Looking forward to SWAA Conference in Albuquerque!

Greetings! We are so excited about this spring’s SWAA annual conference, which will be held in Albuquerque, New Mexico on April 24-25, 2020. We have some very cool things planned and we expect it to be a fantastic event. The theme of the conference will be “Community, Culture and Wellbeing.” This seems apropos given the troubling nature of political discourse related to the meaning and nature of “community,” and the decline of any semblance of a social contract. The aging of the population, increasing health disparities, challenges to the Affordable Care Act, and the current interest in Medicare for All make thinking about health and wellbeing a critical dimension of our anthropological endeavors. I am certain that the panels, papers, posters and films at the conference will be revealing and thought provoking. I have already had many people tell me about the work they plan to present.

We are excited about some special events that we are planning. On the first day of the conference, there will be two “President’s Panels” highlighting amazing work being done to connect community and culture in initiatives and programs to improve wellbeing here in Albuquerque. One panel will present work being done by community organizations related to access to primary care, substance use disorders, behavioral health services, diabetes, and adverse childhood experiences. The other will feature representatives from Mayor Tim Keller’s office discussing innovative work being done by the City of Albuquerque. I’m hoping we might even have the Mayor on hand! We will see! In addition, there will be a lunchtime workshop about careers for anthropologists in health sciences. And in the evening, there will be a reception co-sponsored by the Scholars Strategy Network.

On the second day of the conference, we will have a lunchtime workshop conducted by a representative of a major health journal on strategies for anthropologists to publish their work. And the Distinguished Speaker at the Saturday night banquet will be medical anthropologist and Provost’s Distinguished Associate Professor at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, Dr. Emily Mendenhall. [See page 2 of this newsletter for more information about Dr. Mendenhall’s work. Also, see Book Corner (page 17) for descriptions of two of her books.]

We hope you will join us for the conference. The conference venue, the Hotel Albuquerque, is really wonderful and will give you a lot of New Mexico flavor. It’s conveniently located for the many attractions available here in Albuquerque—and easy access to Santa Fe (1 hour away).

I look forward to seeing you in April! Abstracts can be submitted January 1 through February 15, 2020. See the SWAA website https://swaa-anthro.org/.

Janet Page-Reeves, PhD
SWAA President 2019-2020
2020 SWAA Conference Distinguished Speaker
Dr. Emily Mendenhall

Emily Mendenhall, PhD, MPH is a medical anthropologist and Provost’s Distinguished Associate Professor at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Her recent book, *Rethinking Diabetes: Entanglements of Trauma, Poverty, and HIV* (2019, Cornell) involves hundreds of life histories among low-income people living with Type 2 Diabetes in Chicago, Delhi, Johannesburg, and Nairobi. The four case studies investigate how social, cultural, and epidemiological factors shape people’s experiences and why we need to take these differences seriously when thinking about what drives diabetes and how it affects the lives of the poor. Her first monograph, *Syndemic Suffering: Social Distress, Depression, and Diabetes among Mexican Immigrant Women* (Routledge, 2012) dove deep into 121 life history narratives of women in Chicago who face considerable social distress and duress associated with immigration, poverty, interpersonal violence, social exclusion and longing for companionship, family stress, and financial insecurity. In addition, Dr. Mendenhall published four dozen articles on these projects in top journals in anthropology, medicine, and public health. This includes leading a series of articles on Syndemics in *The Lancet* in 2017.

In 2017, Dr. Mendenhall was awarded the George Foster Award for Practicing Medical Anthropology by the Society for Medical Anthropology. She also holds an Honorary Researcher position at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, where she has ongoing NIH-funded research and mentors PhD students. Currently she is leading a NIH Fogarty International Center study “Soweto Syndemics,” which is the first population-level study of any syndemic. Previously, the National Science Foundation, National Institutes of Health Fogarty International Center, South African Medical Research Council, and Northwestern and Georgetown Universities have supported her scholarship. She also spent a decade creating global health curriculum for youth: [http://www.ghn4c.org/](http://www.ghn4c.org/).
Young Hoon Oh, Member-at-Large

I am Young Hoon Oh (call me "Young Hoon") and a part-time lecturer at the University of California, Riverside. Being an adjunct I teach various classes in cultural and linguistic anthropology and also Asian religions in the religious studies department. I enjoy studying and writing on mountain climbing, Sherpa mountain tourism, and Korean modernity. Indeed I have long been an avid climber, having climbed Mt. Everest 4 times, once reaching its top. Students seem to like to hear exotic cases from my Himalayan research, and so better understand tricky concepts. So, my conviction is students can best learn when they actually do rather than just read, participate rather than observe, and love rather than merely be in favor of what they study.

Sarah Taylor, Member-at-Large

I am an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at CSU Dominguez Hills. My research focus is community-based tourism development, natural resource management, and heritage in Mesoamerica. For the last 15 years, I have conducted longitudinal ethnographic research in rural Yucatan, Mexico on the way that locals leverage various forms of heritage—cultural, archaeological, and ecological—to navigate the development of a regional tourism industry. The findings of this research have been published in the Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Identities, and in my book On Being Maya and Getting By: Heritage Politics and Community Development in Yucatan (University Press of Colorado, 2018). More recently, my research has expanded to include Highland Guatemala. Building upon the turn toward multi-species ethnography, my new research is with beekeepers who still work with the native stingless bees once common throughout the Maya World. This multi-sited, multi-species ethnographic research seeks to understand how the social mores that the bees represent—an alternative form of traditional ecological knowledge—is influencing residents’ perception of collective work, community relations, and the importance of inter-generational remembering. The other activity that keeps me busy is my role as director of the CSUDH Guatemala Ethnographic Field School, where I teach students how to design and conduct their own ethnographic research projects around Lake Atitlan, Guatemala. I have a strong record of service to the discipline, and see this as a crucial component of integrating teaching and research, which is why I am so happy to be joining the SWAA board as Member-At-Large. The opportunity to serve this important regional organization is exciting, particularly given my teaching position at CSUDH. I teach only undergraduates and the SWAA meeting is accessible to them, providing a warm, welcoming place for emerging scholars to think about all of the ways that anthropology can help us understand the human experience. I am pleased to be a part of this inclusive, active scholarly community.

Lawrence Ramirez, Graduate Student Member

My name is Lawrence Ramirez and I am a doctoral student at the University of California, Riverside in Sociocultural Anthropology. As an anthropologist, I have been educated through a four-field paradigm, with an emphasis on the sociocultural and archaeological subfields. My research focuses on public memory spaces, such as museums and public gardens, and the social imaginaries that such spaces make material for visitors. My current research sites are Japanese gardens in California. My academic journey has taken me to many different types of educational institutions, including community colleges, Cal State universities, the UC system, and private universities. I was accepted as a McNair fellow at CSU Dominguez Hills, where I was able to learn educational practices that support student diversity and broad intersectional standpoints. My teaching experiences include working as an Anthropology tutor at El Camino Community College and as a Teaching Assistant at UC Riverside. As a student, I have been active within school-sponsored Anthropology clubs, working with my peers to promote anthropological knowledge to the wider campus communities. Thus, I believe that my diverse background and broad experience as a student and as an educator, as well as my activist approach to promoting Anthropology, will serve me well in the position of Student Member at Large.
Encapsulating Diversity in 19th Century Los Angeles: An Archaeological Analysis of the Los Angeles/Depot Hotel

By Lena Jaurequi
Department of Anthropology, California State University, Northridge

Abstract

In 2001, the California Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) purchased the territory of what is now the Los Angeles State Historic Park (LASHP) located in downtown Los Angeles. The land has a diverse and complex history, intertwined with Gabrieliño Tongva, Spanish, Mexican and American ownership. Amongst the DPR excavations, the Los Angeles/Depot Hotel (1883-1889) was excavated on the property. I suggest that analysis of the material culture found at the hotel in addition to associated archival materials may provide integral information about the ways in which diverse groups of people persisted, created and negotiated space and resources within realms of racial inclusivity and exclusivity in early American California. Furthermore, analyzing and interpreting this collection can increase our understanding of the dialectical relationship between place making and concepts of race and identity, during this transformative period in 19th century California history.

Introduction

This paper is a part of a larger thesis that is in the process of being completed. The DPR began excavations in 2004 with the intention to develop and maintain a public park as part of the State Park system. Amongst the excavations, a hotel was excavated on the property. The Los Angeles/Depot Hotel was in operation from 1883-1889 and continued to serve as a ticket office and waiting room until it was demolished in 1901. Material culture collected from the hotel is focused on analyzing four features. The general categories of these features include: ceramic tableware and industrial ware, bottle fragments from alcoholic beverages and mineral water, medicinal bottles, and other items associated with life at a hotel.

Background

In 1781 the pueblo of Los Angeles, El Pueblo de la Reina de los Angeles was founded. The town was an agricultural community, supported by Native American labor, that maintained strong ties to Mexico, the missions, and presidios. In 1848 The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and California was ceded to the United States. Southern Pacific Railroad slowly bought out the wealthy families that owned parcels of land on the property and eventually attained complete ownership in 1869. Regular railroad operations began in Los Angeles in 1874 and the property quickly became the economic center for the growing city of Los Angeles.
The station was known as the San Fernando Street yard or River Station, and it was a stop that connected peripheral Los Angeles to downtown and the Pacific port of Wilmington. However, beginning in the early to mid 20th century, SPRR began relocating their operations to the inland empire and the San Fernando Street yard ceased freight operations in the 1950s. In 1971, River Station was designated as Cultural Monument #82.

Upon purchase of the property in 2001, the DPR determined that in order for the space to be used for industrial or recreational purposes, it would require the removal of hazardous waste materials such as railroad ties and tracks, surface metals, refuse, discarded drums, pipes, trailers, vehicles, concrete and other items known to be present onsite (Buxton et al. 2015). LASHP required extensive archaeological testing since the land had been occupied by humans for at least 9,000 years (Buxton et al. 2015). Today, the property is an active, 32-acre public park, 2.5 miles north-east of downtown Los Angeles.

**Space and Place Making in 19th Century Los Angeles**

The 19th century laid the foundation for racist agendas and discriminatory practices that we see become institutionalized in the later part of the century and into the early 20th century. Immigrants from around the world migrated to Los Angeles for employment opportunities and various social and political freedoms. Historians have understood particular moments in 19th century Los Angeles as symbolic markers that fundamentally changed how non-whites negotiated resources, therefore affecting the formation of these identities.

The ways in which Mexican Californians and white immigrants from the United States conceptualized and structured their worldview were fundamentally different from one another. Public policy and civic ideals in Mexican California were understood to be collective rights that were to benefit “everyone” in society, except for Indians and poor immigrants from Mexico. In addition, identity and social status was based on achievement, social ranking and behavior.

In sharp contrast, white immigrants from the United States understood public policy and civic ideals within a Protestant ethic framework—beliefs of private property, individual reputation, aggressive entrepreneurship and capital accumulation were signs of an upstanding white man (Torres-Rouff 2013). These clashing beliefs of identity and municipal power further complicated the spatial relationships these groups shared. The social construction of these collective identities is what propels Los Angeles into the later-half of the 19th century as a Western, American frontier town. Social construction refers to how public places in urban society become symbolically encoded and interpreted as reality (Low 1996).
Material Culture

The artifacts that I am focused on are items that are associated with the hotel and are items that I have personally taken photographs of and catalogued at the California Department of Parks and Recreation Southern Service Center in San Diego. The features that I examined were: Feature 17 (lot 31), Feature 7 (lot 24), Feature 6 (lots 9 and 33) and Feature 9 (lot 25).
Conclusion

The space that the Los Angeles/Depot Hotel occupied was a place with its own individual and distinguishable identities. The hotel was a space that employed, housed, fed and provided an atmosphere that embodied the ability to partake in the new railroad transportation system and lodge in close proximity to it. Given that this project is in progress, analysis and final conclusions are not complete. Thus far however, I have found that the hotel collection contributes to the larger story of the transportation, economic and social systems of early American Los Angeles. The intention of this project is to contribute to the growing body of work that the DPR Southern Service Center has completed at the Los Angeles State Historic Park (Sampson et al. 2015). Moreover, the intention is to also provide additional knowledge of LASHP, that I believe should be accessible to all Angelenos. The history of Los Angeles is incredibly rich and diverse, and LASHP is just one treasure in this metropolis that shines as an example of early American, California life.

The final thesis is forthcoming and will be completed by December 2019.

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Torres-Rouff, David

Lena Jaurequi is a Graduate Student in Anthropology at California State University, Northridge. Before Cal. State Northridge, Lena received her B.A in Anthropology from UCLA, graduating with honors. Her training is in archaeology and she has worked in very exciting projects in Greece and Guatemala. She loves working in the field, with other excited and motivated archaeologists. Currently, Lena is finishing her Masters thesis. Her thesis focuses on the Los Angeles/Depot Hotel—a 19th century hotel that was associated with the Southern Pacific Railroad, which is now located on the modern Los Angeles State Historic Park in downtown Los Angeles. In her free time, Lena enjoys exploring new hiking trails in Los Angeles and cooking.

Lena’s poster about this project won second place in the Student Poster Competition of the 2019 SWAA conference in Garden Grove, California.
American Nations: A History of The Eleven Rival Regional Cultures Of North America
By Colin Woodward

Review by William Fairbanks II, Ph.D.
Cuesta College Anthropology Faculty, Emeritus

For anthropologists concerned with diversity, cultural change and sustainability this is a must read! It begins with the Europeans founding nine regional cultures in what is now the United States and Canada: El Norte, New France, Tidewater, Yankeedom, New Netherland, Deep South, Midlands and Greater Appalachia. El Norte consists of the Spanish Empire’s incursions in Coastal California north to San Francisco, Arizona to Tucson, New Mexico along the Rio Grande to a bit north of Santa Fe, and Southern Texas east to Nacogdoches. New France included Quebec and Louisiana. Tidewater included Delaware, south through the eastern sections of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. Yankeedom included New England and up-state New York. New Netherland was New York up the Hudson to Albany and northern New Jersey. The Deep South region initially included South Carolina and Georgia, while the Midlands region was southern New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania and northeastern Maryland. Greater Appalachia included the Appalachians extending south from central Pennsylvania to Georgia, later extending west through southern Missouri. Each region had a distinct world view (weltanschauung); conflicts resulting from those world views began before the Revolutionary War, shaped the Revolutionary War, and continue to this day.

El Norte involved a few colonizers attempting to convert Native Americans to a Spanish Catholic peasant life. In New France, fur trappers and traders moving west intermarried with Native Americans, traded with them, and learned their lifestyle and language, basically treating them as equals. Aspects of this world view continue to the present in Canada, and make New Orleans an anomaly among southern cities.

Tidewater centered on plantations with wharfs allowing ships from England to bring goods and leave with tobacco, so port cities such as Boston or New York with merchant classes did not develop. Small insignificant communities developed around court houses. Tidewater aristocrats looked to the ancient Greek model where the aristocracy held the reigns of power and enjoyed “liberty,” while slaves and indentured servants did not enjoy “liberties.” New England’s life centered on church and communities, and people moved to the frontier as communities not as individuals. Education was for all, so the hope was that the homogenous Christian communities would continue to improve.

New Netherland introduced capitalism and multiculturalism to America. As in the homeland, immigrants and new ideas of various types were welcome. It is no coincidence Greenwich Village is located in New York City. Plantation owners of English ancestry dominated the Deep South, but unlike those of the Tidewater they came via Barbados where their fathers used slaves on sugar plantations. Being island sons, they had to seek land elsewhere, so they settled the Deep South bringing with them a harsher, more inhumane Caribbean attitude toward slavery than that of the Tidewater. Also unlike Tidewater aristocrats (using Plato’s definition of well-educated, the best four of our first five Presidents were from the Tidewater), they were merely plutocrats. Although Tidewater was hemmed in by the Deep South, Midlands, and Greater Appalachia, the Deep South expanded west along the Gulf coast to eastern Texas.

Midlanders influenced by Quaker ideals welcomed immigrants, were pacifists, and were willing to compromise. Greater Appalachia was settled by Scotch-Irish who were quintessential individualists with a strong family orientation (reflected in the Hatfield-McCoy feud), and a strong sense of honor and readiness to fight; the region has supported every war the nation has fought, from Indian wars to Iraq. Accumulating wealth was unimportant. Greater Appalachia expanded into southern Missouri, eastern Oklahoma, and Texas.

Diversity from the get-go created problems; for example, during the Revolutionary War Greater Appalachia sided with the British or the elites of their state depending on which they felt was the greatest threat to their freedom. Fashioning and passing the Constitution took creative compromises. Soon diversity’s dysfunctional side resurfaced, pitting Tidewater against Yankeedom during the John Adams/Thomas Jefferson election (1800). With the expansion and prosperity of the Deep South, conflict with Yankeedom became increasingly difficult to resolve via compromise. Again during the Civil War, Greater Appalachia had to decide who constituted the greatest threat to their freedom: the Union or the elites of the Tidewater and Deep South? Concerning the Deep South, Woodward comments, “Many of their leaders even argued that all lower-class people should be enslaved, regardless of race, for their own good.” West Virginia seceded from Virginia, while Kentucky and Missouri remained with the Union.

Yankeedom during Reconstruction attempted to recast the culture of the Confederacy in their image and failed miserably, but as a result created Dixie, which added Greater Appalachia to the former Confederacy and ushered in the Jim Crow Period. Dixie came to believe African Americans there were happy. The Dixie caste system was made manifest by rigidly enforced rules of etiquette. such as addressing whites as “Mister,” “Miss,” or “Missis,” but not African Americans who were to be addressed as “boy,” “Auntie, or “Uncle.” Outsiders were viewed as agitators attempting to create
trouble by arousing them. Supported by “Private Protestantism,” a good Christian’s focus should be on accepting the Bi-
ble as factual, and on living a Christian life that focuses on preparing them for where they are going; the social system—
unfair as it may be—was not to be questioned. Private Protestantism helped create a relatively homogenous religious base
for the region, recently strengthened via school vouchers that allow public revenue to go to Christian schools. (Dixie’s
Private Protestantism contrasts with Yankee Public Protestantism in being committed to creating a more perfect society
via universal education.)

“The Left Coast” begins in British Columbia continuing south, encompassing the Cascade Range of Washington and
Oregon, and the Coast Range of California south through Monterey County. Settlers from Yankeedom began settling in
Oregon territory in the 1830s. During the gold rush 300,000 people entered California during a five year period; many
were Yankees, 10,000 of whom arrived in 1849. Appalachians came too. The Left Coast emerged as a moral amalgam:
Yankee moral, intellectual, and utopian values combined with Appalachia's self-sufficient individualism, and a New
Netherland acceptance of diversity. Here people pursued the “American dream.” Left Coast’s answer to Greenwich Vil-
lage was San Francisco’s North Beach during the Beatnik late 1950s and Haight-Ashbury of the Hippies. Hippy com-
munes of the 1970s reflect the Utopian communities of Yankees of the 1820s (and it might have added to their nonsuc-
cess).

Around 1850 the Far West, a region stretching from Canada to El Norte and bisecting the Dakotas, Nebraska, and
Kansas, following roughly the 100th meridian and extending west to the Left Coast emerged, adding to American diversi-
ity. Mining, timber, cattle, railroads, petroleum and schemes (such as railroads attempting to attract settlers to the land
the government gave them by asserting, “rain follows the plow”) dominated the region. Cattle barons, railroads, bankers,
mine owners, lumber, and so forth controlled it. They wrote state constitutions and tax laws, set wages and prices, con-
trolled newspapers, etc. Consequently the region was characterized by resentment to outside authorities, such as the fed-
eral government and environmentalists.

Now, the two dominant regional ideologies are Yankeedom and Dixie. Other regions side with one or another, based
on the issue. New Netherland and the Left Coast tend pretty consistently to side with Yankeedom and the Far West with
Dixie. Most likely to compromise is the Midlands. Futurists, particularly those still committed to the progress of reason
of 19th-century cultural evolutionary theory, might not enjoy the “Epilogue.” In 1971 no Soviet, and likely no American,
would have imagined that in 20 years the U.S.S.R. would no longer exist. Woodward poses the same question concerning
the future of the United States. In his words:

Like its superpower predecessors, the United States has built up a staggering external trade deficit and sovereign
debt while overreaching itself militarily and greatly increasing both the share of financial services in national output
and the role of religious extremists in national political life. Once the great exporter of innovations, products, and
financial capital, the United States is now deeply indebted to China…Its military has been mired in expensive and
frustrating counterinsurgency wars in Mesopotamia and Central Asia.

Additionally due to our diversity our collective conscience is weak, now centering almost exclusively on the Constitu-
ten. Several possible scenarios suggest themselves. We could make major compromises and continue as a nation. We could
craft something like the European Union with Canada and Mexico (a failed state even in worse shape than the U.S.). We
could fragment like Yugoslavia, creating several nations; the most likely in that eventuality might be Dixie; Yankeedom/
New Netherlands/Midlands/Left Coast; The West; and El Norte which might also include the tier of Mexican states im-
mediately south of the border.

Woodward is a historian who seems very anthropological. Note the descriptions of the collective consciences of the
regional “nations” discussed in this review. Cultural anthropology has a long history of analyzing issues such as those
raised by Woodward. Could Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) have done any better? As Sir E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1902-
1973) pointed out, belief systems can be perfectly logical, perfectly consistent and perfectly absurd. Ruth Benedict (1887-
1948) commented that every culture is based on a fantasy (a component of a rather broad logical fallacy, argumentum ad
passions. Christopher Booker identified three stages of fantasy cycles: dream, frustration and nightmare). Immanuel Wal-
erstein (1930-) pointed out that hegemonic nations decline as they first lose a productive advantage, followed by losing
their trade advantage and finally losing their financial advantage.

Woodward appears to think fantasy and diversity have the nation rapidly heading down a slippery slope to the night-
mare stage. Anthropology and historical evidence reminds us that beliefs are just beliefs, and reality always get to bat last.
In this column, I again discuss Hawaiian hula, long performed explicitly as an expression of Hawaiian cultural identity. Once suppressed by American Christian missionaries, hula was revived and endorsed for public display by later Hawaiian monarchs, most notably, the last king, David Kalakaua (1836-1891). By the middle of the twentieth century, hula had become the foundation of Hawaiian language revitalization projects and what came to be known as the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, Kalakaua’s reign being the first. Most recently, Hawaiians who oppose the building of a Thirty Meter Telescope on the top of Mauna Kea on Hawaii Island have strategically employed hula to carry their message to the media and to people on the mainland who attend Hawaiian-themed events centered on hula. Here, I will briefly explain this particular interweaving of dance and politics, and provide some examples of this that I have observed.

Background:

The Political Evolution of Hula

Hawaiian hula has always had a religious/sacred element and a political element, as well as being entertainment. Oral history, traditional religious references, and the reputations of Hawaii’s chiefs and monarchs are contained within the chants and songs that accompany and direct the dance. King David Kalakaua is often quoted: “Hula is the language of the heart, therefore the heartbeat of the Hawaiian people.” The annual Merrie Monarch Festival hula competition and cultural immersion celebration, which just completed its fifty-sixth year, is named after the last king. It represents a reclamation of hula from the racist sexualization of the dance that was characteristic of early commercial touristic exploitation and representations of Hawaii by Hollywood, further distorted by the Tiki Lounge pop culture that flourished around the time of Hawaiian statehood in 1959. Today, the festival is an occasion for expressing reverence and respect for “traditional” Hawaiian values and for the independent Hawaiian monarchy (1810-1893), deposed by a band of American sugar magnates who violently forced Queen Liliuokalani, King Kalakaua’s sister and successor, to abdicate at gunpoint. At the time, the political legitimacy of the Hawaiian monarchy was internationally recognized, even by the American Government that ultimately supported the sugar magnates. For this breach of international protocol, President Bill Clinton announced in 1993 an official governmental apology for the overthrow.

The Merrie Monarch festival opens and closes each day with a solemn re-enactment of King Kalakaua’s Royal Court procession, crossing the stage and mounting a dais in the performance stadium, to officially open and close the hula competition. Large portraits of other prominent members of the Royal Family are also prominently displayed and referenced, often in the dances themselves. This recognition of the historical monarchy goes beyond nostalgia: there is an
actual political movement to restore the monarchy and/or some form of autonomy for Hawaii. Though the monarchist objective is not universally supported by all (or even most) residents, displays of respect for past monarchs are ubiquitous in the Hawaiian Islands, even in tourist hotels. It is worth noting that the Hawaiian state flag itself originally represented the kingdom, and remains unchanged. This flag is prominently flown at most, if not all, hula events, both on the islands and on the mainland, and at most official venues. Supporters of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement fly this flag upside-down. Another flag, the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) or “people’s flag,” is also flown by partisans claiming that ancestry and seeking to challenge the disrespect that they argue is still marginalizing Hawaiian people and their culture. [See Hawaii Magazine] These two flags are frequently displayed by members of the general public as expressions of support for Hawaiian cultural values. This is especially prevalent now, in reference to the Protect Mauna Kea Movement (Ku Kia’i Mauna).

The Mauna Kea Movement: “Ku Kia’i Mauna”

The proposed Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) is controversial because of plans to locate it on top of Mauna Kea, an extinct volcano on the “Big Island” of Hawaii. This mountain, seasonally snow-covered, has long been regarded as sacred by Native Hawaiians, and various sacred practices have continuously been performed in that area, right to the present. The mountain itself represents the sky god, Wakea, and is also spoken of as the abode or stopping place of several other traditional Hawaiian gods, like the “snow goddess” Poliahu. Many legends and hulas reference this.

There are currently thirteen telescopes already positioned on that mountain, receiving funding from various governments internationally. This mountain is an excellent vantage point for astronomical observation, an activity that was highly valued by Native Hawaiians themselves, whose ancestors navigated through the Pacific Ocean partly by referencing constellations. The state government of Hawaii and the University of Hawaii have been involved in several processes leading to this proliferation of observatories, but the planned TMT is of a scale far exceeding that of previous building on the mountain. Those who have questioned this new project have not only cited the sacred cultural value of the mountain, but have also pointed to various irregularities in the management of existing observatories, some failures to follow through on previous written environmental and cultural mitigation agreements, and legal disputes regarding the legal status of the land itself, which was at one point bequeathed to the Hawaiian people by their former monarchs.
Major demonstrations against TMT began in 2014. They continue to the present, including an ongoing occupation of the area leading to the Mauna Kea observatories by a continuous stream of people who describe themselves as kia‘i – protectors. Anyone can join the occupation and lend support to the movement, but there is a definite leadership structure, headed by established Hawaiian cultural experts, including prominent hula teachers and elders. The kia‘i follow a set of agreed-upon “protocols” and “ceremonies” (terms that they use) throughout each day. Parallels to the Native American Water Protectors movement at the Dakota Pipeline are explicit. Construction of the TMT has been repeatedly delayed. Protest demonstrations in various forms have spread beyond the site to all of the Hawaiian Islands and to the mainland, and are now receiving international recognition.

It is not my purpose here to review in detail the elements of this controversy. There is an abundant and growing archive of materials on this topic that is easily available online. (See, for example, the useful recent summary published by Inside Higher Education.) It must, however, be mentioned that the principle objections to the TMT are not tantamount to a simple anti-science position. Many of the leading kia‘i are, in fact, well-educated professionals and college instructors. Several have argued that one of their principle concerns is that the plans for the TMT ignore likely far-reaching and negative environmental consequences that are predicted both by mainstream Western science and by traditional Hawaiian scientific concepts. Quite apart from the Mauna Kea issue, some Hawaiian residents are deeply concerned about the costs of overdevelopment fueled by external investment. The economics of who is most likely to directly benefit and who may be priced out of life on these islands is a matter of concern expressed by many. More emotionally, some opponents of the TMT cite the continued pain of historical trauma and near-obliteration to which Native Hawaiians and their culture have been subjected as a matter of historical record.

Current protests are sometimes referred to as a manifestation of a contemporary Third Hawaiian Renaissance. The kia‘i explicitly appeal to a public beyond those who claim Native Hawaiian ancestry. (Not all people with Native Hawaiian ancestry support the protesters, it must be said.) The kia‘i include quite a few prominent members of the hula community. I have observed expressions of support for “protecting the Mauna” at many of the hula-related Hawaiian cultural events I have attended since 2014, and describe some of these below.

Arguments in favor of the TMT focus on the potential scientific knowledge that could one day benefit all humankind, the jobs and revenue that might benefit the area, and the political importance of having the world’s largest telescope on American soil, available to scientists of all nations. There is already an Extremely Large Telescope (ELT) – yes, that is a thing – under construction in Chile, and if the TMT at Mauna Kea is blocked, there is a proposal to build it in Spain.
instead. As a non-Hawaiian anthropological observer, I perceive here the elements of a battle between competing nationalisms: proponents are motivated at least partly by a vision of the State of Hawaii and the U.S.A. as the most patriotic and otherwise politically and economically desirable site for a prestigious international project; opponents (kia‘i) are motivated at least partly by a vision of a symbolically un-recolonized Mauna Kea, and the potentially restorative power of a revitalized awareness of the monarchy and the gods for advancing indigenous Hawaiian rights and culture. It is impossible not to reference Benedict Anderson’s seminal discussion on nations as “imagined communities” (Anderson 2016). The capacity for nationalisms to reactively replicate themselves virally has advanced markedly in this modern era of rapid travel and electronic communication. Below, I note some examples of kia‘i support that I have encountered on the mainland and in Hawaii.

The Anthropologist as Participant Observer

I have long understood how politicized hula is, but my first personal experience with the Mauna Kea issue occurred at the 2014 E Hula Mau hula competition (the largest on the mainland) in Long Beach. The event includes optional workshops given by well-known formal hula teachers, kumu. That year, I took the workshop offered by Iwalani Kalima, who resides and teaches on Hawaii Island and frequently has her school (halau) perform at Volcano National Park. She taught a hula dance she had choreographed to a song about the snow goddess Poliahu. As is usual at such workshops and in all serious hula classes, she carefully explained the reason for her selection of the song, its layers of meaning, and her choreographed interpretation as being explicitly in support of protecting Mauna Kea from the planned TMT development. She also offered shawls printed with the tattoo-like symbol of the mountain and the movement. These shawls have been printed in Hawaii and have been sold widely to publicize the issue and to raise money for the many activities of the kia‘i who travel to and camp on the mountain, and who travel to many venues (even on the mainland) to educate the public about the movement. Iwalani Kalima, famed also as a student of the late hula master George Na‘ope, co-founder of the Merrie Monarch Festival, continues in this activist endeavor and appeared again as a judge and workshop teacher at E Hula Mau this year, 2019. Her stance is understandable precisely because of her prominence on Hawaii Island, and because almost all hula teachers today (Native Hawaiian or not) present themselves as activists in the promotion of treasured symbols of Hawaiian traditional culture.

This year at E Hula Mau, I joined a hula workshop of over 50 people that was taught by the event Master of Ceremonies, Frank Kawaikapuokalani Hewett, a renowned composer and hula master. During the previous days of the competition, he had led the audience through a number of Hawaiian songs, chants, prayers, invocations, and hula moves that reaffirmed profound respect for Hawaiian history and culture. He offered expert commentary on the deeper cultural meaning of all that was being presented in this four-day event, as he has for many years. This year, he mentioned several times that he is of a Hawaiian generation that had demonstrated to get the United States Navy to cease using the small island of Kaho‘olawe for target practice, after forcing the inhabitants off. This struggle, which had once seemed a hopeless “David and Goliath” story, had ultimately succeeded, he reminded us, so he announced he was throwing his own support behind the kia‘i. To reaffirm this message, he taught a hula at the workshop expressly on this theme, based on his choreography and his own musical composition, as performed by popular Hawaiian musician and singer Sean Na‘auao. The song calls on people from each of the Hawaiian islands to pay attention to what is happening and righteously care for their lands. It ends with the spirited chant, “E Ku Kia‘i Mauna!” Original choreography and music are carefully “gifted” in Hawaiian cultural practice on most occasions, but in this case, we were instructed to share this hula widely. A recording of the dance made by local videographer John Bryant can be seen on YouTube here, under the title “Eo E Ka Lahui Workshop at E Hula Mau” (with permission).
In August, 2019, I attended the 7th Annual Kumukahi Hula and Ukulele Festival in Las Vegas, an event that is organized by a famous hula school located in Carson, California, Hula Halau ‘O Lilinoe, founded by Hawaiian-born Sissy and Lincoln Kaio. This school was profiled in the PBS program, “American Aloha: Hula Beyond Hawaii.” The hula workshop was offered by the family’s son, Pele Kaio, who is an instructor of Hawaiian Studies at Hawai‘i Community College. In July, Pele had conducted a cultural demonstration about Ku Kia‘i Mauna at the Forty-First Annual Ho’olaulea Hawaiian Festival in Alondra Park, California, which is hosted by the Hawaiian Inter-Club Council of Southern California and is the biggest such festival on the mainland. At Kumukahi this year, he provided instruction on six specific Hawaiian chants (printed words provided) and dance movements that are daily performed at the occupation site on Mauna Kea by the kia‘i and supporters, as he is himself deeply involved in the movement there. Pele explained that all were welcome to join the kia‘i on the mountain to perform these chants and dances, which are widely broadcast on social media and television. When the workshop concluded, we were encouraged to participate in a simulcast of “Jam 4 Mauna Kea” by performing two highly patriotic Hawaiian songs, Ku Ha‘aheo and Hawaii Loa, at precisely the moment these were being performed by the kia‘i on Mauna Kea itself. A video of the performance in Las Vegas and the performance on Mauna Kea can be seen on YouTube.

A brief trip to Hawaii this year included a stop a local kava bar in the heart of the Kona coast, a few miles from Mauna Kea. Kava is a traditional Pacific Island drink that usually accompanies discussion, especially of a political nature. Its use has been revived as part of the contemporary Hawaiian Renaissance, and such bars can now be found all over the islands and on the mainland in California. This kava bar, Kanaka Kava (the work “kanaka” refers to Native Hawaiians), is heavily decorated with signage supporting the cause. The managers are a young Native Hawaiian woman anthropologist and her partner who farm the kava a few miles from Mauna Kea. They are deeply involved in the kia‘i movement, and the woman enthusiastically explained her experiences with it. She strongly suggested that those interested consult the movement website (https://www.protectmaunakea.net/) and follow their efforts on Facebook and Instagram as well. She was especially proud of the work being done on the mountain to establish an indigenous ranger program and a university annex (Pu‘uhonua o Pu‘uhuluhulu), with the

Printed Hawaiian words for a powerful chant and hula performed on Mauna Kea by kia‘i. The words reference the need to respect Pele, the all-important and temperamental goddess of the volcano, who created each of the five volcanic mountains on Hawaii Island.
support of many students and faculty at the University of Hawaii in Hilo, where she attended.

Some expressions of support for the *kia‘i* that I have observed in the hula community are mild, and include vending and wearing tee shirts, jewelry, and other items bearing the distinctive, tattoo-like symbol of the mountain that was printed on the shawls mentioned earlier. These minor tokens of sympathy for this issue have become common at hula events, and could well be normalizing and sweetening the message for the general public who are not themselves Native Hawaiians, not passionate *kia‘i*, or not even of Hawaiian residential status or background. Because the number of Native Hawaiians is relatively small, reaching out to the wider public has been strategically helpful in revitalizing hula and the Hawaiian language, and may also create the necessary leverage for Hawaiian cultural advocates to sway public opinion on sensitive political and economic issues like those surrounding Mauna Kea.

**Reference Cited**

Anderson, Benedict


Clockwise from lower left: Flag supporting the movement, on sale at E Hula Mau in Long Beach, California; Shirt on sale at the E Hula Mau hula festival in Long Beach 2019; Carved gourd with incised and painted image of King Kamehameha I, raffled at the Whittier College Shannon Performing Arts Center to support local Hawaiian civic clubs and the Aloha Music Series of concerts that bring musicians and dancers from Hawaii to California; Earrings made of local Hawaiian wood, depicting symbol of Mauna Kea; Magnets with slogans in support of the movement on sale at the Shannon Center concert series in Whittier [most of the attendees and vendors dance hula]; Close-up of magnet; Tee shirt for sale at the Establishment Day festival, “We know that our land is enough, it is time to establish this independence of our ‘aina (land).” Depictions of sailing and taro farming refer to two domains of Hawaiian cultural revitalization.
Well-Being as a Multidimensional Concept: Understanding Connections among Culture, Community, and Health
Edited by Janet M. Page-Reeves (2019)
Rowman & Littlefield, 460 pages

Well-Being as a Multidimensional Concept highlights the ways that culture and community influence concepts of wellness, the experience of well-being, and health outcomes. This book includes both theoretical conceptualizations and practice-based explorations from a multidisciplinary group of contributors, including distinguished, widely celebrated senior experts as well as emerging voices in the fields of health promotion, health research, clinical practice, community engagement, and health system policy. Using a social science approach, the contributors explore the interface among culture, community, and well-being in terms of theory and research frameworks; culture, community and relationships; food; health systems; and collaboration, policy, messaging, and data. The chapters in this collection provide a broader understanding of well-being and its role as a culturally embedded and multidimensional concept. This collection furthers our ability to apprehend social and cultural constructs and dynamics that influence health and well-being and to better understand factors that contribute to or prevent health disparities.

Rowman & Littlefield

New book by SWAA President Janet Page-Reeves

Archeology from Space: How the Future Shapes Our Past
By Sarah Parcak (2019)
Henry Holt and Company, 288 pages

National Geographic Explorer and TED Prize-winner Dr. Sarah Parcak welcomes you to the exciting new world of space archaeology, a growing field that is sparking extraordinary discoveries from ancient civilizations across the globe. In Archaeology from Space, Sarah Parcak shows the evolution, major discoveries, and future potential of the young field of satellite archaeology. From surprise advancements after the declassification of spy photography, to a new map of the mythical Egyptian city of Tanis, she shares her field’s biggest discoveries, revealing why space archaeology is not only exciting, but urgently essential to the preservation of the world’s ancient treasures. Parcak has worked in twelve countries and four continents, using multispectral and high-resolution satellite imagery to identify thousands of previously unknown settlements, roads, fortresses, palaces, tombs, and even potential pyramids. From there, her stories take us back in time and across borders, into the day-to-day lives of ancient humans whose traits and genes we share. And she shows us that if we heed the lessons of the past, we can shape a vibrant future.

Amazon

Slime: How Algae Created Us, Plague Us, and Just Might Save Us
By Ruth Kassinger (2019)
Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 320 pages

“No organisms are more important to life as we know it than algae. In Slime, Ruth Kassinger gives this under-appreciated group its due.” —Elizabeth Kolbert

Say “algae” and most people think of pond scum. What they don’t know is that without algae, none of us would exist. There are as many algae on Earth as stars in the universe, and they have been essential to life on our planet for eons. Algae created the Earth we know today, with its oxygen-rich atmosphere, abundant oceans, and coral reefs. Crude oil is made of dead algae, and algae are the ancestors of all plants. Today, seaweed production is a multi-billion dollar industry, with algae hard at work to make your sushi, chocolate milk, beer, paint, toothpaste, shampoo and so much more. In Slime we’ll meet the algae innovators working toward a sustainable future: from seaweed farmers in South Korea, to scientists using it to clean the dead zones in our waterways, to the entrepreneurs fighting to bring algae fuel and plastics to market. With a multitude of lively, surprising science and history, Ruth Kassinger takes readers on an around-the-world, behind-the-scenes, and into-the-kitchen tour. Whether you thought algae was just the gunk in your fish tank or you eat seaweed with your oatmeal, Slime will delight and amaze with its stories of the good, the bad, and the up-and-coming.

Amazon
**Books by 2020 Distinguished Speaker Dr. Emily Mendenhall**

**Rethinking Diabetes: Entanglements with Trauma, Poverty, and HIV**  
By Emily Mendenhall (2019)  
Cornell University Press, 240 pages

In *Rethinking Diabetes*, Emily Mendenhall investigates how global and local factors transform how diabetes is perceived, experienced, and embodied from place to place. Mendenhall argues that the link between sugar and diabetes overshadows the ways in which underlying biological processes linking hunger, oppression, trauma, unbridled stress, and chronic mental distress produce diabetes. The life history narratives in the book show how deeply embedded these factors are in the ways diabetes is experienced and (re)produced among poor communities around the world.

*Rethinking Diabetes* focuses on the stories of women living with diabetes near or below the poverty line in urban settings in the United States, India, South Africa, and Kenya. Mendenhall shows how women's experiences of living with diabetes cannot be dissociated from their social responsibilities of caregiving, demanding family roles, expectations, and gendered experiences of violence that often displace their ability to care for themselves first. These case studies reveal the ways in which a global story of diabetes overlooks the unique social, political, and cultural factors that produce syndemic diabetes differently across contexts.

From the case studies, *Rethinking Diabetes* clearly provides some important parallels for scholars to consider: significant social and economic inequalities, health systems that are a mix of public and private (with substandard provisions for low-income patients), and rising diabetes incidence and prevalence. At the same time, Mendenhall asks us to unpack how social, cultural, and epidemiological factors shape people's experiences and why we need to take these differences seriously when we think about what drives diabetes and how it affects the lives of the poor.

[Amazon](https://www.amazon.com)

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**Syndemic Suffering: Social Distress, Depression and Diabetes among Mexican Immigrant Women**  
By Emily Mendenhall (2016 edition)  
Routledge, 145 pages

In a major contribution to the study of diabetes, this book is the first to analyze the disease through a syndemic framework. An innovative, mixed-methods study, Emily Mendenhall shows how adverse social conditions, such as poverty and oppressive relationships, disproportionately stress certain populations and expose them to disease clusters. She goes beyond epidemiological research that has linked diabetes and depression, revealing how broad structural inequalities play out in the life histories of individuals, families, and communities, and lead to higher rates of mortality and morbidity. This intimate portrait of syndemic suffering is a model study of chronic disease disparity among the poor in high income countries and will be widely read in public health, medical anthropology, and related fields.

[Routledge](https://www.routledge.com)

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**Editor’s note: What is a Syndemic?**

A **syndemic** or synergistic epidemic is the aggregation of two or more concurrent or sequential epidemics or disease clusters in a population with biological interactions, which exacerbate the prognosis and burden of disease. The term was developed by Merrill Singer in the mid-1990s.  

The SWAA Newsletter is published quarterly in Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter by the Southwestern Anthropological Association.

We welcome your submissions!

Submissions should be sent to: beerickson@fullerton.edu or to Barbra Erickson at CSU Fullerton, 800 N. State College Blvd. Division of Anthropology, Fullerton, CA 92831. Phone: (657) 278-5697

Due Date: 1st of the month of publication for Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter issues (approximately March 1, June 1, September 1, December 1). Authors, please include a brief statement describing your interests and affiliation.

Newsletter Editor, Barbra Erickson.
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