PUBLIC ANTHROPOLOGY

From the Public Anthropology Review Editors

Introducing Public Anthropology Reviews, December 2010

Alaka Wali, Melissa Checker, and David Vine, Public Anthropology Review Editors

The fourth installment of the Public Anthropology Reviews section highlights individual and institutional collaborative efforts as well as the important question of how such efforts are being judged for promotion and tenure in the academy. We begin with Cheryl Rodriguez's review essay about anthropologists working with Haitian feminist activists. In light of the physical and social devastation caused by the January 2010 earthquake, Rodriguez's review demonstrates the importance of anthropological voices in bringing to light perspectives not captured in media coverage of the events. A companion review by Elizabeth Chin on the impact of Katherine Dunham (who, among other things, studied in Haiti) in the dance world reminds us of anthropology's long association with Haiti. Chin's piece is also the first of a series of occasional "historical" reviews that reflect on the previously little-acknowledged work of anthropologists in the public sphere. The third review, by Nell Gabiam, describes the impact of a symposium, cosponsored by the American Anthropological Association and the Congressional Black Caucus, that was held on Capitol Hill as part of the public outreach efforts associated with the AAA's traveling museum exhibit, "Race: Are We So Different?"

Three other reviews examine institutionally based efforts to promote public anthropology. David Simmons reviews the work of university-based centers that are directly involving students and faculty in a variety of participatory research and direct action efforts. A pair of dialogic reviews by a former M.A. student, Lillian Peña Torres, and a journalism professor, Deborah Nelson, examine the impact of a video produced through a service learning project at the University of Maryland. Wrapping up this section, Linda Bennett and Sunil K. Khanna examine new guidelines in several anthropology departments that include the assessment of public scholarship in tenure and promotion processes. Although it is too early to determine the impact of these guidelines, they are markers of the growing consideration and institutional recognition garnered by scholarship that reaches beyond the academy to the public sphere.

As we conclude the last of our introductions to this section and reflect on this first year's installments of public anthropology reviews, we hope readers of *American Anthropologist* are beginning to appreciate the depth, diversity, and significance of anthropological engagements with broad and varied publics. We anticipate the next year will be equally exciting and encourage you to submit ideas for reviews to publicanthreviews@gmail.com. We thank all of the reviewers for this year's issues as well as *AA* Editor Tom Boellerstorff, Mayumi Shimose, and Barbara Rose Johnston for their advice and support.

Review

Review of the Works of Mark Schuller and Gina Ulysse: Collaborations with Haitian Feminists

Cheryl Rodriguez

On January 12, 2010, when the earth rumbled violently and shook Haiti to its core, shamefully few people in the United States could speak knowledgably of the country's history and its struggles as a valiant but embattled nation. The general U.S. public witnessed the televised misery of Haitians living in abject poverty without necessarily understanding the extraordinary courage of Haiti's people or the roles that more powerful nations have played in creating the sense of hopelessness, desperation, and despair found in Haiti.

Stigmatizing representations of Haiti are prevalent in mainstream media. As anthropologist Gina Ulysse blogged, "I have often questioned narratives that reduce Haiti to simple categories and in the process dehumanize Haitians" (Ulysse 2010a). In response to media that thrives on

superficial analyses and sensationalism, cyber communities have emerged to educate and activate those who want to know more about the depths of Haiti's problems. Academic and grassroots feminists have been particularly concerned about the ways in which the earthquake has exacerbated the extremely precarious status of women in Haiti. This review is a discussion of the ways in which anthropologists are using cyberspace to create awareness of women's lives in Haiti. Primarily focusing on the use of websites and the blogosphere as public anthropology, the review examines the scholarly and activist implications of these forms of communication.

Although Haiti remains a blurred and foreboding abstraction to those outside of its borders, the women of this nation are particularly invisible and unknown. Gender, powerlessness, and danger form a tragic intersection that frames their daily realities. Women are said to be the backbone of Haitian society, taking on multiple responsibilities for family stability and survival, yet womanhood renders women vulnerable to brutal poverty, unspeakable violence, and exploitation. In an essay expressing her hopes and dreams for Haitian women, Myriam Merlet wrote, "I look at things through the eyes of women, very conscious of the roles, limitations, and stereotypes imposed on us. Everything I do is informed by that consciousness. So I want to get to a different concept and application of power than the one that keeps women from attaining their full potential" (Merlet 2001:217–220). Merlet was an outspoken Haitian feminist who fought against rape as a form of control by the police and the military. She and other revered feminist activists, including Magalie Marcelin, Anne Marie Coriolan, and Myrna Narcisse, all died during the earthquake, leaving a great sense of loss but also a legacy of courage (Abirafeh 2010).

Merlet's words resonate with the diasporic spirit of the Combahee River Collective, a group of U.S. Black feminists who also viewed the world through the eyes of women who were multiply oppressed. In 1970 the Combahee River Collective wrote of their shared belief in the inherent value of Black women's lives and the belief that Black women's liberation was a necessity (Combahee River Collective 1982:13–22). The inherent value of Haitian women's lives, their struggles with oppressive traditions, and their traditions of determination and resilience are themes that are interwoven throughout the public anthropology of Gina Ulysse and Mark Schuller. Collaboratively and individually, the two anthropologists are among the writers, poets, artists, musicians, scholars, and other activists who have long been committed to providing critical analyses of the structural violence preceding this most recent "natural" devastation.

Ulysse and Schuller are among several collaborators on the 2009 film, *Poto Mitan: Haitian Women, Pillars of the Global Economy* (Bergan and Schuller 2009). Schuller is coproducer and codirector of the film; Ulysse is associate producer. The film examines Haiti's dire economic state from the perspectives of five women and their unique stories of survival. Although living in bleak poverty, one woman risks losing employment by speaking out against deplorable working conditions in factories: "The water they give us we shouldn't even bathe with it" (Bergan and Schuller 2009). Another woman risks hunger to pay tuition for her son's education. The women understand the necessity of collective action, and they organize against sexual violence. The words *poto mitan* mean "center post" and refer to the understanding that everything in Haitian culture revolves around women. However, women also bear most of the burdens of Haiti's economic crisis, its political instability, the country's struggles with class and color discrimination, and the crippling effects of globalization. The film embodies a significant spirit of activism not only as a force in the women's lives but also as a force behind the film's creators. Yet the most important component of this project is the website that accompanies the film (http://www.potomitan.net). Produced before the earthquake, the website provides historical context for the poverty most Haitians experience and is a cyber "call to action" that defies myths and stereotypes about Haiti. The website has become a very effective resource for information on assistance for Haiti—and in particular an important resource on Haitian women's organizations.

The immediacy of the web and the capacity for updating information makes the website an important organizing tool for activist anthropologists, who have been among those committed to keeping Haiti and its people in the public consciousness. In the critical and desperate days after the earthquake, anthropologist Mark Schuller posted an essay in which he pointed out that the system of food distribution by NGOs was particularly difficult for women, who were forced to stand in line in the hot sun for hours. In a blog written from Port-au-Prince on Easter Sunday, Schuller observed that the big NGOs refused to work with grassroots organizations in distributing food and therefore have been less effective in providing crucial support for people struggling to survive. He also made the point that NGOs continue to violate Haitians' human rights even as they attempt to provide aid for starving people (Schuller 2010a). Schuller's blog entries provide very clear analyses that are based on participant-observation and long-term engagement in Haiti (Schuller 2010b). These anthropological hallmarks—participant-observation and long-term engagement—bring a higher standard of inquiry and analysis to both traditional media and cyber communication than one finds in most media outlets.

Through online poetry, performances, and blogs, Haitian American feminist anthropologist Gina Ulysse teaches Haiti, performs Haiti, mourns Haiti, struggles with Haiti, and becomes Haiti. Her most profound and passionate work emerges from her identity as a Haitian woman. Her performance "Because When God Is Too Busy: Haiti, Me and the World" is a vocal collage of chants, echoes, narration, and prayers on the politics of Haiti's history. A segment of this performance can be experienced on YouTube, which means that it is accessible to students and interested people around the globe (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nL5xSjsT_uY). Ulysse's postearthquake blog entries include

"Amid the Rubble and Ruin, Our Duty To Haiti Remains" (Ulysse 2010a) and "Haiti's Earthquake's Nickname and Some Women's Trauma" (Ulysse 2010b). The former essay is a plea for hope and rebuilding: "Yes, we may be the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere, but there is *life* there, love and an undeniable and unbeatable spirit of creative survivalism" (Ulysse 2010a). The latter blog entry is a short piece on post-traumatic stress responses and the urgent need for mental health support in the country.

Ulysse's work is bold, brave, and raw: "I came of age colonized why should I apologize for my rage?" (Ulysse 2002). Her intimate and scholarly knowledge of the country (which inspires her creative, political, and academic work) lends legitimacy to her critiques of Haiti's "persistent inequities and vulnerabilities" (Ulysse 2010c). In particular, Ulysse's online poetry, performances, and blog entries are critical vehicles for bringing Haitian women's issues to a global community of feminists.

Schuller's and Ulysse's blogs and websites are tools for raising awareness of the critical issues affecting Haitian women's lives while also strongly advocating the necessity of including Haitian women as grassroots leaders in Haiti's rebuilding process. As Ulysse so eloquently argued in an invited blog entry (Ulysse 2010c): "Without [women's] wellness, whole selves and protection, Haiti's future will remain an abstraction lost in theory."

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Historical Review

Katherine Dunham's Dance as Public Anthropology

Elizabeth Chin

The year 2010 would have been Katherine Dunham's 100th birthday, and it is an apt time to consider the ways in which so much of her work can be understood as public anthropology. Early on in her anthropological training, Dunham was essentially forced to choose between being an anthropologist working in the academy and a dancer performing on stage. She chose the dance path, going on to found our nation's first African American modern dance company and to train generations of dance innovators, including Alvin Ailey, Talley Beatty, and others. In considering why Dunham chose to leave the academy, her desire to reach broad audiences—the public—seems to be key. As a choreographer and performer, she made use of what Vévé Clark has called "research-to-performance" (1994:190),

producing concert dance that drew on extensive ethnographic research to tell stories often centered around topics and cultures alien to the audiences in attendance. For example, with her famous ballet "L'ag Ya," set in Martinique and featuring dances from that island, Dunham was able to expose audiences to the traditions of that place in ways utterly new at the time. Her numerous Broadway productions exposed the public to a wide range of ethnographically influenced theatrical material and in particular to the rich music and dance of Haiti. Her signature piece "Barrelhouse" draws on vernacular dance to explore a woman's loneliness and pursuit of pleasure and connection at a juke joint. Remembering that during the period that Dunham was creating and presenting these pieces the notion of Black vernacular dance as appropriate for the concert stage was a radical notion, the ways she used her position to choreographically present arguments about the importance of Black culture and tradition embody the best in public anthropology. Although she is best known for her explorations of the African diaspora, she also explored Polynesia ("Raratonga") and later in her life embedded yoga and other diverse influences in her technique.

She also used her company as a vehicle through which to critique and examine U.S. culture more broadly, particularly through her 1950 ballet "Southland," which plumbed the complexities of race. The narrative of "Southland" centers on a white woman (originally played by Julie Robinson who later married Harry Belafonte) who is severely beaten by her white lover. A black man stumbles innocently upon her and tries to help, but when others also come on the scene, the woman places the blame for the beating on the black man rather than her white lover. The incensed crowd ultimately lynches the accused. In this work, Dunham forced her integrated company to confront their own racial identities in profound ways as well as to create a choreographic intervention into dialogues about racial justice (Hill 2002). At the time, the Dunham Company was touring internationally with the support of the State Department, which demanded she cease performing the piece. When she refused, Dunham's funding was pulled, precipitating a long decline for the company, which eventually folded.

Similarly, Dunham's film work can be understood as public anthropology. In particular, *Stormy Weather* (Stone 1943) and *Mambo* (Rossen 1954) illustrate the ways in which her work on screen subtly drew on anthropology to make strong statements about the status of African American art and culture during a time when critical thinking about such issues tended to focus on simplistic notions of "folklore," rather than questions of interpretation, modernity, or genre. Thus, Dunham's work presaged many questions that later became central to what is known as the "postmodern turn" in anthropology.

The four-minute ballet Dunham choreographed for *Stormy Weather* stands in stark contrast to all of the other dance numbers in the film. As impressive as these numbers are, they fall squarely within the confines of the entertainment genres required of and available to the majority of black performers at the time: a softshoe on a river barge, giddily incoherent jungle numbers, a blackface routine, tap extravaganzas by Bill Robinson and also the Nicholas Brothers. Dunham's ballet, in contrast, is entirely modern, nonnarrative, and, interestingly, only indirectly addressed to the audience. It is the only piece not to appear to take place on a stage, and it makes no use of vernacular or traditional movements. Many have commented on the formidable modernity of the piece, but this modernity becomes even more fully resonant when viewed as a statement about articulate black bodies that refutes the idea that they are only fit to perform in entertaining registers.

Thus, the dance argues fundamentally for the ability of black performers to be artists who can and should produce art for art's sake. This strikes me as a humanist argument about the broad abilities possessed by all humans, the kind of idea so central to the anthropology of Dunham's key anthropological mentors, Melville Herskovits and Robert Redfield.

Similarly, her contribution in the film *Mambo* raises important questions about the nature of dance and performance, this time in telling the story of a poor Venetian woman (Silvana Mangano) who joins the company and becomes one of its stars. Here the integrated nature of the company is highlighted, and we see white and black dancers intermingling in the dining car of a railway train as well as on the stage. In contrast to *Stormy Weather,* the choreography we see is ethnographically rooted, and Miss Dunham herself performs a dazzling Brazilian number. Once again we are getting an argument about human flexibility and capacities; but unlike *Stormy Weather,* which emphasizes the ability of African American dancers to perform highly technical modern choreography, this piece focuses on a poor Italian woman who learns how to dance African diasporic traditions. The process is grueling, and Mangano's character describes the hours and hours of practice and the exhaustion that claims her. Dunham's dancing, and diasporic dancing more broadly, is not "in the blood" then but, rather, learned—through discipline and hard work.

New developments in digital resources are now making access to much of Dunham's work and philosophy much more accessible than in the past. The massive Katherine Dunham Collection at the Library of Congress houses interviews with Dunham; her ethnographic films; demonstrations of technique; and, finally, over 2,000 video recordings of classes taught at the annual Dunham Technique seminar over the course of more than 20 years. The Library of Congress site makes clips of much of this material available for viewing on the Internet. The digitizing process is happening at a consistent, if slow, pace; the clips of Dunham herself and of her ethnographic footage are especially useful and a wonderful resource for teaching in particular. These materials may be accessed at: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/html/dunham/dunham-home.html. In the case of the Dunham's work, the advent of digital

resources allows a reconsideration of her considerable achievements, most of which are not well suited to description via the written word.

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Review

The "New Dialogue on Race" Conference on Capitol Hill

Nell Gabiam

As many struggle to evaluate the significance of the nation electing its "first Black president" and some wonder if, in the end, Barack Obama's election was merely a symbolic act that has left the foundation of racial discrimination and disparity unshaken, a much-needed discussion about race continues to, hesitatingly, unfold. On January 12 and 13, the "New Dialogue on Race" conference was convened in the U.S. Congress's Canon House Office Building to encourage such a discussion. The American Anthropological Association sponsored the event, working in conjunction with representatives Barbara Lee, honorary chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, and Mike Honda, honorary chair of the Asian American Caucus. The conference was part of a larger public-education project, "RACE," that includes a traveling museum exhibit, an interactive website, and educational materials, and the goal of which is to historicize race as an "invented category" while showing how race and racism affect everyday life.

The "New Dialogue on Race" can be considered an attempt to address the relevance of race today and develop new approaches for talking about race and addressing racial inequalities. As such, the AAA staff involved in planning the conference selected a diverse group of panelists that included race scholars, representatives of research and policy institutes, civil-rights activists, and journalists. Among them were anthropologists Johnetta Cole, director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C.; John Jackson from the University of Pennsylvania; Leith Mullings from the CUNY Graduate Center; and Maria Vesperi from the New College of Florida. Panelists also represented different segments of the population in terms of age, religion, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

Panelists seemed to agree that while great progress has been made against legal forms of discrimination, racial discrimination continues, especially in an institutionalized form. Several emphasized the need to move away from a focus on blatant and recognizably violent forms of racism to its more subtle, structural manifestations, which operate according to unwritten rules. Thus, there was broad consensus that disparities in terms of access to housing, education, and health continue to operate along racial lines with African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans faring the worst. At the same time, as one panelist pointed out, Latinos and African Americans are disproportionately targeted by law enforcement and are much more likely than their Euro-American counterparts to face criminal charges for their actions.

Several panelists also emphasized the importance of attending to the intersectionality of race (as many anthropologists have long argued), pointing out that race cannot be understood in isolation from other forms of discrimination having to do with ideas about gender, class, sexuality, and religion, to name a few. For example, Sayyid Syeed, national director of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), raised the issue of growing Islamophobia in the United States in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the U.S. "war on terror." He asserted that race can be about a person's faith rather than the color of one's skin and that the challenge to the United States today in terms of living up to the ideal of being a "pluralist democracy" has to do with "the success of the integration of Muslims in the United States." During one of the question-and-answer sessions, Leith Mullings stressed the need to pay attention to new forms of racism operating transnationally, which some have captured with the concept of "global apartheid," highlighting the interrelatedness of poverty, racism, discrimination, and immigration in a system in which groups are "raced" and denied human rights. There was also a general consensus that meaningful public discussions about race have become nearly impossible because political correctness has been taken to

such an extreme that simply mentioning race opens one to the risk of being called a racist as well as because the mainstream media relies on sound bites and addresses race only in cases of dramatic altercations.

As stated in the conference invitation, a major goal of the conference was to increase anthropology's ability to affect public policy in a way that successfully addresses continued racial disparities. It was unclear, however, how the conference would impact public policy or how it sought to increase the involvement of anthropology in policymaking. Indeed, while the conference took place on Capitol Hill, none of the panelists were government representatives. There were some Washington lawmakers in the audience, however, and Representative Barbara Lee, who represents California's ninth congressional district, made a brief appearance to thank conference organizers for their efforts.

Although anthropology has a role to play in influencing government policy, the conference was ambiguous about what that role should be in addressing ongoing forms of racism. For instance, is the goal for anthropologists to provide research that can be used by interested parties in attempts to eradicate enduring racialized inequalities, or is it for anthropologists to actively lobby the government on specific race-related issues? Or is the goal to help create a space at the national level where in-depth and informed discussions about race and racial disparities can take place? According to Damon Dozier, AAA Director of Public Affairs and one of the main conference organizers, the AAA is planning on delivering the results of the conference to the Congressional Black Caucus. However, the AAA does not yet seem to have a comprehensive, long-term strategy for anthropology's role in policy-oriented debates about race.

Perhaps the "New Dialogue on Race" conference was a first step toward creating effective and durable channels of communication with policy advocates and government representatives. Hopefully the AAA and its members will soon develop a detailed action plan that addresses how this new dialogue will remain a vibrant and ongoing one and how it will help shape public policy in ways that effectively address continuing racial discrimination and disparities in the United States. To start, the AAA might consider holding a recurring conference on race. Each meeting could end with a roundtable focused on summarizing the main conclusions of the conference and coming up with suggestions for possible sites of intervention for concerned anthropologists.

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Review Essay

Anthropology-Led Community-Engagement Programs

David Simmons

ABSTRACT   In this review essay, the merit of three community-engagement programs directed by anthropologists—the University of Minnesota's Urban Research and Outreach/Engagement Center (UROC), the University of Maryland-College Park's Cultural Systems Analysis Group, and the University of Texas at Austin's Division of Diversity and Community Engagement—are explored. I consider the intellectual and practical lineages from which these programs draw and their impacts on community-service provision.

Keywords: community   engagement,   service   learning, community-based research and service

Community engagement enjoys a long history in anthropology, dating back to such luminaries as Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead. What began as an individual enterprise wed to very public intellectuals has in recent years become institutionalized through the development of formal programs that seek to address pressing issues in civil society. In this review, I examine three anthropologist-directed programs and consider the broader intellectual and practical lineages from which they emerged. Given the prolific nomenclature of community-engagement practices (public interest anthropology, public anthropology, and community-based participatory research, to name only a few), the review also discusses how programs define and situate themselves.

Although community engagement has been an ongoing historic conversation within the discipline, conversations over the past decade on the subject have their roots in the question of anthropological relevancy (and, by extension, the discipline's very future), particularly as related to national political and economic trends. In the current economic climate, downsizing is the norm. Departments disappear or are folded into sister departments. As a result, some academic units are also adopting direct service—in teaching, public service, and applied research—ahead of basic scholarship, points out James Peacock. As he argued more than a decade ago, "With less federal and state support and an increased reliance on entrepreneurialism in the private sector, academic anthropology is less competitive" (Peacock 1997:9). Under such increased pressure to prove our relevance and make a

difference beyond the discipline and academy, community engagement offers a great opportunity.

How community engagement is conceptualized is important. A cursory glance at the growing literature on the subject reveals great range for what community engagement signifies. Everything from involvement in public issues, concerns, and debates to more activist praxis that dissolves the theory–practice divide to participatory-action research (PAR) built on cooperative cocitizenship, coactivism, and counderstandings of cooperative projects rooted in local contexts (Lassiter 2008:71)—all qualify as community engagement. What these programs generally have in common are the anthropological focus on holism—that is, the use of the experience-near perspective to situate local meanings and issues in their wider social context—and the effort to develop more equitable approaches to problem solving within communities.

All of the community-engagement programs reviewed here are led by anthropologists and share elements of these broader formulations to varying degrees. These programs were selected because they offer different, but convergent, perspectives and approaches to community engagement and service learning. Some work specifically with communities in the immediate environs of the university, while others have developed translocal relationships. The degree of collaboration between programs and communities also varies; some programs see full collaboration as central to their mission, while others set more of a premium on measurable social change within communities as a result of their engagement.

In 2007, the University of Texas at Austin founded the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement (DDCE), the mission of which includes ensuring that the university is responsive to and positively impacts the surrounding community, that community engagement remains a key feature in the university's core academic mission, and that the unit serves as a catalyst for creating new opportunities between the community and university (see http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/community.php). Shannon Reed directs the DDCE's Community Engagement Center (CEC) and is responsible for a diverse array of community-engaged programs such as service learning, a fellows program, and a community-engagement incubator to name a few. Like the two other reviewed programs, the CEC works on local community issues surrounding education, business empowerment, and general social-justice issues for underserved communities. The Free Minds Project, for example, is an innovative program that works to improve access to higher education for people from low- and middle-income backgrounds. The program removes many of the obstacles this population faces toward educational attainment, providing care for children, evening classes in accessible locations, and various other support services. The powerful impacts of this program on the lives of participants can be heard in their heartfelt testimonies featured on the program's website. The CEC is impressive for its ability to coordinate many different levels of stakeholders—various kinds of community members,

state and local officials, faculty, students, and community volunteers. The impact of the CEC's various components is difficult to quantify; however, certain initiatives such as the Student Volunteer Board have an impressive reach (some 8,000 volunteers in 12 different programs).

The Urban Research and Outreach/Engagement Center (UROC) of the University of Minnesota focuses on those issues that confront North Minneapolis in the areas of education, economic development, and health disparities along racial–ethnic and class lines (see http://www.uroc.umn.edu/about/index.html). Formally initiated in 2007 and headed by founding Executive Director Irma McClaurin (who also serves as associate vice president for System Academic Administration), UROC privileges community-determined priorities and community-based research. The genesis of the center came in the form of a request from the mayor of Minneapolis and a series of community meetings at which residents suggested the areas of health, education, and economic development as key areas for collaborative research. Recent initiatives include a program to close the digital divide for underserved communities in the Twin Cities (and supported by a $2.9 million award from the Department of Commerce) and an arts-based youth and community-development program called Citysongs, as well as various health-based and business initiatives. Although clearly still in its infancy, UROC offers a bold vision and model for the great potential of community engagement.

Founded in 1989 by Tony Whitehead, the Cultural Systems Analysis Group (CuSAG) is an applied-research and technical-assistance unit in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland College Park that works to facilitate social change through the design, implementation, and evaluation of community-based initiatives (see http://www.cusag.umd.edu/). CuSAG has a wide variety of activities, covering areas such as drugs, crime, and violence to reproductive and sexual health to family and child–youth issues. The group works primarily in the metropolitan Washington, D.C., area but also elsewhere in the northeastern United States and internationally. Unlike UROC and the CEC, CuSAG's founding predates the current trend in community-engagement programs, so its outward design appears strictly applied in focus in the sense that communities do not appear to take an active role in defining and collaborating in research and the development of interventions. However, close analysis of their programs and activities reveals a long-standing commitment to community engagement as currently conceptualized, particularly those marginalized, urban communities in the greater metropolitan Washington, D.C., area.

Not surprisingly, community-engagement and service-learning programs face a number of challenges: establishing enduring relationships with community partners, creating truly collaborative relationships, and measuring program effectiveness in nonanecdotal ways to name but a few. Despite the challenges, these programs (and many more not included in this review) help demonstrate in very public ways the relevance of anthropology for addressing and solving real world

problems such as the generation of jobs, educational access, and closing the digital divide between disparate groups.

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Dialogic Reviews

Service Learning with *Immigrant Voices* (http://www.bsos.umd.edu/ANTH/Research/ImmigrantLife/ImmigrantVoices/index.html)

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As the daughter of two immigrants who have lived in southern Prince George's County for over 30 years, my graduate-student internship experience in the University of Maryland's Anthropology of the Immigrant Life Course Research program provided me with a window into my heritage that had previously been unexplored. The program, housed in the Department of Anthropology, applies anthropological methods and theory to the very timely issue of immigration, proposing to build links between the research and the policy communities. The service learning project "Immigrant Voices of Prince George's County, MD" emerged from this program, seeking to inform, engage, and educate the public on how current immigration to Prince George's County, Maryland, is embedded in the history of the county, the state, and the nation.

My parents moved to Prince George's County in the mid-1970s to pursue the dream of an affordable suburban home in a safe community in which they could raise their family. The county was always behind Washington, D.C., and Montgomery County in terms of immigrant population until relatively recently, experiencing an almost 40 percent growth in foreign-born residents between 2000 and 2006. Immigrants now constitute one out of every four county workers (Capps and Fortuny 2008:20). The University of Maryland is nestled among the working-class neighborhoods that house the highest concentration of foreign-born populations (Freidenberg 2007). The program brings students out from behind university walls and into these neighborhoods to learn about the complex issue of immigration through work-study programs at organizations that serve a large immigrant population and through gathering life histories of immigrants who live or work in the county.

My internship involved work on two projects: (1) a video (*Immigrant Voices from Prince George's County, MD*) composed of immigrant life histories of individuals living or working in Prince George's County and (2) a set of display panels to accompany the video and present information on U.S. immigration from both a national historical perspective and a current local perspective. In addition to carrying out archival research using electronic and periodical resources, I interviewed several Spanish-speaking immigrants and transcribed the interviews for use in the video. Panel data included comparable census data on foreign-born populations in the United States, Maryland, and Prince George's County. In addition, other historical sources were used to develop a timeline of notable migration events and key immigration policy across U.S. history, starting with Columbus's voyage in 1492. The timeline depicts the links between policy and migration in the United States.

The experience of being involved in these projects contributed to my learning in a variety of ways. Investigating historical, contemporary, and demographic information on immigration honed my research capabilities. Presenting the panels and video at several venues, including the 2010 Society for Applied Anthropology annual meeting; an immigration conference for local policymakers, academics, and nonprofit leaders organized by University of Maryland's Department of Anthropology; and the university's Maryland Day celebration advanced my professional development. Presenting these two different, but complementary, types of media also allowed me to explore issues of visual anthropology and learn firsthand about the challenges involved in using visual representations to communicate complex issues and the many dimensions of human experience. Limited space on the panels and, in the case of the video, limited time and money meant making hard choices about what information to present and what to exclude.

Participation in the development of the video gave me the opportunity to see the common patterns shared by immigrants as they struggle through various challenges involved in adjusting to new realities. On a personal level, it opened up new lines of communication with my mother and my husband, both of whom I interviewed for the project. They had never discussed their experience with immigration or acculturation with me, except in the most general terms. Learning about their struggles and how they overcame challenging experiences allowed me to better understand them as individuals. Hearing their stories along with those of the other interviewees helped me realize that whether male or female, resident or refugee, the interviewees had many shared experiences that cut across immigration status, income level, sex, and geographic origin. Watching my mother, husband, and other participants view the video, I was touched by the pride and even astonishment they felt in being recognized for their experiences. There was a sense of kinship expressed at hearing the other stories and moments of appreciation for those who they felt had suffered far more than they.

It is difficult to sum up the many ways my participation in this service learning project helped me learn and grow as an individual and an anthropologist. One lesson I came away with was the value of framing current perceived threats and stereotypes about immigration within a broader history. This framing is critical for both the native born and immigrant to recognize, particularly in light of policies such as that recently passed in the state of Arizona, which can threaten individual rights and facilitate racial profiling. Current discourses on immigration would benefit from clarifying the romantic, but mostly historically false, notions of earlier immigration, which conjure up images of immigrants arriving on U.S. shores greeted by the Statue of Liberty. Today, the millions of undocumented immigrants working in the United States have become the focus of nativist ire, used as scapegoats for everything from lost jobs to excessive taxes to increased crime. As the panels meant to contextualize the "Immigrant Voices" video reveal, the reality is that the racialization of immigrants and their children in U.S. society has been at the heart of the immigration policy and debate as a cyclical and essentially unchanging pattern in U.S. history since at least the late 19th century.

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Immigrant Voices: Using Video to Tell Stories

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Anthropologists shoot video as means of collecting ethnographic information. Journalists shoot video to tell stories. But what if they traded roles? *Immigrant Voices* is a 20-minute video that tells the stories of seven people from far-flung countries who found their way to Langley Park, Maryland, a diverse community just outside Washington, D.C. The video is part of a larger service learning project led by Dr. Judith Freidenberg and Dr. Gail Thakur, anthropologists at the University of Maryland who are in the vanguard of a movement to make work in their field more accessible to the public and to develop innovative service learning opportunities.

As a journalist, I was impressed by the video's foray into what I considered reporter territory—and I was interested in exploring the flip side. Do journalists have something to learn from anthropologists? I saw common ground in the video camera, whose emergence as an essential reporting tool in the digital age is transforming the way many of us do our jobs. So I invited Dr. Freidenberg, Dr. Thakur, and their video into my classroom at Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland.

The setting was the Carnegie Seminar. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation, the seminar's charge is to bring the university's greater expertise into the journalism school. Each semester, I select a hot news topic and invite several campus experts from other disciplines to teach four-week minicourses. Thanks to the prolonged national debate over immigration reform, seminar students have explored various aspects of the immigrant experience in two of the last three semesters. They have done so with the assistance of faculty from political science, language and culture, demographics, urban studies, psychology—and anthropology.

Dr. Thankur used *Immigrant Voices* to teach about video interviewing last year. Dr. Freidenberg included it in a series of four lectures about her research on the lives of Latino immigrants. At the start of this review, I wrote that *Immigrant Voices* tells the stories of seven people, which I now realize was very much a description of what a journalist does: tell other people's stories. But this video allows people to tell their own stories.

There's ebullient Bettyann Gonzales, who emigrated from Trinidad in 1980 "with lots of dreams and goals and ambitions. No money, of course, but lots of ambitions." Dung Phan fled Communism in Vietnam. Veronica Munoz came from Argentina in search of a Ph.D. Mekdes Bekele of Trinidad earned a nursing degree while working long hours and raising a child. Carlos Torres of Guatemala joined the U.S. military. Henry Martinez of Uruguay learned to hang drywall to survive. "We are doing the heavy lifting," he says of Latino immigrants.

Rather than sequential, their stories were edited, intermingled, and sorted into three thematic segments: "Leaving Home," "Challenges," and "New Beginnings." Despite the fragmentation, the individual story lines are easy to follow because the subjects are so memorable. Each is distinct in personality, appearance, and setting. There is no narration. The captions provide first name and country. So there is heavy reliance on the interviewee to disclose relevant information, which is both a strength and weakness of the video. There are frustrating inconsistencies in the details provided and gaps in the personal narratives: What year did he arrive? What happened to her daughter? Although this information may not be necessary for research purposes, it gains currency when conveying the stories to the public. One solution would have been to anticipate and address viewers' questions through the editing or slightly more generous captioning.

In class, the personal stories grabbed and held students' attention; the thematic structure helped guide discussion. Perhaps most importantly, the video put a human face on the immigration policies they were studying. In addition, the video provided a pedagogical platform for building critical skills and techniques. On the evening that Ms. Thakur showed the film, she followed up with a lecture and exercise on basic video interviewing that was as good or better than any I've seen—and I asked her for a copy of it to post as a tip sheet on the seminar website. For the exercise, she asked students to bring in a favorite photo and then had them take turns interviewing each other about the pictures and soliciting feedback. The sequence of video, instruction, and exercise gave them a clearer sense of how to elicit informative responses while being sensitive to cultural issues.

During her minicourse this spring, Dr. Freidenberg followed *Immigrant Voices* with a field trip to a maternity clinic, where students videotaped interviews with employees about the challenges of serving an immigrant clientele. After an in-class debriefing, she assigned the students to prepare field notes. To that end, she asked them to review their videos with an eye toward spotting and developing themes and to watch for significant visual or verbal cues they might have missed during the real-time event.

In theory, a journalist should do the same. But in today's deadline-driven news environment, it is tempting to go directly from shooting to editing video into a story. The exercise pointed out the value of that middle step in producing a more accurate and insightful report, whether for class or for a news organization.

The influence of *Immigrant Voices* and the accompanying coursework was evident in the multimedia feature stories that students produced for a class project on the impact of a new county land use plan on Latino residents and businesses in Langley Park (see http://s2010.carnegieat merrill.com/). The video also became part of the permanent collection at the Casa de Maryland Multi-Cultural Center, which opened in Langley Park on June 19, 2010. At the inaugural event, Dr. Freidenberg and her students videotaped additional life histories from attendees to add to the collection (see http://www.casademaryland.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1235).

The project had enduring influence on the Carnegie Seminar as well. Dr. Freidenberg and I decided to extend our partnership through the fall semester, when the seminar would tackle immigration reform. This time the course was cross-listed with the Department of Anthropology. Opening a journalism course to anthropology students was a step toward recognizing that, rather than relying on journalists to act as intermediaries, researchers and advocates increasingly are communicating directly with the public through digital technologies. Moreover, while our disciplines have differences, we share a common belief that some of the world's most complex issues may be understood best through a human lens.

And as anthropologists look for ways to engage the public, they might gain from exposure to some of journalism's storytelling techniques. The video narratives have potential value not only for social scientists but also for the subjects and the public. The videos offer participants a unique means of processing and communicating their experiences and provide both immigrants and nonimmigrants with a highly accessible means of relating and understanding. Bettyann underscores this point at the end of *Immigrant Voices*: "Someone's life history can make a difference in someone else's life—that, 'My God, that person made it, that gives me hope.'"

Review Essay

A Review of Tenure and Promotion Guidelines in Higher Education: Optimistic Signs for Applied, Practicing, and Public Interest Anthropology

Linda A. Bennett and Sunil K. Khanna

ABSTRACT   Anthropology as a discipline over the past four decades has attracted increasingly more students studying at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. At the same time, the career expectations of many students have shifted from a primary focus on full-time academic positions to a multitude of types of positions in the public and private sectors. Many of these positions are in the area of practicing, applied, and public interest anthropology. An essential aspect of the education of students headed for such careers is the experience of working in community-based and "engaged scholarly endeavors." The availability of such experiences for students depends, in part, on the tenure and promotion process for faculty. For this review, we have examined tenure and promotion guidelines from five universities with a commitment to educating students in practicing, applied, and public interest anthropology.

Keywords: tenure, promotion, applied, practicing anthropology

Anthropology in the United States manifests a history of being a multifaceted discipline with regard to training, career opportunities, and practice. Since the 1960s, the field has expanded significantly in the number of colleges and universities offering degrees in anthropology, the number of anthropologists graduating from undergraduate and graduate programs, and the breadth of employment sectors that alumni enter (see http://www.aaanet.org/ profdev/careers/Anthos.cfm). At the same time, we no longer anticipate that most alumni with graduate degrees in anthropology will enter full-time academic positions; this has been much the case since the mid-1980s (AAA 2010). In preparation for careers outside of full-time academic employment, increasing numbers of students in both undergraduate and graduate programs are actively involved in community-based and engaged scholarly endeavors and—often as a result—acquire jobs. Consequently, it is essential that academic programs help prepare their students for such employment by developing anthropology curricula that effectively integrate community engagement and by advancing faculty and student collaborative community-based projects. Such an approach is increasingly becoming mainstream in institutions of higher education across the country, and we

argue that because this perspective is a strength of the discipline of anthropology, our departments often lead the way for including engaged research and teaching within tenure and promotion procedures across university departments.

These developments raise important questions about systems for tenuring and promoting faculty members in undergraduate and graduate programs that integrate collaborative community-based experiences. For example, if anthropological work that engages students in scholars' wider communities and results in a variety of scholarly products is not recognized as valuable in the tenure and promotion process, departments will not retain faculty members involved in such endeavors. Many departments of anthropology have started to grapple with this issue. Here we cite and comment on components of tenure and promotion guidelines from five departments of anthropology that are members of the Consortium of Practicing and Applied Anthropology Programs (COPAA, www.copaa.info). In reviewing these documents, we identified areas where they stipulate the value of engaged scholarship in the tenure and promotion process. Through this brief examination of this topic within these particular institutions of higher education, we hope to stimulate further discussion within the discipline of anthropology overall and specifically within anthropology departments as they revise their tenure and promotion guidelines.

In reviewing these guidelines, our approach has been to identify excerpts that stipulate the importance of community-based engaged student and faculty activity as a factor in awarding tenure and promotion for faculty. Obviously, this is far from an exhaustive review. Furthermore, we recognize that the tenure and promotion process varies considerably across institutions of higher learning, and several critical factors other than the tenure and promotion guidelines themselves need to be considered in understanding how engaged community-based projects "count" in tenure and promotion decisions. For example, in most of the cases reviewed here, departments develop and regularly review their tenure and promotion guidelines before they are approved at the college and university levels. However, in other instances, tenure and promotion guidelines emanate from the college or the university rather than from the departments themselves. A second influential factor is the process for requesting external letters of reference for the candidate, which is typically a very significant aspect at all levels of review. Strong letters from respected colleagues provide compelling support for tenure and promotion decisions. A third factor consists of the strength, tone, and detail provided

in letters from both the departmental tenure and promotion committee and the department chair in support of their recommendation (and vote from the committee) regarding tenure and promotion of the faculty candidate. Thus, tenure and promotion guidelines are only one aspect—although we argue a very important one—of the potential recognition of faculty involvement in community-based engaged scholarship and instruction.

A general perspective that reflects the concerns we have in this review comes from the Department of Anthropology at the University of South Florida (USF). The department's guidelines note in a section on "Department Mission" that "the USF Anthropology Department particularly emphasizes applications while recognizing that basic and applied research and teaching are inextricable linked" (2009:1). This kind of introduction provides a certain overall perspective that is reflected in the specific expectations for tenure and promotion of its faculty members.

We identified the specific language in these five sets of reviewed guidelines that supports the idea of valuing engaged community-based research and teaching in the tenure and promotion process. Wayne State University's Department of Anthropology in a section on "Scholarship" stipulates that other professional activities such as "technical reports" and "consultations involving substantive written communications can be taken into account in tenure and promotion decisions" (2009:1). These guidelines also specify with respect to faculty service that "service to the community is particularly important for anthropologists with an applied emphasis. This would include service as a member of community-based or governmentally-based committees" and "membership on policy-making bodies" (Wayne State University 2009:2). The Promotion and Tenure document for the School of Anthropology at the University of Arizona states that "proficiency within the profession of anthropology" may be demonstrated by, among other means, "participation in national and regional professional organizations, as well as professional consultation and appointment to federal, state, or private agencies" (2008:1).

The University of Maryland Department of Anthropology's Criteria for Appointment and Promotion specifies that one of its goals is "providing public service to the state and the nation that embodies the best tradition of outstanding land-grant colleges and universities" (2005:1-B-1–1). In its section on "Service," the department further recognizes the value of "Service to the General Community: public lectures, expert testimony before Congressional or State legislative committees, service on public advisory boards and task forces, significant contributions to practical government at federal, state, and local levels" (University of Maryland 2005:1-B-1–3).

With respect to specific expectations of faculty-member research, the guidelines for the University of Kentucky's Department of Anthropology stipulate that "in certain applied fields of anthropology, research reports to agencies, consulting reports, and other non-peer reviewed materials can be of minimal value in a candidate's research portfolio, but only if they are accompanied by strong peer-reviewed publications in high-quality outlets" (2004:2). In short, in this department peer-reviewed publications remain a very high priority in tenure and promotion decisions.

The University of South Florida—which revised its departmental guidelines as part of their governance document—provides very specific language in several places regarding the importance of applied research for both tenure and promotion to associate professor and to professor. Furthermore, the guidelines address the kind of "nonconventional" documentation that can be used to demonstrate the scholarship of application in addition to more "conventional" kinds of documentation. They state: "Technical reports, especially those based on grant-funded projects, are also subject to peer review or other forms of review, and can be influential in the field and widely disseminated to a broad range of audiences, including other scholars" (2009:7). Here, attention to the role of "nonconventional" products in the tenure and promotion process reflects serious discussions currently taking place among sections in the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and in the Society for Applied Anthropology. For example, for the 109th Annual Meeting of the AAA, the Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology (CoPAPIA) has organized a session addressing this issue with leadership from many sections of the AAA participating.

On the basis of these documents as a preliminary examination of the place of engaged community-based scholarship and teaching in higher education in anthropology programs, we suggest that departments of anthropology having a commitment to applied, practicing, and public interest anthropology reexamine their tenure and promotion guidelines with an eye to making this commitment more explicit. To facilitate this process, helpful background information can be found in at least two documents: first, the Carnegie Foundation's description of "engaged scholarship" (which is referenced in the 2009 tenure and promotion procedures of the University of Memphis on p. 6) specifies that community engagement stipulates "the collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities . . . for the mutually . . . beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (Carnegie Foundation n.d.). Second, it might be helpful to review the document published online (COPAA and AAA) by Sunil Khanna and colleagues (2008) on "Promoting Applied Scholarship for Tenure and Promotion." This document is based on recommendations of panelists in several sessions organized by COPAA since 2003 (http://www.copaa.info/resources_for_programs/index.htm#tenure).

Although we underscore the importance of departmental tenure and promotion guidelines in this review, we also strongly recommend that departments monitor the effectiveness of those documents as their faculty members undergo the tenure and promotion process. In short, we need

to ask the question: What is the impact of having clearly defined language of expectations of faculty members with regard to engagement in the community on the final decisions about tenure and promotion?

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