

This issue focuses on the uncertain landscape of employment faced by many anthropologists in an era of

Ce numéro fait le point sur le terrain d'emploi incertain que font face beaucoup d'anthropologues dans un ère de

PRECARITY PRÉCARIÉTÉ

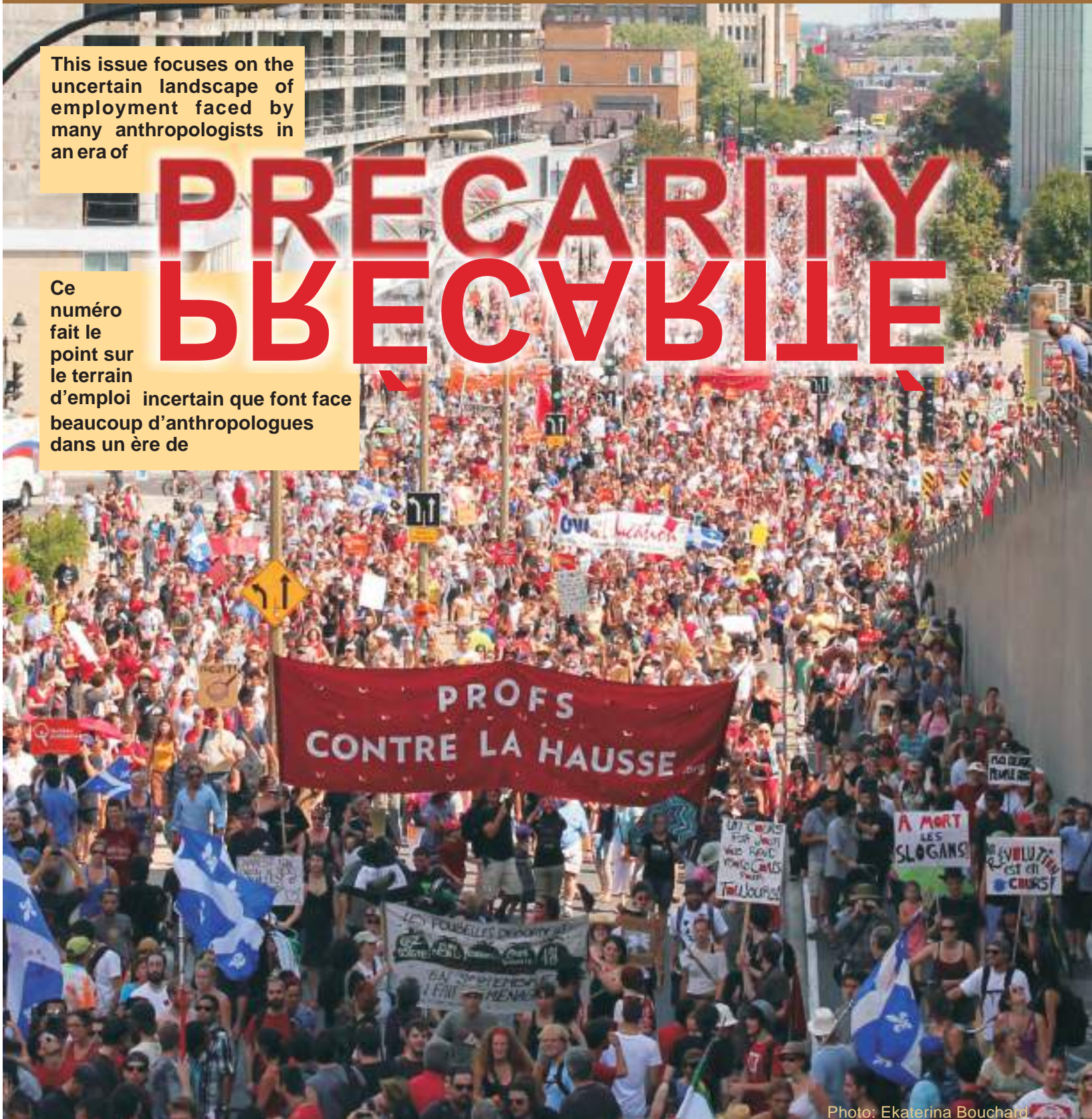


Photo: Ekaterina Bouchard

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GETTING STANDING BY STANDING UP

BY GERALD SIDER
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A Resolution on Employment Advertisements forwarded through CASCA

Preamble: From the sorrow I feel for senior university administrators, who must be lying awake long hours each night, worrying how all their sessional, contract, and contingent faculty are managing to survive; from my concern for the toll this worry is taking upon the souls of these administrators—granting that they have such—and my wonder at all that these administrators are doing to raise the funds to hire ever more administrators at ever higher salaries, to enable telling the few remaining faculty what they can do;

So that our administrators and their souls may rest in peace, we

propose the following:

Resolution: CASCA will no longer accept employment ads from any university where more than 50% of the courses in the humanities and social sciences are taught by temporary, sessional, and contract workers. After 3 years from this starting date the cut-off point will be 35%.

Further, we are circulating this decision to our colleagues in other academic associations and urging them to do likewise.

Discussion: I know t h a t

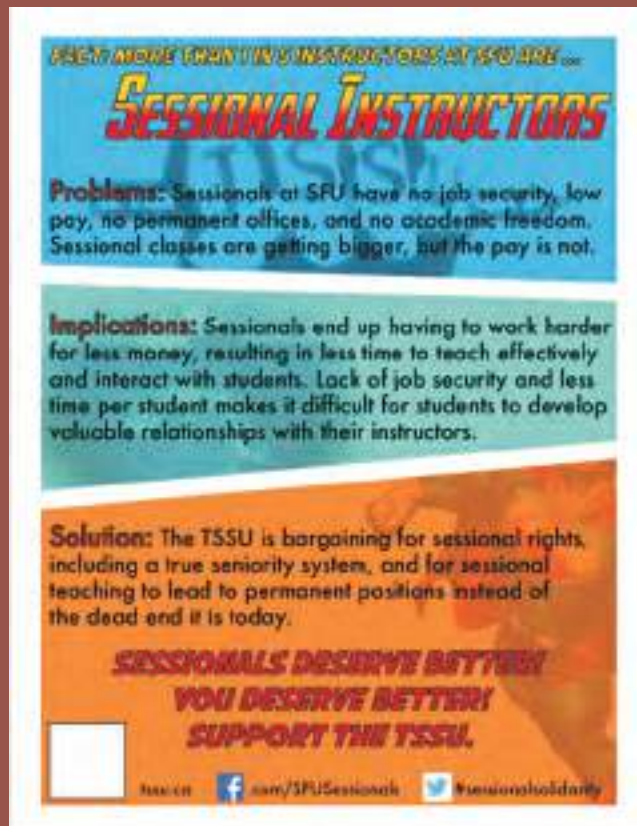
sessionals, contract, and contingent faculty, while reduced to eating one real meal a day, have grown accustomed to that meal—it is their culture, as it were—so their voices on this resolution need to be heard, loud and clear, in the midst of the old refrain: "Dare to struggle, dare to win."

This is a particularly wonderful refrain for retirees, such as me, who can all too easily give the claw—what was the finger before it got bent by arthritis -- to the vultures circling the heights of our universities. In recognition of my pro-

tected position, however, I did not make the figures 35% of the faculty now; 15% after 3 years. We might well be better off using these more severe figures, to get the struggle out in the open, and turn it into a full-scale confrontation, which is what the lessons of civil rights struggles teach is necessary.

PS: Please keep in mind that if we adopt such a resolution it will be crucial to urge other academic associations to do likewise. And it will all depend on our members in various universities reporting on the approximate numbers/% of sessionals, contract, and contingent faculty courses. I would not at all worry about being too exact; approximate numbers are good enough to scare the vultures now circling above us, waiting for us to quietly lay down and die.

This motion has been forwarded to the Resolutions Committee.



Posters from November 2014 created by Jeff Salvail of the Member Mobilization Committee of the Teaching Support Staff Union (TSSU).



Photos courtesy of the TSSU, Simon Fraser University

REFLECTIONS ON THE LIMINALITY OF A PRECARIOUS ANTHROPOLOGIST.

DAVID THORSEN-CAVERS

I suspect I am far from the only anthropologist in Canada these days who lives with the disconcertion and fear that comes with the precarity of working perpetually as a sessional/contract/adjunct. We fear that we may stop being exploited, a fear that is more forceful and real than the hope of ending our precarity through accession to the ranks of the stably employed anthropologists.

As members of the precariat, we are part of an expanding liminality of existence with global dimensions that is fundamental to the growth of capitalism. Here I briefly want to evoke some of the permutations of this liminality, this state of being “betwixt and between” (Turner 1969:95), as I experience it as an anthropologist who has been exteriorized and is trying to break back in to anthropology.

My drift into anthropological liminality began in 2008 when, after spending two years taking care of my daughter (a rather different sort of liminal experience), I landed a sessional gig teaching in an interdisciplinary Centre at a University College like many others across the country. Commuting hundreds of miles each way from my home to the university I spent much of my time physically betwixt and between, neither fully here nor there, likely passing by other adjuncts on their ways down highways.

When I started there in 2008, the acting Dean let me claim my gas expenses. That was stripped away by the next Dean, and so my absurd take-home pay decreased. At least I had an office. Whenever someone went on sabbatical, or a room was emptied to be



Road 49

Photo: Fabio Fedrigo

repurposed, my office shifted. I shared these offices with other sessional ghosts who like me knew there was no point in getting comfortable and stocking the shelves with books, remembering the office's extension number, or anything like that. We were always on the move and never knew where our next office would be.

I ended up spending the next seven years teaching a relatively full course load (often more than the ‘full-time’ faculty members) while never quite being part of the ‘Centre’, the University, or the anthropological community. I was core, but peripheral. I was given the humorous title “Sessional Assistant Professor”. Yes, SAP indeed! While I hoped to eventually be welcomed into the team, I also knew that ‘they’ already had an anthropologist, and so the likelihood of staying there was slim.

My outsider status was routinely brought home to me in engagements with faculty members. I was simultaneously praised for going beyond what might be expected from a

sessional and encouraged that I didn't need to do particular things as a sessional. In discussions my colleagues informed me of ‘our’ programme's direction and future, but it was clear that I was not part of that ‘us’. I reacted to what they changed about their programme. I was once invited to attend a faculty meeting and turned up for it ready to engage with my colleagues, but it became quite clear by the end of the meeting that I was not in fact supposed to be there. I was later told that I did not ‘need’ to come to such things. I was put in my place.

Last year, apparently in an attempt to be more inclusive, the Principal of the college held a ‘reception’ for the sessional and part-time faculty. This had not happened before, so I was curious and attended. There were free bread sticks and beer on offer in a corner of the Student Centre while students mingled and did their thing around us. I wondered where receptions for real faculty took place. The Principal had no idea who I was or that I had been teaching a solid course load there since 2008.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE LIMINALITY OF A PRECARIOUS ANTHROPOLOGIST

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As a liminal figure left out of the loop, I didn't know who he was or what he did either. There we were, two strangers. He wanted to talk as colleagues about our commonalities, the future of the college and 'our' students, but he made more than ten times my salary and I had no idea if I had any future at the college. It could have been funny, but it wasn't. He offered me beer, but I had to hurry off down the highway to get my daughter from after-care so that wasn't going to happen.

My liminality was also, in the early years, marked by a routine of having my email account disappear in mid-September because my lack of continuous employment - being rehired under a new contract each year - suggested that I was indeed someone new, and not a member of the academic team. There but not there, old but new. So I would have to apologize to my students and run off somewhere to talk to someone about acknowledging that I was once again teaching.

This lack of continuity and uncertainty also raises issues with things like research and conferences. Needless to say, funding for research is not something that sessional faculty have much possibility of getting, we have no paid leave, and our salaries don't allow for travel. CASCA congresses present interesting dilemmas for sessionals like me. Since we are often not employed from May through August, we are unaffiliated during the congress, and so we can't get funding for attending the conference like our better paid and more secure colleagues can.

Moreover, and I expect I am not alone in this, we wonder what to

put on our name tags. In order to present ourselves to our better employed anthropological colleagues, we ought to have some affiliation. Was I even allowed to say that I worked at the University? Such things eat away at the confidence of exteriorized and precarious anthropologists, or maybe it's just me. If a white male anthropologist isn't on the tenure track within an anthropology department, he must be of little to no value. After all, patriarchy and



David Thorsen-Cavers

racism work in my favour.

Such things are of greater concern now. On April Fools Day I received an email informing me that I would not be returning next year. While liberating because it might open up opportunities for being reintegrated into the anthropological community and perhaps also opportunities to spend more time on unfunded fieldwork, this heightens my financial concerns. Although it

would be hard to find a job that pays worse than what I was being paid, it is also hard to give up on being an anthropologist. Michael Denning's words are ever present to me now: "Under capitalism, the only thing worse than being exploited is not being exploited" (Denning 2010:79). Without my affiliation with the University my ability to support my former students with reference letters is compromised, as is my ability to communicate with my better employed colleagues and potential employers whose spam traps may trap my new unaffiliated emails, and my ability to stay abreast of what is happening in anthropology without access to journals provided to those with university affiliations. Certainly applying for funding for my research is out of the question.

My liminality has pushed me further away from anthropology. Breaking back in is difficult. As I am married and have a child, I am unwilling to travel far and wide to find the next precarious position. That is likely better than the situation faced by other precariously employed anthropologists who may end up travelling far and wide to be exploited, marginalized and tossed aside. I don't know, we don't talk about such things, likely because it is embarrassing and we think we have failed or because we are competing for the same positions.

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AUSTÉRITÉ AU QUÉBEC

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Après plus d'un an à tenir les rênes du pouvoir, le gouvernement de Philippe Couillard aura finalement réussi à atteindre l'équilibre budgétaire, consacré dans le deuxième budget de l'équipe libérale, déposé en mars par le ministre des finances Carlos Leitao (1). Pour mener à bien ce projet «d'assainissement des finances publiques», le gouvernement aura imposé une série de coupes majeures dans tous les secteurs des services publics, poussant ainsi l'État social québécois dans ses derniers retranchements. Bref, il aura fallu environ une vingtaine d'années pour que la réorientation conservatrice de l'État entamée par le péquiste Lucien Bouchard en 1995 soit complétée (ou presque) par ses collègues libéraux. Selon l'économiste Ianik Marcil, les récentes coupes forment la base d'un projet de «privatisation tranquille» (2), qui est donc fortement idéologique même s'il se pare des atours de la nécessité. Pour entamer ce court article sur l'austérité au Québec et acquérir une meilleure idée de la situation présente, nous présenterons quelques exemples en vrac tirés du dernier budget.

En santé, le budget n'augmentera que de 1,4% malgré une inflation annuelle des dépenses située entre 3 et 4%, une décision qui impliquera, dans les faits, des compressions importantes. Quant à eux, les Centre de la petite enfance (CPE) devront fonctionner avec 74 millions en moins et les garderies privées,

22,5 millions. Le budget du Secrétariat à la condition féminine perd 5 millions de dollars de son budget de 11 millions. Les Conférences régionales des élus (CRÉ) seront abolies, les Forums jeunesse également et les régions seront, aux dires de plusieurs, largement sous-financées (3). La liste des coupures est longue et ne peut être reproduite ici dans son intégralité, car elles totalisent plus de 729 millions de dollars (4). Dans le milieu communautaire, de nombreux organismes en voie de disparition - en raison de la fin des baux des Centres d'éducation populaire décrétée par la Commission scolaire de Montréal - ne recevront aucune aide gouvernementale. Devant la gravité de la situation, des critiques de toutes parts fusent à l'encontre du gouvernement et de son idéologie néo-conservatrice, exception faite des milieux d'affaires et des chambres de commerce, qui appuient en majorité le gouvernement

Couillard et sa politique de « relance de l'économie » reposant sur la manne pétrolière et le Plan Nord (5).

Quant à lui, le milieu universitaire québécois doit essayer des compressions budgétaires évaluées à près de 172 millions de dollars, entraînant d'ailleurs la disparition du soutien à l'insertion professionnelle des étudiants (6). À son tour, le réseau des CÉGEP devra composer avec 41 millions en moins l'an prochain. Dans les universités québécoises, les effets se font déjà sentir : La Faculté des arts et science de l'Université de Montréal annonçait récemment la disparition de 250 cours sur deux ans, l'Université du Québec à Chicoutimi compte éliminer 85 cours (7) et l'Université Laval, plus de 150 (8). Selon certaines sources, le département d'anthropologie de l'Université de Montréal n'offrira pas de charges de cours lors de l'année scolaire 2015-2016. Bien entendu, les

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Photo: Nicholas Dawson

AUSTÉRITÉ AU QUÉBEC

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coupures affectent également les services aux étudiants, certains postes de soutien, l'assistanat et les fonds de recherche. À l'UQAM, par exemple, les services aux personnes handicapées sont amputés de près d'un million de dollars (9).

Par contre, même si les mesures sont particulièrement drastiques, la réponse de la communauté universitaire semble timide. Les recteurs dénoncent en majorité la situation mais procèdent tout de même aux coupes demandées (10). Du côté du corps professoral, la situation est décriée publiquement, notamment par la voie des syndicats. Par ailleurs, en novembre 2014, plus de 6000 chercheur.e.s ont co-signé une lettre ouverte écrite par la présidente de l'Association francophone pour le savoir (ACFAS), Mme. Louise Dandurand, qui appelait les

chercheur.e.s québécois.e.s à se mobiliser pour que leur travail soit reconnu dans l'espace public, devant les nombreuses coupes fédérales et provinciales qui menacent l'intégrité de la recherche universitaire. Sous le slogan "la recherche n'est pas une dépense, c'est un investissement", cette pétition tentait de protéger des fonds de recherche du couperet de l'austérité. Mais curieusement, l'ACFAS "saluait" le 27 février dernier la nomination du nouveau ministre de l'Éducation, François Blais, et écrivait qu'elle "se réjouit de travailler activement avec lui". On sait que Mr. Blais appuie avec vigueur les injonctions imposées à l'UQAM et proposait il y a peu que d'«expulser deux ou trois personnes par jour refroidirait les ardeurs de certains» et en «ferait réfléchir les autres» (11). Devant le peu d'initiatives des corps professoraux au niveau national, il

est donc dur de savoir, à ce moment-ci, si la communauté universitaire fait front commun contre l'austérité et la répression de la dissidence ou si elle s'apprête à accepter passivement cet état des choses.

La situation est différente chez la population étudiante, dont certains membres ont décidé de s'imposer dans l'espace public pour contester les mesures d'austérité. Le 2 avril, plus de 150 000 personnes étaient dans la rue à Montréal et à Québec (12). Entre la fin mars et la mi-avril, de nombreuses manifestations nocturnes auto-organisées eurent lieu à Montréal, certaines attirant des milliers de personnes. Par contre, la répression policière fut féroce, avec des centaines d'arrestations et de nombreuses personnes blessées par les armes policières (matraques, balles de caoutchouc, grenades, gaz, poivre

de cayenne, vélos). Avec l'accord de l'administration et du rectorat, le SPVM a fait irruption plusieurs fois dans les murs de l'UQAM en tenue de combat, provoquant l'ire des étudiant.e.s et de certains professeurs réuni.e.s au sein du SPUQ (13). L'étudiant Hamza Babou fait face à 14 chefs d'accusation pour avoir participé à des levées de cours à l'UQAM malgré



Photo: Ulysse Lemerise, La Presse

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des injonctions (14). Cet évènement monte d'un cran la judiciarisation du mouvement étudiant, qui est en train de perdre son droit de grève pourtant reconnu de facto depuis plus de 40 ans par les universités. La répression massive de la manifestation du 1er mai dernier à Montréal, où plusieurs familles et enfants furent affectés par les gaz lacrymogènes du SPVM, montre que les forces de l'ordre n'ont pas l'intention de laisser aucune marge de manœuvre à la contestation sociale de l'austérité.

Dans ce contexte de tensions sociales aigües, une rhétorique particulière envahit les médias : certains commentateurs font jour après jour des rapprochements entre les actions étudiantes et le « terrorisme » (15), car certain.e.s étudiant.e.s se masquent pour éviter d'être surveillés par les caméras et des agents de sécurité. Par ailleurs, tout semble indiquer que l'époque est favorable à la gouvernance « dure ». Couillard, grand admirateur de Margaret Thatcher, a énoncé récemment en conférence de presse qu'« Au Québec, le premier ministre ne recule pas » (16), une adaptation du célèbre « the lady is not for turning » proféré par la Dame de Fer en 1980. Dans un autre registre, François Blais, ministre de l'éducation, affirme que « les années en ce moment sont un peu plus difficiles. Je pense que les Québécois ne sont pas faits en chocolat » (17). Enfin, pour qualifier son entreprise, le gouvernement préfère le concept de « rigueur budgétaire » à celui « d'austérité » (18), prouvant encore une fois qu'il pense agir sous la nécessité, comme dans les époques de disette, en ne manquant pas de réprimer tout avis contraire ou toute action politique dépassant, par son

caractère subversif, la lettre ouverte ou la pétition. Les suspensions et autres conséquences disciplinaires dont sont victimes les professeur.e.s de CÉGEP ayant participé à la grève sociale du 1er mai dernier (déclarée illégale par la Commission des relations de travail) en témoigne (19).

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QUIT LIT AND WHERE ANTHROPOLOGY CAREER DEVELOPMENT FALLS SHORT

BY RITA ISABEL HENDERSON, PhD

Rita Isabel Henderson is a CIHR-funded postdoctoral fellow in the Cumming School of Medicine's Department of Community Health Sciences at the University of Calgary. Her work, as part of a national team called Voices against Violence: Youth Stories Create Change addresses experiences of structural violence among marginalized youth in Canada.

"Quit Lit" is an apt name for an editorial genre that has flourished in recent years among scholars who choose to leave academia. Consisting largely of blog posts and digital how-to guides shared on social media, it is peppered with the liberating narratives of PhDs who have found the courage and know-how to move on from academic life and the sacrifices it entails. Many authors have secured employment in university administration, the public sector, and industry. Others are more specific in their critiques, for example asking whether the humanities—which are over-represented among Quit Lit authors—even "need the university." (1)

As a window onto the frustrations of many newly-minted PhDs in the social sciences, Quit Lit tells a story of a post-secondary establishment ill-equipped to support new talent, unable to adapt to changing labour landscapes, and indifferent to its most vulnerable. Accurate as this depiction may be, Quit Lit does little to guide those who persist in seeking faculty employment despite grim prospects, or to enlighten those who could feasibly play a hand in improving the situation.

In my own experience as an anthropologist and postdoc who has found enriching post-PhD career opportunities in Medicine, Quit Lit misrepresents job prospects as inevitably bleak. It also misses the opportunity to direct constructive criticism towards our discipline's reluctance to prepare advanced trainees for success in multi-disciplinary spaces. I admit that naming reluctance towards multi-disciplinarity paints our field with a broad-brush stroke, but I stand by observations especially



Photo: Rita Isabel Henderson

with regards to the Canadian context.

For instance, while choosing a PhD program ten years ago, I was strongly discouraged by mentors from deviating from anthropology, on advice that this would invariably disqualify me from consideration for faculty hires within the field. Today, it is little secret that committees across the social sciences will not even consider an applicant without a PhD in the hiring department's discipline, regardless of the nature of research experience or area of expertise. More troubling is that countless programs across

Canada recruit PhD students from their existing trainee pools, aware that many such students have no intention of ever moving away for professional employment.

The caliber of students is not what is troubling, but rather that departments recruit locally while remaining committed to not hiring faculty from among one's own trainees. This would not pose a problem if doctoral students were trained for professional success beyond academia. However, programs that consistently require of PhD graduates upwards of six years to complete—while often blaming the students themselves for not defending in less—do not model flexibility or adaptability to the changing landscape of research. Indeed, a seven-year PhD is not uncommon, and while it may give the graduate a foot up on the job market with teaching experience and analytical depth, punitive approaches to delayed completion (i.e., forcing PhD candidates to withdraw between Year 6 and thesis submission) reveal a system indifferent to the professional resilience of advanced trainees.

Meanwhile, the discipline's preference for single-authored publications has meant that by PhD completion, I had far fewer publications to my name than peers from allied sciences (i.e. Education, Social Work, Nursing) who had trained on large research teams, often on very similar topics. I had long been led to believe that multi-authored works were watered down and that they inflated the contributions of co-authors. It was not from anthropologists that I came to recognize such scholarship as complementary to the critical training I had earned in our discipline or reflec-

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QUIT LIT AND WHERE ANTHROPOLOGY CAREER DEVELOPMENT FALLS SHORT

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tive of a capacity among multi-disciplinary colleagues to effectively collaborate towards common goals.

Academic horizons widened when, upon completing my PhD, I had little choice but to accommodate grant agency priorities that attribute a mere 13.7% of postdoctoral funding in Canada to the humanities and social sciences. (2) As I moved into population and public health for my postdoc, I was surprised to learn that far from leaving my discipline, I had joined a team of advanced trainees with a strong background in anthropology, each member recruited to contribute qualitative and systems research expertise to diverse health projects. Among six postdocs in my current department in recent years, three hold PhDs in anthropology (two in social anthropology and one in physical anthropology). Two among the six have complemented anthropological training with degrees in the health sciences, including a Master's of Public Health and a PhD in Health Policy. Within a year and a half of completing their studies, each of these had secured permanent research positions; one was appointed to a tenure-track faculty position in a top Canadian university and the other was named fellow in a prestigious national think tank. Two other postdocs have secured permanent faculty positions internationally, and one has been offered a second postdoctoral fellowship.

With thirteen anthropology degrees between postdocs in my department, it is difficult to dispute that anthropological training has enabled academic success. However, we share practical grounding in the realities of today's labour landscape, recognizing that

the chances of that success occurring in the form in which it has long been promised to us—namely in tenure-track appointments within anthropology departments—relies more on luck than on merit. After all, in the past fifteen years, less than 30% of postdoctoral researchers across all disciplines have gone on to secure tenure-track positions for which the majority have long trained. (3) Hopes of securing such positions are reportedly higher among graduate students than postdocs, even though in 2008 the traditional career path of

EARLY CAREER ADVICE TO KEEP MY DISCIPLINARY LINEAGE PURE AND TO FOCUS ON PUBLISHING WITHIN THE FIELD DID NOT ENSURE EMPLOYABILITY WITHIN ANTHROPOLOGY

university professor was achieved by only 14% of PhDs in the life sciences, down from 55% in 1973. (4) According to one international longitudinal survey carried out by the magazine *Science Careers*, (5) that figure has steadily dropped since the 2008 economic crisis, suggesting that today a mere one in five postdoctoral fellows is likely to land a tenure-track position, putting the percentage of PhDs who actually become faculty members within seven years of completing their studies at a mere 6%.

While numbers vary significantly across the disciplines, whichever way this pie is cut, there is an alarming expectations gap. This shift in employment outcomes among highly trained professionals raises important questions about whether the objectives of advanced specialization are sufficiently aligned with practical outcomes. Considering that enrolment in doctoral programs has doubled since the turn of the millennium (6,7) and that a vast majority of graduate students never go on to secure postdoctoral fellowships or even pursue academic career paths, it seems reasonable for Quit Lit authors to question whether universities are adequately preparing advanced trainees for success beyond the academy.

The plot thickens when the collective impact of underemployed PhDs is calculated, even when we ignore the value of a reserve army of sessional instructors. The contributions of postdoctoral fellows to the advancement of science are difficult to exaggerate; one assessment of several hundred research papers published from a leading chemical engineering lab at MIT in the 1990s suggests that in bench science, postdoctoral scholars serve as first author on more than half of all publications. (8) Our presence is equally valuable in the mentorship and supervision of more junior scholars, and in the case of anthropologists, in translating between research knowledge and local ways of knowing. Employment trends aside, government and arm's-length stakeholders are not wrong in arguing that economic growth relies on innovation in research and technology, (9,10) making the attrac-

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QUIT LIT AND WHERE ANTHROPOLOGY CAREER DEVELOPMENT FALLS SHORT

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tion and retention of highly-qualified personnel capable of promoting the meaningful impact of research across society a strategic priority in Canada. (11)

In the end, I am competitive for far more faculty positions beyond Canadian anthropology departments than within. Early career advice to keep my disciplinary lineage pure and to focus on publishing within the field did not ensure employability within anthropology. Contrary to the intention of boosting my job prospects, such advice even undermined my employability beyond the field, where my capacity to thrive has depended as much on the qualitative expertise acquired during graduate training as on entrepreneurial pluck to make my career take flight. I do not critique Canadian anthropology lightly, as I have great respect for peers in the three departments that have nurtured my success, as well as in CASCA, which contributed to my doctoral research through the 2008 Richard F. Salisbury award. Nor am I implying that anthropology should bow to the pressures of economic utility.

Nevertheless, the pressures of economic utility shape the professional prospects of advanced trainees whether we choose to admit it or not; the question that remains is simply what Canadian anthropology is willing to do to protect its most vulnerable. At the very least, career development in anthropology departments is ripe ground for innovation.

First, the best guidance for current trainees in terms of navigating the job market is not to be had from established faculty, but from peers who are a few years ahead of graduate students, who are making their careers happen in

spite of grim prospects. Second, disciplinary purism is antiquated, snobbish, and unjust to our students who will one day have to figure out where their skills may be applied beyond our ilk. Given the decades that today's trainees will take to pay off their student debts, the least educators can do is line students up for success in the diverse domains in which they can reasonably expect to apply anthropological skills.

Finally, it seems that these days nobody is entitled to an easy pathway to stable employment, least of all PhDs. If only faculty and students could face this reality creatively and collaboratively, then graduates might not experience their underemployment as personal failure or see research as something to "quit."

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W(H)ITHER THE CANADIAN PHD?

**JAMES B. WALDRAM
(UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN)
AND JANICE E. GRAHAM
(DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY)**

Slate Magazine (Warner and Clauset 2015) recently revealed “The Academy’s Dirty Secret” about the “astonishingly small number of elite universities” that produce “an overwhelming number of America’s professors.” In the fields surveyed, business, computer science, and history, “just a quarter of all universities account for 71 to 86 percent of all tenure-track faculty in the U.S. and Canada.” Only eight schools accounted for half of the history professors!

How does cultural anthropology in Canada stack up? Not well, and the evidence is as alarming as it is surprising. For several years some of us have been noticing a hiring trend in which Canadian-trained PhDs in cultural anthropology were finding positions in smaller, regional universities and colleges while foreign-trained academics took the jobs in universities in the major centres.

A perusal of department websites in 2009 (undertaken for a paper at the CASCA conference that year) was telling. For instance, when looking at recent hires, as evidenced by holding the rank of Assistant professor, only 1 of 5 faculty at Alberta, 2 of 7 at UBC, and 0 of 13 at University of Toronto held Canadian PhDs. These are big universities with long-established programs. But in 2009 even little University of Lethbridge was not immune to the anti-Canadian bias: of the 9 faculty (all ranks) listed in 2009, only one appeared to have a Canadian PhD, earned decades earlier.

Of course Canadians have been receiving advance anthropological

training at international institutions since the discipline first appeared here. The 2011 survey of Canadian anthropologists conducted through CASCA under Graham’s leadership demonstrated just how common this remains. Of the 302 PhD respondents, working both within Canada and internationally, roughly 56% had obtained their degree from a Canadian university, 24% from a U.S. university, and 20% from other international universities. Such diversity is enriching for our discipline in Canada, of course. But while we do not have comparable data for 2015, we think the following is indicative of an alarming trend.

The data from the two tables are derived from an examination of Canadian English-language university department websites (either Anthropology or joint Sociology and Anthropology) in April 2015, where we were able to identify rank and specialization (excluding primarily teaching appointments). We attempted to survey a range of universities, the medical-doctoral, the comprehensive, and the undergraduate (to use the MacLeans scheme), from all regions of Canada. A total of 40 Assistant professors were identified at these institutions in cultural anthropology; since our concern is with recent hiring, we did not include faculty at that rank whom

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Table 1: Source of PhD for Assistant Professors of Cultural Anthropology

SCHOOL	US PhD	CAN PhD	OTHER PhD
McGill	2		
Toronto	6	2	
Manitoba	3		
Saskatchewan		1	
Alberta	1		
UBC	2		1
McMaster	2		
Concordia	1		
Dalhousie	1	1	
Victoria		1	1
SFU	2		
York	1		
Carleton	2	1	1
Lakehead			1
Regina			1
Waterloo	1	1	
MUN	1	1	
Saint Mary's	1	1	
TOTALS	26 (65%)	9 (23%)	5 (13%)

W(H)ITHER THE CANADIAN PHD?

Continuation from page 11/Suite de la page 11

we know are not recent (e.g., having acquired the PhD more than ten years ago). These data are not perfect, but we do think it gives a pretty good sense of current hiring practices.

Table One (previous page) shows the number of Assistant professors according to where they obtained their PhD:

Table Two (below) shows the specific universities where these PhD degrees were obtained:

Two-thirds of Assistant Professors obtained their degrees from U.S. universities, and almost 80% hold PhDs from a non-Canadian program! This would suggest quite a reversal from the pattern found in the 2011 study across all ranks. The second table adds the colour to our commentary by showing that your best bet to land a faculty position in anthropology at a Canadian university is to attend Chicago, Berkeley or an Ivy League school. So much for a healthy diversity! The elitism in hiring that was discussed above is clearly also in evidence in Canadian anthropology. Five U.S. schools are responsible for 38% of all Assistant Professors of anthropology at these Canadian universities. Canadian labour law has been clear for decades: qualified Canadians must

be given preference in academic hiring. The only way this can be circumvented is by demonstrating that there are no "qualified" Canadians. While Canadians can certainly gain their PhD elsewhere (full disclosure: Waldram has a U.S. PhD, from 1983), our sense is of preferential hiring of non-Canadian trained non-Canadians. The implication is clear: our domestic PhD programs are producing inferior PhDs; even our own universities won't hire them! Is this a plausible explanation? Are Canadian-trained PhDs really unqualified? Is so, how do we face our graduate students every day knowing we are training them for jobs for which they will not "qualify"? How do we continue to expand doctoral training opportunities? Should we be advising our best MA students to try Chicago or Berkeley? Time will tell if recent federal efforts to close hiring

loopholes will result in more Canadians being hired, but of course this does not necessarily mean Canadian-trained.

This trend has considerable impact on Canadian anthropology. First, this hiring preference has effectively sown the seeds of destruction for our doctoral programs, where Canadian ethnologies, landscapes and human specificities once had geographic, historical, political and social resonance. Even Canadian universities do not want to hire these graduates. Soon young scholars will realize this and either go elsewhere to train, or simply abandon the discipline altogether. Our graduate enrolments will collapse and along with them much of the sources of funding that are often linked to grad program performance (especially body counts). But this trend also drives

another nail into the coffin of a once-vibrant Canadian anthropology. Increasingly, our younger colleagues are no longer east-west focussed, engaging with the discipline in this country and placing the Canadian Anthropology Society/ La Société Canadienne d'Anthropologie (CASCA) as the scholarly society of their primary allegiance. They are, rather, North-South focussed - more Canadians are

Table 2: Source and number of degree holders

United States	Canada	Other
Chicago 6	Toronto 2	Univ Coll London 1
UC Berkeley 3	McGill 2	Manchester 1
Michigan 2	McMaster 2	Brasilia 1
Columbia 2	Memorial 1	Oxford 1
UC Davis 2	UBC 1	Heidelberg 1
Indiana 1	York 1	
Johns Hopkins 1		
Stanford 1		
Cornell 1		
Yale 1		
Brown 1		
Rice 1		
Rutgers 1		
UCLA 1		
Arizona 1		

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W(H)ITHER THE CANADIAN PHD?

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members of the American Anthropology Association (AAA), attending AAA conferences and publishing in American journals, than are members of CASCA.

So maybe we should take another look at who's applying, and where they are coming from, and be prepared to have a serious conversation about why we aren't hiring Canadian-trained PhDs and what it says about us.

Our playful double entendre of a title actually betrays our joint anxieties. What is the future, if any, for Canadian anthropology PhD programs and those who graduate from them?

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CANADA PRIZE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

PRIX DU CANADA EN SCIENCES SOCIALES

Congratulations to Michael Asch recipient of the Canada Prize in the Social Sciences for his book "On Being Here to Stay: Treaties and Aboriginal Rights in Canada".

The prize is awarded by the Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences.



Félicitations à Michael Asch récipiendaire du Prix du Canada en sciences sociales pour son livre "On Being Here to Stay: Treaties and Aboriginal Rights in Canada".

Le prix est attribué par la Fédération des sciences humaines.

WEAVER-TREMBLAY AWARD WINNERS

RÉCIPIENDAIRES DU PRIX WEAVER-TREMBLAY

The Weaver Tremblay committee is pleased to announce that there are two winners of the Weaver Tremblay Prize: Dr. Marie-France Labrecque and Dr. Janice Graham.

Dr. Labrecque will receive her prize this year in Quebec city and will pronounce the Weaver Tremblay address. Dr. Graham will receive her prize next year in Halifax, and will pronounce the Weaver Tremblay address then.

The committee wishes to extend its warmest congratulations to Dr. Labrecque and Dr. Graham for their outstanding accomplishments in Applied Anthropology.

Les membres du comité de sélection du prix Weaver Tremblay sont très heureux d'annoncer qu'il y a deux récipiendaires du prix: Mme Marie France Labrecque et Mme Janice Graham.

Mme Labrecque recevra son prix cette année à Québec et présentera sa conférence Weaver Tremblay lors du colloque 2015. Mme Graham recevra son prix l'année prochaine à Halifax et prononcera sa conférence Weaver Tremblay à ce moment là.

Les membres du comité félicitent chaleureusement Mmes Labrecque et Graham pour leur contribution exceptionnelle à l'anthropologie appliquée.

NOTES FROM THE TEACHING STREAM

BY MAGGIE CUMMINGS

Maggie Cummings is a Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto, Scarborough. Together with Dr. Karen McGarry (McMaster), she will be co-chairing a roundtable discussion on all things teaching at this year's annual meeting in Quebec City. Landscapes of Knowledge: Teaching Anthropology in Canada Today will take place on May 14th at 2pm. Join us!

After having worked in a semi-precarious contractually-limited position for several years (and having taught one-off sessional courses in various institutions before that), I've just finished my first full year as a full-time Lecturer in the permanent teaching stream at the University of Toronto Scarborough. These kinds of appointments have become increasingly popular in Canadian universities over the last few years; the workload and expectations for teaching stream faculty vary, however, from institution to institution. At the University of Toronto, Lecturers are expected to focus on teaching and service; research-stream faculty split their time between research, teaching, and service. In my case, this means I teach a slightly higher course load than my research-stream colleagues. As workload is determined by department, course loads vary widely from department to department. Some teaching stream colleagues in other disciplines do 100% teach-

ing, or a 4/4 load. It also means that there is little expectation for me to do any research (although what I do in my "spare" time is up to me), unless it falls under the umbrella of "scholarship of teaching and learning" (SOTL). Indeed, lecturers at U of T are currently prohibited from applying for Tri-Council funding unless they are proposing SOTL-related projects. Which brings me to one of the odd contradictions of these kinds of ap-

great strengths of anthropology (from a scholarship of teaching perspective, no less), is that the kind of learning we promote is inherently experiential. Anthropologists learn by reading, analyzing, and theorizing; but we also learn by doing, through participant observation, and, as much as we can, we encourage our students to do the same. The artificial separation of teaching from research imposed by the two-stream model undermines the very thing that makes our discipline unique, and which makes it stand out from other disciplines in an institutional setting that increasingly demands that we equip our students with "skills" rather than "just" knowledge. On the other hand, the fact that many universities are restructuring in the direction of a two-stream model might be seen as a reflection of a shift, at a broader level, in conceptions of what a university education is, or should be. More and more, students, and the broader public, view university as a place for skills-training and preparation for the job market; the idea that universities should encourage reflection, critical thinking, and deep learning for their own sakes is often derided as old-fashioned, naïve, or even elitist.

The advent of the teaching stream could be seen as an institutional embodiment of this new ethos; one which does a disservice to the very strengths of our discipline (note, however, that I won't be quitting my job in protest any time soon; with



Another "innovative" assignment for a course entitled Culture through Film and Media involved having students take a selfie and write about the process. Read more about this assignment at: <http://www.magazine.utoronto.ca/life-on-campus/a-plus-in-selfies-anthropology-maggie-cummings/>

Photo: Laurence Lopez

pointments, especially for an anthropologist. Perhaps there are disciplines where a rigid separation of research from teaching makes sense; but anthropology is not one of them. Every anthropologist I know brings their research into the classroom with them in one way or another. Moreover, one of the

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NOTES FROM THE TEACHING STREAM

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permanent jobs fewer and far between, I admit that I will be happy to fight the system from within).

Another frustrating idiosyncrasy of the teaching stream: one can be a fantastic lecturer, a gifted discussion leader, a professor who models critical thinking and inspires budding young scholars; but much of what counts as teaching “excellence” (the bar that must be met for promotion) involves the embrace of “innovation”.

A disproportionately high number of the workshops and resources available at, and celebrated by, the centres for teaching and learning, at least at my institution, focus on innovative teaching methods and tools. Unfortunately, a brief survey of these innovations, which in-

clude the use of technology such as i-Clickers, lecturecasting, course management software, and online plagiarism checkers, seem aimed less at promoting deep learning and real engagement with big ideas and more at customer service and the efficient management of larger and larger courses. One of my key goals as a teacher is to teach students to read—not to be literate, but to really, closely read the course material—especially as so many seem to come to university unprepared to do so. But I worry that, when the time comes for promotion, this particular goal will seem stodgy and un-innovative.

Of course, the push to be innovative is not all bad. My search for ways to innovate while still achiev-

ing my own goals as a teacher have led me outside my comfort zone, with some pedagogical success. In an effort to encourage students to engage with anthropological ideas and case studies outside the classroom, I've started a Twitter account (you can follow me @thinkanthro). 140-word tweets and links to short but relevant blog posts will never replace the kind of deep reflection and close reading of nuanced arguments that I ultimately want my students to learn; but when I'm feeling optimistic, I think that when students retweet or “favourite” material about structural violence, or institutionalized racism, or indigenous cosmologies, they just might be taking the first step in the right direction.

CASCA 2015

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TO SEEING YOU IN
QUEBEC CITY FOR THE
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Université Laval - Québec

INTRODUCING THE CASCA ARCHIVIST AND A CALL FOR MATERIAL

ROBERT L. A. HANCOCK, PH.D. (METIS)

For over a decade, Julia Harrison served as CASCA's Archivist, working to build a significant collection at Library and Archives Canada relating to the history of the association.

The initial donation of early materials was made by Sally Weaver, preserving documents and correspondence that outline the founding of the Canadian Ethnology Society, the predecessor to our current Society. Having had the opportunity to do research in this collection on a number of occasion, as part of projects relating to the relationship between Canadian anthropology and Indigenous peoples, it is a great honour to take on the responsibility of maintaining and growing the collection to ensure that materials about CASCA continue to be added in the hopes

that they will be as useful for future researchers as the current collection has been to me.

I have undertaken archival research in several collections both in Canada (the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Library and Archives Canada, the Museum of Anthropology and University Archives at the University of British Columbia, and the British Columbia Archives) and in the United States (the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, and the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan).

I have a strong sense of the importance of archival collections for anthropological research, not just for historians of anthropology but for any scholars interested in the historical aspects of their research projects and the

disciplinary contexts in which they are operating.

In the coming months, the members of the Executive and I will be looking to the membership to assist in identifying materials that are missing from the collection, with an eye to making further donations in the near future. The finding aid for the materials currently collected in the CASCA fonds can be downloaded at

<http://data2.collectionscanada.ca/pdf/pdf001/p000000922.pdf>.

Robert Hancock is currently the LE, NONET Academic Coordinator, Office of Indigenous Affairs, Division of Student Affairs and Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology and School of Environmental Studies at the University of Victoria.

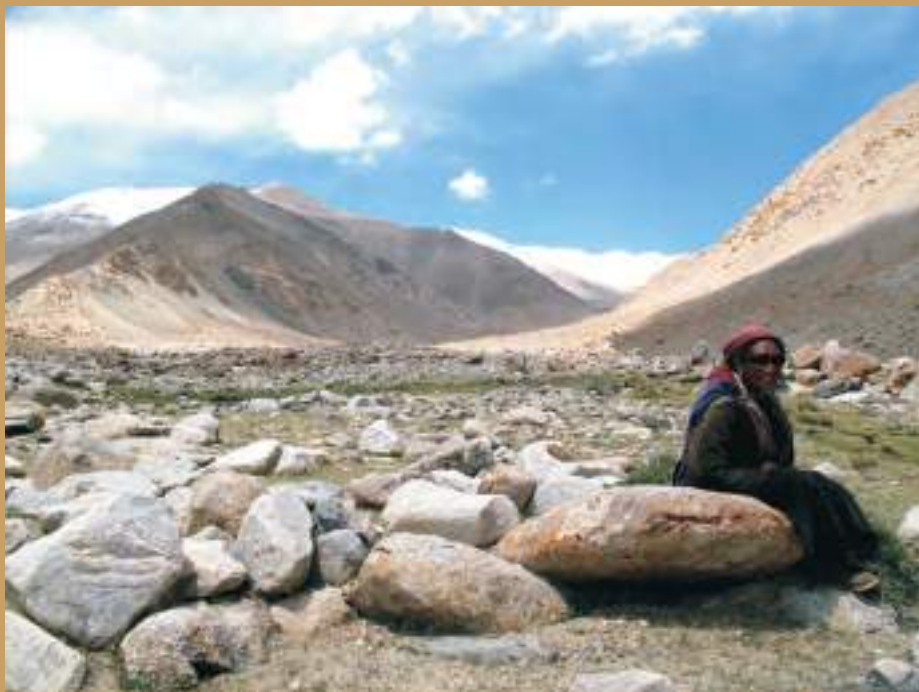


Library and Archives Canada

Photo: Bruno Schlumberger, Postmedia

WHEN GLACIERS VANISH: NATURE, POWER AND MORAL ORDER IN THE INDIAN HIMALAYAS

2014 RICHARD F. SALISBURY AWARD WINNER



KARINE GAGNÉ
DOCTORANTE
DÉPARTEMENT
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Le présent projet est une étude ethnographique qui examine le savoir en tant que pratique située au Ladakh, dans l'Himalaya indien. Elle analyse les implications socioculturelles des deux moteurs de changement en jeu au Ladakh: l'un est d'origine socio-économique et lié à la production du Ladakh en tant que zone frontalière, tandis que l'autre est de nature environnementale et entraîné par les changements climatiques.

Alors que le Ladakh est demeuré hors de la portée de l'État bureaucratique pendant l'administration coloniale britannique, la région s'est trouvée

reconfigurée en zone frontalière stratégique après l'indépendance de l'Inde des suites des guerres successives avec le Pakistan et la Chine.

L'Indépendance a mené à la partition de l'Inde et du Pakistan en 1947; cette thèse examine la portée à long terme des événements traumatisants de la partition tels qu'ils se sont déroulés au Ladakh et comment les Ladakhis établissent des liens entre ces événements et les changements climatiques. L'État indien s'est produit dans la région à travers une volonté de dominer les montagnes, principalement par le développement d'infrastructures et par l'intégration du savoir local des Ladakhis dans l'appareil militaire.

La militarisation a restructuré l'économie du Ladakh, redéfini la

structure des ménages, contribué à l'exode rural, déplacé la centralité des activités agropastorales et, tel que la dissertation le soutient, altéré de manière significative la connexion de la population locale avec l'environnement. La rationalisation croissante de la perspective sur l'environnement aujourd'hui contribue à la fragmentation des liens qui unissent les domaines naturels et humains dans la cosmologie locale de même qu'à l'abandon des pratiques rituelles connexes. Parallèlement, la région est touchée par des effets distincts des changements climatiques, en particulier la récession des glaciers. La thèse juxtapose l'expérience subjective de ces vastes changements dans la vie quotidienne des villageois de la Vallée de Sham avec les faits historiques environnementaux, démontrant ainsi que les événements historiques locaux influent sur les perceptions des changements environnementaux.

L'analyse démontre qu'un phénomène objectif tel que la récession des glaciers est interprété à travers des réalités locales. Plus précisément, selon la conception du monde locale, un glacier en retrait est une figure rhétorique d'une transformation de la condition humaine. Comme le fait valoir la dissertation, l'interprétation culturelle ne constitue pas un obstacle à l'objectivité de l'histoire naturelle de la cosmologie locale. L'interprétation culturelle et l'expérience empirique s'avèrent par ailleurs essentielles à la vitalité des connaissances locales sur l'environnement et à la performance des pratiques associées.

WHEN GLACIERS VANISH: NATURE, POWER AND MORAL ORDER IN THE INDIAN HIMALAYAS

2014 RICHARD F. SALISBURY AWARD WINNER

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Context

After a long winter, spring had finally come to Ladakh in the Indian Himalayas. Everywhere in the Sham Valley, people were leaving the comfort of their kitchens and the warm fires of their wood stoves as the temperature outside was becoming more and more agreeable. The blanket of snow covering the surrounding summits was slowly melting, the precious meltwater feeding the streams that irrigate terraced fields through ingeniously complex arrays of channels. Soon, the glacier meltwater would quicken the current of the streams on which the region's agrarian village economy depends.

We were in Ang, in the upper part of Tingmosgang village. Abi (grand-mother) Lobsang was

Photo: Ekaterina Bouchard

preparing tea for us. I was accompanied by my research assistant, Pema.

Misfortune seemed to befall the Buddhist community of Ang with particular insistence that spring. This was the sowing season and the whole hamlet was short of water to irrigate the fields. There is less water in spring because there

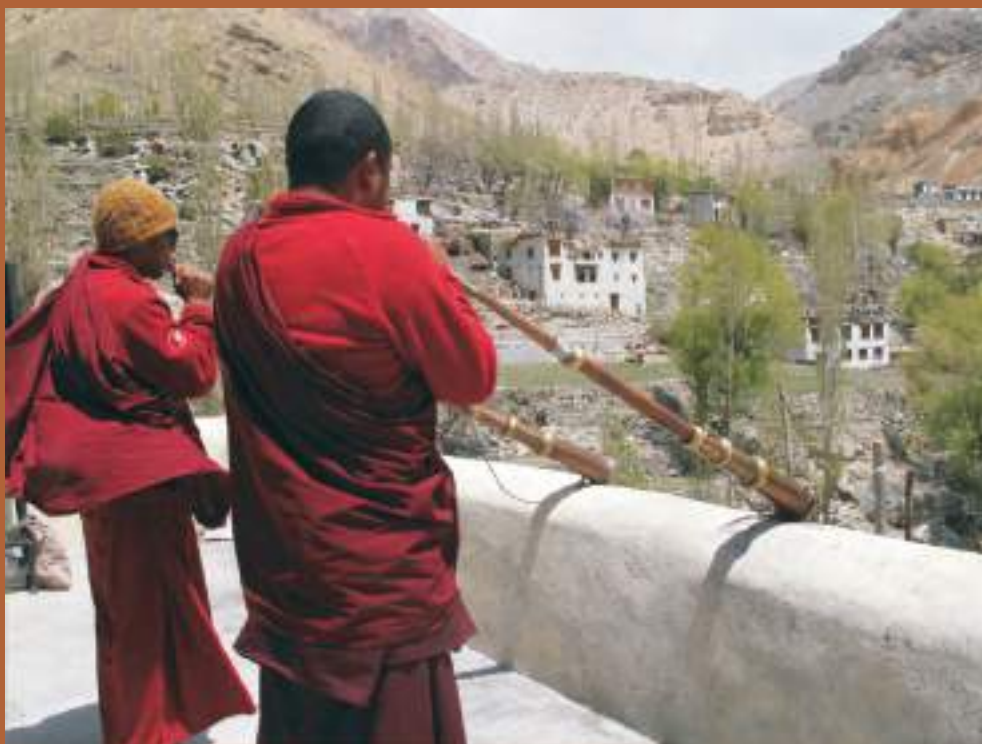
water in the stream that passes through the village was in the past much higher in springtime, a change she attributed to the recession of the local glacier and decreased snowfall. Abi Lobsang then recollected how, when she was young, villagers would bring charcoal into the mountains in order "to grow" one of the glacier that feeds the stream of the village.

They would do this "when there was a fear the glacier would go", she explained.

As a young girl, she had found it a pleasant activity to go around with other villagers collecting charcoal from the fireplaces of every household. The villagers fulfilled a community responsibility by providing charcoal in order to make this small glacier grow.

"This is what people would do", she said, reminiscing. I heard elders give such quasi-oneiric accounts of villagers trekking to glaciers with bags full of charcoal on numerous occasions in the Sham Valley. All indications are that that this practice today belongs to the past. Elders saw it

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Photos: Karine Gagné

is less snow these days, abi Lobsang explained. When I asked her why there was less snow, she paused for a moment, pensive. "It could be due to the warmer temperature", she suggested, "it is much warmer in winter these days". My question having piqued her curiosity, abi Lobsang carried on with her observations. The

WHEN GLACIERS VANISH: NATURE, POWER AND MORAL ORDER IN THE INDIAN HIMALAYAS

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performed in their childhood, but not since. "Why aren't people doing this today to try to help with the water problems?" I asked. Most Ladakhis I met have observed the glacier of their village recede over the years. "I don't know", she said, adding, "things were different before, now people have become really empty at heart". Such reflections were a leitmotiv that suffused the discourse of Ladakhi elders.

The practices through which Ladakhis once engaged with glaciers constitute the point of entry to my study of knowledge and relation to place in Ladakh. How is it that the prospect of losing glaciers in the past compelled community mobilization, whereas today, the retreat of glaciers, widely acknowledged among Ladakhis, has failed to elicit a similar reaction? Whether or not such practices were effective in cultivating glaciers and maintaining water supplies is not what concerns us at present. Importantly, however, abi Lobsang's account is evocative of a change in people's relationship with glaciers, and, by extension, with Ladakh as a place.

Titled *When Glaciers Vanish: Nature, Power and Moral Order in the Indian Himalayas*, my doctoral dissertation is in many ways an exploration that seeks to understand what changing glacier practices say about a changing relationship with place and, more broadly, people's disconnection from the natural environment. Along the way, I consider a series of questions that address different aspects of these changes. What factors contribute to sever a previously intimate link between

people and the environment, including its natural elements, such as glaciers? What place did glaciers hold in the Ladakhi cosmology and how has it changed? What role has the Indian state played in redefining how people engage with places? What do these changing relations with a place tell us about local knowledge of the environment? Ultimately, what does the case of Ladakh tell us about the human dimensions of climate change?

Landscape Ethnography

This research project is an ethnographic study that examines the encounter between, on the one hand, the militarization and the bureaucratization of the Indian Himalayan region of Ladakh and, on the other, the local sacred and agro-pastoralist landscapes. The dissertation argues that the rationalization of Ladakh's natural environment by the state has significantly altered the local population's engagement with the environment, contributing to the fragmentation of the ties that unite the realm of nature and the realm of human beings in the local cosmology. The dissertation also seeks to demonstrate that the encounter between the state and local knowledge systems have significant implications for how the people of Ladakh perceive and respond to the environmental changes currently affecting the region. In bringing into conversation questions of territoriality with the material dimension of the landscape of Ladakh, my study also demonstrates the spatial organization and configuration of nature, culture and power.

In order to examine these questions I proceed by doing a "landscape ethnography", namely an analytical description of Ladakh as a place and the elements of its natural environment, from the perspective of state and non-state actors. The theorizing approach to the humanity of landscapes (see Basso 1996; Cruikshank 2005; Thornton 2008) together with the scholarship on space and place (see Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003), demonstrate that landscape practices are intertwined with various forms of power, highlighting how places are socially constructed and how related experiences need to be culturally relativized (Ogden 2011:27). To make a landscape ethnography is therefore to attend to the encounter between ideas related to a specific landscape and the power relations involved in its production.

Despite efforts to conceive of landscape as more than a backdrop to culture and societies, the elements that represent landscape in much of the literature remain generally static and few studies have given extensive consideration to questions of human engagement with landscapes in a context of environmental change. This thesis examines environmental change as it is lived and perceived by those whom it affects directly. Processes linked to climate change transforming the landscape of Ladakh today include glacier recession, mountain desertification, changing rainfall patterns, and the drying up of water sources. Other changes, such as the decrease in cattle numbers and the progressive

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abandonment of farmland, are closely linked to state practices that are transforming Ladakh as a place. Hence, environmental changes in Ladakh are both the outcome of natural phenomena and human intervention resulting from the state's conception of the landscape.

Within my conceptual approach, the landscape of Ladakh is tridimensional and comprises a sacred, an agro-pastoralist and a geopolitical constituent (what I term "border" landscape). While these three landscapes are entangled and form the whole landscape of Ladakh, each of them is characterized by specific forms of knowledge and specific sets of practices. The salience of each of these views in the production of Ladakh as a place is characterized by unequal power relations so that the way the landscape is lived and the ideas that frame its practices are not always in harmony.

Work Accomplished in the Field

During the course of 14 months of field research in Ladakh, I recorded 85 hours of semi-structured interviews with 109 respondents – mostly lay people, as well as a dozen religious experts – the majority of whom were over 65 years old. I collected secondary data at various governmental and non-governmental organizations. I also collected "landscape data": (1) I have identified elements that form the sacred landscape in the Sham Valley and I have recorded associated narratives and ritual practices; (2) I have identified elements that composed the border/military landscape, and I have identified associated

practices; (3) I mapped the pastoralist landscape and I have identified associated practices. I also conducted a participatory mapping exercise. I trekked, along with two villagers to the glacier of a village. I took photographs of the glacier, which I have shown to elders so they could identify the past dimensions of the glacier.

Elements of Analysis

Ladakh remained outside the scope of the bureaucratic state during the British colonial administration and was governed by the Dogra of Kashmir. At this time, and for about two decades after the independence of India, the household structure (extended family through polyandrous marriage) played a key role in the way Ladakhis engaged with and

knew the environment by enabling various occupations – cattle rearing, agriculture, trading. The events of the first war with Pakistan that followed the partition of India, as they unfolded in the Sham Valley in 1948, were a moment of rupture in everyday life and marked the onset of profound changes in the region. After the war, Ladakh found itself refashioned into a strategic border area following India's independence and successive wars with Pakistan and China.

The production of the state in the region has taken a distinct form, namely the taming of its mountains, primarily through infrastructure development and the co-optation of Ladakhis' ability to navigate the landscape for military purposes by forming the

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Photo: Ekaterina Bouchard

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Ladakh Scouts regiment, with crucial consequences for demographic dynamics. Far-reaching militarization has restructured Ladakh's economy, consequently redefining household structure, contributing to village depopulation, displacing the centrality of agro-pastoralist activities and, as the dissertation argues, significantly altering the local population's engagement with the environment. The increasing rationalization of the outlook on the environment today contributes to the fragmentation of links between the natural and human realms within the local cosmology and the abandonment of related ritual practices.

Concurrently, the region is impacted by distinct effects of climate change, in particular glacier recession. The majority of my informants for this research project are elderly Ladakhis and their perspective on climate change, besides relying on empirical observations, draws significantly from Buddhist notions of morality. In Buddhist cosmology, humans affect their environment through both the physical aspects and the moral qualities of their actions. In other words, as Harvey (2000:152-153) explains, "karmic effects sometimes catch up with people via their environment".

As I delved into my fieldwork in Ladakh and began to speak with informants, I quickly realized that, in their view, the erosion of morality was manifest in the failure of too many people to adequately take care of land and livestock, in a rise of self-interest

at the expense of community values, and how all this had changed life in the villages. These changes are intricately linked to the recent history of the region and the socio-economic changes that are profoundly refashioning the region today: in extracting labour from people in order to form the bureaucratic and military state, the Indian state has contributed to break an existing security net in Ladakhi society. The consequences are particularly salient for people of older generations. Changing social practices and the rural exodus suggest that many more elderly Ladakhis will soon be left to their own devices.

In Ladakh, glaciers used to be, in the past, the focus of a number of a community rituals and empirical practices. The redefinition of Ladakh as a place after the independence of India has greatly contributed to the rationalization of the outlook on the environment and therefore to the disentanglement of a holistic worldview, which integrates the natural, cultural, and social worlds. Moreover, the rise of individualism leads to the abandonment of many community practices. As a consequence of this, people are increasingly abandoning glaciers practices, despite a context of glacier recession.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA) for awarding me the Richard F. Salisbury Award. The support of CASCA greatly helped me during the course of my fieldwork.

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Book Notes

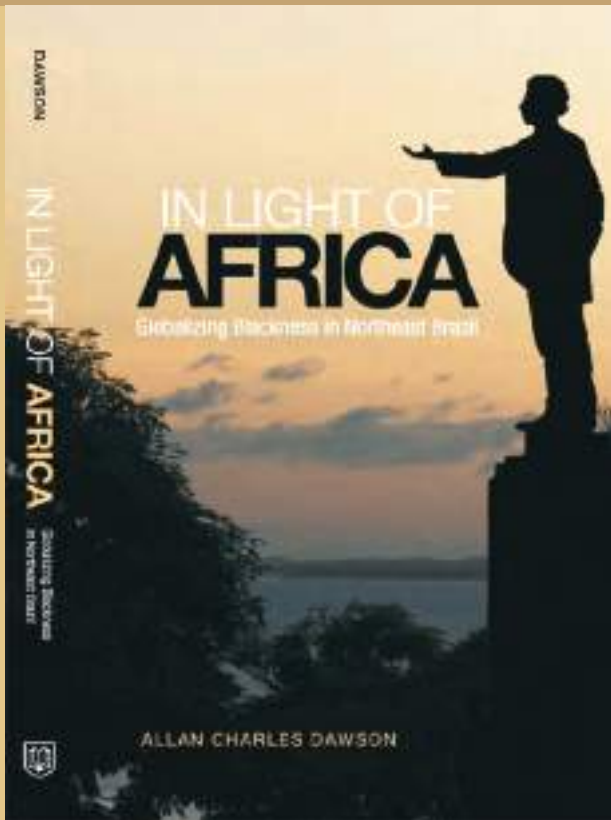
Livres en Bref

In Light of Africa: Globalizing Blackness in Northeast Brazil

Allan Charles Dawson

University of Toronto Presses © 2014, 208 pp.

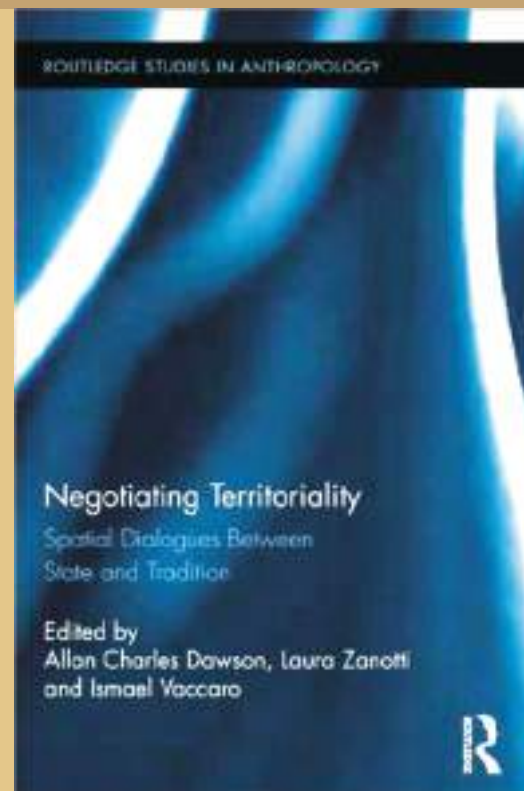
In Light of Africa explores how the idea of Africa as a real place, an imagined homeland, and a metaphor for Black identity is used in the cultural politics of the Brazilian state of Bahia. In the book, Allan Charles Dawson argues that Africa, as both a symbol and a geographical and historical place, is vital to understanding the wide range of identities and ideas about racial consciousness that exist in Bahia's Afro-Brazilian communities. Richard Price, author of *First-Time, Travels with Tooy*, and *Rainforest Warriors* notes "This fascinating study of the idea of Africa in Salvador, Bahia, draws on a series of encounters with diversely situated people—African-born hustlers/middlemen who, on their culture tours, serve up what African American and other "roots" visitors yearn for in this city known as Black Rome; white-clad Bahianas who sell the quintessential "African" food, acarajé, and who turn out to be, in large majority, non-practitioners of Candomblé; academics, who have played such an essential role in the creation of Yoruba purity in the cult centers; and the people of the sertão, whose ideas of Blackness and Africa are so different from those in the city. Dawson effectively analyzes "Africa" and "Blackness" within complex webs of modernity and globalization, emphasizing the highly contingent qualities of these powerful cultural constructs."



Negotiating Territoriality: Spatial Dialogues Between State and Tradition

Allan Charles Dawson, Laura Zanotti and Ismael Vaccaro (eds.)
Routledge © 2014, 256 pp.

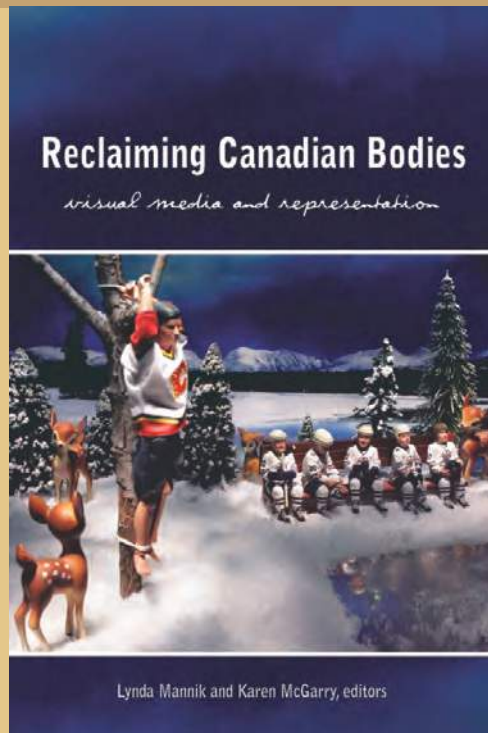
This edited collection disrupts dominant narratives about space, states, and borders, bringing comparative ethnographic and geographic scholarship in conversation with one another to illuminate the varied ways in which space becomes socialized via political, economic, and cognitive appropriation. Societies must, first and foremost, do more than wrangle over ownership and land rights — they must dwell in space. Yet, historically the interactions between the state's territorial imperative with previous forms of landscape management have unfolded in a variety of ways, including top-down imposition, resistance, and negotiation between local and external actors. These interactions have resulted in hybrid forms of territoriality, and are often fraught with fundamentally different perceptions of landscape. This book foregrounds these experiences and draws attention to situations in which different social constructions of space and territory coincide, collide, or overlap. Each ethnographic case in this volume presents forms of territoriality that are contingent upon contested histories, politics, landscape, the presence or absence of local heterogeneity and the involvement of multiple external actors with differing motivations — ultimately all resulting in the potential for conflict or collaboration and divergent implications for conceptions of community, autochthony and identity.



Book Notes

Livres en Bref

Reclaiming Canadian Bodies: Visual Media and Representation



Lynda Munnik and Karen McGarry (eds.)
Wilfrid Laurier University Press © 2015, 272 pp.

The central focus of *Reclaiming Canadian Bodies* is the relationship between visual media, the construction of Canadian national identity, and notions of embodiment. It asks how particular representations of bodies are constructed and performed within the context of visual and discursive mediated content. The book emphasizes the ways individuals destabilize national mainstream visual tropes, which in turn have the potential to destabilize nationalist messages.

Drawing upon rich empirical research and relevant theory, the contributors ask how and why particular bodies (of Estonian immigrants, sports stars, First Nations peoples, and self-identified homosexuals) are promoted and upheld as "Canadian" bodies, while others are marginalized in or excluded from media representations. Essays are grouped into three sections: Embodied Ideals, The Embodiment of "Others," and Embodied Activism and Advocacy. This volume is original within the field of visual media, affect theory, and embodiment and is written in an accessible style.

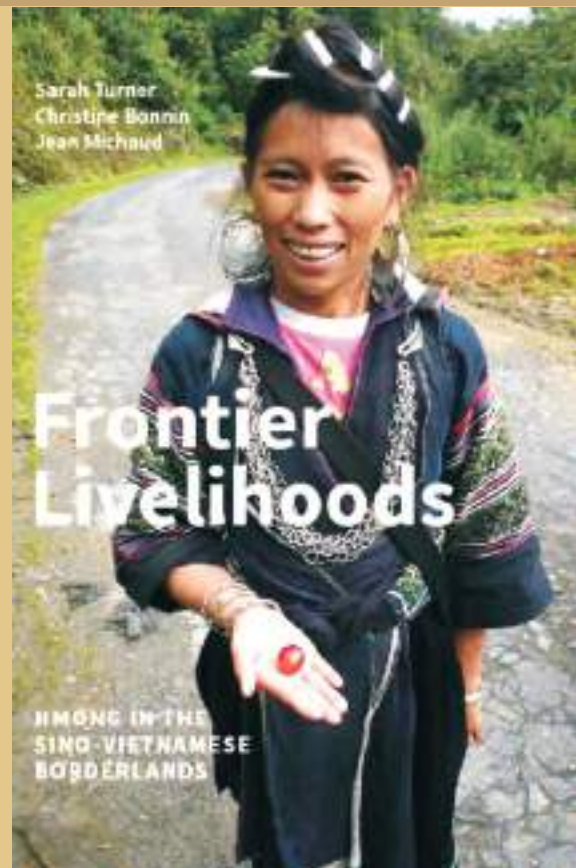
Frontier Livelihoods: Hmong in the Sino-Vietnamese Borderlands

Sarah Turner, Christine Bonnin, and Jean Michaud
University of Washington Press © 2015, 234 pp.

Do ethnic minorities have the power to alter the course of their fortune when living within a socialist state? In *Frontier Livelihoods*, the authors focus their study on the Hmong - known in China as the Miao - in the Sino-Vietnamese borderlands, contending that individuals and households create livelihoods about which governments often know little.

The product of wide-ranging research over many years, *Frontier Livelihoods* bridges the traditional divide between studies of China and peninsular Southeast Asia by examining the agency, dynamics, and resilience of livelihoods adopted by Hmong communities in Vietnam and in China's Yunnan Province. It covers the reactions to state modernization projects among this ethnic group in two separate national jurisdictions and contributes to a growing body of literature on cross-border relationships between ethnic minorities in the borderlands of China and its neighbors and in Southeast Asia more broadly.

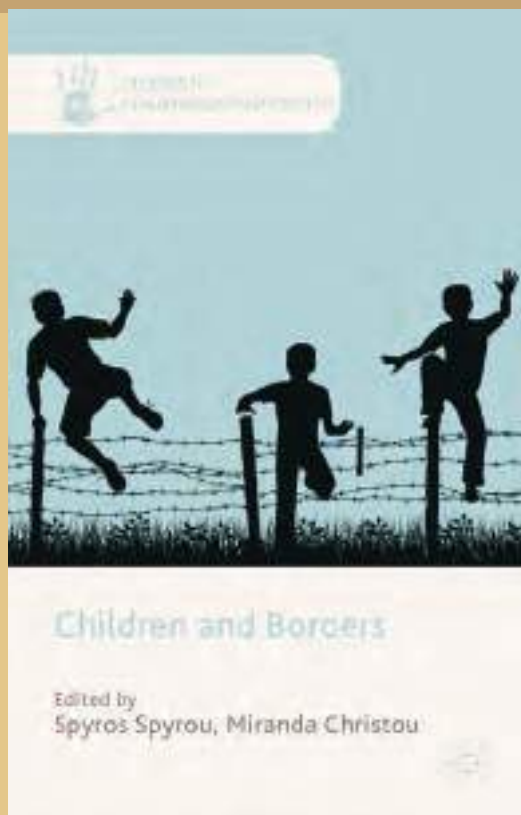
SARAH TURNER is professor of geography at McGill University. She is the author of *Indonesia's Small Entrepreneurs: Trading on the Margins* and editor of *Red Stamps and Gold Stars: Fieldwork Dilemmas in Upland Socialist Asia*. CHRISTINE BONNIN is lecturer in geography at University College Dublin. JEAN MICHAUD is professor of social anthropology at Université Laval. He is the author of *The A to Z of the People of the Southeast Asian Massif* and coeditor of *Moving Mountains: Ethnicity and Livelihoods in Highland China, Vietnam, and Laos*.



Book Notes

Livres en Bref

Children and Borders



Spyros Spyrou and Miranda Christou (eds.)
Palgrave Macmillan © 2014, 320 pp.

This edited collection brings together scholars whose work explores the entangled relationship between children and borders with richly-documented ethnographic studies from around the world. The book provides a penetrating account of how borders affect children's lives and how in turn children play a constitutive role in the social life of borders. Providing situated accounts which offer critical perspectives on children's engagements with borders, contributors explore both the institutional power of borders as well as children's ability to impact borders through their own activity and agency. They show how borders and the borderlands surrounding them are active zones of engagement where notions of identity, citizenship and belonging are negotiated in ways that empower or disempower children, offer them possibilities and hope or alternatively deprive them of both. With innovative cross-fertilization between Border Studies and Childhood Studies, this volume illustrates the value of bringing children and borders together. This edited work includes a chapter by Omri Grinberg, PhD candidate in anthropology at University of Toronto; he examines representations of border crossings by Palestinian children who try to make money by peddling goods in Israeli traffic junctions.

Dancing Through History: In Search of the Stories That Define Canada

Lori Henry

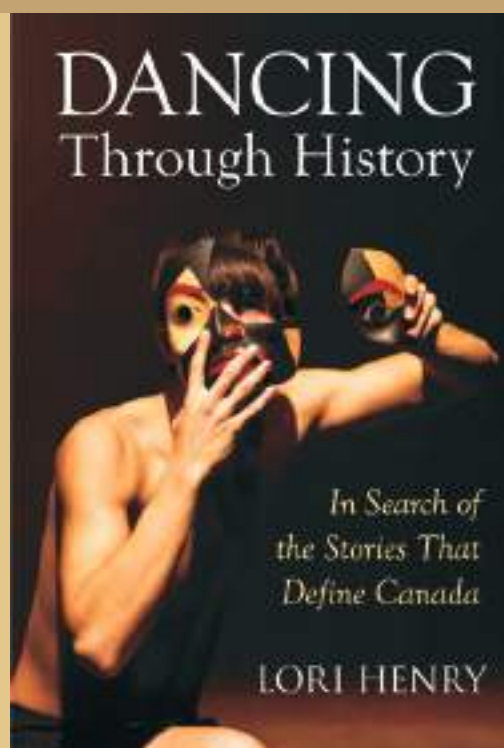
Dancing Traveller Publisher © 2012, 208 pp.

Some people travel to discover a country's architecture; others to sample its cuisine, or experience its nature. For author Lori Henry, travel is a way to discover a country's dances.

In *Dancing Through History*, Henry crosses Canada's vast physical and ethnic terrain to uncover how its various cultures have evolved through their dances.

Her coast-to-coast journey takes her to Haida Gwaii in British Columbia, where she witnesses the seldom seen animist dances of the islands' First Nation people. And in the Arctic, Henry partakes in Inuit drum dancing, kept alive by a new generation of Nunavut youth. And in Cape Breton, she uncovers the ancient "step dance" of the once culturally oppressed Gaels of Nova Scotia.

During her travels, Henry discovers that dance helps to break down barriers and encourage cooperation between people with a history of injustice. Dance, she finds, can provide key insight into what people value most as a culture, which is often more similar than it seems. It is this kind of understanding that goes beyond our divisive histories and gives us compassion for one another.



Book Notes

Livres en Bref

Le mouvement noir au Brésil (2000-2010) : Réparations, droits et citoyenneté :



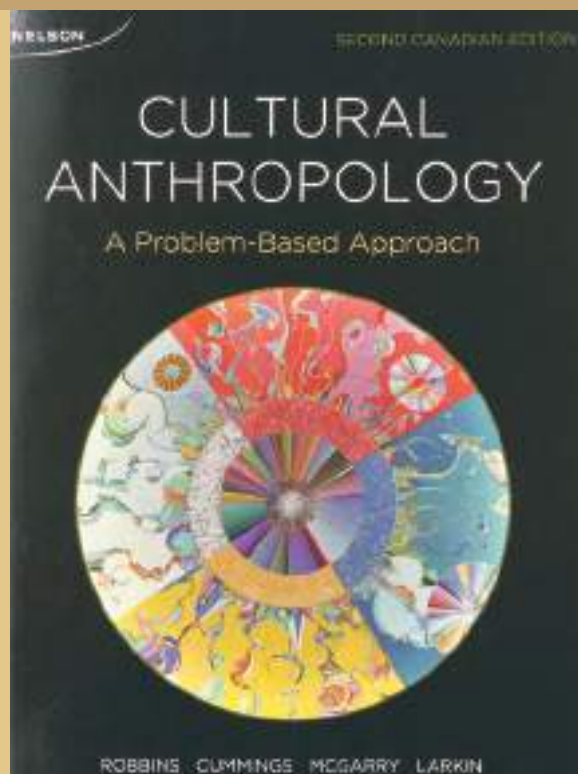
SAILLANT, Francine
Bruxelles-Québec, Académia/PUL © 2014, 350 pp.

Le mouvement noir contemporain du Brésil est présenté sous de multiples angles. Trouvant racine dans les vieilles révoltes d'esclaves de l'époque coloniale et dans la presse noire de la Première République, il se forme et se reforme sous de multiples figures lors des deux dictatures qui ont marqué le Brésil au XXe siècle. Le mouvement noir prend une forme singulière dans les années 1970-1980, en écho au mouvement des droits civils aux États-Unis. Il se déploie de manière réticulaire avec l'avènement de l'ère des actions affirmatives sous le gouvernement du Parti des travailleurs (PT). Ce livre permet de lire les multiples facettes les plus actuelles de ce mouvement, depuis des actions dans les champs de la culture, du politique, des arts, de la religion, associant des acteurs très diversifiés. L'étude du mouvement est traversée par une question centrale : comment se déploie l'idée de réparation eu égard aux torts passés de l'esclavage au sein du mouvement noir aujourd'hui ? Qu'en est-il de l'idée de réparation au Brésil et dans un tel mouvement ?

Cultural Anthropology: A Problem-Based Approach, Second Canadian Edition

Richard H. Robbins Sherri N. Larkin Maggie Cummings
and Karen McGarry
Nelson © 2013, 288 pp.

Encourage a critical mindset and active, global citizenship with Robbins/Cummings/Larkin/McGarry's unique Cultural Anthropology: A Problem-Based Approach, 2Ce. Using a hands-on, participatory, active-learning approach that promotes inquiry and discussion, this leading brief text introduces key research problems studied by anthropologists. Within the book's engaging narrative, the authors teach students to analyze their own culture as a basis for understanding the cultures of others. Presentations are organized around penetrating, provocative questions rather than topics, creating a natural, integrated discussion of foundational social issues such as kinship, caste, gender roles, and religion and pressing social issues such as the impact of neoliberalism and globalization. Students explore these subjects within the context of meaningful questions. The text's brief length provides the flexibility to add original research or ethnographies to enrich students' exposure to anthropology.



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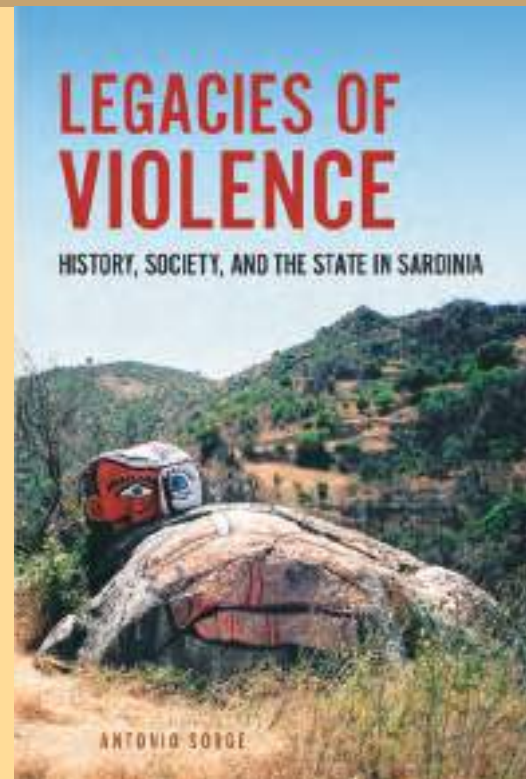
Livres en Bref

Legacies of Violence: History, Society, and The State in Sardinia

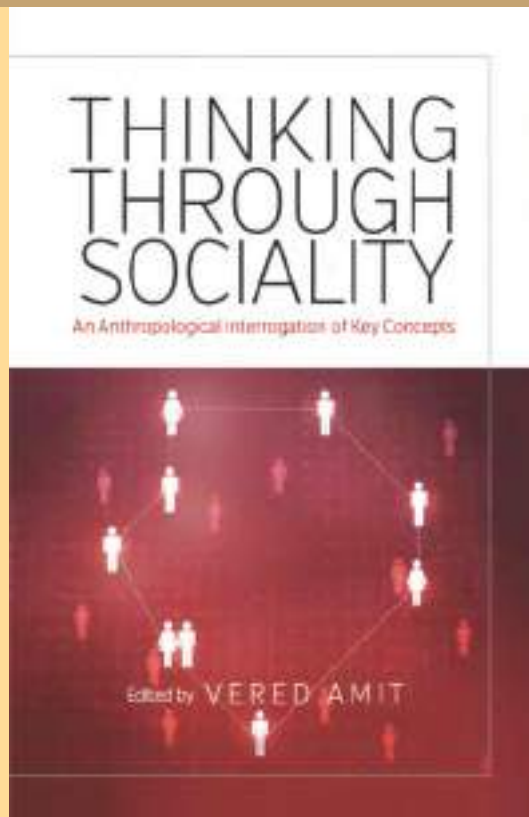
Antonio Sorge

University of Toronto Presses © 2015, 248 pp.

The inhabitants of highland Sardinia proudly declare a long history of resistance to outside authority. Many even celebrate the belief that “not even the Roman Empire reached this far.” Yet, since the late nineteenth century, the Italian government has pacified and integrated the mountain districts of the island into the state, often through the use of force. In *Legacies of Violence*, Antonio Sorge examines local understandings of this past and the effects that a history of violence exercises on collective representations. This is particularly the case among the shepherds of the island, who claim to embody an ancient code of honour known as *balentia* that they allege to be uncorrupted by the values of mainstream Italian society. A perceptive ethnography of the mobilization of history in support of a way of life that is disappearing as the region’s inhabitants adopt a more mobile, cosmopolitan, and urbane lifestyle, Sorge’s work demonstrates how social memory continues to shape the present in the Sardinian highlands.



Thinking Through Sociality: An Anthropological Interrogation of Key concepts.



Vered Amit (editor)
Berghahn © 2015, 210 pp.

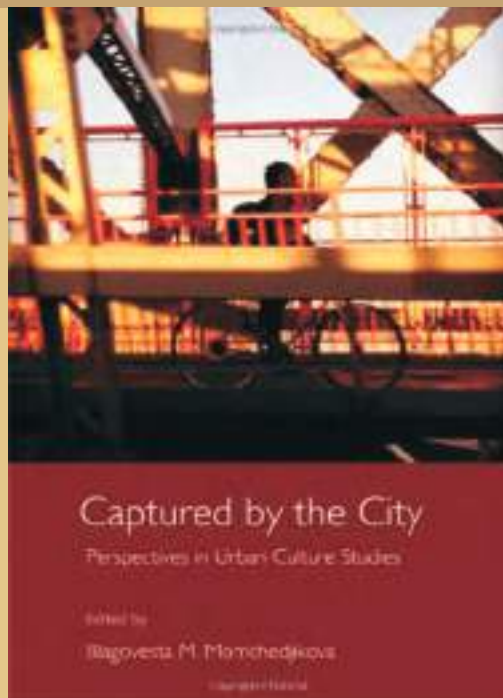
As issues and circumstances investigated by anthropologists are becoming ever more diverse, the need to address social affiliation in contemporary situations of mobility, urbanity, transnational connections, individuation, media, and capital flows, has never been greater. combines a review of classical theories with recent theoretical innovations across a wide range of issues, locales, situations and domains. In this book, an international group of contributors train attention on the concepts of disjuncture, field, social space, sociability, organizations and network, mid-range concepts that are “good to think with.” Neither too narrowly defined nor too sweeping, these concepts can be used to think through a myriad of ethnographic situations.

Photos courtesy of

Book Notes

Livres en Bref

Captured by the City: Perspectives in Urban Culture Studies



By Blagovesta M. Momchedjikova.
Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2013.
ISBN: 978-1-4438-4289-1

This book includes a chapter by Nathalie Boucher. Rooted in an urban anthropological perspective, this text questions recent claims about the death of public spaces by rewriting the history of public space with a focus on its socializing function. Our understanding of history appears to idealize the uses of the Ancient Agora and the Victorian Square, thereby making the universal role of contemporary public space into a (standardized) utopia. Based on a literature review of urban contexts and an ethnography of plazas and squares in Los Angeles, this chapter suggests four indicators of vitality in public spaces, namely sociability, informal security, representation and contestation. These indicators point to the dynamic and lively nature of public spaces and of the unique social experience they provide in very different ways through time and culture.

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