, I cannot comment on the accuracy of this suggestion within my research site. However, each shelter resident that I interviewed had experienced gender-based violence and

discussed it at their own volition. For example, Eleanor, 33, felt that her previous experiences of sexual assault were barriers to being able to find housing:

> The one thing I'm struggling with and I'm working on it right now is actually looking for a place because I'm afraid to leave. Once I find a place [to visit], I don't go to the viewing unless my son is with me … I was never ever afraid of the world but (post-trauma) it's been a struggle to leave home because, … it could be anybody that does that. (Eleanor, 33)

Although participants did not identify the gendered dimension to their experiences, structural violence explains this pattern. Indeed, it has been established that women face disproportionate levels of violence than men on the grounds of their subordinate positioning in the social order (Montesanti and Thurston 2015:7). To truly understand the health issues being faced by this population, there must be the recognition that these rates of violence are not coincidental, and gender is a significant determinant of the health issues being experienced within this population. With a structural violence lens, it is possible to see how gender-based violence is a systemic problem that threatens the wellbeing and safety of these women, leading to mental health issues that become the primary talking point within the shelter. Thus, gender-based violence can be understood as a health issue, a cause of *mental* health issues, and as a pathway into homelessness for women.

As I have stated, residents discuss their trauma and their subsequent mental health issues openly within the shelter. As such, mental health becomes a way of communicating trauma and narrating their experiences through diagnoses and medication. Narrative coherence when discussing one's trauma is considered central for empowering the individual, giving them control to tell their story and make sense of it (Borg 2018:449). In this way, these conversations reflect a dimension of shelter sociality whereby the individual asserts their agency in the situation and residents give each other the setting to enact their narrative coherence. The affective dimension seems overt within this finding that emphasizes mutual support via narrative

coherence. Consequently, the idea of mutual support can be seen for its pragmatic tactic, with the understanding that support will then be reciprocated.

In line with the significance of these interactions, when residents discussed their homelessness it took an individualized approach, meaning that there was no mention of systemic causes of poverty such as cuts to social support, unequal distribution of power, or a sense of the patriarchy disadvantaging them because of their gender. Staff, however, explicitly discussed this matter:

> Think about the social determinants of health, our population doesn't even come close [to a good standard of health]. You think about employment or some type of you know reasonable income, housing, health, gender, geography, my goodness, they're just disadvantaged at all of those levels and the system is built to exclude them. (Staff member)

Understandably, homelessness is a lonely and survival-oriented experience. Accordingly, it is unsurprising that residents do not devote time to discussing the political roots of their status. However, the way that residents use their environment to explain the state of their mental health demonstrates opposition to neoliberal ideas of individual fault that are seen within Ontario's policies. In using mental health and trauma to relate to one another, it acknowledges that these issues go beyond individual experience, creating an understanding of marginalisation at a structural level, that their situation is not their fault.

ADAPTING TO SURVIVE

Having identified how shelter sociality acts as a way to support one another in managing their health, it then poses the question of why. Why do residents not use institutional resources made available to them as a way of managing their health? To answer this question, it is necessary to explore both the workings of the shelter and the population's lack of access to institutions like the hospital. Furthermore, it provokes a contention between when and where

women experiencing homelessness are seemingly accepting of being labelled by their mental health, trauma, and homeless status.

The primary answer to why residents do not address health issues, both physical and mental, was the concern of losing a bed in the shelter.

> I don't know if it's because they don't feel like the staff is trained well enough [on mental health], or if it's that they're afraid that if they say the wrong thing they're going to lose their room, like "You're a problem now". I feel like that could very well part of it. (Laura, 26)

This perceived fear of losing a bed was central to the everyday discourse within the shelter with stories of residents not going to the emergency room at night with a health concern because of this fear, as well as residents being discharged for a night and relocated to a different shelter as a repercussion for bad behaviour within the shelter. Losing a bed was perceived as a real threat to the residents and a key reminder that Valdridge House restricts autonomy. Thus, it shows how the sociality of residents managing their health amongst one another is deeply influenced by the shelter's power.

As I have mentioned, group conversations that can be understood as a way of narrating trauma and blaming environmental factors occur amongst shelter residents. Residents also identified how they look out for one another for any health issue. In fact, Maxine discusses how residents shift the organization of the shelter to aid each other:

> There are a couple of people in the shelter that used to be Personal Support Workers or used to even be nurses, and so I do find that it's quite common for people to go to those people instead because there's a fear of going to the hospital and the doctor. There's a fear of being judged, or just losing your room, or being held. But if you're going to [a resident] then they're not going to hold you overnight. They're not going to keep you for observation. They may watch you themselves for a couple of days to make sure you're okay, but you're not losing your room and they might be able to tell you a cheaper alternative than medication or whatever, right? … There's one

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person who shared a room with somebody who was constantly OD-ing in the bathroom. She ended up saying it was too much for her to keep finding her roommate OD'd in the bathroom, and she ended up getting one person that was trained as a nurse and asking them to switch her room so they could keep an eye on her because it was, it was too much. (Maxine, 30)

Again, it is evident how residents see their social relations as an opportunity to look out for one another alongside a sense of reciprocity in forming alliances. This shows an adaptation to the perceived fear of what it would mean to talk about health with anyone other than residents, which may be losing a bed or feeling judged by someone who has not been in the same position as them. Here, we see how sociality, with both affective and instrumental components, has developed in accordance with what residents are able to manoeuvre and becomes a method of survival, whereby looking out for other residents, you are also forming bonds with people who could in turn look out for you.

Beyond what happens within the shelter, the question extends to why the homeless population refrains from using the healthcare system despite being high acuity and facing more health issues than the general population (Buccieri 2016:3). The data presented thus far shows that residents do have access to healthcare with their discussion of diagnoses and medication, however, this access seems limited and is via resources targeted towards homelessness rather than the conventional healthcare system. The staff regularly spoke of how women experiencing homelessness are stigmatized within healthcare, calling it a "red tape system" (Staff member) which means residents rebuff accessing healthcare, or are treated unfairly when they do. This understanding was communicated through various anecdotes of residents who would resist going to the hospital because of previous experiences they had had, for example:

There's a client who doesn't go to the hospital because she has a history of mental health and addictions and when she goes they're assuming that [a physical health issue is] one of those things. I mean she only goes when it's so bad that they can actually see what the problem is because otherwise they just

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think it's her mental health or addiction. I think there's a lot of clients who experience that. (Staff member)

Indeed, staff identified this experience as a major problem that they heard from residents and in what they had witnessed themselves. Staff see it as a deterrent from using the healthcare system, as residents are uncomfortable with being labelled by their mental health or drug use for any health issue. This trend is likely to occur with both men and women experiencing homelessness when they try and access institutions that their appearance suggests they are not suited for. This reflects a deep-rooted problem in the stereotypes that are formed around those experiencing homelessness as all being dangerous and addicts (Martins 2008:425) as if it means they are not deserving of the same healthcare treatment.

However, there is also a gendered dimension to this issue. Women, whether visibly homeless or not, are recognized as facing unfair treatment in the healthcare system on the grounds of their gender (Bungay 2013:1023). Staff drew attention to this discrimination, talking about the typical encounter that they see their residents having when going to the emergency room in pain: "Yeah and then you're visibly female-identified and you're just being hysterical" (Staff member). So, with my research pointing to how women experiencing homelessness choose to *not* manage their health through healthcare systems where possible as a way of avoiding the external labelling, the context in which sociality occurs is logical. Just as it is understood within the shelter that fellow residents are likely to have experienced similar trauma and mental health issues, it is known that the healthcare system does not suit the population and, thus, they create a dynamic within the shelter of caring for one another particularly with substance use.

Furthermore, participants discussed a general dislike for using local resources that both men and women had access to, as they feared the large groups of men that congregate outside the buildings. Casey et al. (2008), whilst researching homelessness in the UK, explain a similar behavioural pattern as 'strategies of resistance,' showing how women experiencing homelessness navigate space differently to men based on their gender dynamics and heightened vulnerability. Valdridge House

is in a city with other shelters targeting those who have experienced domestic abuse. Thus, that each participant of mine had experienced abuse yet was at Valdridge House suggests a resistance to the label of 'victim.' Rather than access another shelter and receive catered support, it shows the participants' unwillingness to be labelled by an institution yet a readiness to label themselves within the shelter's sociality with other shelter residents and with myself as a trusted researcher.

CONCLUSION

This research has considered both the macro and micro levels of what this population is experiencing to provoke an understanding of how the women at Valdridge House embody structural violence. My research has shown how women at Valdridge House respond to a healthcare system that they feel is inaccessible by forming spaces to narrate their mental health and trauma within the shelter, as well as be candid with such labels having felt excluded from doing so in institutional 'public' spaces like hospitals. This demonstrates a dualistic sociality in its capacity to be both affective and instrumental for residents.

By recognizing how residents use the communal spaces within the shelter to manage their health, it becomes possible to examine the power dynamics within the site. Women experiencing homelessness have their opportunities unfairly limited by their socio-economic status, gender, health, as well as other potential intersections. Despite a neoliberal context that encases the shelter in policy and marginalization, the site reveals the impact of structure in unfamiliar ways. Residents embody structural violence through their life histories of living in extreme poverty and countless disadvantages including healthcare access. Yet, simultaneously, residents embody their resistance by using the shelter as a space to narrate their experiences in a way that acknowledges the external power impacting them. This finding reveals a new way to see how the homeless understand their situation and is crucial to showing how, together, the population embodies their marginalization as well as their resistance to it.

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EBOLA VIRUS EPIDEMIC IN WEST AFRICA IN 2014: SENEGAL STANDING THE TEST OF GLOBAL HEALTH DIPLOMACY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is the culmination of a project done in the context of a diplomacy and global health seminar with the Global Health Center (Graduate Institute) of Geneva on the case of Ebola contamination in Senegal. This project allowed the understanding of the magnitude of the epidemic in West Africa in 2014 with its international implications. Moreover, this project was a personal challenge to lead this reflection through the twofold lens of anthropology and diplomacy in global health, a subject that raises new questions about health as a central issue of human existence. As Dominique Kerouedan (2013) recalls through the introduction to the colloque international of the Collège de France:

> La santé est un thème de politique étrangère et de diplomatie, en ce qu'elle est devenue dans les relations internationales, plus précisément au fil du temps, un paramètre de pouvoir, d'influence, de sécurité, de paix, de commerce, voire un vecteur de positions géopolitiques ou même idéologiques, pour des Etats cherchant à gagner en importance politique à l'échelle mondiale.

INTRODUCTION

International help or the humanitarian industry in Africa, in the field of global health, is a question that must be addressed, especially regarding humanitarian responses. On August 29th, 2014, a young Guinean affect by the Ebola virus travelled to Dakar, introducing the virus to Senegal, a country bordering Guinea Conakry. Therefore, the management of West African cases of the Ebola virus and, particularly, of the case imported to Senegal (Fall 2015), provide a framework for thought and analysis. It should be noted that the United States, Spain, Nigeria, and Mali were also affected by the virus. I present below an analysis of global health diplomacy in light of the Senegalese epidemic.

This exercise will examine two dimensions: the dimensions of the quarantine established in response to the notice of the import of the virus, and the dimension of the negotiation of parties involved in the containment of the disastrous effects of a pandemic of epidemic risk on Senegalese soil. These two dimensions will be explored while taking into account the humanitarian and political management in the context of Senegal through the perspective of diplomacy in global health. To this end, this paper is organised in three parts: one, diplomacy in global health and quarantine strategies in Senegal; two, a focus on negotiation strategies released by the Senegalese government; and three, examination of the international civil society's engagement.

DIPLOMACY IN GLOBAL HEALTH AND QUARANTINE STRATEGIES IN SENEGAL

Senegal is one of the 149 states that comprise the World Health Organisation (WHO), created in 1946 in Geneva after World War II. This organisation of the United Nations (UN) provides expertise, as well as political and diplomatic support to governmental and non-governmental institutions, communities, and private foundations of its members. Through its operational frameworks and jurisdictional planning, the WHO is able to intervene in epidemics or health emergencies. The UN faced criticisms for its response to the outbreak

of the Ebola virus in West Africa in 2014 (WHO 2015). Other criticisms referred to the lack of international leadership undertaken by the WHO, despite the provisions of the International Health Regulations (IHR), a legal tool of international law. As Antoine Flahault (2014: 2) states: "le contrôle d'une zoonose fait appel aux secteurs de l'agriculture, de la santé, l'économie, l'intérieur, la justice, les affaires étrangères. Or, le dialogue entre secteurs nécessite une coordination et un leadership."

The UN's institutional crisis seems to be deeper, coming from many structural, functional problems between the Geneva office and its regional representatives (Benkimoun 2016). Ebola showed the deficiencies and difficulties the WHO faces in the urgent management of the West African epidemic. The Doctors Without Borders (DWB) organisation alerted, in the early hours, the world public opinion on the progression of the virus in West Africa. The responses from the WHO and the UN were particularly slow:

> La critique sur le système sanitaire international se concentre essentiellement sur l'Organisation Mondiale de la Santé (OMS), celle-ci étant en effet, l'autorité directrice et coordinatrice, dans le domaine de la santé mondiale. Ses défaillances sont relatives non seulement à la déclaration trop tardive de l'épidémie ayant conduit à son enlisement et l'ineffectivité et opérationnalisation dans le cadre de cette crise des mécanismes prévus par le Règlement sanitaire international (RSI) adopté 2005 et entré en vigueur en 2007 prévoyant la marche à suivre pour prévenir la lutte contre les épidémies. (APDHAC 2015)

Similarly, the intervention and the coordination put in place through the United Nations Mission for Ebola Emergency Response (UNMEER) appear to function relatively well. The financial mobilisation initialised by the UN collected 40% of the requested funds, demonstrating the engagement level of the donor countries. In fact, the new configuration of the global health field, the diversity of its actors, and the emergence of infectious diseases require an extensive reform of the WHO and UN systems. How can one speak of diplomacy in global health in such circumstances?

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DIPLOMACY IN GLOBAL HEALTH IN THE SENEGALESE CASE OF INFECTION

The links between the management of the Ebola virus and diplomacy in global health are close. This proximity can been done through two approaches: one, an approach to international public health; and two, an approach based primarily on diplomacy in global health. The international public health approach references the expertise in public health that the WHO, international organisations, and non-governmental organisations (NGO) can bring in infection risk situations. The diplomacy in global health can be defined as: "l'ensemble des négociations internationales qui touchent, directement ou indirectement, à la santé globale" (Kickbusch 2013: 34). For the first time in the UN's history, the security council called a meeting for its members as part of the international response to the Ebola epidemic, which was regarded as a security threat. The council called for a mobilisation of international efforts to counter the epidemic's adverse effects. Resolution 2177 was supported by 134 countries, marking the first consensus in UN history. Thus, the Senegalese authorities were to politically respond to the epidemic by taking inspiration from Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. This opportunity for political and diplomatic collaboration on a sub-regional level would have created fortuitous effects in positive relations between the nations. The commercial repercussions during the five months of Senegalese border closure had impacts in the economic lives of both countries. In fact, the 2005 version of the IHR formed the basis of the debate through its purpose and scope, specifying: "prévenir la propagation internationale des maladies , à s'en protéger, à la maîtriser et à réagir par une action de santé publique proportionnée et limitée aux risques qu'elle présente pour la santé publique, en évitant de créer des entraves inutiles au trafic et au commerce internationaux" (Benkimoun 2016: 77). In this respect, member states have the responsibility to put into place epidemic surveillance mechanisms on land, air, and sea borders.

This dialogue between Senegalese and Guinean authorities was lacking, non-existent. However, it is important to note the collaboration between experts of the WHO's Guinean and Senegalese

offices. It seems that the contamination case imported to Senegal was traceable and identified by means of information exchange. Regarding the response of the health authorities, the report of the Ministry of Health and Social Action (MSAs) of Senegal of May 2014 entitled "response plan for the Ebola virus outbreak" referred to the measures taken in response to the outbreak in Guinea.

The "Stratégie de la Surveillance Intégrée de la Maladie et de la Riposte", a plan for the organisation of a surveillance system, was developed as a technical guide in 2004 (MSAS 2014). This strategy was revised in May 2013 to take the IHR's dispositions and principles into account. In terms of technical response, an epidemic management committee was set up by the Ministry of Health and Social Action. This committee defined epidemiological surveillance, prevention, and response mechanisms, and in partnership with civic organisations, spearheaded the quarantine in Dakar following the identification of the therapeutic path of the 29-year-old Guinean who brought the virus to Senegal.

THE QUARANTINE: RESPONSE STRATEGY TO THE EBOLA VIRUS IN SENEGAL

There have been several attempts to define "quarantine" in the field of international public health. The attempted definition proposed by the IHR is an illustration of this struggle. The definition, as follows, is: "la quarantaine s'entend de la restriction des activités et/ou de la mise à l'écart des personnes suspectes qui ne sont pas malades ou des bagages, conteneurs, moyens de transport ou marchandises suspects, de façon à prévenir la propagation éventuelle de l'infection ou de la contamination" (RSI 2005). Some texts have raised the historical dimension of quarantine, the original one appearing to be that of Anne Marie Moulin (2015) called "l'anthropologie au défi de l'Ébola", where she recounts an ethnography on the history of epidemics, focusing on Thucydides' account of Ebola and its effects on Athens' population. Her work also raised the concept of "community isolation" to demonstrate the confinement strategy of infected individuals with the goal of avoiding contact with uninfected individuals.

The debate on quarantine was posited by Haas of the Centre for Disease Control (CDC) in the United States in 2014. According to Haas, quarantine can be perceived as similar to the modalities adopted in Senegal. However, Desclaux and Sow (2015) have mentioned that the management of the epidemic in Senegal presents certain similarities with practices that took place a century ago: *cordons sanitaires* and isolation of Lebou populations living in the Cape Verde Peninsula (which would become the current conurbation of Dakar), to control the plague epidemic of 1914 (Echenberg 2001 as cited in Desclaux and Sow 2015). It is in this historical context of quarantine that it seems appropriate to relocate the origins of diplomacy in global health. Quarantine created the historical conditions for this practice as Ilona Kickbusch (2013: 34) describes it in an interview:

> À l'époque, les navires marchands suspectés de véhiculer des maladies comme le choléra ou la fièvre jaune, devaient rester en quarantaine dans les ports avant de pouvoir débarquer leurs marchandises et continuer leur route. Le problème, c'est que certains États soupçonnaient leurs rivaux d'utiliser cette mesure pour entraver le commerce. A certains moments, les grands pays commerçants ont compris qu'il valait mieux se mettre d'accord et édicter des régles communes en matière de quarantaine.

However, this preoccupation with negotiation or diplomacy in global health is completely absent from the quarantine implementation process in Senegal. This lack of negotiation can be apprehended on three levels. First, no recommendations were defined to frame the Senegalese quarantine experience: "Au moment où le Sénégal doit mettre en place la surveillance communautaire des sujets contacts, il n'existe pas de recommandations globales concernant son application" (Desclaux and Sow 2015: 7). Second, the levels of knowledge and experience of public health responses to the Ebola crisis were considered low. Senegalese health care facilities are not sufficiently prepared and do not have the necessary equipment or staff to deal with the risk of infection. Third, the collaboration between the response management committee of the Ministry of Health and Social Action and the seventy-four individuals who were in contact with or

in potential contact with the virus roused more fear than trust. This fear was also mentioned in Guinea and Sierra Leone. The biosecurity approach developed led to a configuration of the relationships between people and public health actors. These relationships were perceived as a form of policing of sanitary practices in the Guinean context. In Senegal, the relationships between public health actors and the populations were characterised by constraint, not volunteering. On this level of intervention in public health, negotiation strategies with affected populations deserves a more thorough examination.

STRATEGIES FOR DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS
IDENTIFIED BY THE SENEGALESE GOVERNMENT

The international press criticised the management of the Ebola outbreak in West Africa. No studies mention attempts to discuss or negotiate at the level of the African Union (AU). The international press underlined that it took five months after the re-emergence of the outbreak for the UA to schedule an emergency meeting on September 8th, 2014, after having recorded more than 2,000 deaths. The AU's late response was denounced in the same as that of the WHO. However, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) meeting in Accra (Ghana) on May 19, 2014, expressed a need to define a unified strategy to combat the Ebola epidemic. To this end, ECOWAS recommended that Senegal and the Ivory Coast lift their border closure to facilitate movement at the sub-regional level. This decision contributed to reduce diplomatic issues between Senegal and Guinea. Senegalese sanitation authorities had assessed that the decision to close the border would not be everlasting; they estimated the reopening of borders would depend on an opportune moment in relation to the epidemiological situation in the sub-region. However, they accepted the establishing of humanitarian corridors to facilitate access to affected countries. These corridors allowed the distribution of technical assistance and materials from the donor countries.

In the village of Ouakam in Dakar, an aerial military base was established for the convoys of WHO epidemiological doctors, agents from the World Food Programme (WFP), military contingents, and materials. In terms of financial contribution, Senegal donated 500

million CFA Francs (around 770,000 EUR). These facts highlight a follow-up of negotiations through the international press. It seems important to question how Ebola contributed to the definition of spatio-temporal relationships of the states that share the same regional politico-economic space.

This question establishes the debate around the phenomenon of independence. The following statement, taken through this perspective, illustrates this point: "avec le processus de mondialisation qui fait référence aux changements fondamentaux des contours temporels et spatiaux de l'existence sociale, notre monde est aujourd'hui devenu plus interdépendant et les événements se déroulant sur un point du globe peuvent potentiellement avoir une influence non négligeable à un autre endroit de la planète" (Rollet 2013: 112). The Ebola epidemic demonstrated the complexity and the paradox of relationships between states of Western Africa. The interests of countries sharing the same economic zone are not necessarily the same. One of the core principles of ECOWAS and the plan for the free movement of people protocol has been questioned. In the same vein, the Ebola epidemic sparked the conditions for political dialogue and diplomatic negotiations at the core of ECOWAS. Ebola has also contributed to the practice of diplomacy in world sanitation with the experimentation of new civil society actors in the international public health sector.

THE COMMITMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY TOWARDS THE IMPORTED CASE OF EBOLA IN SENEGAL

The global response to the Ebola outbreak in Senegal highlighted how global health cooperation is complex. Humanitarian aid or international solidarity expressed through NGOs, the WHO and financial partners such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the European Union (EU) have shown that donor countries' expectations are driven by strategic issues. The Senegalese Ebola crisis is an opportunity to question the role of these actors in the global health sector. Within the first hours of the crisis, these NGOs were on the front lines of attack against the Ebola disease. Doctors Without Borders (DWB) based in Dakar was one of the first actors to

integrate the expert team of the WHO to support the national inter-ministerial coordination committee put in place by the health and social action ministries in Senegal. Moreover, the presence of the Red Cross during the unfolding process of the quarantine in Senegal was hailed by the rhetoric of international solidarity. The question of international aid or of humanitarian industry in Africa regarding these humanitarian interventions must be addressed.

The Ebola crisis demonstrated that the presence of NGOs was never neutral. This presence is perceived as the prolongation of neocolonialism. To this effect, the words of a Senegalese anthropologist are revealing:

> Si l'épidémie d'Ébola de 2014 est si difficile à endiguer, c'est qu'elle a émergé dans des pays marqués par les stigmates de la pauvreté et de la violence, et se reproduit dans un climat général de méfiance. Les populations qui ont encore en tête les injustices des périodes coloniale et postcoloniale ne font confiance ni à leurs propres pouvoirs publics, ni aux Occidentaux venus aider. Elles désertent les hôpitaux, considérés comme des mouroirs, ce qui ne fait que renforcer la propagation d'Ébola. (Niang 2014: 97)

This epidemiological crisis allowed a better understanding of the humanitarian industry's motivations. These motivations do not necessarily correspond to the needs of the states of the global South, but they contribute to the needs of the donor countries such as economy, research, and international security. The necessity to rethink aid through international NGOs and international organisations like the World Bank, the EU, the IMF, and the WHO is evident.

CONCLUSION

This paper was written as the result of the Diplomacy and Health seminar held in May of 2018 on how the Ebola case helped to capture the scale of the epidemic in West Africa in 2014. It was also a personal challenge to lead this reflection through the lens of diplomacy in global health, a subject that raises new questions to answer a central

problem of health's role in human existence. As Dominique Kerouedan (2013) recalls through the introduction to the colloque international of the Collège de France:

> La santé est un thème de politique étrangère et de diplomatie, en ce qu'elle est devenue dans les relations internationales, plus précisément au fil du temps, un paramètre de pouvoir, d'influence, de sécurité, de paix, de commerce, voire un vecteur de positions géopolitiques ou même idéologiques, pour des Etats cherchant à gagner en importance politique à l'échelle mondiale.

In light of these words and my personal reflection project on the chosen topic, I formulate these recommendations which consist of: deconstructing the vision and the approach of global health of state and non-state actors, UN international organisations, financial and technical partners, and international NGOs; experimenting with the innovative concept of 'meta-governance' in global health diplomacy; setting up functional frameworks for dialogue and negotiation in global health at the regional level (AU and ECOWAS); implementing a project to establish an African regional office on infectious disease control, prevention, early detection and response; assessing this 2014 Ebola crisis at the regional and national levels to disseminate lessons learned to better prepare for the next outbreak; improving international health policies in the governance of healthcare systems in West African countries; and establishing a sub-regional African epidemic fund.

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BOOK REVIEW.

CAROLE THERRIEN

Welborne**,** B.C., Westfall, A.L., Russell, O.C. and Tobin, S.A. 2018.
The Politics of the Headscarf in the United States. Ithaca: Cornell
University Press. 216 pages.

With an increasingly mobile global population and intensifying
nationalistic debates, the issues of identity and belonging and how to
secure them through cultural, social, and political practices have
become increasingly important in anthropology and to a broad
spectrum of scholarly disciplines. But what does "belonging" mean
within the context of political anthropology? Welborne et al. argue in
The Politics of the Headscarf in the United States that belonging
means security, acceptance and social harmony for most, yet, for
some, belonging also means precariously navigating through the field
hazards of race, class, ethnicity, and gender. Over the last thirty to
forty years, as refugees and immigrants increasingly flow into neo-
liberal "developed" nations, integration became a synonym to the
concept of belonging. Based on extensive quantitative assessments,
combining the results of nearly two thousand online survey responses
from Muslim-American women across forty-nine states, the authors
explore two very distinct perspectives on belonging from the
viewpoint of Muslim refugees and immigrants: citizenship by
embracing a chosen community's values, or the chosen community
embracing and adapting to its newest citizens.

The Politics of the Headscarf in the United States by Welborne et al.
shines light on the political and cultural challenges of the experience
of integration and what citizenship means, as well as the critical role
of identity-making in the political process of belonging somewhere
new. The authors address the social and political effects of Muslim-
American women wearing the headscarf (hijab) in a non-Muslim state
which reinforces their identity in ways that ostensibly reflect

American cultural ideals: independence, spiritual commitment, and engaged citizenship. The act of head-covering is a religious, social and political act, and a reason for Muslim women to engage in identity-making in an American diaspora that believes in religious freedom and the protection of both individual and collective identities. The authors report that Muslim-American women wear a headscarf as a symbol of their belonging to the American community and as a demonstration of their inherent rights to choose and to act. The wearing of the headscarf creates an active physical boundary between hijab-wearers and non-hijab wearers, creating a reciprocal process of "othering" between Muslim and non-Muslim American women. Women challenging the boundaries of behaviour within a religious community is part of a larger movement against Eurocentrism, and becomes mired within current social, cultural, and political debates in the Western world.

The authors also state that the increased public, social and political engagement by Muslim American women works to counter the negative bias that exists against them in the US. Wearing a headscarf is one obvious example of their public and social engagement, and their efforts in participating in American life are rewarded with small gains in representation in existing political institutions. The women's interpretation of Islamic scripture and ethics includes expectations that they participate politically as an extension of their devotion to their faith; they understand that political participation as a civic and religious duty. Welborne et al. explore the reasons behind formal political activity such as party affiliation, and how the women's understanding of Islam supports their choices. According to the study's participants, political activity such as advocacy and joining political groups and parties are demonstrative of American citizenship, where responsible citizens should exercise civil responsibilities such as voting and advocacy. In return, Muslim-American women expect from the state "respect for civil liberties (inalienable freedoms protected in the Bill of Rights), recognition of individual freedoms (these arise from the primacy of the individual), and the application of civil rights (the right to participate in civil and political life free from discrimination and repression)" (Welborne et al. 2018: 168). Regardless of the strides, the study participants felt they are not reasonably represented and consequently do not belong to the political

system or in the larger frame of society. Participants increasingly look to American mosques as an exemplification of the diversity and acceptance that Muslim American women can find within the larger American population, and mosques provide opportunities for outreach activities and civic engagement.

CONTRIBUTION TO CURRENT LITERATURE

Benei (2008) states that political anthropologists have long explored the ideas of national belonging, citizenship, and membership through the deconstruction of actions and analyzing the behaviour that informs the narratives around "nationality". Welborne et al.'s tome builds upon this field of study. Rosaldo (1994) argues that diversity is a threat to sovereignty, and empire-building cannot occur without a homogeneous and well-behaved citizen mass that demonstrates uniqueness or individuality. Both Appadurai and Holston (1999) point out that in neoliberal states, this type of dialectical relationship between state and individual is as strained as chasms between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the have-nots, and have been increasing in the latter part of the 20th Century. They also argue that increasing diversity due to mass-migration into Western democracies compels the state to accentuate among its citizens the importance of conforming or embracing proposed ideals of identity and notions of culture. By the turn of the millennium, Arjun Appadurai (2002) builds upon that point and argues that nation states largely expect their citizens to take on some of their espoused social values as a condition of citizenship; they also expect citizens to communicate in a shared language and carry out certain duties such as military service or payment of taxes and duties. The state expects behaviours from potential citizens to contribute to the overall interest of the state. In turn, the state grants the well-behaved citizen with secure membership in the form of citizenship, granting the players, at the very least, equitable status.

Scholars such as Kymlicka (2011) contend that the notions of diversity and the policies of multiculturalism can eat away at shared concepts of nationhood and precipitate political divergence among its citizens;

states limit certain rights among minority groups due to that fear of divergence, including the use of minority languages and expressions of religious identity. Interestingly, this tome provides data that supports the image of a new political landscape where Muslim American women demonstrate their belonging results from the act of covering one's head as a symbol of their commitment to cultural *and* political citizenship.

CRITIQUE

Although Welborne et al. address the concept of cultural citizenship in this book, the authors make it evident that the Muslim-American women's cultural practices are also political as they carve out a political space. A sense of belonging and identity for many Muslim Americans is intimately intertwined in the expression of their faith in the current hostile American political climate. Many Muslim-American women wish to retain their identity while forging a new space. It, however, struggles with its own issues of identity; during the reading, one wonders whether it ought to be considered an ethnography or a research volume. Upon further reflection, there is nothing that prevents it from being both. The participants' prioritization of politics over religion in a Western Judeo-Christian environment and what it might mean in their respective cultural communities could have been more effectively teased out with some additional background on cultural agency and religious ideology. This gap led me to question how continually morphing one's identity can assure one of political space in the ever-increasingly heterogenous cultural makeup in the United States of America; the authors did not address this question. Regardless of those minor criticisms, it would serve as an excellent read for both political and cultural anthropologists, as well as political science scholars in the fields of citizenship and public and pragmatic activism. This very accessible book is a worthwhile addition to the reading list of any course or any scholar exploring US cultural and political dynamics.

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