Greetings from Oaxaca, where despite heavy rains, I am enjoying baseball games and visiting with friends and family. I write this from the balcony of the Hotel Victoria, which sits on a mountainside overlooking the valley of Oaxaca. The Zapotec ruin Monte Albán sits atop a flattened mountain to my right, the beautiful Templo Santo Domingo is down below, and the view of the mountains still takes my breath away after 30 years of research. Oaxaca has been my home away from home when school is not in session at California State University Long Beach, where I teach in the Anthropology Department and Latin American Studies program.

It is a pleasure to write my first message as SWAA President while soaking up these spectacular sights and the city’s rich cultural mosaic after the excellent SWAA conference in Albuquerque. Heartfelt thanks to outgoing President Janet Page-Reeves whose Herculean efforts organizing this and the 2021 virtual SWAA conference leave huge shoes to fill after that much-needed chance to share our research together. After two years without an in-person conference, it was wonderful to reconnect with old friends and a pleasure to meet new folks. There were outstanding papers, panels, roundtable discussants and films and posters. I was reminded of the first SWAA conference I attended more than 15 years ago, the conference former president Kim Martin had organized in Pasadena. The welcoming atmosphere there drew my students who accompanied me into the SWAA fold. This sense of community and the solid scholarship they heard made the students who attended the 2022 conference very excited to attend next year. And to make the experience even better, there is a wealth of Oaxacan art to be seen when visiting shops in Old Town Albuquerque. This was a powerful reminder that communities in the American southwest have been and remain tied into global networks.

This sense of globalization carries into the 2023 conference, which we began working on in Albuquerque. SWAA 2023 will be in Los Angeles, which seems fitting as SWAA had originally formed in the 1920s through the efforts of anthropologists from New Mexico and the greater Los Angeles area. (You can read the full history of SWAA, originally the Southwestern Archaeological Federation, on the SWAA Website: https://swaa-anthro.org/early-history-of-swaa/).

I’m excited to announce that the conference theme is “The Global City.” You may well ask, “What are global cities, and how does my research fit the theme?” In broad brushstrokes, these urban areas are economic and political hubs marked by a rich social fabric shaped by international cultures and influences. As a nexus of immigration, media, politics and business, Los Angeles exemplifies this concept, as do communities across the southwest and beyond. The breadth of this concept provides opportunities for individual presentations, organized sessions (in traditional or salon and roundtable format), films and podcasts, and posters on a range of topics dealing with historical, material, linguistic, social and political aspects of local manifestations of broad processes.
It would be great for those who work in these broad areas to propose presentations that speak to issues of material culture, artistic expressions, genetics, immigration, tourism, food, health, communication, production and exchanges, laws and policies, and community relations. In other words, we welcome discussions and visual presentations that explore local manifestations of myriad aspects of global processes in the past and present. At the same time, **not all submissions need to address the conference theme. We also invite abstracts** that explore other areas of ethnography, linguistic anthropology, archaeology and physical anthropology. All research and perspectives are valued equally in the review process and at the conference.

Many thanks to SWAA board members who are helping with organizing, including Vice President-Program Chair Barbra Erickson, Treasurer Andre Yefremian, Communications Chair Hilarie Kelly, and Jonathan Karpf, who will soon be stepping down as Local Arrangements Chair after years of service. We will be providing details about things to do in LA – with lists of museums, restaurants, amazing architecture (including Union Station) and tours (to Griffith Park Observatory, Hollywood, foodie spots and many others). We’ll also provide information about how to reach LA – some of you will drive, but there are also multiple airports in the area – of course, LAX, but smaller airports in Burbank, Santa Ana/Irvine and Long Beach are relatively close. And for those like me who prefer trains, Amtrak and local trains run into Union Station, a must see for those who appreciate art deco architecture.

Please be on the lookout for the Fall 2022 newsletter coming out in **September/October**, which will contain the Call for Papers and more details about the April 2023 dates and conference hotel, as well as information about registration. **We also have a number of Board positions whose terms are up.** A special announcement will be sent out soon to the membership with details on position description, nominations, and election procedure.

Jayne Howell
2022-2023 SWAA President
Images from the Conference
All photos courtesy of Hilarie Kelly. These and other photos will be posted on the SWAA Facebook page.

Clockwise from top left: Albuquerque from a hotel room window; the beautiful lobby of Hotel Albuquerque; Premsyl Macha (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences) presenting in Session 9; Film festival Sessions 12 and 15, with Anthony Fleg (UNM Native Health Initiative) and Leah Lewis (NSRGNts Art Collective); Virtual Reality Demonstration (CSU Long Beach); Suzanne Scheld (CSU Northridge) [left] and Jayne Howell (CSU Long Beach) in Session 14.
Clockwise from top left: Liam Espinoza-Zemlicka (UC Riverside) and Logan Kruger (CSU Long Beach) Session 10; Poster display and discussions near registration table; Saturday Membership Meeting, [l. to r.] Barbra Erickson (CSU Fullerton), Lawrence Ramirez (UC Riverside), William Fairbanks (Cuesta College) and Carol Fairbanks; Jayne Howell, SWAA Vice President and Program Chair (CSU Long Beach), Janet Page-Reeves, SWAA President (UNM) and Jonathan Karpf, SWAA Board Chair (CSU San Jose) leading the Membership Meeting; Liam Murphy (CSU Sacramento) and one of his slides on Neopagan Cosplay [inset], with Patricia MacEwen (CSU Sacramento) and William Fairbanks (Cuesta College), Session 17; Maribel Alverson (Southwestern University) and Lawrence Ramirez (UC Riverside) Session 11.
Clockwise from top left: Joylin Namie (Truckee Meadows Community College), presenting her research in Session 9; Kayla Hoy [left](CSU Northridge) with Janni Pedersen (UC San Diego); Noelle Chin discussing her poster with Trevor Pollom and Allyssa Chua; Silent Auction items in the Book Room; Volunteers at the Registration Table; Kathie Zaretsky working the Book Room [with a broken arm!]; Banquet Speaker Emily Mendenhall’s book on sale in the Book Room [inset]; Steven Wong (CSU Long Beach) practicing D.E.I. Learning Facilitator; Tammy Phan (CSU Long Beach) with her poster.
Janet Page-Reeves, outgoing SWAA President, opens the Banquet festivities.

Board Chair Jonathan Karpf congratulates Aremenuhi Ghazaryan for Honorable Mention in the student Poster Competition.

Left: [l. to r.] Andrea Kalvesmaki (University of Utah), Gabrielle Scott (UNM), and Maribel Alverson (Southwestern University). Right: Kevin Zemlicka (CSU Northridge) with Banquet Speaker Emily Mendenhall.

Emily Mendenhall (Georgetown University), the 2022 Banquet Speaker, begins her talk.

Noelle Chin (CSU Long Beach) with Barbra Erickson (CSU Fullerton).

Participating students from CSU Northridge: [l. to r.] Danielle Contreras, Mychaela Langlois, and Kayla Hoy.

Louise Lamphere (UNM), foreground, photographs Suzanne Scheld (CSU Northridge) on right, with students.
We are an undergraduate/graduate student duo from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Trevor Pollom is in the final year of his PhD program, where his dissertation research has emphasized the changing lifeways and landscapes of Hadza hunter-gatherers in Northern Tanzania. Upon graduating, Trevor will be seeking professional research opportunities in the private industry (or a postdoctoral position - if the right offer comes along). Allyssa Chua is an undergraduate entering her senior year and will write a research paper in regards to Feminist International Relations that can possibly be combined with anthropological methods. Plans for her future career involve policy making, data analytics, and possible research projects in the combination of both Anthropology and Political Science.
Noelle Chin recently graduated with a Bachelor's degree in Anthropology from California State University, Long Beach and is working towards a career that integrates food culture and public health. She is currently engaging in an ethnographic study focusing on the environmental health of her hometown of San Francisco. Outside of research, her interests include making pottery, gardening, and cooking for friends.

The Need for Anthropology in Infection-Related Gastric Cancer

Noelle Chin
Department of Anthropology
California State University, Long Beach

INTRODUCTION

Gastric cancer (GC) is one of the leading causes of cancer deaths in the world but is largely regarded as preventable as it is highly associated with Helicobacter pylori (H. pylori) infections. Due to the evolutionary, ecological, and cultural complexities involved within the distribution and experience of infectious disease, this research aims to demonstrate how cancer intervention efforts could benefit from medical anthropological perspectives. This is a part of a larger project examining World Health Organization (WHO) incidence and mortality data on 24 cancer sites to recommend biocultural approaches within international cancer intervention research.

BACKGROUND

- H. pylori has been identified as a class I carcinogen by the WHO since 1994 and is associated with almost 90% of GC cases
- Afflicts 50% of the global population but only 5% progress to GC
- Most GC cases are diagnosed at later stages, biomedical researchers seek to understand how H. pylori leads to GC and develop technologies to intervene

This research aimed to evaluate how H. pylori-induced GC is discussed within biomedical research to address how anthropological perspectives on infectious disease distribution and embodiment could improve upon understandings of this disease process.

METHODOLGY

Quantitative
1. Obtained GLOBOCAN mortality and incidence data from years 2012, 2016, 2020 for 30 countries
2. Compared treatment effectiveness and cancer burden for each country relative to population size

Treatment Effectiveness
- Cancer burden: Mortality (yrs of life lost) and Incidence (yrs of cases) per 100,000 Population (yrs from the United Nations)

Qualitative
Critical Literature Review
- Investigated journal articles published since 2001 on PubMed, GoogleScholar, and ScienceDirect databases using "gastric cancer" and "H. pylori" as search terms
- Examined patterns in researchers' observations and terminology to assess how an anthropological perspective could be applied

RESULTS

Figure 1. Female and male mortality rates for stomach cancer in 2012, 2016, 2020
- Japan and South Korea observed low incidence rates but the lowest rate of deaths to cases diagnosed
- European countries such as Belgium, Croatia, Italy, Slovakia, and Ukraine are seen with smaller incidence rates but higher mortality rates
- Brazil and Costa Rica also have larger mortality with smaller incidence rates
- Australia, Israel, and the United States have the smallest incidence rates and average mortality rates compared to other countries

CONCLUSIONS

The complex dynamics of genetics, environment, and culture within H. pylori-induced carcinogenesis cannot be easily addressed by biomedicine. Anthropological perspectives are uniquely suited to studying such dynamics and should be involved in future research on the subject.

REFERENCES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
I would like to thank Dr. Ashley Carter from the California State University, Long Beach Biological Sciences Department for their mentorship and continued guidance in the development of this research.

SECOND PLACE POSTER
“The Need for Anthropology in Infection-Related Gastric Cancer”
By Noelle Chin
The Importance of Diversity and Inclusion (DEI) within the Scientific Workplace: Underpinnings of Innovation and Well-Being

By Kayla Hoy

Introduction:
In recent years, DEI in the scientific workplace has become a growing concern. The underrepresentation of diverse perspectives and experiences in scientific research can lead to a narrower range of innovative ideas and missed opportunities for collaboration. DEI is an essential component of a successful scientific community. Studies have shown that diversity and inclusion can lead to improved outcomes, increased innovation, and better problem-solving abilities. Therefore, fostering DEI in the scientific workplace is crucial for promoting innovation and well-being.

Methodology:
My research is based on a literature review of peer-reviewed articles and books on DEI in STEM and the anthropology of diversity. I used qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze the data. This research focuses on the importance of DEI in STEM and how it impacts scientific research and innovation.

Results: Compelling Theories
Optimal Diversity and Inclusion (ODI)
• ODI is a framework that considers the diversity of individuals in a group or organization.
• ODI is a measure of the degree to which a group or organization is diverse.

Results: Introduction
The Importance of Diversity and Inclusion (DEI) within the Scientific Workplace: Underpinnings of Innovation and Well-Being

By Kayla Hoy

My name is Kayla Hoy, and I recently graduated from California State University, Northridge, with a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology this past May of 2022. I am currently a research associate for The Autonomy Research Center for STEAHM (ARCS). Before my introduction to the discipline of anthropology, I spent time as a business major at a community college. My interest in anthropology and business has propelled my personal goal of becoming a Human Resource Manager, where I plan to apply an anthropological toolkit to the workplace. During my free time, I enjoy exploring painting techniques, cooking new foods, and being in the company of loved ones.

Conclusions:
• If you use today’s language to assess anthropology’s contributions to the complex dialogues of diversity, inclusion, and DEI-related literature, then you will miss the long-standing implementation of anthropology’s role in appreciating diversity.
• DEI is anthropological; however, the main discourse currently comes from sources outside of anthropology.
• Anthropology can change the tendency for understandings of diversity to be homogenized by providing a deeper understanding of diversity to promote healthy DEI-related change.
• Healthy teamwork and team dynamics within the scientific workplace contribute to wellbeing through valuing all components of human diversity while actively fostering an inclusive environment (2.4.5.6.8.11).
• Anthropologists can be employed to identify patterns of underlying behavior in STEM: encourage intercultural understandings for teams, and offer guidance in linguistic sensitivity to promote change related to DEI within teamwork and team dynamics in the globalized scientific workplace (8.8.16).
• Innovation is made possible through scientific collaboration, however, this begins with healthy teamwork and individual wellbeing which is fostered through the values in which DEI centered change and anthropology promotes.

End Notes:
Armenuhi Ghazaryan
Autonomy Research Center for STEAHM (ARCS) Fellow, California State University, Northridge

Hi! Here is a little bit about me. I have recently graduated from CSUN with a BA in Psychology and a Minor in Anthropology, and I’m excited to pursue myPsy.D. in clinical psychology. My goal is to establish my practice working with the disability community! I would love to integrate ceramics into my sessions because working with clay has always been therapeutic for me. A fun fact about me: I was born with a disability called Cerebral Palsy and I want to have a positive impact on peoples’ lives and help them overcome their challenges!


The New Foucauldian Boomergang

The history of drone use in reportorial campaigns continues the trend of "Foucauldian Boomergang." Military-grade technology made their way onto the Tenderloin, after being used in the Middle East.

In the first day of data collection, Fomich and Stelkes (2010) noted that a large number of participants had witnessed drone在生活中 while αending that the drones’ most prominent feature was the drone's ability to fly higher and slower than the previous generation of drone technology. Participants noted that the drones’ ability to fly higher and slower than the previous generation of drone technology was a notable improvement.

van Wijk (2010) suggests that the drone operates in an environment where the technology is used to integrate with a new generation of drone technologies.

A Panoptic Gaze

Some have argued that drones present a panoptic gaze, based on their ability to monitor and record.” Local police forces, in turn, are charged with keeping the public safe. However, recent events have raised concerns about the use of drone technology in law enforcement. The role of the drone in law enforcement is being scrutinized.

Living Under Surveillance

Several studies have examined the psychosocial effects of drones on civilians in the context of war. Boone (2010) concluded that living under drone surveillance and the new drone technology leads to social isolation, self-identification, and depersonalization.

In a series of 20 semi-structured interviews, Boone (2010) found that individuals who lived under drone surveillance found the drones to be a source of fear, anxiety, and depression. Individuals who lived under drone surveillance found the drones to be a source of fear, anxiety, and depression.

In another study, Pinter and Jones (2011) found that they commonly lived in fear of a drone nearby. "As a terror group, they commonly lived in fear of a drone nearby. "As a terror group, they commonly lived in fear of a drone nearby.

Similar patterns of self-censorship were described by Al (2010), who observed and interviewed Muslim youth that lived under the glare of police surveillance in New York City (2010).

In such environments, studies have observed that the use of drones in law enforcement can lead to increased community anxiety and fear of violence.

The Role of the Human Actor: Law Enforcement

Police departments have already begun incorporating drones into law enforcement efforts. They have been used by police to monitor protests (2010, 2018), and show their capacity to identify unusual patterns, may be an effective means of investigating the illegal dumping of toxic waste (2010, 2018).

Some police departments have already begun using drones to respond and investigate reported crimes in Ohio. Yet, in a city near to the campuses in our study, drones can provide a better overview of crime and accident scenes, more manageable when pursuing criminals, and increased officer safety (2020).

However, drone use by persons in authority may exacerbate already stereotypical relationships between law enforcement and citizens because the power of the user is visible but not readily identifiable (Henderson, 2020).

Research shows that the use of drones by law enforcement can cause officers to become more contemptuous of those being monitored (Riccardi, 2020).

Further evidence suggests that when an interpretation of the human body is generated by technology, identification of criminal behavior may rely less on legal transgressions and more on a subject’s physical characteristics (Riccardi et al., 2020).

How Would YOU Answer...

We are curious to learn what you think about drones.

What comes to mind when you think about drones?

How would you feel about your campus or your campus police services using drones?

Please describe some advantages of drone use that you can imagine for your campus' police services.

What’s Next?

We will employ ethnographic methods to study the psychosocial effects of drone use by police at California State University Northridge.

We want to illustrate ways that college students and campus police perceive each other's use of technology in policing. We will conduct 30 semi-structured interviews with CSUN students and police.

We will be looking to see how our data may inform a set of recommendations to law enforcement and departments that values public concerns and perceptions of technology into account.
ABSTRACTS of WINNING POSTERS

First Place: Trevor Pollom and Allyssa Chua, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Landscape Change in Northern Tanzania: Implications for Indigenous Peoples

Abstract: The landscapes of Indigenous peoples are rapidly changing in the 21st century. There is no place where this is truer than in the Lake Eyasi Basin of Northern Tanzania, where environmental changes have implications for the lifestyle of local communities. We investigate the landscape alterations that are occurring in this region, and the effects that landscape transformations might have on local peoples. Of particular interest to us is the well-being of Hadza hunter-gatherers, whom have long been the interest of anthropologists working in the area. For decades, anthropologists have argued that the environment occupied by the Hadza may be eroding, but there have been no systematic attempts to quantify landscape changes in the region. The current study fills this gap in the literature by using satellite imagery to measure landcover change in and around areas that have been historically occupied by this community. We utilize medium-resolution imagery (Landsat 4-8) to understand the landscape characteristics of the Lake Eyasi Basin. Analyzing the region across multiple timepoints, we utilized a Normalized Difference Vegetation Index to estimate the density/health of vegetation in the study area. These data will help contextualize 40 years of anthropological research in the region and describe the current conditions of the landscape, offering a baseline for future research on ecological change. This study offers an important macro-level perspective on the challenges Hadza peoples (and their neighbors) face in the 21st century, and demonstrates the value of using satellite imagery to contextualize anthropological fieldwork.

Second Place: Noelle Chin, CSU Long Beach
The Need for Anthropology in Infection-Related Gastric Cancer

Abstract: Globally, 19 million new cancer cases are diagnosed with nearly 10 million people dying annually. Gastric cancer (GC) is one of the leading causes of cancer deaths in the world and is widely considered to be preventable, as over ninety percent of cases are attributed to Helicobacter pylori (H. pylori) infections. This research is a part of a larger project analyzing incidence and treatment effectiveness rates of different cancers across multiple countries. The aim of this study is to provide recommendations for how treatment effectiveness could improve from biocultural perspectives. I conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses of World Health Organization (WHO) data from years 2012, 2018, and 2020 to investigate the international incidence and treatment effectiveness of GC. Incidence per population and mortality per incidence ratios were calculated for thirty countries. Recent journal articles on H. pylori-induced GC (HPGC) were critically reviewed to ascertain how the disease is discussed in global health literature. Countries identified as "high risk" for HPGC in the literature had the lowest rates of cancer mortality compared to other countries observed. Most literature on the topic has discussed increased risk in terms of national income or development and adverse behavioral habits without examination into how these situations came to be. For example, our data highlights the "Asian enigma" seen in Singapore where different ethnic groups have varied cancer etiologies could be related to differences in cultural practices, rather than genetic variation. Because HPGC is complex, future research would benefit from input by medical anthropologists.

Third Place: Kayla Hoy, CSU Northridge
The Importance of Diversity and Inclusion (DEI) within the Scientific Workplace: Underpinnings of Innovation and Well-Being

Abstract: According to the publication, “Diversity in STEM: What It Is and Why It Matters,” Nicholas Segura explains that 75% of the American population is underrepresented in the scientific workplace. The increasing recognition of DEI within the organizational culture of the scientific workforce is shifting the typical narrative of how innovation is cultivated by emphasizing the importance of DEI within team dynamics. Innovation is dependent on complex degrees of the diversity of human experience and perspectives. This influences not only the technical but the social components of teamwork. When successfully cultivated, DEI is directly correlated with increased employee retention, career advancements, employee wellbeing, and higher rates of innovation (Page 2008, Le et al. 2017, Nair and Vohra 2015). Despite the clearly stated positive linkage to innovation and wellbeing, the rhetoric of DEI is complex and is slowly being addressed in organizational culture as there is no “one-size-fits-all” plan for change. Based on literature reviews focused on DEI, STEM, and the anthropology of teamwork, my poster discusses the importance of DEI in the scientific workplace and considers the ways that anthropology may be employed to study and promote change related to DEIG and healthy teamwork and team dynamics in STEM fields.

Honorable Mention: Armueni Ghazayan, CSU Northridge

Abstract: The increasing demand from the public and private sector to place Unmanned Aerial Systems (UAS) in the national airspace (NAS) continues to drive research. Apart from studies to address technical barriers to their implementation, social scientists have been drawn in to explore the social and cultural dimensions of UAS in the NAS. This project addresses questions and concerns regarding the need for an equitable rollout of UAS technologies by law enforcement. Ethnographic studies have demonstrated the need for caution when considering drone use by police. This is primarily due to their history as instruments of war, and the evidence suggesting that both drone operators and civilians suffer deleterious psychosocial effects when drones are used in military and policing contexts. When considering surveillance, drone use by persons in authority may exacerbate already asymmetrical relationships between law enforcement and civilians because the power of the user is visible but not readily identifiable. There is also a concern for the users of these technologies that must be addressed. Research shows that the level of detachment engendered by drone use in law enforcement can cause officers to become more contemptuous of those being monitored. Further evidence suggests that when an interpretation of the human body is augmented by technology, identification of criminal behavior may rely less on legal transgressions and more on a subject’s physical characteristics. For these reasons and with an eye to community well-being, I argue that UAS technologies should be adequately studied prior to their implementation by law enforcement.
Thinking Drones, Police, and Habitus in the Context of Community Well-Being

Rachel Rangel
Fellow, Autonomy Research Center for STEAHM
California State University, Northridge

ABSTRACT: The increasing prevalence of drones in the national airspace (NAS) is a topic that deserves the attention of anthropologists. As with other socio-technological systems these machines acquire meaning from the humans who operate and experience them. This becomes abundantly clear when drones are employed by law enforcement. The implementation of drones by police across the nation has overwhelmingly resulted in pushback by the communities they serve. Resistance to the use of drones is most often related to their perceived ability to place a panoptic gaze over communities that already feel over-policed. Conversely, local police departments are quick to cite favorable outcomes of drone use, and often become confused by pushback from the public. This paper explores the disjuncture that occurs with these competing narratives. I argue that revisiting Bourdieu’s notion of habitus is an effective way to begin thinking about the topic of drones and policing. Bourdieu states that the actions of any group's members are informed and conditioned by their organization’s prerogatives, expectations, and, crucially, their histories. It is through conditioning, by which members are awarded cultural capital, that certain actions gradually become perceived as rational—though that may not be the case outside of that settings’ boundaries. For this reason what appears to be a rational course of action for a police body may be perceived as completely irrational by community members. Ultimately, this paper explores the utility of Bourdieu’s theory when considering ethnographic research with police and community stakeholders and its connection to community well-being.

Introduction

The concept of this paper came from an ongoing ethnographic study entitled “Implementation of Unmanned Aerial Systems (UAS) in the National Airspace (NAS): Ethical Concerns and Best Practices for Law Enforcement.” In completing the literature review for the initial project, we came to understand that a large part of the tension between police organizations and our communities has to do with a fundamental difference in habitus and perceptual understanding. We anticipated that, because of those positional differences, the implementation of such a controversial technology like drones would be perceived differently by each group. This paper is an extension of that initial hypothesis and will utilize a literature review to explore the habitus and perceptions of both the community and of the police, understand how the two interact, and consider how the proposed habitus of drone technology factors into that context.

Habitus

For the purpose of this paper, it is important to establish a functional definition of habitus through which drones, policing, and community well-being will be understood. In Outline of a Theory of Practice (1977:72), Bourdieu writes that “the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment . . . produce habitus—structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures. . . . [T]he practices produced by the habitus [are] the strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations.” Bourdieu goes on to explain that, in an interaction between two groups of the same habitus, the resulting reaction is predictable through understood social cues (1977:73). In an interaction between two groups of different habitus, for example police and the broader community, the actions of one group may not be so clearly understood, eliciting a reaction that is unpredictable to the other. To understand their individual positionality, we must explore the unique habitus of each social group.
The Notion of Police Habitus

Historically, the police have been tasked with the goal of enforcing strict social hierarchy. Given that our American policing system originated largely from slave patrols, we can infer that the social hierarchy they were tasked with enforcing is rooted in racism, classism, and xenophobia. Being that this is the fundamental basis of our policing system, there is no question that police habitus operates very differently from that of the community at large. In the early 20th century, the mission of police forces changed. In what is known as the “Reform Era,” the primary objective of policing was no longer to maintain and regulate order, but, rather, to actively suppress crime (Go 2020). In pursuit of this objective, police departments hired former military leaders to restructure forces to resemble the American military. This transition, known as the militarization of the police, must also be factored into thinking about the nature of police habitus.

The socialization of police officers into military frameworks is quite complex. Initiation requires an understanding of social rules. In police departments, social rules are passed down from one generation of officers to another, encouraging the breeding and spreading of shared values (Chan 2004:328). By continuously participating in these espoused values, police officers gain social capital in the form of rankings, reputation, or alliance with other officers (Chan 2004:332). This participation works both ways, as the reward of social capital often influences them to act in accordance with other officers, regardless of whether they agree with the actions taking place. This is where the breeding and spreading of shared values can become dangerous. As noted by Chan, honesty, integrity, or other similar characteristics are not seen as valuable to the officers until some corruption becomes public (2004:333). Public perception of police is crucial to departments, as the identity of a police officer relies on reputation and a sense of prestige (Chan 2004). Without a social hierarchy that places officers above civilians, there is no power with which they can police a community. To maintain this power, strict social order is enforced. Furthermore, numerous studies have suggested that police departments rely on the culturally constructed idea of (white) masculinity and the power that comes with it to continue the status quo.

The white masculine doxa creates several problems. As mentioned previously, officers are rewarded with social capital when they participate in espoused values, and the masculine doxa rewards “physical prowess...while interpersonal skills and emotional support are devalued” (Chan 2004:336). This becomes dangerous in high-pressure situations where officers must make a split-second decision between de-escalation and the use of coercive violence. Officers are socialized to ‘think like a police officer’ in a way that makes them “more cynical and suspicious, more aware of the negative aspects of social life, and more likely to stereotype people” (Chan 2004:343). Officers are trained to stereotype people based on appearance, which data suggests virtually always includes racial identity, so they are primed to believe that the choice of coercive violence in that moment is the best choice. A police officer’s training requires them to view every person as a threat and, in doing that, classify them based on racial stereotypes. If we think back to the origins of police as slave patrols, with the goal of “unleashing terror” to deter revolts (Hassett-Walker 2021:3), one has to consider that racism is baked into the very structure of policing.

This use of coercive violence in that moment makes clear the fundamental difference between police bodies and communities. It all comes down to habitus: in a police decision-making structure, they are trained to believe that violence is a completely rational reaction. For outsiders, however, that violence may be seen as the product of years of structural racism, which makes it completely irrational. The highly racialized nature of policing can therefore normalize violence in the moment as necessary and even encourage it as a display of power and control. For officers with a tendency towards racism, their behavior is rewarded with social capital. For other officers, they may still choose to react in this way to save face in the presence of fellow officers. If they do not, they risk losing social capital in the form of support and respect from other officers. To maintain social capital, police officers are ‘encouraged’ to respect the code of silence. If an officer speaks out about the misconduct of another, even if it was the morally correct decision, they can face ostracization and lose the support of other officers. Police forces rely on the alliance of other officers to have a network of support while in the line of duty.

With reputation and prestige being crucial to a police force, we see a further evolution of those goals in the changes made at the turn of the millennia. The militarization of the police reached new levels after September 11, 2001. With a new “War on Terror” waged overseas, American police officers positioned themselves as the first line of defense against domestic terrorism (Katzenstein 2020). Though the surveillance drone was first introduced in the Gulf War, the War on Terror gave reasoning for the use of the weaponized drone, changing warfare and policing forever.

Toward a Habitus for Drones

Based on the year one study of this project by Romine and Steiner (Autonomy Research Center for STEAHM [ARCS] at CSU Northridge), we see that people often associate drones with theaters of war. The context of drones and bombing campaigns has also been shown to fuel a large part of many communities’ hesitations and fears regarding local implementation of drone technology by law enforcement. In 2016, Jensen predicted that we would see a “drone boom” within the next decade, and his predictions have come to pass. He proposed that the drone would be the next “boomerang technology,” a concept famously identified by Foucault. Foucault’s theory of the imperial boomerang posits that technologies are initially tested in theaters of war and eventually brought back into our communities through a process of normalization in a sort of reverse imperialism. Examples of this can be found with helicopters after the Korean War and Vietnam War making their way into law enforcement toolkits to police (and some have argued to over-police) low-income communities of color. The increasing implementation of drones by police departments across the country feels strikingly
analogous to helicopters and Foucauldian boomerangs. With this boomerang comes a collective fear that the technology, in this case, drones, will be used against communities rather than in their service (Foucault 2003). The existing context of drones fits neatly into police habitus, so it is only ‘natural’ that a militarized body such as a police department would want to take advantage of this technology.

A drone’s programming is developed with police and military habitus in mind. Autonomous military drones currently have two main frameworks for decision-making: the ‘top-down’ approach and the ‘bottom-up’ approach (de Swarte, Boufous, & Escalle 2019). In the top-down approach, an autonomous machine is programmed with so-called ‘golden rules’ of ethics, but those are subjective (Wallach, Allen, & Smit 2007). Everybody’s concept of right and wrong is informed by cultural experience, religious belief, political belief, etcetera. In the bottom-up approach, the artificial intelligence is trained to learn and discern ethical principles from case studies, which are also subjective. The fear then becomes that a police body can provide a case study that is completely unethical to the public but which identifies as ethical to the AI. If a police or military body were to recreate their specific ethical beliefs, the drone would rely on a decision-making structure with a biased moral compass. In this way, habitus can be created for and impressed upon the drone as it is programmed to make decisions based on a manufactured schema for decision-making informed by police subcultures. We cannot ignore that with this schema comes both racialized and gendered implications.

The primary usage for police drones today is surveillance, and the effectivity of police drone surveillance relies on Foucault’s concept of governmentality. According to Ali, governmentality is “evident in the disciplining of individuals and groups into assuming, or believing, that they are always being watched” (Ali 2016:79). The looming threat of a drone’s panoptic gaze should be enough of a deterrent to self-discipline, thus lowering crime rates. If we apply this theory to American policing practices, it is very easy to see how this constant policing will be misused. Many black and brown communities already express feelings of being overpoliced and the implementation of even more surveillance technology is likely, if not guaranteed, to worsen the problem (Gruhl & Combs 2016). Increasing the (over) surveillance of black and brown communities can have potentially devastating impacts on their well-being.

**Community Wellbeing**

Theorizing community habitus becomes complicated when racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic factors are considered. In this way, it is nearly impossible to clearly establish a habitus that works for every community. Each community is shaped and defined by their unique demographics, and those demographics inform their social relations and, often, political beliefs. According to a study done in 2019, community support for police drone use varies by racial and political demographics. Researchers found that respondents were more supportive of the use of drone surveillance for predominantly Black and Hispanic neighborhoods, and less supportive of the use of drone surveillance for predominantly white neighborhoods (Anania et al. 2019). One respondent said, “Since the so-called minorities cause most of the problems in America, monitoring them where they live seems to make sense” (Anania et al. 2019:98). That same study found that people identifying politically as conservatives were more likely to be supportive of drone surveillance than any other political affiliation, as well as experience less fear or hesitation (Anania et al. 2019:101). As we can see, opinions on drones and police in general vary greatly by political, racial, and socioeconomic demographics within a community. Conversely, police perceptions of communities vary widely by the demographics of the areas they serve.

According to a 2019 study, the presence of drones and the threat of drone violence does significant psychological damage to a community (Edney-Browne 2019). This study focused on citizens in Afghanistan who were victims of our U.S. Drone Program, the very one that inspired police drone programs. Though the two are distinctly different, it is still important to acknowledge the damage this technology inflicted on global communities. One respondent said that the fear of “indiscriminate bombing” led to communities no longer participating in cultural celebrations like Eid, saying “it was like a culture or relationship between the families in the community, and now that culture has almost completely gone” (Edney Browne 2019:1347). This quote exemplifies the psychological warfare that comes in tandem with drone warfare. Though it is unlikely American communities will experience this level of state violence, it is likely that similar impacts can occur at a smaller level. A 2011 study of college-aged Muslim activists in New York found that the students were often self-censoring when giving responses, saying that they never knew who was listening or what was watching (Ali 2011). The participants felt they no longer could trust anyone and were very aware that any interaction they had could be misconstrued. According to the author, this is the goal of police surveillance, saying that “the transformation of the mundane to the political is the manifestation of the coercive panoptic surveillance” (Ali 2016:88).

The knowledge of ongoing surveillance and the threat of informants within their circles destroyed any trust they had in “each other, their communities, institutions, and leaders” (Ali 2016:87). Not only did it fracture community trust, it also fractured interpersonal trust between already established relationships. The students also became skeptical of the resources that were created for them, assuming that the developers must be hiding something (Ali 2016). We may think that, especially in the wake of 9/11, this fear and constant paranoia may be a special case, but it could happen to any community. If we aim to prioritize well-being, it becomes increasingly obvious that police drones must be thoroughly studied before they can safely and equitably exist in our communities.
Conclusion

The current divide between police and black and brown communities is evident. It seems unlikely then, in its current state, that the American policing body will ever be able to coexist with our communities when we prioritize well-being. The established habitus for our policing system is far too different from that of our communities, and the two will continue to clash until change has been made. In that spirit, the implementation of drones at this moment does not feel truly equitable, as each community’s unique habitus would inhibit the standardization of such a technology. Further research must be done to understand the implications of a change in policing models, such as a shift towards community policing, and its impacts on community well-being. If we are to prioritize the well-being of our communities, structural changes must be made to both drone technology and our entire policing system before the three can co-exist peacefully.

Bibliography


Two Great Trees Have Fallen:  
In Memory of Richard Leakey and Paul Farmer  
Hilarie Kelly  
(University of La Verne)

We lost two towering figures in anthropology this year. Richard Leakey, the world-famous paleoanthropologist and son of Louis and Mary Leakey, died on January 2, 2022. Paul Farmer, medical anthropologist and physician as well as co-founder of the esteemed and highly effective global organization Partners in Health, died on February 21, 2022. It may be impossible to say whether one or the other of these two was the greater inspiration. I will begin with comments about Paul Farmer, whom I had the great pleasure of hearing speak at the University of San Diego several years ago, and whose writings, speeches, and life work became an essential component to teaching medical anthropology, health equity, and the intersections of anthropology and public health. Then, I am reprinting with permission from author and science writer Virginia Morell her very eloquent obituary of Richard Leakey, which appeared in Science, and I will conclude with my own, perhaps more mundane personal recollections of him.

Paul Farmer

How does one summarize this loving and beloved man’s accomplishments?

He was profoundly humanitarian. He had a Ph.D. in anthropology and an M.D. from Harvard. He helped found and lead a health care delivery organization (Partners in Health) that effectively stepped in during mass medical emergencies and just general hard times in some of the most underserved parts of the world, beginning in Haiti. Ending in Rwanda. With many stops in between, including working on COVID-prevention strategies with the state of Massachusetts in the United States of America, where alarming infection and death rates reflect some deeply-rooted social inequities and their unfortunate public health consequences. (You can read more about this initiative here: https://www.thinkglobalhealth.org/article/covid-shockers-vaccine-disparities-nagging-white-house-and-next-gen-physicians )

Farmer died unexpectedly at the young age of 62, before being awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine that many predicted he would eventually receive. (Sadly, that cannot happen posthumously, but he did receive many other awards in life.) He once joked that if he was so honored by the Nobel Committee, he would be the only such winner whose principal medical contribution was insisting that poor patients be treated first with the dignity of abundant clean water and nutritious food in a safe and hygienic environment. This was a characteristically humorous and humble, self-deprecating understatement of what Paul Farmer stood for and accomplished. Farmer persistently called out the profit-driven structural violence of unequal health care availability. That inequality was, he said, based on the cruel and facile assumption that the poor were living such unhealthy lives that they were going to die anyway. This negligently discriminatory view, he argued, revolved around facile, fatalistic, and unethical arguments (not always spoken out loud) that there was no point in investing in first class medicine for the “lost cause” of treating the poor of the world. The poor were thereby a-
Paul Farmer was even more frequently interviewed by others. One of the best and most recent interviews can be found [here](https://blog.ted.com/investigating). He insisted, famously, that “health care is a human right” and not a privilege, a principle which became the “prime directive” for Partners in Health. For everyone, not just the privileged of the wealthy nations.

Paul Farmer died in Rwanda, one of P.I.H.’s longstanding bases of operation and his wife’s home country. The official cause of death is listed as “cardiac arrest,” but it is hard not to think that he may have passed too soon from sheer exhaustion. He was “in the field” doing what he was most passionately committed to do: deliver health care to the needy. As an adherent of the philosophy of accompaniment, he walked the walk, relentlessly. The Director-General of the World Health Organization, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, has vigorously complained about the problem of “vaccine apartheid,” whereby the poorer nations of the less developed world have consistently been last to receive vaccines and therapeutic treatments for COVID during the pandemic, which is still not over. This probably influenced the Director-General to posthumously recognize Paul Farmer in May with a Global Health Leader Award for his many contributions to rectifying such inequities. ([https://www.who.int/news/item/22-05-2022-who-director-general-announces-global-health-leaders-awards#:~:text=Dr%20Paul%20Farmer&text=He%20was%20co%2Dfounder%20and,sick%20and%20living%20in%20poverty.]) Perhaps this award would have meant as much to Paul Farmer as a Nobel Prize. We do know that the world desperately needs many more like Paul Farmer.

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As the highly personable front-man for Partners in Health, Farmer proved over and over again that it was absolutely possible to bring poor patients back to health, even from the brink of death from HIV/AIDS or tuberculosis, by providing them with basic, health-promoting necessities, followed by the best that modern health care has to offer. He did not advocate that neglected communities be forced to rely totally on complementary, alternative, or “traditional medicine” in lieu of the benefits of Western biomedicine, but I do not recall him spending much time advocating against these practices either. Instead, he practiced and preached a laser-like focus on supporting each vulnerable patient in front of him. (You can read more about his approach in this article from the *New England Journal of Medicine*: [https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMms2203232].)

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Richard Leakey in 1977, holding two crucial skulls found by his team: *Australopithecus boisei* on the right and “1470,” now considered *Homo rudolfensis*, on the left. Marion Kaplan/Alamy Stock photo posted with the online obituary in *Science* by Virginia Morell.

**Renowned paleoanthropologist, conservationist**

**Richard Leakey dies**

“Visionary touch” strengthened Kenyan science

3 JAN 2022

1:45 PM

BY VIRGINIA MORELL  doi: 10.1126/science.acz9921

Paleoanthropologist, conservationist, and political leader Richard Leakey died at his home near Nairobi, Kenya, on 2 January. He was 77 years old. The son of Louis and Mary Leakey, whose fossil discoveries in East Africa helped prove that humans evolved in Africa, Richard Leakey added to their legacy with numerous important finds in Kenya, where he was born. He later added conservation to his focus, working to end the poaching of elephants for ivory. Throughout, he supported students and scientists, especially other Kenyans, studying their country’s scientific riches. “Nothing was impossible for him,” says Carol Ward, a paleoanthropologist at the University of Missouri, Columbia, who credits Leakey with helping shape her career. “He made everything he touched larger than life. He did that for paleoanthropology, and because of his visionary touch, his legacy extends far beyond the science.” “He believed strongly that we should create a movement for the love of nature” adds Paula Kahumbu, CEO of Wildlife Direct, a Kenyan nonprofit Leakey co-founded in 1994. He “felt all people should understand the impact we’re having on the planet.”

At the time of his death, Leakey was a faculty member of Stony Brook University and director of the Turkana Basin Institute, which he founded to provide research and training facilities for scientists and to house fossils discovered nearby. He was also busy planning an international Museum of Humankind in Ngaren, Kenya, near his home on the edge of the Rift Valley. Although he dropped out of secondary school and never attended university, Leakey was schooled in science “at the knees” of his parents. He found his first fossil, the jawbone of an extinct giant pig, at age 6. The grandson of Anglican missionaries, he grew up in Kenya when it was still a British colony, and immediately became a citizen when the country became independent in 1963. He joined his father as an assistant at the National Museums of Kenya’s Centre for Prehistory and Paleontology and became director of NMK in 1968. Working on one of Louis Leakey’s expeditions, Richard Leakey and his team helped find important skulls of early *Homo sapiens* in Omo, Ethiopia.

Leakey then initiated fossil-hunting expeditions of his own, notably at a site called Koobi Fora, on Lake Turkana in Kenya. Instead of relying on his parents’ connections, Leakey staffed his expedition with young scientists—Alan Walker, Kay Behrensmeyer, Bernard Wood—who would go on to brilliant careers. In 1969, the team “hit the jackpot,” as Leakey put it, discovering the nearly complete skull of an early human ancestor, *Australopithecus boisei*. The find helped support the then-contentious notion that more than one type of hominin had lived side by side more than 1 million years ago. A second major find, the nearly complete skull of a larger brained hominid, long known simply by its field number “1470” and now classified as *H. rudolfensis*, bolstered that point. And in 1984, Leakey’s team member Kamoya Kimeu discovered “Nariokotome Boy,” a nearly complete skull and skeleton of *H. erectus*. These and other fossils fueled insights and controversies in human evolution for decades.

The discoveries brought Leakey personal fame (a cover of *Time*), which he used to help turn Kenya into a powerhouse of science in East Africa. In the late 1960s, fossils were stored in stacks of small cardboard and cigar boxes in an antiquated building lit by a single light bulb. A master fundraiser, Leakey raised money for a proper research museum and Institute of African Prehistory. Despite his father’s opposition, he asked the Kenyan government to revise the country’s Antiquities Law so foreigners had to apply for permits to search for fossils and study them in Kenya ra-
Leakey became director of the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) at the request of then-President Daniel arap Moi. With international aid, he rebuilt and equipped KWS’s ranger force and actively supported a ban against international trade in ivory, focusing world attention on the issue by having Moi torch a tower of tusks. Kenya’s elephant numbers rose for the first time in more than 100 years. Shifting political winds and unproven allegations of misspent funds led to Leakey’s resignation in 1994.

In 1994, Leakey co-founded Wildlife Direct, an online nongovernmental organization that raises funds for the staff of African parks and reserves. “Richard could be brusque and impatient and didn’t suffer fools gladly, but he would move heaven and earth to help those as he saw as having the potential to make a difference,” says elephant researcher Joyce Poole, co-director of the nonprofit ElephantVoices and a former researcher at KWS. “His conservation legacy can be seen in the great cadre of Kenyan conservationists whose strong voices can be heard loud and clear across the globe.”

Leakey helped launch one of Kenya’s first [opposition] political parties in 1991, Safina, designed to pull together the country’s fractured opposition. He also served as a member of its parliament and head of the country’s Public Service, but he fell out of favor with Moi and resigned. He co-authored hundreds of research articles and several books, including the bestsellers Origins, People of the Lake: Mankind and Its Beginnings, and The Sixth Extinction: Patterns of Life and the Future of Humankind. He also financially supported hundreds of Kenyan students. Lawrence Nzuve, now the communications coordinator at the Stockholm Environment Institute, says Leakey—recognizing that “science journalism was also important”—gave him a fellowship to study at Stony Brook.

Beginning in his early 20s, Leakey suffered from severe health issues. He survived two kidney transplants, a liver transplant, and a 1993 plane crash that led to the amputation of his legs below the knee. He never lost his love for fossils, and although after the crash he was no longer able to hunt for them himself, he continued to raise funds for the field and for students. His second wife and scientific partner for decades, Meave Leakey, directed their fossil research until recently. Leakey, who often attributed his passion for helping others to his “missionary genes,” once told a reporter that he hoped his epitaph would read: “I hope I was useful.” The cause of his death has not been released.

Virginia Morell is the author of A Personal Recollection of Richard Leakey: The Leakey Family and the Quest for Humankind’s Beginnings, a biography of the Leakey family.

A Personal Recollection of Richard Leakey
by Hilarie Kelly

I lived and worked in Kenya for several years in the 1970s and 1980s. Having followed the Leakey family’s groundbreaking paleontological work, I was a bit in awe of Richard and his impressive Kenya bona fides. I met him through my undergraduate volunteer internship at the Kenya National Museum, in which he was already heavily involved. In conversation one day, I expressed my desire to travel to the arid and rugged far north of the country, which at the time was closed to casual travelers. He cheerfully quizzed me about my ability to camp in “the bush” and I tried to impress him by saying I was perfectly capable of sleeping on the ground. Arching his eyebrows in amusement, he asked, “Why ever would you do that? Why be uncomfortable when you can sleep perfectly well on a cot?” Overlooking my overabundance of enthusiasm, Richard introduced me to herpetologist Robert Drewes, of the California Academy of Sciences, who was planning a month-long scientific expedition into the area I longed to see. They knew each other through Richard’s brother Jonathan, a well-known venomous snake expert who founded the Nairobi Snake Park, one of the attractions on the Museum grounds. I was included in the expedition as the cook (something about which I knew relatively little at that time) and was encouraged to interview people in the areas where we traveled in order to help gather information helpful to collecting specimens. That opportunity is what eventually led to my own Ph.D. dissertation research in Kenya on cultural communities living in these arid areas.

By the time I began my graduate field research in Kenya in the late 1970s, Richard Leakey was quite famous for his paleontological work in West Turkana, but was also occupied with the political aspects of reorganizing the Museum and in promoting institutional changes in how research would be supported in the country. Having been born and raised in Kenya, Richard was an ardent patriot and advocate of the “Africanization” of institutional power and opportunity. In his public speaking all around the world, he argued strenuously against anti-African racism. He and others revised the process for non-Kenyan to obtain research clearance in Kenya just prior to my own attempts to navigate the process, making it a lot tougher than it had been earlier. I recognized the need for these changes, as Kenya had been deeply impacted by colonial ways of doing things, and I worked my way through the process.

By the 1980s, Richard focused on wildlife conservation activities, another politically sensitive issue. Richard did not shy away from controversy, and - though capable of being quite charming – could also be confrontational when he thought it necessary. The field area I worked in was a center in the poaching wars, and I was dismayed when Richard’s anti-poaching policies imposed undeserved harm on some members of the communities I worked with. I understood that Richard was not just a patriotic Kenyan, but a particular kind of Kenyan, with very particular networks of affiliation. (Important nuances for anthropologists and others to recognize.) His career was becoming increasingly politicized as well. I found myself agreeing more with the conservation ideas of David Western, an ecologist who worked in Amboseli (adjacent to my field area), and who eventually took over as head of the Kenyan Wildlife Service when Richard eventually left in 1994. (Western is married to well-known primatologist Shirley Strum, a Professor Emeritus at UC San Diego.) Still, I followed Richard’s later career, as he remained outspoken to the end of his life. He was a prodigious fundraiser, and continued to advocate passionately for more research and training on both human paleontology and wildlife conservation. There can be no doubt that he was a major influence in both these areas.
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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

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