

Public Anthropology

2012 Public Anthropology Year in Review: Actually, Rick, Florida Could Use a Few More Anthropologists

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ABSTRACT Here I highlight anthropology that engaged socially relevant issues and pushed the boundaries of public discussions in 2012. In “Debating KONY 2012,” I examine debates surrounding the viral video and anthropologists’ role in illuminating the complexities of globalized conflicts, neocolonialist ideologies, and relationships among people of the world. In “Anthropologists Are the 99%!” I consider the role of anthropologists in the Occupy Movement, both as protest participants and as mediators who have shaped the movement’s impression on the public. With “UndocuAnthropology,” I highlight how anthropologists have built bridges between immigrant and native-born communities, influenced immigration policy, and advocated for immigrant rights in the public sector. I conclude with “Already Gone Native,” where I consider the relationship between academia and the wider world in the current period. Together, this essay illuminates how anthropology made key contributions to some of the most widely discussed social issues in the United States of 2012. [*public anthropology, KONY 2012, Occupy, immigration, applied anthropology*]

RESUMEN Destaco aquí la antropología que involucra cuestiones socialmente relevantes y que presionó los límites de las discusiones públicas en el 2012. En “Debatiendo KONY 2012,” analizo los debates alrededor del video que se volvió viral y el papel de los antropólogos en proveer luz sobre las complejidades de los conflictos globalizados, ideologías neocolonialistas, y las relaciones entre gente del mundo. En “Antropólogos son el 99%!” considero el papel de los antropólogos en el Movimiento de Ocupación tanto como participantes en las protestas como mediadores que han dado forma a la impresión del movimiento en el público. Con “UndocuAnthropology,” destaco cómo los antropólogos han construido puentes entre comunidades inmigrantes y nativas, influenciado políticas de inmigración y promovido en el sector público los derechos de los inmigrantes. Concluyo con “Already Gone Native,” donde considero la relación entre la academia y el mundo más amplio en el período actual. En conjunto, este ensayo provee luces sobre cómo la antropología hace fundamentales contribuciones a algunos de las más ampliamente discutidas cuestiones sociales en los Estados Unidos del 2012. [*antropología pública, KONY 2012, Ocupación, inmigración, antropología aplicada*]

ANTHROPOLOGY’S NEW NORMAL

Anthropology made headlines in October 2011, but none of us knew it was coming. In a speech introducing his jobs agenda, Florida governor Rick Scott said that he planned to shift higher-education funding away from disciplines such as anthropology and toward so-called STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) fields. “Is it

a vital interest of the state to have more anthropologists?” Scott asked. “I don’t think so” (Chamlee 2011). The governor singled out our discipline as an example of economic irrelevance and waste of public resources. Anthropology is not a “job creator,” he said, so what good is it?

Scott’s comment triggered a torrent of criticism from anthropologists, including an online response by

anthropology graduate students at the University of South Florida that quickly went viral (Noble 2012). The presidents of the American Anthropological Association and the American Association of Physical Anthropology wrote letters to the governor criticizing the comment and highlighting anthropology's contributions to the very STEM fields that Scott touted (Dominguez 2011; Madrigal 2011). Anthropologists Paul Stoller and Rachel Newcomb blogged scathing responses for the *Huffington Post*, and several other anthropologists took Scott to task on their own blogs (Antrosio 2012; Killgrove 2011; see Lende 2011a; Newcomb 2011; Stoller 2011). At the AAA meetings the following month, representatives at Oxford University Press distributed buttons that read, "Actually, Rick, Florida Could Use a Few More Anthropologists." Indignant, anthropologists rejected Scott's assessment of our discipline. But what would prompt the governor to say such a thing in the first place?

Perhaps it was parental concern. Rick Scott's daughter majored in anthropology and, like many of our graduates, did not find a job in the field (Johnson 2011). This notorious lack of employment opportunities earned anthropology the top spot on both Forbes's and Kiplinger's lists of "10 Worst College Majors" in 2012, while a *New York Times* op-ed column opined that anthropology is a prime example of higher education's failure to develop skills relevant to today's job market (Bruni 2012; Dewey 2012; Goudreau 2012). Worry over the employment prospects of anthropology graduates is emblematic of broader concerns, including high unemployment rates, rising student debt, falling state support for university systems, and attacks on public-sector workers, including university faculty and staff. Across the nation, rising anti-intellectualism coupled with a valorization of the market has put pressure on anthropology departments to demonstrate our value in increasingly economic terms; at least for the time being, this is anthropology's new normal.

Conversely, perhaps the governor's comment is a sign that he considers anthropology a bit too relevant. Given Scott's record of aggressively pursuing free-market policies while cutting support for working Floridians (see Alvarez 2012), his denouncement of anthropology may underline deep ideological disagreement with anthropological analyses of power and inequality.¹¹ Anthropologists have been vocal critics both of imperialist war abroad and systemic injustice at home. We have stood in solidarity with revolutionaries in the Middle East and with nurses, teachers, and sanitation workers in Madison, Wisconsin (see Collins 2012). Anthropologists "Occupy." And we have also come under fire, not for social irrelevance but for our propensity to encourage students to think and act critically. To paraphrase a title of Hartwick anthropologist Jason Antrosio's blog post, "Anthropology [may be] the worst college major for being a corporate tool, [but it is the] best major to change your life" (Antrosio 2012). As anthropology puts forward myriad possibilities for living in the world, it presents a challenge to the status quo that Rick Scott represents.

No matter how you understand Governor Scott's comment, a climate of hostility toward higher education in general, and anthropology in particular, make this year's public anthropology review especially timely. In this essay, I seek to highlight the contributions that anthropologists made to discussions, debates, and events of wide interest in 2012. Although my primary intended readership is the anthropological community, I also hope that this piece might interest a broader audience in the ways in which core anthropological principles—such as cultural relativism, universalism, and holism—shape anthropologists' perspectives on social issues abroad and at home. I also aim to advance the argument that the value of anthropology is not reducible to market logics but, rather, resides in the capacity to broaden public understandings of humanity and, thus, to shape human society itself.

For this essay, I chose anthropology that engages socially relevant issues—a worthy and important goal in itself—and that also pushes the boundaries of public discussions. This work takes many forms, including publications in open-access journals and on blog sites, symposia that include a broad range of students and nonacademic participants, media coverage, and direct participation in public protests. To be consistent with the goals of this piece, I mostly exclude work that has been published in peer-reviewed journals and academic presses and thus was intended for academic, rather than public, consumption. Instead, I review work that is openly accessible to the public and can be found online, in media, or in broader public discussions. In the tradition of public anthropology past year-in-review essays, I mostly focus my discussion on works in cultural anthropology and do not include many public contributions made by biological anthropologists or archaeologists. In light of the ongoing nature of public discussions, I also do not limit the discussion to the 2012 calendar year and include matters that have their roots in 2011 and earlier. Finally, I regretfully leave out many, many works that both satisfy the criteria of this review and warrant its attention.¹²

In the first section of this essay, "Debating KONY 2012," I examine the debate surrounding the viral video KONY 2012 and the role of anthropologists in illuminating the complexities of globalized conflicts, neocolonialist ideologies, and relationships among people of the world. In the second section, "Anthropologists Are the 99%," I consider the role of anthropologists in the Occupy Movement, both as participants in the protests and as mediators who have shaped the movement's impression on the public. With "UndocuAnthropology," the third section of this essay, I highlight the work of anthropologists in building bridges between immigrant and native-born communities, influencing immigration policy, and advocating for immigrant rights in the public sector. Finally, I conclude with "Already Gone Native," wherein I consider the relationship between academia and the wider world in the current period. Together, these sections illuminate how anthropology made key contributions

to some of the most widely discussed social issues in the United States of 2012.

DEBATING KONY 2012

The KONY 2012 video is short, slick, and effective. It tells a story of two children, one from the United States and one from Uganda, linking them together by a humanitarian call for international justice. The video seeks to shine light on the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in central Africa and its leader, Joseph Kony. In particular, the video focuses on the LRA's recruitment of child soldiers and sex slaves, among other horrific acts. More important, the video is a tool to recruit U.S. youth to an "army of peace" that, if successful, will "change the course of history" (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y4MnpzG5Sqc>).

KONY 2012 instantly went viral after its March 2012 release on YouTube, with more than 21 million views over the course of two days.¹³ The video was shared and reshared on Facebook and Twitter. Celebrities such as Oprah Winfrey, Bill Gates, Rihanna, and Kim Kardashian came out in support of the video's mission. The KONY 2012 website crashed because of user overload; one poll suggested that more than half of all young adults in the United States had heard about the video within days of its release (Kanczula 2012). The video even received praise from Barack Obama's White House and resulted in a Senate resolution to arrest Kony (Cox 2012).

Then, just as quickly, the tide of public opinion turned. Within the week, links to criticism of the video were posted and reposted on social media sites. The video's producer, an organization called Invisible Children, was accused of misdirecting funds and using the video as a "Trojan horse" for evangelical missionizing in the region (Kosner 2012). Africans and scholars of Africa charged that the video oversimplified regional conflict and exaggerated the current importance of Kony and the LRA, whose forces have not been active in Uganda for several years. Critical scholars and journalists also pointed to the specter of colonialism in narratives that reduce African children to wide-eyed victims and inflate U.S. youth to global heroes (e.g., Forte 2012; Mamdani 2012). The whole saga came to a rather sad ending when another video appeared on YouTube, this time of the video's creator having a public breakdown in the wake of the video's spectacular success and subsequent vilification.

The video and the debate that it provoked created an opportunity for anthropologists to participate in a discussion that was being widely held among scholars of Africa and college-age youth in the United States, as well as among Africans, and especially Ugandans, worldwide. Anthropologists were among the early critics of the KONY 2012 video, and where the video was slick and simplistic, anthropological analyses were nuanced and complex. In spite of, or perhaps because of, this complexity, anthropologists' perspectives were integrated into both mainstream and social media coverage of the video and its fallout. In this section, I review the anthropological contribution to the KONY 2012 debate

and describe how anthropologists and other social scientists used the debate to turn a public lens on issues of war and power, neocolonialist ideologies, and global inequality.

Within days after the video debuted, anthropologists began issuing online responses. Richard Vokes (2012) criticized the video's "gross over-simplifications" of political conflict in the region, a rebuke echoed by Sverker Finnström's (2012) commentary on the blog *Africa Is a Country*. In his post, Finnström argued that the video both exaggerates the threat of Joseph Kony and reduces complex globalized conflicts to "a completely black-and-white story" that pits the supposed good guys (the Ugandan army and international military intervention) against the putative bad guys (backwater barbarians led by an antihero). Not only does the video eschew nuanced and historically grounded analysis in favor of "clicktivism" (in which U.S. youth supposedly can help save the world without ever leaving the comfort of their dorm rooms), it patently misrepresents the nature of political violence as the work of an evil aberration rather than a predictable result of neocolonial inequalities.

Moreover, Finnström and others voiced concerns about the video's call for international military intervention, pointing out that such intervention would likely escalate regional violence and prop up the Ugandan army, itself a known perpetrator of crimes against Ugandan civilians (see also Mamdani 2012; Quesinberry 2012; Rosen 2012). A statement issued by the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (2012) warned that military intervention to stop Kony "could have dangerous unintended consequences" and that "expanding U.S. military operations with the Ugandan army to capture Kony could increase the militarization of the region and lead to deaths of civilians." Many Ugandans, who had been making strides toward reconciliation, reacted angrily to the video's focus, condemning it for misrepresenting the current state of affairs in Uganda and for tearing open healing wounds (Mamdani 2012; Mengetsu 2012).

More broadly, scholars argued that the intervention of international military forces in central Africa must be understood in a context of ongoing struggles over control of natural resources in the area, including oil and minerals vital to the production of cell phones (Branch 2012). The exploitation of Africa's natural resources for the benefit of multinationals has its roots in a not-so-distant colonial past that justified occupation and exploitation of African societies with racist stereotypes of African people as needy, helpless, and backward. In his regular blog on the *Huffington Post*, anthropologist Paul Stoller (2012) argued that the video "extends the notion that Africa . . . is irreconcilably backward, brutish, and boundless filth . . . [that] these Africans, who are destitute and barely human, need our help." In an interview with an NBC affiliate, Duke Ph.D. candidate Louisa Lombard agreed, saying that the video "perpetuates an image of Africans as helpless and unable to solve their own conflicts and the idea that Americans are the only ones who can step in and solve this problem for them" (Quesinberry 2012). According to these arguments, not only is "clicktivism" like

the kind promoted by KONY 2012 unlikely to affect social change, but it also reinforces postcolonial inequalities.

In a scathing critique of what he calls “African poverty pornography,” Concordia anthropologist Maximilian Forte (2012) argues that the “humanitarianism” promoted by the video upholds a “moral dogma of a white, western elite that projects its abusive notion of ‘protection’ everywhere it is not wanted.” Forte continues, “Western ‘humanitarianism’ requires that we . . . construct images of ‘Africa’ as a dark place of gaunt, hungry, pleading quasi-humans, where we effectively open the door to ourselves, and usher ourselves in as their self-appointed saviours.” The bottom line is reductive one-dimensionality that supports existing inequality: as young, African American, hoodie-wearing U.S. youth are presumed to be perpetrators of violence in need of jailing, African children are presumed to be victims who are in need of saving.

Criticism of the video did not go unanswered. Supporters of Invisible Children responded that the call to do something was better than doing nothing, and critics were unfair to expect the video to tackle global complexities when its mission was more modest and straightforward. Critics disagreed, arguing that the video is likely to do more harm than good. This disagreement provided a rare opportunity for anthropologists and our colleagues to engage with students on an issue that many of them were already discussing (Rosen 2012). Faculty and students at several U.S. universities, including Duke, DePauw, and Arcadia, organized symposia to discuss the debate. In their classrooms, anthropologists used the argument to spark classroom discussions about core anthropological problems, such as cultural relativism, ethnocentrism, neocolonialism, media, and relationships between people in the contemporary world. Anthropology is particularly well suited to help students develop the tools to tease apart the issue’s complexities; as Stoller (2012) blogs, “When you immerse yourself in the social life of another society and learn its language, you eventually learn how to ask central, rather than peripheral questions. You are sensitized to what is important. You avoid falling into the trap of exoticism.”

In sum, the release, rise, and fall of KONY 2012 drew wide attention to issues of regional conflict and Western humanitarianism. Anthropologists and our colleagues were well positioned to bring ethnographic data and nuanced analyses to bear on these issues and, in so doing, helped create a complex and dynamic conversation with our students and the broader public about racism, colonial histories, and the nature of global relationships.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS ARE THE 99%!

It was a ubiquitous scene in 2012: a group of people, mostly young and white, sit in a public place. They are raising their fists and holding signs; they are chanting, “We are the 99 percent!” in unison; they are camped out in the rain. The Occupy Movement (hereafter, “Occupy”) began modestly enough as protests in which organizers would “occupy” pub-

lic spaces in a gesture of opposition to rising inequalities and declining prospects for U.S. workers. Within days, thousands of people had joined the movement to put their feet down, literally and figuratively, against the excesses of capitalism. The movement spread, energizing young college students and veteran activists alike. Occupy camps sprang up in Boston, Tampa, Chicago, Tucson, and Los Angeles, as well as in Spain, Slovenia, and Britain. Within weeks, public spaces were occupied in upward of eight hundred cities throughout the United States, with many hundreds more across the world. Media coverage of the Occupy protests became a regular feature of the nightly news, and “Occupy” became a household word.

A goal of the movement, if there can be said to be a cohesive goal, was to live an alternative to status quo politics through the practice of direct, participatory democracy and consensus decision making. Occupy camps established general assemblies in which all participants were ostensibly welcomed to speak openly, and decisions were made by popular vote. Social bonds and political messages between Occupiers were forged and strengthened with the use of the “People’s Mic” to disseminate speeches through the camps by repeating each speaker’s sentences word for word. The energy of Occupy lasted several months, but as of December 2012 the movement had dwindled considerably, and any enduring legacies of the Occupy protests are not yet clear.

Anthropologists engaged the Occupy movement on many different levels. Some were early organizers of the protests and have come to be among Occupy’s intellectual spokespeople. Many others joined the protests intermittently to lend support and, of course, to conduct some participant-observation along the way. Still others encouraged students to become involved with the protests—as global citizens as well as ethnographers in training—and a few universities have even begun offering courses on the Occupy movement.¹⁴ Increasingly, anthropologists have been presenting critical analyses of the movement, highlighting both its successes and limitations (see Herring and Gluck 2012; Maharawal 2011). In the process, anthropologists played a central role in shaping both the Occupy movement and the public’s perceptions of it (Garces 2011).

Whether anthropologist David Graeber actually first coined the phrase “We are the 99%,” as some claim, there is little doubt that Graeber’s anthropological and political writings deeply shaped both the ideology and the practical manifestation of the Occupy camps. In fact, the movement’s emphasis on democratization has been attributed to Graeber’s ethnographic descriptions of decentralized, leaderless decision-making processes in a Madagascar community (Graeber 2007; see also Berrett 2011). This is illustrative of anthropologist Daniel Lende’s (2011b) observation that anthropology “can be a light towards the future,” as its capacity for knowing what is possible gives rise to alternative prospects for social and political organization.

But as much as Graeber shaped the early stages of the movement itself, perhaps his strongest influence lies in his

defense of its principles, which were widely disseminated by Graeber via blog posts and covered by influential media outlets including *Rolling Stone*, *The Atlantic*, *Harper's Magazine*, and *Bloomberg Businessweek*. In particular, Graeber has helped reframe the movement's lack of a central demand from a perceived weakness to a manifestation of its commitment to rejecting dominant power structures.

Still other anthropologists locate the relevance of the Occupy protests further back in human history, as well as more widely across the globe. In his blog entry "Why We Protest," Lende considers the ties between the Occupy movement and our very humanness, as expressed in traits such as a sense of fairness. Cultural anthropologists paid special attention to potential links between Occupy and recent uprisings in North Africa, as well as to austerity protests across Europe and in Madison, Wisconsin (Harvey 2011; Razsa and Kurnik 2012). As geographer David Harvey blogs, together with Occupy, these international protests demonstrate "that the collective power of bodies in public space is still the most effective instrument of opposition when all other means of access are blocked" (2011). In an opinion piece for the *New York Times*, linguist H. Samy Alim (2011) points to the ways in which the language invoked by the Occupy movement shifted the terms of the political conversation in the United States from one centered on concerns about "debt ceilings" and "budget crises" to one concerned with "inequality" and "greed." Like Graeber, these scholars have drawn on ethnographic data and analyses to help legitimize Occupy as a politically serious and socially meaningful protest movement (see also Schuessler 2012; Wallerstein 2011).

Many anthropologists have also contributed to Occupy directly as organizers. Graeber helped shape the outcome of the initial organizing meeting in New York (see Graeber 2011). Jeffrey Juris organized strategy workshops at Occupy Boston as he gathered ethnographic data about the protests; anthropologist Maple Razsa not only took an active role in the Occupy protests in Ljubljana, Slovenia, but also collaborated with a Slovene activist-theorist to analyze, write, and disseminate their data about the movement (Razsa and Kurnik 2012). Countless other anthropologists visited Occupy camps with students and their own children to participate in the movement and this moment in political history. Anthropologists' commitments to movement building in Occupy not only reawaken long-standing ethical conversations about what it means to be a socially responsible anthropologist but also reaffirm our links with the wider sociopolitical communities in which we live and work.

And as anthropology has shaped the Occupy movement, the Occupy movement has influenced anthropological practices in turn. Editors of the open-access journal *anthropologies* (<http://www.anthropologiesproject.org>) organized a special issue dedicated to a consideration of Occupy and to broadening access to research production and sharing. Juris, taking the mandates of the Occupy movement to heart, was instrumental in the creation of an online forum dedicated

to Occupy-related data sharing. According to the site, aptly named Occupy Research, contributors are "sharing ideas, research questions, research methods, tools, datasets, and working to gather, analyze, discuss, write, code, and otherwise develop the theory and practice of occupy research together" (<http://www.occupyresearch.net/about>). Collaborative research practices and the principles that motivate them help shed new light on how the democratization of ethnographic data collection has the potential to push the boundaries of anthropological knowledge production itself (Garces 2011; Maskovsky 2013).

Whether or not the Occupy movement will ultimately have an enduring place in U.S. political history is debatable, but the significance of the protests in the current political moment is undeniable. Anthropologists, who are already engaged in considerations of myriad possibilities for living in the world, were uniquely poised to contribute to Occupy and to be open to how the principles of Occupy might contribute to our discipline. As the Occupy movement unfolded, many anthropologists played a role in shaping camp life. But the most enduring legacy of the anthropological contribution to Occupy will likely be the central role of anthropologists in writing the movement's history in the months and years to come.

UNDOCUANTHROPOLOGY

More than four hundred thousand immigrants were "removed" from the United States in 2012, more than in any previous year in U.S. history (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2012a). Federal immigration enforcement, which has long been concentrated on the U.S.–Mexico border, has expanded its reach throughout the U.S. interior via the "Secure Communities" program, a collaboration between local law enforcement and the Department of Homeland Security that is on track to be mandatory nationwide by 2013 (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2012b). The number of immigration-related bills introduced at state and local levels also reached a record high in 2011 (National Conference of State Legislatures 2011); several of these bills mandate aggressive measures for policing U.S. immigrants in states such as Arizona, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Immigrant detention facilities hold more people than ever before; currently an estimated 30 thousand immigrants, including children, are detained on any given day (ACLU n.d.). Together with the popularity of anti-immigrant groups such as the Minutemen and the Tea Party, these policies and practices have created a climate of fear and hostility that pervades immigrant communities. It is hard to imagine a domestic issue that is more polarizing than undocumented migration or one that has higher stakes for the people involved.

Every day, many anthropologists and our colleagues try to buffer students, friends, and community members from the most pernicious effects of an anti-immigrant climate. We counsel undocumented students about scholarships and career options and work with our universities to develop

institutional resources for them. We offer empathy to second-generation students who are worried about their immigrant parents' safety and well-being. We engage in discussions with colleagues, friends, neighbors, and teachers about the global mechanisms that drive undocumented migration and the capriciousness of immigration policies. And, leveraging our roles as "experts" on migration, we work to build coalitions among citizens and noncitizens, influence immigration policy, and galvanize broad support for immigrant rights. In this section, I explore some of the efforts of U.S. anthropologists to influence public perception, practice, and policy surrounding undocumented migration.

One significant contribution of anthropologists lies in broadening the scope, accuracy, and humanity of the conversation on undocumented migration in the United States. In the current climate, it is both socially acceptable and, in many cases, politically advantageous to stereotype and vilify undocumented people. As anthropologists bring ethnographic data and critical analyses to these conversations, they help balance the larger conversation. For example, linguistic anthropologist Jonathan Rosa (2012) authored a statement to the *New York Times* urging the paper to stop using the term *illegal immigrant* in its reporting, arguing that the label is both biased and inaccurate (Costantini 2012). Cultural anthropologist Leo Chavez and his colleague Roberto Gonzales have described the experiences of undocumented youth in California who are denied seemingly mundane privileges such as getting a driver's license, traveling, or even entering a bar to have a drink with friends (Gonzales and Chavez 2012). In the Arizona desert, the symbolic center of the immigration debate, archaeologist Jason DeLeon documents and analyzes items left behind by border crossers. In an interview on National Public Radio, DeLeon referred to the site as "sacred ground," and described one item he found for the interviewer: "This is a tiny little shoe. It's a worn-out, sun-dried child's shoe. But you know somebody wore this across the desert," he says. "Someone has walked a long distance, a very small person" (Silverman 2012). As anthropologists push beyond stigmatizing rhetoric about "illegal immigrants" to illuminate the complexities of immigrants' everyday lives, they help lend humanity to a conversation too often relegated to debates about laws and borders.

Anthropologists also shine light on the complex global interactions that generate, direct, and define unauthorized migration and on the connections between citizens and noncitizens. For example, in October 2012, anthropologist Christine Kovic was featured on a National Public Radio segment examining the motivations of Central American migrants who make the long journey north toward the United States. In the segment, Kovic not only described their motivations for migrating but also emphasized the links between Honduran garment workers and middle-class U.S. citizens, pointing out that low-paid garment workers "subsidize the American middle-class" with inexpensive clothing, while the low wages they receive in return only contribute to their decisions to migrate to the United States (Meyer 2012).

Anthropologists have also been instrumental in building and strengthening coalitions between citizens and noncitizens in their communities. For example, Alayne Unterberger of Florida International University (FIU) helped her students establish a Student–Farmworker Alliance, in which FIU students campaign in support of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers as they negotiate labor contracts with the Publix supermarket chain and Chipotle restaurants. In another example, anthropologist Angela Stuesse pioneered the creation of an online–offline resource center (<http://www.intergroupresources.com>) that provides tools for immigrants and U.S.-born people of color to mediate tensions between their communities and work toward common goals. This type of community building is critical because undocumented people in the United States are not only publicly vilified but are often lacking in formal, institutional support. This outreach work also straddles the boundaries between applied, practicing, and public anthropologies, pointing to the potential complementarity of these approaches.

Anthropologists have also been working with universities to develop institutional resources for undocumented students. In the New York metropolitan area alone, nearly 40 faculty representing 13 universities have come together to form the DREAM Act Faculty Alliance, an association created by City University of New York anthropologist Alyshia Galvez and Columbia historian Nara Milanich. The Faculty Alliance is dedicated to mentoring undocumented students, sharing and establishing resources, and lobbying for immigrant rights. Galvez and anthropologist Leah Mundell also organized a roundtable at the American Anthropological Association meetings to broaden information sharing about challenges and best practices among anthropologists who work on immigration issues across the United States.

Many anthropologists work to influence state-level and federal immigration policies directly. For example, Devon Peña is the coordinator for the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies campaign to revoke Arizona's immigration law, and he is also the lead author of the *amicus curiae* brief in the lawsuit to overturn Arizona's ban on ethnic studies. In my home state of Illinois, I worked with sociology graduate student Diana Guelespe to draft policy papers for a successful campaign to license undocumented Illinois drivers in 2012. Josiah Heyman of the University of Texas–El Paso, who has long been active in the Border Network of Human Rights (BNHR), coordinated the academic sector of a mass BNHR conference that included politicians, legislators, NGOs, law enforcement, religious leaders, and members of the border region's immigrant communities. Writing about their work with the BNHR, Heyman and his colleagues emphasize scholars' capacity to go beyond contributing research to the policy process and take an active role in crafting policy itself (see Heyman et al. 2009). Working with immigrant rights organizers to advocate for inclusive and humane U.S. immigration policy, anthropologists help counterbalance an ever-more enforcement-oriented political landscape.

More broadly, anthropologists contribute to public conversations about immigration policy and enforcement. For example, Peña, Gilberto Rosas, and I regularly contribute to the blog *Social Scientists on Immigration Policy* (<http://stopdeportationsnow.blogspot.com>), an interdisciplinary site that presents ethnographic data on how immigration policies can disrupt families and communities across the United States. In another example, anthropologists Heide Casteneda, Jessica Mulligan, Sarah Willen, and graduate student Nolan Kline founded the blog site *Access Denied* (<http://accessdeniedblog.wordpress.com>) to provide a public forum for discussions about migration and health care policies. These sites bring empirical data and critical analyses to bear on policy discussions about immigration issues.

Conditions of migration are not just fodder for theoretical reflection; they deeply shape our lives and those of our family members, friends, research participants, students, and community members. Anthropologists are especially well positioned to contribute to public conversations about migration as “experts,” teachers, and advocates. As we work with undocumented students, workers, and activists to shape policy and discourse, anthropologists and our colleagues push back against widespread misinformation and provide critical balance to a conversation too often dominated by dehumanizing rhetoric.

CONCLUSION: ALREADY GONE NATIVE

As the above discussions demonstrate, anthropological analysis is complex, multifaceted, and embedded in political issues. This complexity makes anthropology vital to public discourse that is increasingly directed by apparent but one-dimensional truths (e.g., “illegal is illegal,” “war is bad”); these alleged truisms not only resonate with preconceived worldviews but are communicated effectively in 140-character Twitter feeds. Thus, the desire to produce accessible anthropology poses a challenge: How can we best communicate nuance in a one-liner kind of world? How can we make anthropological analysis accessible without compromising its complexity? These may seem like one-dimensional questions themselves, but they speak to the heart of the relationships between anthropologists and the wider societies in which we live and work.

In this final section, I explore how anthropologists are working from their positions inside academia to push beyond traditional boundaries and forge deeper connections with students and nonacademic communities. I also examine how anthropologists have turned their lenses inward to evaluate and critique our own institutions and practices and to broaden the production and dissemination of anthropological knowledge. As anthropologists build relationships with students and communities, they help to foster anthropological ways of understanding the world among a wider public. In these ways, anthropologists both respond to the charge that our discipline lacks relevance and attempt to expand its perceived relevance outside of academe.

For nearly 20 years, anthropologists at Chicago’s Field Museum have shown how “deeply collaborative relationships” can help overcome the limitations of museum experiences that entertain but “cannot satisfy the need for understanding the complexity of social phenomena” (Wali 2006). As Applied Cultural Research Director in Environment, Culture, and Conservation (ECCo), Alaka Wali and her colleagues have been active in fostering direct engagement and collaborative relationships with communities in Chicago and South America (see <http://fieldmuseum.org/explore/department/ecco>). Members of these communities both participate in and influence research methods and outcomes, as the museum commits to long-term engagement on social issues that communities identify. In just one of many examples, ECCo’s work with climate change involved identifying environmentally friendly assets and practices that already exist in Chicago neighborhoods. Museum staff helped train community members to gather data surrounding those practices and recommended that Chicago’s Department of the Environment craft policies that take advantage of already-existing assets and customs. According to Wali, this approach to anthropological research challenges “traditional boundaries between research, ‘outreach’ and direct action.” As the work of ECCo and its community partners invites broader participation in the ethnographic process, it strengthens linkages between the museum and the community and attempts to redress colonialist orientations of traditional museum practices.

Across Chicago’s downtown, at the city’s largest public university, the University of Illinois–Chicago (UIC), anthropologist Rosa Cabrera is combining the methods of applied anthropology with the goals of public anthropology to guide the work of UIC’s Latino Cultural Center (LCC). The LCC is one of six “culture centers” at UIC, and it is part art gallery, part classroom, and part community organization (see Figure 1). Cabrera, who is director of the LCC, and fellow anthropologist Lori Baptista, who heads UIC’s African



FIGURE 1. Student Engagement at UIC’s Latino Cultural Center. (Photo courtesy of Rosa Cabrera)

American Cultural Center, bring an asset-based approach to the centers in which they not only address issues that student communities face but also discuss the creative ways that students are solving those issues. Cabrera and Baptista also played a significant role in the effort to rename UIC's six "centers for diversity" to "centers for cultural understanding and social change" to emphasize a comparative approach to the social issues that student populations face. Cabrera and Baptista have not only strengthened relationships among UIC's centers but also between the centers and the larger Chicago community. For example, LCC partners with more than a dozen Chicago-area community organizations to coordinate public presentations and joint programs, and it has more than 40 "ambassadors," consisting of community members, students, faculty, and staff. Because of the center's outreach activities, LCC has become an important cultural hub of the larger Chicago community, and in 2011–12 it hosted more than ten thousand visitors who attended public events, visited the mural gallery, or held meetings in the space. This public orientation broadens the participation of students and community members in anthropological projects as it increases the engagement and visibility of anthropologists in the community. The efforts of Wali, Cabrera, Baptista, and their colleagues also demonstrate the potential complementarity, as well as the shifting sands, of applied and public anthropologies.

Many anthropologists have also been working to widen anthropology's audience through expanding the dissemination of anthropological writing. As Tom Boellstorff (2010, 2012) has argued, academic writing in the contemporary period is "deeply linked to questions of open access and the digital futures of publishing." Increasingly, anthropologists are creating and contributing to open-access forums and online blog sites to more widely disseminate their work. Anthropological blog sites have proliferated in recent years and now cover all five subfields and a range of topical interests; some anthropologists also regularly blog for news outlets and opinion sites with wide readerships. Blogging not only provides free access to writings for anyone with an Internet connection but also allows anthropologists to participate in wider discussions in a timely manner as they are taking place in the public sphere. The call to broaden access to anthropological writings was recently addressed by the American Anthropological Association's executive board, which decided to create a pilot open-access publication called *Open Anthropology*, set to launch this year.

Anthropologists have also used online forums to wade into broader discussions about how to best understand shifts in the U.S. economy that hit especially close to home, including very real concerns about the employment prospects of our graduates, as well as academia's increasing reliance on low-paid adjunct faculty to bear the brunt of departmental teaching loads. Anthropologists have taken a variety of positions on the employment prospects of our undergraduate majors, including emphasizing the nonmarket value of anthropological skills, "correcting" the notion that an-

thropology majors are not successful in the contemporary capitalist economy, criticizing anthropology itself for failing to effectively communicate our relevance to the wider world, and condemning the constraints of academia at large (see, e.g., Antrosio 2012; Darling 2012; Hawks 2011). The limited prospects of Ph.D. students in anthropology shifts the discussion to the more critical terrain of academia's very own race to the bottom: large-scale conversion of full-time, tenure-track lines to part-time adjunct positions. Although this practice is widely denounced by anthropologists, some of the critique implies that anthropology, by its very participation in this system, is complicit in the exploitation of adjuncts (see, e.g., Kendzior 2012).

Beyond the critiques, anthropologists such as Cabrera have addressed the tightening of the job market by growing student internship programs geared toward developing students' skills to better prepare them for life after college. Others have promoted more public outreach of anthropology as an avenue to increase awareness of the discipline and grow job market options for our students. Yet shrinking employment prospects are but one component of complex, global relationships that are not likely to be resolved in the short term or on a local scale. Thus, in keeping with anthropological practice, these pragmatic measures are contextualized in complex conversations about global capitalism and the ethical responsibilities of teachers to students and of scholars to the wider world.

These examples illustrate how deep, abiding, and actively cultivated relationships among anthropologists and our students, colleagues, and communities lay the foundation for anthropology that is at once critical and resonant, complex and accessible. Anthropologists forge connections with others as we undertake and carry out our research, and we forge connections with the public as we write and disseminate the results of that research. These connections broaden public understanding of what it means to be human in different times and places and elevate humanity by highlighting our interconnections. As anthropologists foreground human relationships and disrupt notions of difference, we strengthen the argument that, actually, Florida and the rest of the world could use a few more anthropologists.

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NOTES

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1. Some of Scott's policies include restricting early voting, drug testing for recipients of public assistance, refusal to expand Medicaid,

- cuts in education and the termination of tenure for teachers, and privatizing Florida prisons (Alvarez 2012).
2. In particular, anthropologists have made vital contributions to ongoing coverage of events in the Palestinian territories, as well as the Middle East and North Africa (see especially the contributions of Maya Mikdashi, Amahl Bishara, Julia Elyachar, and Jessica Winegar to the ezine *Jadalyyya* [<http://jadalyyya.com>]). Other issues of interest to anthropologists in 2012 included the controversy surrounding sex testing in the Olympics, race and the presidential election, and climate change and natural disaster.
 3. As of November 2012, views now stand at circa 93 million.
 4. Courses on the Occupy Movement were offered at Columbia University, New York University, and Roosevelt University in 2012.

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