Deepening Fractures in Turkish Society
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What More Can We Do to Get Our Work out There?
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of the latest concerns in the anthropology of education—the development of youth citizenship in the aftermath of war; the circulation of English globally and how it contributes to widening inequalities; the privatization of schools in the US and its effects on public spaces and young people’s sense of belonging; ideologies of language variation and change among Black and Latino youth in urban schools; and LGBTQ youths’ experiences with school-based interventions targeting homophobia and transphobia. Their stellar scholarship notwithstanding, the fellows are at a vulnerable time in their careers when mentoring by established scholars can make a difference. The CAE Board hopes to build an expanding circle that makes mentoring more a part of the fabric of our professional community.

Michelle Bellino is an assistant professor of educational studies at the University of Michigan School of Education. Her research centers on the intersection of historical consciousness and youth civic development, particularly in contexts of armed conflict and their aftermath. Her current projects span postwar Guatemala, refugee education in Kenya, and community-based schools in Afghanistan. Trained as a cultural anthropologist, she approaches these interests from an ethnographic and comparative lens. Michelle is a recent graduate of Harvard Graduate School of Education, where she was a Presidential Fellow and selected as a Peace Scholar by the United States Institute of Peace for her dissertation work. Michelle’s mentor is Andrea Dynes.

Usree Bhattacharya is an assistant professor of applied linguistics in the graduate studies composition and TESOL program at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Inspired by questions of diversity, equity and access in multilingual educational contexts, especially as they pertain to the circulation of English as a global language, she seeks to illuminate the role of discourses, ideologies, and everyday practices in the production and reproduction of hierarchical relations within educational systems. Her dissertation research, conducted at an anathasaram and village school in suburban New Delhi, examined young boys’ multilingual literacy practices and language ideologies within the broader context of Indian globalization discourses. She received her PhD in 2013 from the Language and Literacy, Society and Culture program at UC Berkeley’s Graduate School of Education. Usree’s mentor is Kathryn Davis.

Christina Convertino is an assistant professor in sociocultural foundations in the department of teacher education at the University of Texas El Paso. She earned her Ph.D. from the Department of Teaching, Learning and Sociocultural Studies at the University of Arizona in 2011. Her dissertation, Forced to Choose: School Choice and the Spatial Production of Youth Identities in a Post-Industrial Age was nominated for the CAE Outstanding Dissertation Award. Prior to her current appointment, Christina served as a post-doctoral researcher examining the perceptions and practices of a ‘college-going culture’ amongst high school administrators, and then as a tenure-track assistant professor in cultural foundations at Kent State University. Her research uses critical social geography as a theoretical lens to explore how learning ecologies mediate the production of youth identities and possibilities for transforming educational inequities. She also engages an anthropology of policy to examine the privatization of education, public spaces and notions of belonging. Christina’s mentor is Sofia Villenas.

Danny C. Martinez is an assistant professor in the school of education at the University of California, Davis. He received his PhD from UCLA’s Urban Education Program in 2012. His research documenting the regularities and variances in the communicative repertoires of Black and Latina/o youth in school contexts was influenced by his experience as a secondary ESL and English teacher in both San Francisco and Los Angeles. He is interested in documenting the language ideologies of youth, the corrective feedback practices of their teachers, and the methodological concerns of youth in regards to research practices. Danny’s mentor is Mary Bacholtz.

Susan Woolley is an anthropologist of education who studies LGBTQ youth’s experiences and interventions targeting homophobia and transphobia at school. Her research focuses on silence, language, and social semiotics of gender and sexuality in an urban California high school. She is assistant professor of educational studies and LGBTQ studies at Colgate University where she teaches sociocultural foundations of education, qualitative research methodology, critical literacy studies, and LGBTQ studies in education. Susan received her PhD in education with a designated emphasis in women, gender, and sexuality from UC Berkeley. Susan’s mentor is Carol Mukhopadhyay.

The Human Generosity Project
By Lee Cronk and C Athena Aktipis

When a Hadza hunter kills a large animal, it is brought back to camp and shared with those in need. Maasai form stock friendships, which they refer to by their word for “umbilical cord”—osotua. When one osotua partner is in need of livestock or other help, his partner helps him out. In Fiji, a practice known as kerekere, which translates roughly as “generosity without debt,” is well established and widespread. Fijians who are in need are free to kerekere others with the expectation that they will indeed receive aid.

What these examples have in common is that they involve generosity toward those in need. Furthermore, they do not create debt, at least not in the sense of requiring that something be repaid. Instead, what is
created is an expectation that those who receive aid will be willing to help those in need tomorrow, if they are in a position to do so. As a result, such systems of generosity toward those in need serve to spread risk across multiple individuals (Aktipis et al., 2011, in *Human Ecology* 39:131-140).

The Human Generosity Project (HGP, www.human-generosity.org) is a multi-year, interdisciplinary project that aims to better understand generosity in general and risk-pooling through transfers to those in need in particular. The HGP is co-directed by Lee Cronk at Rutgers University and Athena Aktipis at Arizona State University. Matthew Gervais, a postdoctoral fellow at Rutgers, is assistant director. The HGP's main source of funding is a three-year, $2 million grant from the John Templeton Foundation. HGP team members have received additional funding from our home institutions and the National Science Foundation.

The HGP builds on the foundational work on adaptations to risk and uncertainty done by evolutionary anthropologists, including Bruce Winterhalder, Elizabeth Cashdan, Raymond Hames, Kristen Hawkes, Hillard Kaplan, Kim Hill, Eric Alden Smith, Robert Boyd, and Michael Gurven. Our aim is to add to this scholarship by documenting the ways in which risk-pooling relationships are psychologically and culturally instantiated, examining the evolutionary roots of such relationships, and exploring the implications of risk-pooling through generosity toward those in need with hopes of improving our understanding of how our ancestors were able to colonize marginal environments in the face of significant environmental risk.

The main focus of the HGP is the study of what we call "need-based transfer" systems, which are characterized by giving conditionally based on the need of the recipient. Need-based transfer systems such as the ootua system are based on two main rules: ask only if you are in genuine need and give if you are asked and able to do so without endangering your own survival. Among the Maasai, this system is kept honest by the visibility of wealth and the strong expectation that everyone involved will act with respect, responsibility and restraint. Need-based transfers differ from strict reciprocity in that they involve a reciprocal obligation to help but no debt or account-keeping.

At Arizona State, Aktipis and her postdocs Marco Campenni, Hillary Lenfesty and Amy Boddy are designing laboratory experiments, building agent-based models, and exploring the evolutionary and historical roots of sharing systems. In the laboratory, this involves the creation of new economic games that capture the complexities of life in volatile environments and the measurement of psychological correlates of sharing. Agent-based models mirror ecological conditions at our field sites and allow us to explore the implications of different strategies and the viability of need-based transfer systems in the face of environmental and social challenges. We are also exploring the evolutionary roots of need-based transfers in the context of parenting and how these systems may have been co-opted for resource transfers among non-relatives. Our research into the history of need-based sharing explores how need-based transfers among non-relatives are often framed by kin-like relationships such as godparenting. In addition, ASU team member Thomas Fikes consults on technical issues and has developed the Human Generosity Project website.

At Rutgers, Cronk is supervising two postdocs and several graduate students conducting fieldwork at sites around the world. Matthew Gervais is conducting a study of kerekenke in Fiji. Cathryn Townsend is examining generosity among the If of Uganda, who were controversially described by Colin Turnbull as the least generous people on Earth. Padmini Iyer is completing a study of risk-pooling among herders in Karamoja, Uganda, while Dennis Sonkoi is beginning a similar study at his home in Isiolo, Kenya. Thomas Conte is examining risk management among Mongolian pastoralists. In coordination with Audax Mabulla of the University of Dar es Salaam, Colette Berbesque of the University of Roehampton is studying food sharing among the Hadza. Finally, Cronk and Aktipis themselves are examining mutual aid among ranchers in the American Southwest. At each site, we will be characterizing the risks people face, looking at how they prepare for those risks, collecting qualitative data about how mutual aid and sharing are culturally instantiated, and examining actual networks of mutual and aid sharing. Our research protocol is both open and flexible, and we welcome queries from scholars who may be interested in collecting the same kinds of data at their own sites.

The HGP also has an outreach component, primarily through its relationships with the Exploratorium, a hands-on science museum in San Francisco, and the Decision Center for a Desert City (DCDC) at ASU. HGP team members and Exploratorium curators are developing interactive displays that will not only teach the public about risk management through generosity toward those in need but also collect data for hypothesis testing. Together with DCDC, we are holding workshops to explore the role of need-based transfers in resource management and disaster recovery. We held the first of these workshops in January 2015, which, in addition to several HGP team members, included water managers, policy-makers, and disaster relief specialists. Please see the project website for more information on the HGP and its team of researchers.

Adam Boyette and Siobhan Mattison are the contributing editors of the EAS column in Anthropology News.

### Middle East Section

**GIULIA EL DARDIRY, CONTRIBUTING EDITOR**


**Zachary Cayler (Georgetown U)**

Though several works have been written about nationalism, development, and social science in Egypt, none address Egyptian Bedouin communities. Omnia al-Shakry’s account of the evolution of Egyptian social science in *The Great Social Laboratory* concludes with a Nasser-era project to settle the country’s deserts with Egyptians from the Nile valley, but does not engage with Egyptian expert writing on the Bedouin. This paper investigates how Egyptian experts attempted to assimilate the Bedouin through Nasser-era development projects in Egypt’s Western Desert that aimed to sedentarize its inhabitants. It argues that internal contradictions in Egyptian social scientists’ conceptualization of assimilation contributed, ironically, to patterns of exclusion.

In *The Great Social Laboratory*, Shakry traces the evolution of Egyptian social science from colonial era preoccupations with racial difference to interwar attempts to catalogue the peasantry’s essential cultural characteristics and outline cultural differences between classes, with the practical goal of reforming Egypt’s peasantry to eliminate those differences. By the republican era, this became an attempt to weld a modern “collective national subject,” and was subsumed within the drive to manage human and material resources in an egalitarian fashion. Shakry illustrates this point through the Tahrir Province project, which settled landless peasants in planned communities in reclaimed desert west of Alexandria. For Shakry, Tahrir Province reflected a post-colonial turn in Egyptian social science, which had the aim of constituting and providing for a modern, socialist Egyptian “people.”

Yet expertise on the Bedouin retained Egyptian social science’s colonial legacy, marking the Bedouin as external to Egypt’s “collective national subject” in order to assimilate them to it. This tendency surfaced in the works of Muhammad ‘Awad and Ahmad Abu-Zeid, two Nasser-era Egyptian anthropologists.

‘Awad, director of the Institute for Sudanic Studies in Cairo and subsequently president of Alexandria University in the early 1950s, carried colonial-era thought into Nasser-era post-colonial reformism. His work portrayed the Bedouin as an alien threat to valley Egyptians. In a 1954 essay, “The Assimilation of Nomads in Egypt,” ‘Awad described the conflict between valley and desert as timeless, noting that “in some remote prehistoric period the people took to agriculture and a settled life, and the almost continuous struggle with nomadic intruders began.” He distinguished nomads from “average Egyptians,” by which he meant fully settled, non-tribal inhabitants of the Nile valley. While emphasizing the Bedouins’ Arab and Berber heritage, he failed to address the racial background of valley Egyptians, focusing instead on the “[absorption of nomads] into the native population.” Like his colonial predecessors, ‘Awad used race to mark the difference between the valley and its nomadic invaders.

‘Awad later abandoned his racializing analysis in favor of an examination of Bedouin character, but he continued to advocate for Bedouins’ forced sedentarization as a means of assimilation. In 1960, ‘Awad reviewed the “problem” of nomadism in a paper titled “Nomads in the Arab Lands of the Middle East.” He concluded that nomads detest authority, and are natu-