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Mission Statement of *The Applied Anthropologist*

The Applied Anthropologist publishes peer-reviewed articles, commentaries, brief communications, field reports, and book reviews on a wide range of topics. The journal's focus is on cultural change and adaptation in the modern world. It explores how humans approach, analyze, and develop solutions to cultural, ecological, economic, and technological problems. The journal is supported and underwritten by the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. Guidelines for authors, electronic access to back issues, and further information about the society is available on the website at www.HPSfAA.org.

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POINT-TO-POINT

JULIE A. REYES

"Nothing new that is really interesting comes without collaboration"

One of my favorite quotes is from James D. Watson, recipient of the 1962 Nobel Prize along with Francis Crick for the discovery of the double-helix structure of DNA, and whose research contributed to mapping the human genome. It is as relevant today for applied anthropology as it was for biophysics over fifty years ago. The very essence and meaning of applied anthropology inherently involves collaboration or participation—with community members, informants, leaders, followers, and also colleagues, especially from other academic disciplines. Collaboration takes understanding different perspectives, a commitment to tolerance, and mutual respect to engage in meaningful understanding of issues and the possibility for sustainable solutions.

This issue of *The Applied Anthropologist* highlights the need for collaboration and exhibits why it is such an important element to applied anthropology. Rosenblatt's work in *Civic Engagement with the Dead: Notes on Theory and Practice in a Forensic Key* challenges the entrenched theory/practice divide by suggesting that new forms of engagement among scholars, practitioners, and ultimately the dead are needed. Engaged collaboration helps to illuminate the interconnected facets of human rights in a way that promotes meaningful dialogue and action to "the right to truth" in forensic investigation of human atrocities such as mass murder.

Bellamy's commentary on the collaboration among applied medical anthropologists, public health scientists and epidemiologists to explore the efficacy of Safe Consumption Facilities for people who inject drugs, requires mixed methodology and perspectives to address a current national crisis of opioid overdose and how to potentially decrease this trend.

Stein's article, *Beyond Inter-Disciplinarity: The American Indian Diabetes Prevention Center "Inter-Disciplinary" Seminar (2012-2017),* reminds the reader of the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration with community of researchers, teachers, and community activists to effectively address diabetes mellitus among American Indians.

Smell and Kimball explore the collaborative engagement among undergraduate anthropology students, local high school students, and, a nonprofit refugee center and history museum. The authors highlight that conducting community-based ethnographic research, provides a deeper understanding of how living museums can play an important role in building social bridges among refugees and local communities.

In *Digital Technology is Dependent on Forced Labor: The Exploitative Labor Practices of Cobalt Extraction in the Democratic Republic of Congo*, Elise Mann argues the need for collaboration among major technology companies, such as Apple, to play a leading role in transforming the chain of supply of cobalt to create better labor conditions among the hundreds of thousands of Congolese miners.

Acknowledgments

The publication of this issue would not have been possible without the dedicated collaboration and assistance from my colleagues and co-editors, Dr. Peter Van Arsdale, Director, African Initiatives and Adjunct Professor at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University Denver, and Dr. Rebecca Forgash, Associate Professor, Anthropology at Metropolitan State University of Denver.

Finally, *The Applied Anthropologist* would like to thank the following dedicated reviewers for assisting us through the peer review of articles for this issue: Dr. Richard Clemmer-Smith, Dr. Christina Kreps, Dr. Peter Van Arsdle, Dr. Rebecca Forgash, Dr. Ed Knop, and Dr. Mike Kimball.

Dedication

The High Plains Society lost a long-standing friend and colleague with the passing of Pam Puntenney on June 10, 2017. She was 72 years old. Her husband, Alan McWaters, survives and retains the strong spirit that characterized them both. Having earned M.S. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Michigan, Pam's entrepreneurial spirit and independent vision inspired her to launch Environmental and Human Systems Management, a consulting firm that assisted organizations worldwide in addressing environmental issues from the perspectives of applied anthropology, education, and policy development. Over the years, she accumulated an impressive client list that included the United Nations and the World Bank. Pam published and presented articles and reports for the U.N., the World Bank, the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development. Her most recent public lectures included presentations in such diverse locales as Abu Dhabi, Indonesia, and Colorado. She was a delegate to the U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development, where she headed the Climate Change Delegation and co-chaired the Education Caucus. She was active in NAPA. Pam served as an associate editor of *The Applied Anthropologist*, and beyond editing, always offered unstinting support to her High Plains colleagues. This issue of *The Applied Anthropologist* is respectfully dedicated to her memory.

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Civic Engagement with the Dead: Notes on Theory and Practice in a Forensic Key

Adam Rosenblatt

Abstract

Educators and researchers who study human rights face a climate that is often hostile to "theory," whether due to market forces impacting higher education or a political climate (at least in the United States) that seems to demand urgent action over contemplation. Based on reflections from classroom teaching and longstanding research into the scientific investigations of mass graves after atrocity, this essay acknowledges the entrenchment of the theory/practice divide within what Charli Carpenter calls "the human rights network," despite important forms of interdependence between spheres of academia and advocacy. It argues that bridging the theory/practice divide productively requires more than the familiar conference panels and dialogues between scholars and practioners. Using the example of Philadelphia's Mount Moriah Cemetery, it points to overlooked sites where new forms of engagement are possible: across the divide that separates theory from practice, and also the living from the dead.

Keywords: Human Rights, Theory and Practice, Forensic Science

The "We" of Theory and the "We" of Practice

It is not an easy time to teach, or talk about, theory. We live in an era that lionizes tech-savvy "makers" and "doers" while being skeptical of academic discourse; every campus where I have taught has been in the midst of planning or building a "maker space," and every one was under pressure to tie its humanities and social science courses into standardized learning outcomes that emphasized the skills, global mobility, and practical uses of what was being taught.

And then came Donald Trump's election to the U.S. presidency in November 2016, and a new set of challenges. On the one hand, students in my classes—which all fall under the interdisciplinary umbrella of Haverford College's program in Peace, Justice, and Human Rights—want more than ever to know what to *do*. Already socialized to see theoretical explorations as a luxury that may not fit into their career plans or be a good use of their tuition money, many of them now also see it as a distraction from the pressing need to *resist*. From the other side, the theories of social construction that I often teach have come to seem implicated in the discourse of "alternative facts" that Trump and his administration have mobilized so effectively. As Casey Williams writes in the *New York Times*, "It often feels like Trump has stolen our ideas and weaponized them" (Williams 2017). There is, of course, a difference between *feeling* this way and having it be true—as well as important distinctions between the postmodern critique of truth and scientific certainty, on the one hand, and the rapidly self-contradicting "truth" claims of lying politician, on the other. But at the level of daily classroom practice, students may be right to shift in their seats uncomfortably as we work through Richard Rorty's argument that human rights have no philosophical foundation beyond the cultural project of promoting them as useful tools, that "the most philosophy can hope to do is summarize our culturally influenced intuitions about the right thing to do in various situations" (Rorty 1993, 117). Rorty also writes very confidently of a "we" who inhabit university spaces together, of students that believe in tolerance, and are "eager to define their identity in nonexclusionary terms" (Ibid. 127). My students, growing up in an era of widely publicized police killings, when a man caught boasting about grabbing women's genitals without their consent can soon after be elected president, look around the room and are not so confident about that uniformly tolerant "we." And so, understandably, they often want the bedrock of some certainties—about climate change, human rights, and many other things—rather than the stacks of questions I push across the seminar table towards them.

One way to respond is to remind the students that the supposed opposition between "theory" and "practice" (or, what is sometimes referred to in much more loaded language as the "real world") is actually a fuzzy and problematic distinction between two things that are deeply interconnected. As I write in my syllabi, "good theory is based on careful observation of the real world, and even 'practitioners' and activists proceed from strong theoretical assumptions, whether spoken or unspoken."

Yet I say this to students with a certain amount of bad faith, or the sense that I am giving only part of the picture. The theory/practice distinction may be conceptually problematic—the kind of binary academics love to deconstruct—but it is also a description of how professional worlds are constructed, what kinds of production is expected of different laborers, what incentives drive their work and in what language they are expected to speak. People who spend their days conducting human rights work in the field have different priorities, vocabularies, and ways of thinking about human rights than people who spend their days writing and teaching. Yes, there are individuals (such as my friend Robin Reineke, an anthro-

pologist and the founder of the Colibrí Center for Human Rights) and even a few institutions that bridge the gap between theory and practice in extraordinary ways. But they largely do this through a deep understanding of the different audiences to which they speak—and the rhetorical skill needed to move between them—rather than simply by wandering, as I imagined I could do during the early years of my transition from NGO work to graduate school, directly from the offices of a nonprofit into the halls of academia, as if it was all one big conversation. It is not.

Nearly anyone who has straddled the theory/practice divide in human rights has witnessed the awkwardness that can ensue when well intentioned but often ill-facilitated conference panels feature theorists and practitioners side by side. At best, the two often seem to be talking past one another, and there is a grinding of gears as the topics shift from conceptual analysis to reports from the field and back again. At worst, theorists may seem to be obtusely critiquing a form of daily practice they clearly do not fully understand, while practitioners, patiently or impatiently, wait for the conversation to come back to some identifiably useful terrain. Most often, these encounters occur in academic conferences or seminars that, even when hosted by an NGO, favor the contemplative, recursive discourse of the academic. They feature question-and-answer sessions that mirror the back-and-forth of the classroom more than the report to donors or the press release an NGO uses to get its work covered in the media. Spatially and temporally, they create a separation from the messy worlds of practice and the time-frames in which decisions there are made: whether those decisions are about the distribution of shoes at a refugee camp or where to store a body that has just been exhumed from a mass grave. These panels are a crossroads or meeting-ground of a sort, but not a neutral one.

There are real dangers to seeing these spaces as the only channels through which to link these different professional worlds, to be satisfied with a performance of "dialogue" across theory and practice where so little is really at stake. When these worlds fail to connect with greater friction—the kind of friction Anna Tsing defines as "awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference" (Tsing 2011)—we *all* wind up with an impoverished understanding of the dynamics of human rights. In her powerful essay, "'You Talk Of Terrible Things So Matter-of-Factly in This Language of Science': Constructing Human Rights in the Academy," Charli Carpenter argues that advocacy organizations and other human rights practitioners often rely on academics to speak in the voice of the independent expert and to ask questions, sometimes politically charged ones, that are difficult to broach within their daily work. "Political scientists who write about, interpret, and reconceive human rights have a kind of political power, power that we too seldom acknowledge as we play with philosophical and theoretical ideas for personal and professional gain, power which our training gives us few skills with which to wield wisely" (Carpenter 2012, 378). Carpenter's argument can easily be extended beyond political science to other disciplines and interdisciplinary locations, such as my own, where training in ethics is voluntary or patchwork (see Ibid. fn. 95, 381).

Carpenter and I are two scholars among many who have found compelling questions to ask, meaning also opportunities to publish and career gains, when studying the work of NGOs. In the university context, this provides opportunities to show administrators and others above us in the food chain the "applied" and "engaged" nature of our work—to speak, to some extent, in the language of those learning outcomes that now exert so much influence in higher education. In a climate turning against contemplation for its own sake, human rights scholars can receive, from engagement with NGOs, tools to show we are not "only" theorists. Yet junior and non-tenure track scholars such as myself often spend so much of daily lives feeling our own precariousness that we lose sight of how, within what Carpenter calls "the human rights network," we also exert some meaningful power—through what we address in our research, and also through our omissions. In the following section, I describe one area where human rights scholarship has failed to orient itself towards a meaningful application to human rights practice—specifically, the practice of forensic investigation at mass grave sites.

Religious Objections to Exhumation and Theoretical Disengagement

In the early 2000s, I spent a year at Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), as the Forensic Program Associate for the organization that coordinated major exhumations at the graves of genocide victims in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia (PHR has since been active in forensic projects in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, El Salvador, Colombia, and elsewhere). While there, I heard a story that haunted me both as a member of the organization's staff and as the grandson of Holocaust survivors. Since then, it has also challenged me to think differently about the relationship between theory and practice as it relates to real choices made by human rights experts in the field: experts who both wield power and are subject to powerful claims made by stakeholders on the ground.

In 2001, PHR's head forensic anthropologist at the time, Bill Haglund, traveled to the town of Jedwabne, Poland to assist in the exhumation of two mass graves. The graves were the resting place for burned and fragmented remains of hundreds of the town's Jews, massacred on a single day in July, 1941. Most of these victims, once a part of the everyday fabric of the town, had been locked in a barn and burned to death in one of those terrible crimes too often forgotten in the popular notion of the Holocaust as having been carried out solely in concentration camps and gas chambers (see Smale 2014).

The 2001 exhumation of the mass graves in Jedwabne, undertaken by the Polish Institute of National Remembrance, promised to shed some light on the hotly contested question of what happened in Jedwabne—from the basics, such as how many people had been killed, to the much more vexed question

of whether responsibility for the crime belonged to German soldiers or the town's own Polish people (the Institute's 2002 report assigned direct responsibility to Polish residents of Jedwabne, but noted that German officers witnessed and likely inspired the crime; see Ignatiew 2004). The exhumation came to an abrupt halt, however, when a group of Orthodox Jews—including rabbis from Warsaw, Israel, and London—proclaimed that disturbing these bodies was a violation of Jewish law (other experts, such as Rabbi Joseph Polak of Boston University, have disagreed with this interpretation).

This basic configuration, it turns out, has been repeated throughout the few decades during which forensic investigations have become a standard part of the global response to atrocity. Experts, armed with scientific methods and a shared ethos of human rights, including the "right to truth" (see Naftali 2016), have prepared to exhume a grave and analyze the evidence it contains, only to be confronted with religious objections against the grave's desecration. When two vocabularies as transcendent and non-negotiable as human rights and the sacred meet at the same spot—with contradicting demands—how can the impasse be resolved?

The tension has been present since the origins of the modern human rights framework, when Eleanor Roosevelt's United Nations Human Rights Commission was debating whether or not to include references to God or a "Creator" in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see Glendon 2001; Rosenblatt, *Digging for the Disappeared* 2015, 142-145). Ultimately, the Commission decided to stick with more ostensibly secular values such as human dignity; though one of its members, Charles Malik, would complain that the debate was "concluded silently by sheer sensing that the prevailing climate of opinion will never admit such terms" (Glendon 2001, 61).

In a world of such diverse and complex religious traditions, scholarly literature should have something to say to forensic experts encountering religious objections and wondering how, without too easily abandoning the human rights priorities of gathering evidence of atrocities and identifying the dead, to move forward with respect for different worldviews. Yet academic discussion of religion and human rights remains, for the most part, at a high level of abstraction. Philosophers and legal theorists have hotly debated the relationship between human rights, human dignity, and "the sacredness of human life," often in works that make no mention of any concrete area of human rights practice. Furthermore, little of what they say could be applied to a context where the question is not sacred human *lives* but the sacred places of violent death; the relationship between the dead body and the sacred, observed in so many religions and by early social scientists such as Émile Durkheim (Durkheim 1965), escapes this literature entirely.

This is a real loss. In an era where forensic investigations of atrocity sites are an increasingly central feature of the standard post-conflict "toolkit," scientists and investigators still do not have a clear roadmap for what to do when the communities around mass graves—or particular voices from those communities—express opposition to exhumation. Derek Congram and Ariana Fernández write, "The subject of mixed support for mass grave exhumations by primary stakeholders (mainly families of the victims) has been largely, shamefully, avoided in forensic anthropology literature" (Congram and Fernández 2010).

The bridge between theory and practice cannot be built from only one side, however. Forensic experts, like others involved in post-conflict assistance, employ a rich vocabulary of justification. It includes ideas such as reconciliation, closure, "the right to truth," and the needs of families of the missing. But as these experts have found over decades of the development of their field of scientific humanitarianism, every one of these terms opens up onto a universe of complexity. Urgent questions remain about what reconciliation really means and whom it serves, how shared "truth" can be produced in a divided society, and the wide array of needs amongst different families of the missing. While some seek trials for their loved ones' murderers or a new democratic order, others may worry about their next meal or their legal ability to inherit property from someone whose death the authorities refuse to acknowledge (see Kovras 2017; Robins 2011). None of which even begins to touch upon the subject of the rights of the dead—an ethic that seems, at first glance, to undergird the entire idea of a global project to recover and identify the dead and disappeared, but which is almost never openly discussed by practitioners (see Rosenblatt 2015, *Digging for the Disappeared*, 153-165).

The real groundwork of human rights happens not in drafting committees or around seminar tables, but wherever bodies—living and dead—intermingle in the deprivation, negotiation, and sometimes restoration of a mutual respect that ought to have been inviolable. Scholars such as myself have invaluable time and resources to invest in studying these phenomena, comparing them across contexts, and most importantly in questioning everything—even the questions themselves. The key, it seems to me, is not to settle for forced "dialogue" by asking scholars and practitioners to sit on the same panel. Rather, the spaces of scholarship must become more open and permeable: by inviting others in, certainly, but more importantly by moving outward.

Civic Engagement with the Dead

Being a professor in suburban Philadelphia does not lend itself to spending a lot of time around the mass graves that become sites of forensic investigations. Just miles from my campus, however—traveling across a history of redlining that leads from some of America's most affluent suburbs into a low-income neighborhood of Southwest Philadelphia—is Mount Moriah Cemetery, one of the city's key early "rural cemeteries" (reflecting another great transformation: the growth of Philadelphia to encompass surrounding areas that were once countryside). In 2011 the business association responsible for the burial ground abruptly abandoned it; employees simply locked the doors and walked away. Since then, a group of volunteers (including some family members of people buried there), called the Friends of Mount Moriah, has stepped in to care for the site and advocate for its preservation. From my Haverford College colleague Jennifer O'Donnell, a Board Member of the Friends of

Mount Moriah, one can learn not only of the Civil War veterans and important Philadelphia personalities buried there, but also other purposes the cemetery has served: for example, as historically the only burial ground in Philadelphia that allowed Muslim burials. Mount Moriah is "Philadelphia's most democratic burial ground" ("Confederates, Catholics, Muslims and Masons" 2007), but also a puzzle and paradox: a place where no new burials can be arranged, and from which no bodies can be moved without a court order, no matter how much families may wish to find a more secure or convenient spot to visit. Mount Moriah may not be a genocide site, but it tells stories of freedom and unfreedom, of the fragility of our social fabric and the places where it is constructed and maintained, that relate directly to my research and teaching.

The dead and disappeared can no longer speak to us directly. Even when they were alive, they would have done so in different languages—just as they died for different causes and believed different things. In order to unearth some of their stories, we have to become more expert listeners. That is an interdisciplinary project—one that demands I use ethnography, film, philosophy, history, and many other kinds of sources in my seminar on "Human Rights and the Dead." It is also, however, a project of bridging spaces—requiring that we go from campus to cemetery, from a human rights framework and theoretical production that were built around paradigmatic sites of genocide to humbler, yet equally complex spaces that have escaped the mapping project of human rights history. As I make plans to return with students for service projects at Mount Moriah, I realize that the space adds a new wrinkle to the "civic engagement" discourse on campus, because at a site like Mount Moriah, deep and site-specific forms of citizenship include both the living and the dead. As Joseph Bottum writes, "The living give us crowds. The dead give us communities" (Bottum 2007). Do the dead have human rights? It is theoretical question that can only be answered by specific practices. One of the best things I can offer my students, in a time when the relationship between knowing and doing has become so embattled, is the opportunity to answer the question with both their minds and their bodies, with both academic essays and garden shears.

Notes

Some of the content in this article originally appeared on the Stanford University Press Blog as "Groundwork: Interpreting human rights among the dead and disappeared."

Adam Rosenblatt is the author of Digging for the Disappeared: Forensic Science after Atrocity (Stanford University Press, 2015). He is a Visiting Assistant Professor in Peace, Justice, and Human Rights at Haverford College. His research and teaching interests include human rights and humanitarianism, death and the body, care ethics, neurodiversity and disability studies. He can be contacted at arosenblat@haverford.edu.

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BEYOND INTER-DISCIPLINARITY: THE AMERICAN INDIAN DIABETES PREVENTION CENTER "INTER-DISCIPLINARY" SEMINAR (2012-2017)[1]

HOWARD F. STEIN[2]

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on the dynamics of five years (2012-2017) of monthly meetings of the American Indian Diabetes Prevention Center (AIDPC), with a focus on the Interdisciplinary Seminar (IS) that is part of this meeting. One of the stipulations of the 5-year AIDPC grant (2012-2017), following the original grant (2003-2012), is to foster an *interdisciplinary* spirit and work-style among a group of 15-25 people that is diverse in numerous ways that include, but are not limited to professional disciplines or academic specialties. At the beginning of the second, continuation, grant, in 2012, the Director (Neil Henderson) wanted to expand the purpose of the monthly group from simple reporting small group project activities, to creating a sense of Center-wide personal community and common purpose, transcending the small group boundaries and identities.

To this end, the PI/ Director (Neil Henderson) engaged a psychodynamically- and anthropologically-oriented facilitator/consultant (Author) in the summer of 2012. Through deep listening and attending to themes and emotions in the large group that meets monthly, I helped members of small task groups and larger Core groups (administrative; research; research/training; community outreach) to listen carefully to each other and to enter into conversation *across* small group and Core group boundaries, and to foster a personal, collaborative spirit and sense of community, among the large group as a whole. The long-term purpose of the Center was to contribute to the health of American Indians, specifically wish respect to diabetes mellitus. The short-term (5-year) purpose of the Center's Interdisciplinary Seminar (IS) was to cultivate a spirit of community among Center members, which in turn would enhance their work.

This paper describes the group demography and the process by which members of small and Core groups came to work across, often transcending, sub-group borders, helping to form a large Center-group as a community of researchers, teachers, and community activists. This paper shares the voices of participants, and offers two stories to immerse the reader in the process.

KEYWORDS: Diabetes Prevention, American Indians, Facilitated Collaboration

Introduction

This paper explores the experience of the American Indian Diabetes Prevention Center (AIDPC) in Oklahoma City (University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, College of Public Health) in creating and sustaining a community of research, research and training, and community outreach professionals in the final five years of an overall grant period that extends from 2003-2017. Special emphasis is given to the IS in the history of the Center.

I begin by situating the Center in the broader context of the prevalence of diabetes mellitus among American Indians. I then discuss the mission, history, and structure of the Center, the projects conducted by the Center, and the role of the interdisciplinary collaborative initiative in implementing the purpose of the Center. I then explore the process of multi-professional interdisciplinary team-building, the evolution of the IS in the wider context of the Center, describe the group process of the Center's monthly meetings (which include the IS), share the voices and stories of IS members, offer two extended examples of this process and my role in it as facilitator, and conclude with implications beyond the Center's experience. My background is as an applied, psychoanalytic, medical, and organizational anthropologist, as well as organizational consultant.

Multiple Contexts of the Interdisciplinary Seminar

In the United States, vulnerable populations such as American Indians suffer greater morbidity and mortality, and poorer access to healthcare, than the majority population (Henderson and Carson, 2014; American Diabetes Association, 2002; Drexler, 2005). American Indians are enveloped in health disparity circumstances that leave them underserved and sicker. Diabetes mellitus and its complications are rampant among American Indians. For ten years (2007-2017) the AIDPC at OUHSC, in the College of Public Health, has focused on ameliorating these disparities. Funding for the AIDPC comes from National Institute of Minority Health and Health Disparities of the National Institutes of Health. More broadly, "The AIDPC reflects congressional recognition of the problem and a funding stream to specifically address the issue" (Henderson and Carson, 2014, p. 196). Further,

> Cultural losses in the lives and communities of AIs [American Indians] are of equal importance to the physical and mental morbidities caused by

> diabetes. Furthermore, populations suffer higher rates of disease and death than normally expected based on prevalence comparisons with the majority population. These higher rates of disease and death are known epidemiologically as excess morbidity and mortality. However, when they occur in a health disparity population, there are multiple individual and community costs for which common epidemiologic accounting is silent. For example, chronic sickness, amputations, organ failures, and functional impairment at excessive rates are not only physically disruptive but are also demoralizing to the spirit and dignity of individuals and communities. The result is personal depression, loss of community coherence, acceptance of disease as normal, feeling inherently substandard, and interference with community vitality. This is particularly damaging in communities that are small and already marginalized by many. Losing one's dignity is just possibly more debilitating than losing one's leg. (Henderson and Carson, 2014, pp. 196-197.)

The Center initiated multiple projects to address these issues: parental/caregiving distress among Oklahoma Choctaws coping with dependents diagnosed with Type1/Type 2 diabetes; incentivizing Choctaw youth behavior by promoting more physical activity in American Indian youth; the study of pre-eclampsia in identifying factors conferring risk and protection in minority women with dysglycemia; developing a public health curriculum that addresses health disparities; videotaping stories of American Indian parents and children battling diabetes; community education to improve participation in health disparities research; building youth assets to prevent diabetes, as part of the Community Engagement and Outreach component of AIDPC; and an interdisciplinary collaboration initiative. The Center was composed of four major administrative groups or units, called Core Groups: administrative, research, research/training, and community outreach. These were, in turn, divided into specific project or task groups.

The mission of the AIDPC's *interdisciplinary collaborative initiative* is to (1) nurture relationships and communication between the constituent research, training, and outreach workgroups, that (2) could lead to a sense of community with the large group and mission of the center, and in turn (3) produce cross-fertilization of ideas that would lead to enhancing the work of the smaller task-groups, and ultimately to (4) improving the health of American Indians with respect to diabetes. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to an exploration of the evolution, functioning, group process, and sense of community fostered by the IS that implemented the interdisciplinary collaborative initiative of the Center and the grant which supported it. The central vehicle of the interdisciplinary collaborative initiative was the IS, which met monthly for nearly five years (2012-2017).

In the years of the first grant (2003-2012) prior to the initiation of the IS in 2012 (2012-2017), the monthly meetings consisted primarily of Core-Group *reports* to the PI/Director and to the wider group. They were mostly factually informative about the progress of each work-group. While there was some group discussion, it was nowhere as intense, prolonged, and cross-cutting of small work-group boundaries as it became in the later IS.

Rather, most of the communication was unidirectional, with each task (Core) group updating the Director with the status of the work, and reporting any problems to him. The Director would ask questions or offer suggestions for improvement. Once all the small work-groups had presented their project updates, the meeting would be over, and the participants would return to their workplaces – some in far southeastern Oklahoma. The Director described it to me as a business meeting of separate groups gathered as a temporary collectivity to inform him of the work-performance of each small group.

The Director, J. Neil Henderson, writes that "in the early days of the AIDPC most people, although all employees of the health sciences center, were strangers to each other…. [P]rofessional comportment and demeanor were very present…. Politeness prevailed yet, there was some pomposity, it seemed to me, as each person introduced themselves and their research plan" (personal communication, 8 May 2017, quoted with permission). The Director created the IS to make the monthly meetings a more personal experience that would in turn enhance the work. Over the months and years, formality ceased to prevail and was replaced by a sense of people wanting to get to know each other as human beings, not only as occupants of official Center roles.

Historical Settings of the AIDPC Interdisciplinary Seminar Group

Why, though, is there an interest in having an IS as part of AIDPC monthly meetings in the first place? Historically, since the 1980's, there has been an increasing concern in all types of complex organizations for its members to learn to better collaborate, to learn and work together in *teams* of all types and sizes. Ideally, these teams would be less strictly hierarchical and foster more horizontal communication among equals. For instance: multi-function, multi-site, and multi-national corporations; collaboration between many different kinds of health professionals in treatment of a patient; collaboration between American Indian tribes and various professionals on applied health projects. I will later show that the notion of "inter-*disciplinary*," the original AIDPC conception, is far too limited a term to encompass the actual diversity in the Center.

The idea for the IS originated with Dr. J. Neil Henderson, Director of the Center and Principal Investigator (PI) on the grant. The Funding Opportunity Announcement (FOA) also required that attention be given to interdisciplinary development in the operation of funded centers. Dr. Henderson wanted the monthly, 1 ½ - 2 hour meetings to be less bureaucratic, and more personal, intimate, and interactive than having individuals and small work groups making reports, mostly for the sake of the Director. His point of departure was that members of many

different academic and clinical *disciplines* were gathered around the long conference table.

Originally, for the Director, the concept of interdisciplinarity, even trans-disciplinarity, was both a *means* to the end or goal of AIDPC, and an *end* or *goal* itself. The Director's hope was to help members to think, work, and collaborate across borders while respecting borders at the same time, all in the service of the overarching goal of the AIDPC. In colloquial terms, the Director's hope is to help people to "think outside the box" or organizational silo (Diamond, Stein, and Allcorn, 2002), to imagine a larger "box." Often during the course of a monthly meeting members of a sub-group help members of another sub-group by *thinking like the Other,* which often leads to transcending work-group boundaries and becoming and identifying with a Center-community as well as a community of small project and Core groups (Diamond, 2017; Diamond and Allcorn, 2009; Reciniello, 2014; Stein, 2017).

Henderson writes, "the IS has an interdisciplinary outcome that is mediated by the valuing of each other as people. The valuing of each other as people is an outcome that *then* converts to the extrapolation of my value for this person to newly valuing their discipline [and work]. If I value them as a person, it would seem contradictory to devalue their discipline" (Ibid.). One comes to see these new friends as non-threatening and valuable, even though their discipline is different from one's own. With respect to knowledge claims from specific disciplines, Henderson observes that "if a friend has knowledge claims different from or counter to mine, I am more likely to be accepting or at least tolerant of their knowledge claims" (Ibid.).

As the idea of the Center evolved in the Director's mind, he increasingly wanted the Center and its meetings to be personal as well as professional, to become a community of people who know and were interested in knowing about members' lives inside and outside the group. He wanted the Center to have the identity of a personal community. The IS (which sometimes follows the Core Reports, other times is merged with them) has met nearly sixty times since September 2012 *as part of the monthly AIDPC meeting*. I hasten to point out that the IS is *not* a subcommittee or distinct social unit whose membership differs from the entire Center group. Sometimes, the IS is a later phase of the monthly Center meeting (e.g., Part Two); other times the two blur temporal boundaries. As facilitator, I rely on deep listening, containment of anxiety, and brief reflections on process and themes, and comment to the group to help the group to reflect on their own process (Winnicott, 1965; M. Stein, 2004; Diamond, 2017; Stein and Allcorn, 2014; Stein, 2017).

With the active collaboration of the Director, a long-time friend and colleague, I foster a sense of emotional safety and interpersonal intimacy in which openness to sharing new, creative, trans-disciplinary (and beyond) ideas and collaboration becomes possible in problem-identification and problem-resolution, among other things. Group members are encouraged to imagine, think, and work across the boundaries of their own core groups, project specialties, professions, disciplines, departments, tribal affiliations, research, training, and community outreach teams, age, gender, and rank.

The large group often "brainstorms" in response to the input from group members attempting to solve a problem. The process encourages cross-fertilization, collaboration, networking, and sharing personal as well as professional life experiences (which also occurs in the monthly publication *AIDPC Connections,* both in paper and on-line versions). The plans, activities, and processes foster an interpersonal atmosphere of trust, openness, emotional safety, inclusion, and community in which the emergence and testing of fresh ideas, theoretical formulations, and problem-solving emerged. AIDPC members who have not collaborated before, continue to discover common ground; help group members beyond one's own project-group boundaries, with ideas for project implementation; and formulate new, unanticipated projects, theories, methods, training, and community outreach strategies.

Demographics of Group: From Inter-Disciplinary to Multi-Diversity

The membership of the AIDPC group, which meets once a month for 1 ½ - 2 hours, ranges or fluctuates in composition between 15-25 regular members, plus a few alumni from earlier AIDPC groups and occasional guests. Although the entire large group is officially named an inter-*disciplinary* IS group, its diversity is far wider. In the strict sense, members of the IS include such disciplines/professions/official roles as: pediatrics, endocrinology, applied anthropology, nursing, allied health, health promotion/public health, business administration, exercise physiology, biostatistics and epidemiology, graduate research assistants, research coordination, Center manager, administrative assistant to the director, and community outreach.

At the same time, however, this same IS group includes members of many American Indian tribes, ethnic groups, religious groups, health sciences center departments, professions, biomedical specialties, social science disciplines, physicians, nurses, PhD, faculty, staff, community organizing, anthropological, epidemiological, rural, urban, gender, age, income, power/authority, rank/status, privilege, etc. groups. Thus, what was originally thought to be an inter-*disciplinary* group (and seminar) turns out actually to be what might be called a *multi-diversity*, complexly pluralistic type of group. There is considerable diversity among American Indian members' tribal affiliations in the group: Choctaw, Cherokee, Caddo, Wichita/Creek, Navajo. All of this is to say that professional scientific disciplines are not the only variations of significance in the room.

From hindsight this should come as no surprise. When one examines the actual AIDPC group from the inside, its constitution turns out to be far broader and complex than the original ideology of the group, based on grant-requirements (multiple disciplines interacting). How widespread this multi-diversity, pluralism, or heterogeneity has become is attested to by organizational psychoanalyst and consultant William Czander in an e-mail (10 October 2013, permission granted to Author). He

writes:

> As I consult to and teach about contemporary, international and virtual organizations I find it is not uncommon for employees to work in various teams throughout the day, performing in different functions to achieve outcomes. Technology has given organizations the ability to bring team members together from all over the world, resulting in team heterogeneity. In organizations, I find it increasingly common to see heterogeneous teams, made up of members with many different characteristics (e.g., roles, gender, race and ethnicity, age, experience on the job, job function, position in the hierarchy). To work effectively we must be able to adapt to working with many diverse group members. I found that team heterogeneity may bring richness to the group interaction, but it may also pose challenges to team performance and satisfaction. (quoted with permission 10 October 2013, Author).

Moreover, the large AIDPC group consists of two types of constituent groups: (1) multiple task- or project-type sub-groups; and (2) larger groupings of these specific task- or project-groups into more comprehensive, abstract Core Group categories: Administrative, Research, Research/Training, and Community Engagement (outreach). The IS group at once describes (1) the actual constitution or membership of the *entire Center group*; (2) the Center Director's goal and ideal of creating a synergistic group (community) out of group interaction; and (3) the name and central task of the (original) second hour of each AIDPC meeting. At least originally, the IS group was simply a later phase of the monthly meeting (about the second half) of all Center personnel.

Creating a Personal Center Community: Role, Function, and Person

The on-going task of each of the sub-groups of the four cores is to create a functioning work-group or project-group from the considerable diversity within each small sub-group. The central tasks of the monthly AIDPC are: (1) in the first hour of the large group, to report and update the activities of each of the sub-groups within each Core; and (2) in the second hour of the large group, to nurture within the large group warm human relationships and cross-fertilization of ideas, and potential future collaboration.

Historically, it turns out that, as the group progressed from the summer of 2012 when I joined the Center group as IS group facilitator at the Director's invitation, the actual *functioning* and *spirit* of the IS group came to pervade much of the first hour's "reporting" and discussion as well as the official second hour. Members of groups outside the boundary of small task groups, or of the larger Core groups, would comment on, and offer ideas and suggestions to members of the small group were currently "reporting" the previous month's activities. In the monthly large group, the members attend not only to the American Indian tribal cultures whom the members are trying to study and help, but also to the *Seminar/Center group members' own large group culture* and constituent group cultures (Core, task/project). Just as the Center community was a *means* to an ultimate long-term end (prevention of diabetes and improved health of American Indians), it was also itself an *achievement* of the process of inter-disciplinarity and muti-disciplinarity.

Stated differently, the Director's and my hope was that out of such group process interaction, as well as other efforts such as the monthly AIDPC *Connections*, an ethos of an *AIDPC Center-wide culture* could emerge and function, supplementing, not supplanting, the smaller cultures of the individual projects and Cores. The hope was to foster an atmosphere of personal community and collaboration in the IS that would create *cross-cutting networks* of relatedness, sense of community, identity, and function similar to functions of integrative social units long ago described by anthropologists for preliterate societies (Evans-Pritchard 1940; Evans-Pritchard 1947; Gluckman 1954; Kroeber 1917; Wagner 1940); e.g., secret societies, clans, moieties, fraternal organizations, warrior societies, etc.

Group Process: Some Indicators of Large-Group Identification

How does organizational *reality* compare with the Director and facilitator's *hope* for the large group? What is the evidence – what are the data – that substantiate the hope that the large group became a community of people who transcended their small work-group and Core Group boundaries, rather than a collectivity of researchers, trainers, and community outreach practitioners? It turns out that there are numerous qualitative indicators, some *seemingly* trifling, that the hope is being realized. Of course, the long-term "measures" of cross-cutting relationships would be the improved health of American Indians with respect to diabetes and the generation of future grants as the five-year grant comes to an end. In the meantime, many more immediate and mundane indicators of the success of the IS and of the Director's dream are the following, which demonstrate the value of micro-behavioral analysis:

(1) At the beginning and end of the roughly two-hour monthly meeting, members often greet one another with firm hugs (i.e., rather than simply sitting down in a chair around the table, or getting their lunch at a side-table); likewise, at the close of the approximately two-hour meeting, many members linger and visit as much as fifteen-to-twenty minutes, often in groups other than their project- or Core-group; while seated at the table and having lunch, they sit next to and visit with many different people over the months and years, not necessarily next to members or the project- or Core Group;

(2) During the monthly meeting, members of the large group are, for the most part, keenly attentive and engaged with the reports and the people making the reports (not spending their time looking down at their cell phones, smartphones, or laptop

computers), and often offer comments and suggestions rather than wait until the IS of the second hour (which is to say that the IS often actually *begins in fact during the first hour*);

(3) The Director actively participates in the discussions, acknowledging his own failures and external challenges facing the Center, as well as noting successes and goals, and encourages openness in the emotional safety of the group;

(4) Likewise, other group members tend to feel safe enough to voice their own problems, misgivings, failure, uncertainty, and anxiety, and ask the group for help;

(5) There is the spirit of play, creativity, and reflection in the work of the group. Over the long history of the Center group, there have been deaths and serious illness of founding group members; other members, including the Director in the concluding year, have moved on to other jobs in their careers. During official meeting time, the group, facilitated by both the Director and me, takes time to mourn and remember those who have died, who are sick, and who have moved on in their careers.

(6) *Group* activities of Center members take place outside the time and space of the monthly meetings. For instance, in May 2016, three AIDPC members participated in the Choctaw Nation Trail of Tears Bicycle Team, and rode the 436 miles from Greenwood, Mississippi, to Durant, Oklahoma, to relive the journey of forced removal in 1831. Subsequently, several photographs of the bike team were published in *AIDPC Connections* (on-line and in paper), and the event became part of the conversation at later AIDPC meetings;

(7) The content of *AIDPC Connections* is not primarily for consumption by the outside world, but for the Center members themselves. It is also not primarily about diabetes. The monthly periodical includes stories of members outside the center, reflective editorials on the larger social issues addressed by the work of the Center, poetry by Howard Stein, traditional recipes, announcements of meetings, and numerous photographs of members in various activities.

Creating and Sustaining a Thinking and Reflective Space

During the monthly IS in the second Grant (2012-2017), although Core-Group reports continued, the spirit of large-group collaboration and discussion not only occurred (for the first several months) during the second hour, devoted to such conversation, but later spilled over (with the Director's sanctioning and participation) into the first hour.

In short, reports were no longer merely a series of reports to the Director one after the other. Reports became springboards for large-group conversation, input, feedback, no-fault brainstorming, etc during and immediately after the report from the Core Group members. The Director and my hope and goal was to help nurture an interpersonal atmosphere of safety and trust in which new ideas could emerge and old ideas be tested, mistakes and failures could be acknowledged without recrimination, and new alliances and future projects could emerge.

Put differently, the Director and I hoped that AIDPC members could transcend their own project and Core group boundaries, and come (1) to think and work as members of their own small groups; (2) to imagine themselves "into" the mind-set of other project and Core groups and offer ideas and suggestions; and (3) think of themselves as members of and belonging at once to their project group, their Core group, *and* the larger AIDPC group community with the ultimate goal of helping prevent diabetes among American Indians. In short, it would be to foster the *emergence of a personal research, training, and outreach community* (cf. Inui and Frankel, 2013). The *relationship* would thus be a part of the *work*.

Personal relationships and family stories unrelated to the workplace enhanced the *work* of small and large groups alike. Setting the tone, the Director frequently told stories about his family, his travels, his interests beyond the Center. He also wrote personal stories for *AIDPC Connections*. For instance, the Director deliberately designed the monthly *AIDPC Connections* (in both print and electronic internet forms) to be an organ of communication of *personal* as well as *professional* stories among members of the AIDPC group. The focus of *Connections* – which was deliberately and publicly *not* called a *newsletter* – was to help create and perpetuate *personal relatedness* among members of the Center. It would *not* be primarily about diabetes, but about the people in the Center who study, teach about, and conduct community outreach about diabetes among American Indians.

For instance, *Connections* regularly featured American Indian recipes, activities of group members (often accompanied with photographs), poems I have written, a brief essay by the Director, members' activities outside AIDPC, Center news, conferences and events, what members are reading, and meeting schedules. At the monthly Center meetings, the Director openly called for these items to be sent to his assistant, who edits *Connections*. The wide range of personal stories includes the time a member's dogs were sprayed by a skunk, and details of the task of washing them; attendance at American Indian cultural and political events; accounts of travel and vacation; curing a ham; outdoor activities such as hiking; news of individual members' accomplishments; sports activities of group members and their children; presentations at conferences; participation in tribal councils; building coalitions between rural Oklahoma American Indian tribes and AIDPC; and the like.

At least three concepts describe the psychological functions that I strive to offer the large group: (1) *containment* (Bion, 1963; M. Stein, 2004; Diamond, 2017; Stein, 2017) of and processing anxiety, thereby helping to create an emotionally safe, non-threatening, and non-defensive environment; (2) serving as a symbolic *holding environment* (Winnicott, 1958, 1965) for the group's emotions and concerns, in which participants

would feel emotionally held, harkening back to early caregiver and baby; (3) serving as an agent of *reflection* (Allcorn and Author, 2016), sometimes prodding and challenging the group to think about – to stretch – themes and issues that had frequently arisen during a given meeting or over the span of several meetings. Much of the "holding" occurs and containment through deep listening to emotional *undercurrents* as well as to the *manifest* topic (Stein, 2017). Here, too, expressive eye contact as well as attentive listening are forming of symbolic holding. Likewise, it is important for me both to "catch the drift" of the group narrative and to attend to specific content.

In response to what I have heard, and its inner resonance with me, I often provides *links* between ideas (and the people who have articulated them) that are shared in close temporal proximity, as well as those that are articulated in the present and earlier meetings, encouraging members to explore them further. It is very affirming to me when, frequently, another member of the group will *perform the same functions as the facilitator*, linking people and ideas, thus indicating an identification with me and making some my processing *functions* into their own. In fact, I have said several times over the past nearly five years that, if the group members have found this process useful in their own projects, Cores, and the work of the Center, they might consider adopting and transferring the process to *their own workplaces*.

With the sanction and active participation of the Director, I helped to create a ritualized structure of space and time within which the meeting and IS worked: (1) comfortable chairs around an enormous conference room table (or alternately, in a different room, many rectangular metal tables arranged in a large square around which were arranged comfortable chairs); and (2) a roughly 1 ½ to 2-hour meeting initially divided into a first-hour of Core reports and a second hour of the IS. The idea was to structure and facilitate a learning and thinking space and time in which both the predictable *and* the novel, unexpected, and creative could emerge.

Physical and temporal structures or frames were the implicit environment in which these would take place. These structures would provide a bounded and safe learning and thinking space in which new relationships and creative ideas *could* emerge. The temporal and spatial structures, along with the participation of the Director and facilitator, would provide the "good enough" containment, holding environment, and reflection for the group (s). Over time, not only did the Director and I take responsibility for the group functions (containment; emotional holding; reflection, linking thoughts, offering comment, etc.), but the other members of the group temporarily took on these responsibilities as the meeting progressed.

Much of the time in the project- and Core reports, one had the sense of one person addressing the whole large group, especially the Director. Frequently, however, during the rich give-and-take of the IS hour and the IS-like interactions during the first hour, the group process felt like a kind of Winnicottian transitional experience (Winnicott, 1958, 1965). That is, although one person in the large group would speak after another in a temporal sequence, it felt as if there were no distinct "You" or "I," but rather a between-like, liminal, transitional experience, in which a "We" came into existence.

During these times, there was considerable openness and receptiveness in the group. In spoken word, gesture, and laughter, it was as if group members were nurturing one another (and the group), and through a kind of cumulative reciprocal identification among group members, the nurturance increased. Identification with the nurturer (only sometimes the Director or facilitator) led to further nurturing. It was not that people could not *speak* enough, but rather that they could not *give* enough.

The group atmosphere was not that of lineal time, but more akin to Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's (1926) *participation mystique*. All this, of course, took place at the *expressive* level. However, the expressive gave birth to increased creativity at the instrumental level, the level of work or task. The group accomplished a lot during these times. For me, the experience felt less like *observing* as *witnessing* and *participating* in something that transcended individual speakers.

The process of my listening, with occasional brief stories and comments about the feeling tones and themes, becomes a part of the group's history and evolution. There is not only continuity *within meetings*, but also *between meetings*. Often participants will make a comment that refers back to something I said earlier in the meeting, or in an earlier meeting. Or, equally, often participants articulate ideas and offer ideas that I had earlier shared, but make no reference to my name associated with the ideas. In the latter, they have incorporated and integrated my ideas and took ownership of them. My voice was no longer necessary; their voices had taken over my function, at least on some matters.

The ideas became part of them. I never felt that "theft" had taken place. Rather, I took pleasure and satisfaction and welcomed it when it occurred. The ideas were now "out there" rather than entirely "in me." They were spatially "between" us (Buber, 1925).

I turn now to the multiplicity of voices that were part of the IS group process.

Many Voices from the Interdisciplinary Seminar

In a group of this complexity and diversity, one of the first things that might come to mind are the *potential influences of cultural differences* between American Indian and white American IS group members upon participation in the large group meeting. According to a widely-held stereotype, American Indians are supposedly silent, mostly non-expressive verbally, and respectfully quiet, while white Americans, largely academicians, would be highly verbal participants, eager to engage others in discussion if not sparring. This "cultural" dichotomy simply did not hold up over the five years with which I have been associated with the AIDPC as facilitator. There were as many mostly quiet white participants as there were American Indian. Even these people eventually "warmed up" and actively entered the group conversation.

Further, Henderson writes that there is "highly variable acculturation status present among American Indian people. Consequently, there cannot be a precise comparison between the American Indians and the whites in the room" (Ibid). American Indians are no more culturally uniform than are whites. Some American Indian Center members were themselves academics.

In my observation, the categories that often (not always) accounted for the distinction between verbal and silent participation were not ethnicity or "race," but rather (1) whether someone had the status of some type of professional or was a research/ administrative assistant; and (2) whether someone had been a group member for a long time or was a newcomer. Ultimately, perhaps the most basic common denominator was respectful, attentive listening, giving each participant the space and time to be heard and what was spoken digested.

Early in the history of the IS, a frequent distinction in group process was made between those in the group who did "basic science" or "hard science" and those who did anthropology, sociology, or community education. However, as time went on in the evolution of the group, this dichotomy softened. For instance, early in the five years, the group was discussing family, community, rural, and ethnic dimensions of diabetes. A white clinical researcher, feeling uncomfortable with the conversation, replied something like, "That's sociology [his term]. I'm a clinical researcher. I can't think like that. I do hard science." Nearly five years later, in early 2017, as the grant was coming to an end, the Director asked the IS group: "What have we collectively learned [over the life of the Center]?" The same clinical scientist's response was that "The unifying theme of all the research is the sociology behind diabetes." For him, this "sociology" had come to include the influence of church activities, high school sports, lack of transportation, family dynamics, and even whether the research subject/ partner had a pair of tennis shoes, upon recruitment, retention, and participation in the research.

Similarly, in early 2014 an American Indian female research coordinator said that "It's hard to standardize interventions with research partners (subjects) because there is so much individual, family, community, rural, and tribal diversity." She also said in the same meeting, in response to the Director's question: "We help each other, educate each other, on what we're doing." In short, over the course of the five years, many bridges between people and projects were built and crossed, while individual and small- group project identities were preserved.

The diversity of *voices* led to a rich diversity of *stories*, both project-related and personal. Often project reports in the monthly Center meetings became the springboard for group storytelling, story listening, empathic responses, feeling heard, and responses with additional stories. Other times, group members did not feel the need for a project-related pretext for sharing their stories of experience, such as a novel one recently read, or a trip one recently took.

I can enumerate only a few of these: personal and family stories; stories of illness and deaths of Center members; stories of attending American Indian conferences and tribal activities; stories of successes and disappointments on Center projects; stories of struggles with university Institutional Review Boards ("Doing what we want to do is not simple."); stories of anxiety over budget cuts and tightening; stories of bridging gaps between "us" (university researchers) and "them" (research subjects/partners, American Indian tribes; "We can't do this without you."); stories on absurdities of grant requirements; stories of difficulties getting research partners/subjects to come to where we are versus our going to where the people are (rural communities, health fairs); stories on realistic Center outcome goals versus realizing dreams and fantasies of eliminating health disparities, often among the Center's own tribal peoples; stories on discrepancies between what we can provide and what American Indian families and communities come to health fairs for; stories on our relationships with research partners/subjects and American Indian communities; stories of being based at the university in Oklahoma City, and the need to drive long, time-consuming distances to American Indian communities in southeastern Oklahoma to conduct research and health fairs; stories on the anxiety of living with uncertainties and difficulties in Center and research planning; stories on tribes asking for results that the Center cannot provide; stories on diabetes as a disease and as a way of life. In short, the IS and the larger Center meeting became an important safe container in which Center members' stories could be related, listened to, validated, understood, and processed.

Finally, let me offer two extended examples or stories that I hope will bring all these processes and voices to life.

Case Example 1: Language and Emotions in the Center Group

During one meeting, early in the five-year AIDPC grant (2012-2017), a member, thinking about future implementation of our ideas and findings, asked the group about how we would go about "dumbing down" our methods and findings to members of our constituent communities. As soon as she said that, several people in the large group winced and shifted nervously in their chairs. The group immediately and nervously shifted away to other topics.

Rather than continue as though nothing of consequence had happened, I asked the group to pause and go back to that uncomfortable moment and reflect on what had happened. Several people volunteered that they felt uncomfortable, that it had been an awkward moment, and that they were somewhat upset by her characterization of the process of communicating with community constituents as "dumbing down." It felt to them as though the relationship was vertical between superiors and inferiors. She apologized for hurting group members. She offered amends for her use of the disparaging term. She apologized for her use of the term.

The tense atmosphere of the group lifted, and people became more relaxed. I suggested that it was important to attend to how group members were *feeling*, since this affected the *work* of the group. I then offered the thought that one underlying task

-related issue was of the *language* members of the group used to communicate with the community. I continued, thinking aloud that we need to attend to our relationships among ourselves as much as with our constituent communities. I added the obvious point that many members here at the Center were members of American Indian tribal communities.

I also raised the question of how we could imagine our community constituents as culturally (and linguistically) *different* from us rather than *inferior* to us. We began to consider the relationship as more horizontal, collaborative, and congenial rather than vertical and condescending. Discussion on our own group process continued for a short while on how to implement this relationship-and-work-related subject. The emotional tone of the group shifted markedly from tense and defensive to relaxed and free communication. Participants no longer seemed to feel bad about what had recently happened in the group. The potentially toxic nodal point in group history was addressed, and the group could move on with its work.

Case Example 2: The Crisis

In late 2014 and early 2015 a *crisis* occurred within the AIDPC. This was a label I had given the Director in a private meeting, and he concurred. Funded for a five-year grant, the Center had reached its mid-point. Over time, at the Center's monthly meetings, the difficulty of recruitment of research subjects/research partners had been a recurrent, if smoldering, theme. Toward the fall of 2014 it became clear that it had become a Center-wide *crisis*, although the specific word was not used by others in the group. Without an influx of new research subjects, projects could not be completed by deadlines; publishable papers could not be generated for lack of data; and the Center could not fulfill its dual obligations to the Oklahoma tribes and the granting agency. What had thus far been addressed piecemeal required a concerted effort. Anxiety and uncertainty about the future was an undercurrent at meetings.

Toward the end of one monthly meeting the Director identified and addressed the crisis directly, announcing that the next month's meeting would be devoted entirely to sharing members' project- and Core Group- experiences of *difficulties* encountered in recruiting subjects. The large group would "pool" its members' collective experiences, and the subsequent month's meeting would be devoted to brainstorming possible *solutions*. The mood was somber and urgent, but the Director ended the meeting on a note of resilience and hope. He "contained" the Center's anxiety, allowed it to be given voice and named, and worked toward realistic solutions.

Following the monthly meeting, the Director (Henderson) and I met in his office for a short conversation, as we often do following Center meetings. The Director and I had been long-time friends and colleagues and trusted one another. I offered to make a few suggestions about how the Director might approach the next few monthly Center meetings. The Director not only welcomed them, but took notes as I spoke. I felt understood and valued. I said that one of the most important things was for the Director to set the emotional tone for what my friend, Dr. Seth Allcorn, had termed "no fault change," and I called "no fault brainstorming." One rule would be that there would be no finger-pointing of blame, no public shaming, no "guilt trips," and no dwelling on past mistakes. Instead, the Director would keep the group focused on the present, on what can be learned from the past, and what the Center could do differently and better in the future. Optimally, everyone would learn from everyone's experiences.

At the next monthly meeting, the Director did not mention to the group his prior discussion between him and me. Instead, he *embodied* it. He began the meeting and set the tone by saying that he himself had made mistakes, had failures, and had "dropped the ball" on recruitment. He apologized to the group. Encouraged by their leader's openness, sincerity, and forthrightness, many members of the large group brought up their own attempts at recruitment and some of their own failures. As a group, they collectively identified *what had not worked*, and learned from each other what *not* to do in the future. What had begun as a somber, quiet atmosphere end as up-beat – by having put what had been only inside themselves outside for group use, *without the fear of humiliation or punishment*. At the conclusion of the meeting the Director said that the next monthly meeting would focus on suggestions and solutions for recruitment. He asked everyone present to think about solutions and to bring them next time.

The following month's AIDPC meeting overflowed with enthusiastic brainstorming. The atmosphere was at once collegial, friendly, intense, on-task, productive, and light with humor and laughter. Fear of reprisal was absent. Group member had clearly taken the Director's task "assignment" seriously, and shared their ideas for increasing recruitment and productivity. Group members shared their ideas not only for increasing recruitment in *their own* specific projects and Core Groups, but also potentially to be of help with *others' projects*. Further, they also listened intently to others to glean ideas that might help with recruitment in their own projects and in the Core Group.

As if to underscore the sense of urgency, energy, accomplishment, and the process itself, the meeting ran considerably overtime. The participants were clearly emotionally involved. Although on several occasions during the meeting I offered an idea about what was being discussed, I primarily sat, listened, observed, and tried to offer an emotionally safe presence and environment for the discussion.

Finally, in the following monthly meetings, participants reported to the Director and large group their considerable success in recruiting new research subjects/partners – sometimes by using approaches that differed from the original – and that the research itself had been revitalized. The group felt that the Center's mission was back on track and was no longer jeopardized. Both the Director and I felt affirmed, heartened, energized, and relieved. In retrospect, it was clear that although I had occasionally offered some ideas in the large group, and participated as witness to the process, much of my work had

taken place "behind the scenes," "off stage," in face-to-face visits, e-mails, and phone calls with the Director prior to the meeting.

Conclusions and Implications

In this paper, I have focused on the function and process of the AIDPC (from mid-2012 through 2017) largely through the lens of what the Director initially called the IS that is part of the monthly Center meeting. It turned out that the group composition in fact was far more complexly pluralistic than we originally imagined. Building outward from the monthly meeting-seminar, I attempted to facilitate the emergence of a personal as well as professional community of researchers, research trainers, and community outreach professionals. These constituted three of the Center's Cores (in addition to the Administrative Core). The sense of community in turn energized the teamwork of the projects and Cores, the monthly meetings, and the Center.

I began by locating AIDPC in the context of the prevalence of diabetes mellitus among American Indians. I then discussed the mission, history, and structure of the Center, projects conducted by the Center, and the role of the interdisciplinary collaborative initiative in implementing the purpose of the Center. I then explored the group structure and process of the monthly meeting-seminar, as well as the monthly Center publication, *AIDPC Connections*, both of which were designed by the Director to foster the creation of relationships and collaboration "horizontally" across Core- and project-boundaries (silos). Further, I discussed the group-psychological approach that the Director and I used to try to work toward these goals. I then illustrated the multiplicity of voices and stories that were part of the IS group process. Finally, I offered two extended examples/stories to illustrate how this process works.

I described both the *short term goals* (e.g., recruitment of research partners/subjects, completion of projects, dissemination of findings through publication, etc.) and the *long term goals* (prevention of diabetes among American Indians, adaptation to changing funding sources and opportunities, development of future grants to begin after the current 5-year grant expired) of the Center and its constituent communities.

I believe that the group complexity that I discovered and mobilized in the AIDPC characterizes the rich diversity of countless other teams, meetings, and organizations with which applied anthropologists work. As an applied anthropologist, I believe that fellow applied and practicing anthropologists can apply (and modify) the model of community, group process, and collaboration I have described for the AIDPC Center in this paper.

Notes

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"I Saw Many Things and It Reminded Me of home": Place Building with Refugees through Living History Museum Tours

Adrianna Smell and Mike Kimball

Abstract

Past research has found that social bridges between local and refugee communities facilitate refugees' integration by increasing social capital and self-efficacy (Thomas et al. 2016; Simon 2012; Haughey 2010). The benefits of social bridges for integration are widely recognized, however, techniques both refugees and local communities can employ to initiate the construction of these bridges have yet to be extensively explored. Using Heritage Place Building Theory (Author et al. 2013), we address this question through analysis of data from the "Roots Project," a multi-year community-based project engaging undergraduate anthropology students, local high schools, a nonprofit refugee center and local living history museum. Student researchers conducted community-based ethnographic research with a total of approximately 100 refugee participants over three fall semesters from 2013-2015. Findings show that refugees made tangible and abstract connections across a range of place building dimensions (social and economic relations, nature, built environment, ethics). Results suggest that a living history museum can play a transformational place building role in constructing social bridges between refugee and local communities.

Keywords: Refugee Integration, Place Building Theory, Living Heritage, Museums

Introduction

This paper examines how an interactive, living history museum can facilitate both community partnerships and engagement by both local and refugee populations and be a transformational platform that fosters place-building (Kimball et al. 2013) through economic, natural, social, ethical, and material relations. We illustrate how an interactive, living history museum can, in itself, become a transformational change agent when it broadens its audience and promotes diversity in visitation and interpretation (Trustram 2014; Simon 2012; Haughey 2010). As an organization moves toward interactive and participatory exhibits and improved cultural awareness, we argue that it fosters refugees' abilities to make both tangible and abstract connections, which increase the refugee population's social bridges, capital, and self-efficacy as well as their own and the museum's roles as place builders.

Stigma and Social Bridges

Fear and lack of cultural awareness create obstacles to successful integration for many refugees. These obstacles confirm the low self-efficacy of many displaced persons, which hinders their ability to gain social capital. Ager and Strang (2008) found obstacles to successful integration originated from fear, instability, language barriers, and the lack of cultural competency in both refugee and native communities. Similarly, following a meta-analysis, Strang and Ager (2010: 598-9) argue that "excluding neighborhoods," i.e., those "where local people are seen to be unfriendly and where there are few or no residents from co-ethnic communities," impede access to social capital, which causes refugees' self-efficacy to decline. Lack of self-efficacy, social capital and constant obstacles to integration reinforce stigmas associated with the refugee identity.

The complexity of refuge integration is also informed by stigmas associated with refugee identity. Refugees in the United Kingdom are hindered by bureaucratic jargon, as they are expected to perform their "refugeeness" (e.g., exhibiting genuine need) (109) although local communities often perceive the performances as non-genuine (Jeffers 2010). The institutional necessity to perform in relation to the "refugee label" (Ludwig 2013) causes discrepancies between communities because the refugee label is associated with numerous stigmas that evoke the image of a tarnished and needy person in the mind of local community members and is associated with "having nothing" (8).

Moreover, dominant populations within the local community often receive and reiterate stigmas through the use of colloquialisms and their focus on stereotypes. For example, in Malta, refugees are identified as "irregular immigrants" in need of saving (Haughey 2010). Similarly, Jeffers (2010) explains that the addition of "asylum seeker" to the lexicon of refugee descriptors sheds doubt on any person who seeks refuge in an area. These terms used to describe the status of newcomers become internalized not only in their host communities but also in their own self concepts. This further hinders their integration and efforts at community building on all sides.

Bridging capital, a form of social capital, explained by Paxton (1999), represents the importance of establishing connections between groups of people, particularly for support and access to knowledge and resources. McPherson (2014) found that general engagement with the local community helps build refugees' sense of belonging through network ex-

pansion and self-understanding. When studying a cultural navigation program for refugees, Thomas and colleagues (2016) found that through trusting relationships, local community members facilitate capital building in refugees by providing access to their personal and extended networks. Thus, building social bridges between refugee and native communities takes time but can be facilitated by improving cultural awareness.

Cultural Institutions

Contemporary cultural institutions, including museums, art exhibits, and libraries, have begun shifting their focus toward participatory exhibits, which aid in expanding the served populations and balancing power discrepancies between members of varying communities (Simon 2012; Thomas et al. 2016; Jeffers 2010; Wali 2015). Exhibits where individuals can participate in, interact, or contribute, foster the construction of social bridges between people from diverse backgrounds through a variety of media and often engage with significant social problems (Simon 2010; Haughey 2010; Naguib 2013; Parezo 2013). Participatory cultural institutions become safe spaces where dominant and non-dominant populations can interact, learn, grow, and share experiences without the interference of social constructs that work to divide individuals into categories (Trustram 2014; Naguib 2013; Jeffers 2010). Safe spaces work to generate bridging capital, fostering self-efficacy and expanding networks through the promotion of cultural awareness, self-knowledge, education, and health (Haughey 2010; Thomas et al. 2016; Trustram 2014).

In this light, a living history museum, that is, a museum "that incorporates historic objects, accurate environments and appropriate recreations [to] make the stories about the people who used those objects more multi-dimensional and effective" (ALHFAM n.d.), can be seen as a cultural institution in which direct interaction with tangible heritage takes place and which presents a neutral, "third space" for building social bridges by renegotiating relations between refugees' pasts, presents and senses of place.

Heritage Place Building Theory

Heritage Place Building Theory (HPBT) derives from Organizational Place Building Theory (OPBT; Thomas, Kimball and Suhr 2016), which describes and explains relations between organizations and *place*, i.e., intersections of geography and human activity, memory and values (Tuan 1977). As an explanatory theory, HPBT is concerned with how place is constructed through reciprocal relations among tangible and intangible heritage, its users (e.g., recreational, spiritual, casual), its placekeepers (place-based stewards and stakeholders) and its contextual communities, that is, those in which it arises and is used, maintained, conserved and regenerated (Kimball 2016). Further, as an applied theory, HPBT functions as a prescriptive tool for improving management and conservation of "living heritage," that is, heritage that plays an active role in the lives of communities for whom it is historically or traditionally relevant. A full explication of HPBT can be found in a recent paper by Kimball and colleagues (2013). Here we summarize two key aspects of HPBT of direct relevance to this paper: place building dimensions and the heritage place building continuum.

Place building dimensions

HPBT defines five dimensions along which reciprocal relations with heritage are analyzed: *social relations* within contextual communities, between users and placekeepers and between these groups and the tangible and intangible heritage of a given place; *economic relations* within contextual communities and between users and placekeepers and heritage; *material environment*, e.g., architecture and artifacts, as context for or representation of tangible heritage; *natural environment,* e.g., vegetation and landforms, as context for or representation of heritage; and *ethics*, that is, how display of and interactions with heritage embody and reveal, for instance, power relations and implicit codes of conduct.

Place building continuum

HPBT recognizes an array of place user and placekeeper relations with heritage which, in keeping with OPBT (Kimball and Thomas 2012; Thomas, Kimball and Suhr 2016), exist on a continuum. Four place building dispositions – exploitive, contingent, contributive, and transformational – impact beneficiaries and express particular heritage place missions along this continuum (Table 1).

Central to HPBT and OPBT is the notion that its dispositions

Table 1.

Place Building Dimensions	Final Coding Scheme
Social Relations	• Language (facilitator, barrier) • Cultural Awareness (evident, lacking; positive experience, negative experience) • Interactive interpreter/exhibit (positive experience, negative experience) • Power dynamics (exploitive, collaborative, transformative) • Participant/staff instruction
Economic Relations	• Labor techniques (similarities, difference; cross-cultural connections, "what we do"; stability/security [economic, emotional]) • Exhibits as connective artifacts between communities (stability, vulnerability; tangible connection, abstract connection) • Interaction (positive, negative; exploitive/collaborative)
Material Environment	• "Connections to home" (everyday objects; distinct, more general) • Collaborative interactions • Reflections about (cultural norms, heritage [similarities/differences])
Natural Environment	• Similarities, differences
Ethics	• Refugee capital-building (resources; opportunity; cultural awareness) • "Refugee responsibility" • "Bridge the gap," cross-cultural connection • Positive/negative interactions (staff, object)

are not categories, like astrological horoscopes, with which people and organizations identify and by which they are tightly constrained. Rather, these dispositions are heuristic snapshots of particular locations on a dynamic continuum along which people and organizations are always in flux. Thus, perhaps like the moving lines of a Chinese *I Ching* hexagram, which reveal to the diviner the state into which a situation is tending to evolve, the place building dispositions present prospective sets of relations away from and toward which individuals and organizations have the freedom to move given necessary information, effective strategies and available resources. Thus, HPBT's dimensions and continuum offer a framework through which a transformational and integrative process of social bridge construction and place building can be better understood and encouraged.

The Roots Project

The primary purpose of this study was to explore whether and how refugees build a sense of place through an interactive, living history museum, vis-à-vis the five Heritage Place Building dimensions. As suggested above, this kind of research question is consistent with a growing trend in museum studies focused on immigrant and refugee heritage, diversified interpretive lenses and representations, and visitor relations. Likewise, there is also a significant trend in applied anthropological investigations of these phenomena, as evidenced by a recent issue of the journal, *Practicing Anthropologist* (Volume 37, Number 3), and, in particular, the work of Parezo (2015) and Wali (2015).

In collaboration with a group of community partners – a local, living history museum, a nonprofit refugee center, and local high schools – it was decided to focus on agricultural heritage and its relations to immigrant and refugee experiences, both past and present. This resulted in a consensus for naming this initiative the "Roots Project." The second author met with these community partners to design a project that not only addressed the research question and partners' needs (advancing refugee integration and the museum's mission) using anthropological and qualitative methods (see below). It also provided a training ground and community-engaged research experience for undergraduate student enrolled in an upper-level applied anthropology research methods course.

Data were collected between 2013 and 2015 during three field seasons (fall semesters) by the student researchers at a university located in the western United States as part of the "Roots Project," a community-based research project for an upper level applied anthropology class. The 2013 and 2014 field seasons consisted of a partnership with a local living history museum and two high schools with logistical support from a nonprofit refugee resource center. The 2015 field season's partnerships consisted of the same living history museum and refugee center, which took on a core partner role.

Project participants, totaling approximately 100 individuals over the three field seasons, originated primarily from three regions of the world: East Africa (e.g., Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea), Latin America (e.g., Mexico and El Salvador) and Southeast Asia (Thailand and Burma/Myanmar). Data collection focused on their experience of the living history museum, which consists of a large, outdoor area containing livestock and more than 20 exhibits and 15 buildings staffed by history interpreters in period costume who role-play, explain and invite visitors to directly experience aspects of the region's late 19th century-early 20th century history of immigration and adaptation to life on the high plains.

The 2013 field season incorporated two methods, photovoice[3] (Wang and Burris 1997) and a modified Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Protocol (REAP; Taplin, Scheld and Low 2002; Author et al. 2013); the 2014 and 2015 field seasons used only the modified REAP[4]. Following data collection, undergraduate student researchers compiled and analyzed their field notes, transcribed their recorded interviews and analyzed their data using a content analysis procedure (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009).

For the study presented in this paper, data were compiled and then analyzed in steps by the first author, a graduate student unaffiliated with the project (see Table 1). The first author reviewed un-coded transcripts and kept a running list of potentially important ideas. Next, she reviewed student researchers' coding and compared it with her running list; this process was used to preliminarily code student narratives. After coding both narrative and transcripts, QSR International's NVivo 10 Software was used to run a word query, which was designed to pick up other elements that may have been excluded by focusing on a place building framework. The word query did not show any additional codes or phrases not addressed by the student researchers or the first author. The final coding scheme included each dimension of place building and between two and five sub-codes, with some overlap.

Using word processing software and the refined coding scheme, interviews and narratives were coded by year and then given to the second author for review. After receiving his feedback, the coding scheme was again refined and narratives and interviews were recoded for themes by data type. After utilizing inter-coder reliability, the first author analyzed data for themes by student researcher, then by year, and then by data type. Themes with representative data were compiled using word processing software and then sent to the second author for review. After receiving initial feedback, this process was completed two more times and then a final analysis document was complied. Together, the authors edited, expanded, and reorganized the final analysis to better explain how social bridges create a "safe space" that allows for place building to occur along HPBT's five dimensions and reveals where the museum resides or is moving along the place building continuum.

The primary and secondary researchers were unable to complete member checking during data analysis due to difficulty accessing participants for follow-up. Relying on translators during interviews is another limitation because it may have created issues with accuracy and depth of the data collected. While using student researchers limited the depth of information that was gathered, the rapport built between students and participants during off-site interactions also enabled students and

participants to feel more comfortable during data collection. Similarly, focus groups rather than individual interviews caused difficulty parsing out and inviting individual perspectives; on the other hand, this structure might have facilitated communication as the second author and his students have observed that participants seemed more comfortable speaking when in family or peer groups versus alone with an interviewer.

Roots Project Findings

Social Relations

Social relations helped participants to develop bridging capital, as they were able to engage with heritage from the local community similar to their own. However, social relations also had the potential to discourage place building when cultural awareness was absent because the space became more exploitive/contingent than contributive/transformational. Cultural awareness, when properly induced and managed, helped build social bridges for participants. This highlights the museum's potential to create *transformational* spaces to foster intercultural and interpersonal relations.

For example, when two Spanish-speaking refugees went to the Hispanic Heritage House, a reconstruction of an 1800s Mexican and American southwest domestic structure commemorating the region's Hispanic heritage, the volunteer switched the entire dialogue to Spanish. Through field notes, a student researcher trained in Spanish language and acting as a translator, expressed how the interaction was so natural she was unable to keep up. The researcher followed up her account by emphasizing the importance of this network, writing, "laughter, joy, and a sense of security that wasn't present prior… the first moment that the two of them felt truly welcome." Likewise, an adobe-making station volunteer acknowledged the experience of a male participant from a Latin American group, saying, "Shoot, he knows more than I do, [I will] let him tell you." A student researcher identified how "the younger generations listened intently to [the participants'] story, they shared in his joy with big smiles on their faces as well. No cell phones were out this time."

However, a student researcher noted that an East African man, selected to hammer metal at the Black Smith's Forge, was comfortable with the work until "the historian asked if he needed a job… making a slightly uncomfortable environment because [the dialogue] was suddenly about money." Likewise, during a conversation between an East African family and a museum volunteer, a man apparently in his 60s or 70s working the Black Smith's Forge, a student researcher observed that a "refugee woman became quiet for the rest of the presentation, proceeded to give one-word answers and stood with her arms crossed" because the volunteer tried to joke about her apparent lack of interest in marrying someone like him.[1] Similarly, when a group of East African participants visited the Spanish colony home, the student researcher observed diminished comfort levels because "the instructor continued to speak Spanish in a seemingly aggressive tone," after being informed the group did not understand her.

Economic Relations

Viewing and discussing similarities and differences between cultural groups' labor techniques and participation with these skills improve refugee vitality by acknowledging that their abilities and experience are still salient. Practices considered to be part of the relatively distant past by local community members are perceived by participants to be part of their recent pasts and, potentially, their presents as a bridge to financial security (i.e., using these skills in new ways to make a living). The social relations within an economic context provided participants with a chance for economic growth – volunteers invited participants into personal networks, which could potentially yield employment. The opportunities participants have potentially gained from the economic environment at this museum help position the museum as a *contributive* and potentially *transformational* space in its capacity to foster economic opportunities for the refugee community.

For example, when a group of South Asian participants arrived at the Blacksmith's Forge and an elder in the group asked to volunteer, he did so happily because this was his "work" in his home village. The student researcher expressed "how comfortable the [elder] was taking over the process of forging when asked. He even pulled out a nutcracker from his bag and expressed the nutcracker was hand-made using the same black metal forging technique." While in the schoolhouse exhibit, the student researcher noticed a Mexican refugee family making connections to a clock and wrote, "One of the refugees was sharing pictures of his wood working abilities. The volunteer expressed interest in the refugee's work and offered to connect [the participant] with someone who may be looking for those particular skills." When discussing employment opportunities this participant expressed a sense of satisfaction, openly showing others his work.

Moreover, participants made more abstract connections between economic trades and social status; specifically, how occupation is related to occult practices and the impact it has on one's place in the community. A student researcher observed as an East African participant shared his culture's views of blacksmithing, "Job association alone would gain him ignorance from the entire community… this skill related to black magic, and took away from community values." An East African family used a tangible structure, an adobe house exhibit, to make an abstract connection to past loved ones. The student researcher noted, "Adobe houses are very similar in Africa and the mother seemed to get very emotional." During the interview they followed up saying,

> Family Member 1: "I liked the [Adobe] houses. I remember my dad's house [in Africa]. Yeah. Like my family's house. My family's is [white] like this white one"
>
> Family Member 2: "That is what my grandfather did and we did too."

Material Environment

Viewing and discussing the differences in the material envi-

ronment helped participants make connections between their culture's heritage, particularly institutions such as education, and that of the local community. Interactions with artifacts that had a similar appearance to those from home helped participants build a sense of place through abstract cultural connections. Engagement with the material environment also provided participants with additional resources to self-reflect on their and their families' passage, both positive and negative, from one community to another. The museum thus exhibits potential to serve a *transformational* function in providing participants opportunities to integrate their own experience, through their engagement with tangible heritage, into the diverse tapestry of the community's broader histories of immigration.

For example, when Southeast Asian participants explored the firehouse exhibit, a museum volunteer explained how a siren was used to alert people to a fire. A participant explained how their village's siren was instead a person who blew a horn when there was a fire. Another participant went on to explain how the term for the horn was called 'kue' or 'kwee', depending on the village dialect. Similar to the siren in the fire station exhibit, when a family of East African participants discovered the ice cream maker, they talked with a museum interpreter about how a similar machine was used to make their community's version of ground beef. A student researcher wrote, "One of the girls said that they used the same machine to make meat… the instructor seemed to only think the machine could be used for making ice cream." The student researcher followed up, "The mother cleared up the misunderstanding by identifying the same process was used to make their version of ground beef."

During an interview with a group of Southeast Asian participants, one participant said how she liked the adobe house because it was different from how their homes were made. She said, "We make homes with wood and also with bamboo. Usually have a tool like thing… I don't know how to say it, a hammer." She followed up stating that "they soak it in water so it's more pliable beforehand, before tying it."

A student researcher working with Southeast Asian participants noted that timber tools gave "a sense of familiarity to Burma" and yielded more interaction than in previous exhibits as participants "asked a lot of questions." Similarly, a participant from Sierra Leon used the museum structures to remember the work his late father did.

> I saw many things and it reminded me of home, like the farmers and the houses. How the houses were like my own houses. The most important was the man with the saw because it reminds me of my father's work. My late father's work... He was a carpenter so he did most of this. When I see that one I can recall when he was alive and what he was doing.

Natural Environment

Similar to the material environment, engagement with the natural environment also provided participants with tangible heritage, in this case, natural heritage, to reflect on the parallels between communities they transitioned from and to. Cultural parallels help move the museum toward a *transformational* identity for participants without the need for interaction with local community members. The most important aspects of the natural environment included vegetation and livestock.

For example, a group of Southeast Asian participants primarily focused on the museum's plants. "We plant the same thing as [the gardens in the museum] in the refugee camp. We have to make it by our self." A group of participants explained a type of medicine common in their culture, because of the similar foliage:

> One of the trees, the plant looks the same, but it's not the same as here, but it looks the same. When you [hurt your hand] the muscle, [but] it doesn't break… you take [the leaves] and you put them in the fire...we wrap it… If it doesn't hurt that much then you wrap it for one or two days. If it really hurt then you wrap it for a week. It's a medicine, like a forest medicine. They call this a broken arm plant!

A group of East African participants also found connections in reference to the museum's vegetation, saying, "I did like that there were other, like, little plants that were under that tree. I have seen them in Africa. [We do not eat them], they were just plants."

Multiple student researchers noted the importance of animals and livestock. A student researcher observing East African participants noted:

> When at the stagecoach, a daughter asked if horses were present because they had one in Ethiopia. The family was [also] familiar with the pigs at the blacksmith station and explained how the last stop [they wanted to visit] was stables since the kids wanted to see the animals.

Similarly, a student researcher's notes pointed out the strong connection refugees felt to the livestock: "When [a staff member] opened the door to the backyard, one of the ladies was very excited because she heard chickens, and she pushed people to look out the window." Another group of participants emphasized the importance of the animals, often talking over each other. When asked what was most interesting, the two sisters, speaking simultaneously, named animals. One family member exclaimed "It was the cow!" while another expressed "I liked the pig and the…" before being cut off by the youngest sister saying "…the chicken!"

Ethics

Volunteers and key stakeholders indicated the importance of cultural awareness when providing participants with opportunities and resources for capital building, key features of a contributive organization (Kimball et al. 2013). Similarly, to gain bridging capital participants ate food they would not otherwise have eaten and politely avoided contact with cultural

institutions of the local community with which they were uncomfortable for religious or cultural reasons. Importantly, local community members provided opportunities for social bridge building, which participants took advantage of in order to build their social relationships. In this way, the museum plays a *contributive* role by creating a space for fostering mutually beneficial and educational interaction between its staff and visitors.

For example, both personnel and participants identified the importance of awareness of different cultural value systems. A staff member explained to a student researcher how "[t]here's connections to be made especially here in [our region] because … everyone has come from somewhere else and so I think the museum is a very valuable place to maybe bridge that gap." Volunteers who worked at exhibits also expressed the reciprocal benefits inherent in the interactions between staff and participants. One museum volunteer explained an interaction with refugees, saying,

> During the course of our conversation we were talking about how women in Africa and Ethiopia don't have the same rights and freedoms really…You can't go outside, things like that and so I was trying to be very careful about my body language to him because I didn't want to shock or offend him. He did shake our hands though.

A staff member working in archives explained, "I developed a whole collection of files on the various ethnic cultures that were important to this community," and followed up, "I feel that the museums play a significant role in providing cultural resources to newcomers."

Participants often emphasized the desire to come back and see more exhibits or to bring family members to see the exhibit because of positive experiences. During observations, a student researcher noted how a Latin American participant emphasized his excitement for the museum by saying, "We are staying!" when he found out they were able to visit more exhibits. During an interview, a translator, interpreting for a Southeast Asian participant, said, "she said that she really enjoyed [the experience at the museum] and they say if they make more museum she go with their kids." Engagement with activities and objects that mirrored their own experience, both in use and appearance, aided participants' establishment of a sense of place through utilizing their knowledge from home and keeping an open mind about their new environment.

Conclusions

This project suggests that interactive cultural institutions have the potential to facilitate place building for refugee populations when tangible and abstract connections between "here" and "home" and diverse pasts and presents are established. Our findings suggest that as a constituent of place building theory, social bridges forged with volunteers and student researchers at a living history museum have the potential to serve as an important aspect of integration and place building for refugees establishing themselves in a new community. The museum offers many refugees the ability to stay connected to their heritage while, at the same time, establishing new roots, which Gingrich (2014) identifies as a key component for preserving cultural heritage. Economic and social relations and encounters with ethical systems and built and natural environments provided emotional (e.g., connection to a lost family member) and capacity building (e.g., potential employment) resources for refugees.

Similar to Ager and Strang (2008), this study identified the importance of creating spaces and places that allow different populations to engage and connect. Our findings support the claim that interactive exhibits facilitate cultural awareness between refugee and local communities. Additionally, the material and economic environment refugees observed and engaged with diluted the feeling of otherness by allowing both parties to engage in educational experiences, which McPherson (2010) emphasizes as advantageous during periods of integration. Refugees were given the opportunity to share, from their perspectives, the similarities and differences between their heritage and that of the local community. Fitting their heritage into that of the larger community may allow refugees to "anticipate the end of their refugeeness" (Ludwig 2013: 4) because interactions with museum resources helped show refugees their skills are still salient and their experiences relevant, despite the abrupt changes in their lives.

Based on these results and supporting evidence, it can be argued that living history museums and similar cultural institutions should consider allocating and enhancing resources for training staff on the cultural traditions of less dominant populations in the area. Living history museums should also consider providing translators, audio equipment or other educational technologies[2] that offer participants ways to interact with and understand the exhibits through the frames of their first languages. Additionally, living history museums should consider modifying exhibits to be more inclusive of diverse cultures and, where appropriate, provide underserved populations opportunities to share their own journeys and experiences of immigration and integration.

By way of recommendations for future research, efforts oriented toward further understanding and improvement of the role of cultural institutions as epicenters of bridging capital for refugee communities should include ways to improve commitment from participants to gain access for follow-up interviews and transect walks. Longitudinal data collection can indicate whether bridging capital was maintained or influenced refugees lives beyond their initial visits to a living heritage museum. Gaining data at different times and with more depth will allow researchers to further ascertain the relationship between refugee integration, place building, and interactive cultural institutions.

Notes:

[1] It is difficult to be sure from the content of the student researcher's field notes whether the participant understood the volunteer to be referring to a period blacksmith or, alternatively, the role-playing interpreter himself.

[2]As a result of the "Heritage Voices Project," an offshoot of the Roots Project supported by the Campus Compact of the Mountain West, the living history museum is publishing hand-outs and installing QR codes for certain exhibits whose descriptions have been translated into eight languages of relevance to visitors from refugee communities.

[3] For the photovoice component, high school participants used digital cameras and smart phones to photograph salient museum exhibits and environments and explained their choices with student researchers as part of a REAP semi-structured interview protocol.

[4] The 2013 field season used REAP methods consisting of transect walks (field notes containing on-site observations and interviews with participants during museum tours) and off-site individual and group semi-structured interviews facilitated by translators and oriented toward photovoice results. The 2014 and 2015 field seasons used a REAP comprising transect walks, on-site focus groups facilitated by translators, and behavior mapping (field notes with observations of participants' behavior at and between different exhibits).

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Tables
Table 1. Final coding scheme. Note: Data can receive multiple codes.

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Digital Technology is Dependent on Forced Labor: The Exploitative Labor Practices of Cobalt Extraction in the Democratic Rebuplic of Congo

Elise Mann

Abstract

Much of the global supply of cobalt, a vital mineral within lithium-ion batteries used in most electronic devices is mined in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). With growing demand for lithium-ion batteries, the demand for cobalt is expected to skyrocket. This is problematic because the working conditions of hundreds of thousands of Congolese who mine for this mineral are put at risk. This is not to say that cobalt should not be mined, but the government does not have the good governance principles or the capacity to regulate and enforce the artisanal mining. Instead, major technology companies should wield their power to create better labor conditions for this essential mineral - Apple, with its uniquely powerful brand, should step into a leadership role to transform the supply chain.

Keywords: Supply Chain Transparency, Democratic Republic of Congo, Exploitation, Cobalt, Artisanal Mining, Mineral Extraction, Conflict Minerals

Exploitative Labor in the DRC

The DRC is a landlocked country in central Africa with a history of conflict and exploitation. After gaining independence in 1960, the country has been trapped in poverty and a civil war that has engulfed the region. The DRC economy has been historically based on the "exploitation of mineral resources" (Mazalto 2009, 188); however, most of the capital accumulation after the collapse of Gécamines, the state mining company, has not benefited the country.

The DRC possesses an immense diversity of minerals, including cobalt, copper, petroleum, and uranium (Coakley 2016). Despite the potential to use these resources as an economic engine, militia and foreign armies have smuggled them into the international market – over $400 million in diamonds and gold (Kaplan 2007). Historically, the Katanga province is considered the most important mining area due to its cobalt reserves, with the heaviest mining in the southern copper belt, stretching from Zambia to Angola (Perks 2011b).

Over the last decade, international attention has focused on how the sale of *conflict minerals*– gold, tantalum, tin and tungsten- has fueled armed groups and ongoing violence. However, there has been no evidence to indicate cobalt revenues impacted the civil war financially (Chan-Fishel 2007, 150). Without classification as a conflict mineral, companies do not have the same requirements under DRC or US law to track the source of the extraction of cobalt.

Cobalt

Cobalt is the most expensive mineral needed for rechargeable lithium-ion batteries, and the DRC is described as "the most important source" with 50 to 60 percent of the world's reserves (Mazalto 2009, 187; Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). In 2015, it's estimated that 67,735 metric tons were mined in DRC (Wilson 2016). During the same year, the price fluctuated from $20,000 to $26,000 per ton of refined cobalt sold (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Using the low-price estimate, this translates to at least $1,354,700,000 in cobalt sales.

Silicon Valley's innovation is dependent on lithium-ion batteries. These batteries are the 'green' option – they are lighter and contain more energy than lead-acid batteries. For context, a smart phone battery may contain five to ten grams of refined cobalt, while 15,000 grams are used in an electric-car battery (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Tech gadgets would not be as light and compact without these cobalt-rich batteries.

The Rise of Artisanal Miners

The rise and fall of Gécamines, drove the increase in artisanal mining. After success in the 1970s and 1980s, the company struggled in the 1990s from mismanagement and corruption, and revival seemed unlikely. President Mobuto Sese Seko's regime collapsed and the DRC experienced a second war. With President Kabila's encouragement, individuals began digging by hand on the Gécamines land (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016).

The term "artisanal miners" – or diggers – describes the impoverished workers who mine without the use of drills or draglines; they use mallets, chisels and head torches without appropriate safety gear (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). This mining happens often outside of regulated mines – diggers describe "labyrinths of underground caves," (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016) tunnels through dirt floors of homes, and mines from pit shafts (Amnesty International 2016, 24). In eastern Congo, mining for mineral resources remains

the only opportunity for hundreds of thousands of people (Geenen 2012).

The number of artisanal miners in the Congo today is disputed, ranging from 100,000-2,000,000 people (Perks 2011a, 181). Diggers produce cobalt ore that is cheaper and contains higher percentages of the mineral than industrialized mines. Given the availability of cheap cobalt in the global market, some international traders replace contracts for industrial ores with artisanal ones (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). This is problematic because of the common human rights violations and appalling working conditions connected with artisanal practices.

DRC's Mining Code

The 2002 Mining Code defines artisanal mining as "*any activity by means of which a person of Congolese nationality carries out extraction and concentration of mineral substances using artisanal tools, methods and processes, within an artisanal exploitation area*" (DRC Mining Code, 2002). It provides stipulations for who, where and how mining activities can be done. For instance, artisanal mining should only occur in "authorized Zones d'exploitation asrtisanale (ZEAs) where industrial or semi-industrial mining is not viable." However, the government failed to create enough ZEAs, so many have turned to mining in unauthorized zones (Wilson 2016). Some miners trespass on property of industrial mining companies to access mineral reserves, which has incited violent clashes between diggers, industrial mine companies and police (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016).

The government body regulating the sector, Small-Scale Mining Technical Assistance and Training Service (SAESSCAM), has been repeatedly critiqued for its inability to enforce the Code. It hopes to create more ZEAs but is limited by resources and capacity. Right now, there are only 32 ZEAs in the southern mining belt; of these, six existed prior to 2014 and it is unknown how many created between 2014 and 2015 are operational (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016).

Exploitative Labor Practices

The law in the DRC does not criminalize forced labor, although its Constitution does prohibit indentured servitude (State Department 2016, 137). The 2016 TIP Report acknowledges that individuals working in the artisanal mines are "subjected to forced labor, including debt bondage, by mining bosses, other miners, family members, government officials, and armed groups" (State Department 2016, 137).

Miners frequently spend 12-24 hours underground (Amnesty International 2016, 22; Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Mines are built haphazardly, rarely following the limited guidelines for safe construction. For example, tunnels should not be deeper than 30 meters or have an incline of less than 15 degrees. However, researchers found that many mines do not comply with these regulations. One miner explained that generators are sometimes necessary to pump oxygen into deep mine shafts.

Child labor is known to be part of the supply chain for cobalt (Amnesty International 2016, 28). Some mine underground, while others collect pieces left in the water during washing (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). In 2012, UNICEF estimated 40,000 children were involved in Congo's mining industry (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Children's work in mines is a significant violation of the DRC law, both of the Mining Code and of the Labour Code (Amnesty International 2016, 37). It also violates the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, which includes any work underground or that involves exposure to dangerous substances (Amnesty International 2016, 28).

Long hours in the mines with ongoing exposure to cobalt without proper protective gear has numerous health consequences. When working with cobalt, the Centers for Disease Control advises using "respirators, impervious clothing, gloves and face shields." Because most miners do not, they are exposed to metals far beyond safe levels (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Despite safety guidance that recommends a well-ventilated space, the ventilation in underground mines is often lacking (Amnesty International 2016, 21). Individuals working in and around the mines suffer from a variety of respiratory illnesses (Center for Disease Control 2016). For women, continued radioactive exposure is linked to high rates of stillbirths, miscarriages and birth defects" (Perks 2011a). This exposure is particularly dangerous for children working or living near a mining site; an ILO study found dangerous metal levels in the bodies of children, far beyond occupational limits (Amnesty International 2016, 29).

Diggers are paid based on how much mineral is collected, which amounts to approximately US $2-3 on a productive day (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). When miners sell their cobalt to the registered shops, the mineral content is tested by a radar-like gun. The machines may be rigged, but miners have no way to independently verify. For many, artisanal mining is "the only secure income-earning endeavor" they can participate in (Mantz 2008, 46).

Fatal accidents happen frequently but are rarely reported. In recent years, miners have died in underground fires, landslides, and collapsed tunnels (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016; Amnesty International 2016, 23-24). Between September 2014 and December 2015, at least 80 miners died during underground accidents (Wakefield 2016). One digger explained, "the risk of a cave-in is constant" (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016).

The Global Supply Chain for Cobalt

Cobalt mining is an important source of wealth for Congolese citizens and the government, but increased attention to and regulation of the supply chain is urgently needed. First, this section will examine existing legislation and international standards intended to secure a clean supply chain. Then, it will look at how the supply chain for cobalt works, including familiar brands at the end of the supply chain.

Due Diligence, Legislation & International Standards

Currently, no country or corporation is required to report their supply chain for cobalt (Amnesty International 2016, 66). Corporations are not subject to many of the international declarations and treaties that apply to nations regarding forced labor (Feasley 2016, 20). The United Nations Global Compact and the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises (the OECD Guidelines) are important but non-binding frameworks for global human rights standards. In addition, the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs) provides a framework for companies to minimize harm by ensuring human rights are being met within their operations, even if that country's government does not fulfill those obligations (Amnesty International 2016, 40).

OECD Guidelines are voluntary recommendations for enterprises to conduct responsible business globally (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2016, 13). Under these principles, "high risk areas" are defined as "areas of political instability or repression, institutional weakness, insecurity, collapse of civil infrastructure and widespread violence. Such areas are often characterized by widespread human rights abuses and violations of national or international law" (OECD 2008, 13). Given this definition, the Katanga province should be classified as a "high risk area." However, since OECD is non-binding, legal action cannot be taken against non-compliant companies.

The OECD Guidelines acknowledge that companies have different responsibilities throughout the supply chain. To account for this difference, companies are categorized as upstream (such as smelters and traders in the country of origin) and downstream (companies that buy the processed cobalt or sell components or products containing cobalt) (Amnesty International 2016, 42). Upstream companies should be able to trace the mineral back to its source and the circumstances of extraction. While most companies only complete due diligence for the required conflict minerals, the OECD guidelines recommend application to all minerals.

The 2010 Dodd-Frank financial reform law includes Section 1502 specifically discussing conflict minerals. This section of the bill requires "publicly listed American companies to disclose whether any of their products included minerals from mines controlled by armed groups in or around Congo" (Gettleman 2013). They are required "to carry out a 'due diligence' review of their supply chain to determine whether their mineral purchases are funding armed groups in eastern DRC" (US Dodd Frank 2010). However, cobalt is not included in this legislation.

Despite its exclusion from Dodd-Frank, the exploitative and forced labor practices surrounding cobalt in the DRC could constitute a violation of the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except for use as punishment of a crime. Kevin Bales and Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick made an argument that slavery via corporations can happen in three ways. They cite a Supreme Court ruling that, "if companies profit from slavery, then they are in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment" (Bales and Choi-Fitzpatrick 2012, 211). Given that the State Department has identified known practices of forced labor in artisanal mining in the DRC (State Department 2016, 137), as well as the lack of any other options for livelihoods, the dangerous conditions of cobalt artisanal mining could be considered slavery. Following this logic, American companies – from Apple to Tesla – that utilize cobalt are benefiting from the slavery that produces this mineral so cheaply. Therefore, despite arguments that they are not legally compelled to clean up their cobalt supply chain given its exclusion from the Dodd-Frank Act, they are likely in violation of the 13th Amendment.

Cobalt's Pathway to the Global Market

Cobalt mined in small-scale operations in Katanga is usually refined in country, transferred to South Africa, further processed in Asia, made into battery cathodes, sold to battery producers, and finally sold to major consumer product manufacturers (Amnesty International 2016, 47). Many companies, point to a "massively complicated supply chain" (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016) to justify why their original source of cobalt is unknown. The Amnesty International report rejects this excuse and emphasizes "the value of law in influencing corporate behavior" (Amnesty International 2016, 65). They point to references made by companies about not tracking their supply chain because of cobalt's exclusion from regulation.

The supply chain starts with the extraction of cobalt by artisanal miners and other small-scale Congolese mines. The ore that is collected is sold to small shops, called "compotirs," that buy it based on percentage content and weight (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Sometimes "negociants" serve as middlemen between miners and the shops – unfortunately, miners are often indebted to their negociants, which forces them to continue mining (Perks, 2011a, 181). In Kolwezi, capital of Lualaba Province in the southern part of the country, Musompo is the marketplace where 50+ compotirs exist (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). It is illegal for compotirs to be run by foreigners, but it's unclear how many Congolese are actually involved in these small shops.

The licensed trading houses then sell the cobalt to smelters for processing. From the marketplace in Musompo, all the shops sell to CDM, a Chinese smelter (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). CDM refines the mineral at their enormous facility in DRC, and then ships the mineral to its parent company, Zhejiang Huayou Cobalt (Huayou), a major global cobalt producer. Other smelting facilities exist within the DRC, but CDM dominates literature about this tier in the chain; multiple sources refer to the company as the biggest buyer of artisanally mined cobalt within DRC. The companies that buy cobalt and then process it at smelters represent upstream companies in the supply chain (Amnesty International 2016, 47).

Huayou sells the refined cobalt to battery cathode manufacturers, primarily in China and South Korea. Battery cathodes are then sold to battery manufacturers, including Samsung SDI, Amperex Technology Ltd (ATL) and LG Chem. Batteries from

Samsung, ATL and LG all supply Apple. Amazon products such as Kindles also have battery cells from ATL.

At every step of the supply chain, companies obtain cobalt and refined cobalt from various suppliers, and the sources of minerals and products create a complicated web. For instance, Apple has batteries from LG and Samsung SDI whose cathodes come from a company that sources cobalt from Congo, but not from CDM. However, Apple also told investigators that 20% of their cobalt came from Huayou Cobalt (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Similarly, Samsung SDI uses cobalt exported from Congo, but believes its products to Apple, Samsung and BMW do not contain tainted cobalt.

China's increasing role in Africa's mining is closely tied to cobalt. China's economic boom has caused an increased demand for metals and minerals and the supply has originated mostly in the DRC. In 2005, "approximately three-quarters of all cobalt made in China derived from imported concentrates," that came from the Congo (Chan-Fishel 2007, 145). However, criticisms of labor practices within powerful Chinese companies working with cobalt is common. Huayou received harsh criticism when Bloomberg News published a 2008 story about its dependence on child labor in the Congo (Wilson 2016).

Major companies, including BMW, Ford Motor, Apple, Microsoft, Tesla, LG, Samsung, and Amazon are downstream companies of the cobalt supply chain. These industry giants will likely need more cobalt in coming years. Demand is expected to double by 2020 after having already tripled the last five years (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). This is in part due to the increasing demand by car manufacturers to sell electric cars – an ironic demand for green technology dependent on exploitative and dangerous labor. This section aims to convey the complicated web within this supply chain, but also to emphasize the importance of better monitoring of that supply chain. The digital age is dependent on lithium-ion batteries, and while millions enjoy new technologies, no one stops to ask how they are created (Mantz 2008, 44). These innovative companies should be able to use their own sophisticated technologies to track the raw materials needed in their products.

The Obsession with Technology and Apple's Responsibility

After the 2016 release of the Amnesty International report connecting cobalt with forced labor and exploitation, numerous companies, including Apple, Sony, Samsung, Volkswagen and Tesla faced increased pressure to evaluate their supply chains. For companies like Tesla who have built their brands on innovation and ethical consumption (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016), it should be an urgent priority to align their operations with the principles they espouse.

Apple, a major player in the technology industry, has made bold commitments for ensuring responsible and ethical labor practices, but must go farther. Apple's 2016 Supplier Responsibility Report commits to hold "suppliers accountable to the highest standards, and by partnering with them to make lasting change, we continue to drive responsibility throughout our global supply chain" (Apple 2016b, 27). Cited as a success in Apple's Conflict Minerals Report, after five years, "100% of the identified smelters and refiners in Apple's supply chain for current products were participating in an independent third party conflict minerals audit program" (Apple 2016a, 2).

In the most recent Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Benchmark published by Know the Chain (KTC), Apple received an overall score of 62 out of 100; Apple was ranked second within this ICT benchmark report "with a higher degree of transparency and disclosure of its risk management of forced labor in its supply chain" (Know the Chain, 2016). KTC was founded in 2013 by Humanity United to promote the California Supply Chain Transparency Act (SB 657), a recent piece of legislation that requires certain companies conducting business in California to disclose their efforts to remove slavery and human trafficking from their supply chain. KTC lauded Apple's traceability and risk assessment efforts to eliminate conflict minerals from their supply chain (2016). Looking forward, the benchmark encouraged the company to "disclose a process for assessing risks for forced labor at potential suppliers prior to entering into any contracts with them" (Know the Chain, 2016).

Starting in 2017, secondary sources claim "Apple will internally treat cobalt like a conflict mineral, requiring all cobalt refiners to agree to outside supply-chain audits and conduct risk assessments" (Frankel, Whoriskey, and Ribas 2016). Officially, Apple is evaluating "dozens of different materials, including cobalt, in order to identify labour and environmental risks as well as opportunities to bring about effective, scalable, and sustainable change" (Wakefield 2016). Apple could undoubtedly bring that change itself if the company was committed to its cobalt supply chain.

There is a painful disconnect in the promise of innovative technology to transform global challenges based on minerals that are extracted in exploitative and dangerous situations. For example, electric cars have the potential to eventually remove dependence on oil. Tesla's brand is built on ethical consumption, promoting "cars without compromise" (Tesla 2016). But the battery for each electric car depends on 15,000 grams of refined cobalt. With such a messy supply chain, and no legal requirement to track the original extraction, how can Tesla's use of cobalt be ethical? Or do their ethics only apply to the environment?

Conclusion

As Mantz described, *"it is important to remember that the ore these miners carve precariously out of the earth is the material bedrock on which the entire digital age, and everything associated with it, is founded"* (Mantz 2008, 48). Despite its exclusion from the list of conflict minerals, the labor conditions of cobalt represent ongoing violence against the miners digging in extremely dangerous conditions.

International governments and corporations must have the long-term goal to support the DRC's capacity to develop a flourishing mining sector led by local professionals (George

2016). Until then, consumers of digital devices as well as the international community must put pressure on technology manufacturers to clean up their supply chains. Brands like Apple and Tesla have the most power to impact the supply chain and improve the labor conditions of those who dig for cobalt.

This research paper calls on technology companies to ensure their products contain cobalt that is not mined under dangerous conditions. Consumers of technology should be outraged by the working conditions present in the supply chain of prized digital gadgets. The largest companies in the technology industry must step up to ensure the raw materials necessary for their products, such as cobalt, are obtained ethically. Apple should step into a leadership role as soon as possible and fulfill its commitment to "effective, scalable, and sustainable change." These companies have the potential to cause real change for the Congolese miners who are risking their lives every day. They can and should protect the humanity of the people who make their products possible.

Notes

[1] Due Diligence is defined by the UNGPs as the measures companies take "to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for how they address their impacts on human rights."

[2] According to Bales and Choi-Fitzpatrick, the three ways corporations can be complicit to slavery include "(1) an American company can directly subject foreign workers to slavery; (2) the company can hire someone else to subject the workers to slavery; (3) the company can profit from slavery that it has no part in creating."

[3] The criteria to be subject to the law are described as followed in the legislation: "It must: (a) identify itself as a retail seller or manufacture in its tax returns; (b) satisfy the legal requirements for "doing business" in California; and (c) have annual worldwide gross receipts exceeding $100,000,000."

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COMMENTARY

PROSPECTS FOR MIXED METHODS RESEARCH ON THE EFFICACY OF SAFE CONSUMPTION FACILITIES

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ABSTRACT

Safe Consumption Facilities (SCFs) provide a space where people who inject drugs (PWID) can inject or use under the supervision of a medical professional without fear of arrest or overdose. These facilities have been operating for many years in countries all over the world. Their efficacy has been confirmed in numerous studies yet they remain controversial. An SCF is opening in Seattle, Washington and will be the first SCF in the United States. Several other cities are considering pilot programs for such facilities. These programs provide opportunity for cooperation between public health scientists as well as applied medical anthropologists *cum* ethnographers in the form of mixed methods studies. One possible study is an ethnographic assessment embedded in a longitudinal prospective cohort study assessing efficacy and informing best practice at one or more of these facilities.

Introduction

According to the CDC, accidental drug over dose has surpassed car accidents as the number one cause of accidental mortality for people aged 25-64 in the United States (CDC.GOV, 2017). As well, accidental mortality from opioid toxicity accounts for the majority of overdose burden (CDC.GOV, 2017). The United States and much of the world are experiencing an opioid overdose epidemic of unprecedented proportions. Overdose now kills more people per year than HIV did during the height of that epidemic in the 1990s (CDC.GOV, 2017). In the early years of the HIV epidemic syringe access programs emerged in several American and European cities as part of the effort to slow down the epidemic. Syringe access programs are well studied and proven to be effective yet they remain controversial to this day (Bramson, Des Jarlais, Arasteh, et al. 2015, 54). Just as syringe access programs emerged as an intervention during the height of the HIV epidemic, Safe Injection Facilities (SIFs) or Safe Consumption Facilities (SCFs) have emerged to slow down the overdose epidemic. Currently, SCFs only exist in foreign countries, however the first SIF will be opening in Seattle in the near future (Mulder, 2017). This article will explore prospects for collaborative research between epidemiologists (i.e., public health scientists) and social scientists (i.e., applied medical anthropologists *cum* ethnographers) in assessing the efficacy of SIFs in the United States.

A SIF or SCF (the terms are often used interchangeably, for this paper I will use SCF) is a clinical setting where individuals living with substance abuse disorders may inject or consume drugs in the presence of a nurse or other medical personnel without fear of arrest or accidental overdose. The general idea of an SCF is to provide a safe space for PWID and other drug users to consume drugs without fear of overdose, arrest, or HIV/HCV infection as well as provide resources for recovery if and when the participant is ready. As a correlate, if the individual using overdoses, a nurse is there to administer Naloxone, a drug that reverses opioid overdose. Furthermore, participants are provided with sterile syringes and other injection equipment to prevent the sharing of syringes and pipes further reducing HIV and HCV infection among People Who Inject Drugs (PWID) (Semaan, Fleming, Worrell, Stolp, Baack, Miller, 2011, 100). Currently there is only one legal SCF in the Western Hemisphere, *Insite*, located in Vancouver B.C. (Semaan et al., 2011, 100). SCF programs remain controversial although research has shown their efficacy in studies elsewhere in the world. PWID who have access to SCFs are less likely to overdose, and less likely to spread or become infected with diseases normally associated with injection drug use (Semaan et al., 2011, 100). Participants of SCFs also have access to counseling and onsite referral for substance abuse treatment. At least 65 SCFs currently exist in more than eight countries and over 40 cities in Europe and Australia (Semaan et al., 2011, 101) (Marshall, Milloy, Wood, Montaner, Kerr, 2011, 1429).

When the first SCF opens in the U.S. in Seattle there will be opportunity for creative research which will inform best practice as well as assess efficacy. As well, cities such as New York City, San Francisco and Denver and many others are currently lobbying for pilot programs as the overdose epidemic continues unabated. It has been shown that SCFs can save tax payers money as they cut down on the uses of emergency ambulatory services as well as tax payer subsidized emergency room stays for folks who are underinsured or uninsured (Des Jarlais, Arasteh, Hagan, 2008, 1105-6). Not only has it been demonstrated that a facility can be effective at reducing overdose mortality, HIV and HCV infection, it can save tax payer money as well (Des Jarlais et al., 2008, 1105 -1106).

Although SCFs have been studied elsewhere in the world and proven efficacious, much controversy remains even in the

countries where they currently operate. Efforts are underway to close sites such as *Insite,* in Canada, despite the positive impact they have had on the communities in which they operate (Des Jarlais et al., 2008, 1105-6). Research on these sites in the U.S. will be integral in justifying their existence – or not – and demonstrating to the tax payer their cost effectiveness – or not.

Prospects for Mixed Methods Research in the United States

In Denver, Colorado and across the country, news channels have been reporting on the opioid overdose epidemic. Denver news channels are running stories about people injecting in public in front of families and cyclists on the Cherry Creek Bicycle path (Denver Post, 2017). The public outcry over the uptick in outdoor injection has prompted more arrests but this has had little effect on the problem. Conduct a search of local news stories in almost any major U.S. city and you will quickly find similar stories. An anonymous Denver Police officer has been quoted as saying "we just cannot arrest our way out of this problem". Another anonymous source has said that there are efforts underway in Denver to get the City Council to allow for the opening of an SCF in Denver. As these facilities begin to operate in cities such as Seattle and possibly Denver, so too will the opportunity for new and collaborative research efforts to determine if they work. If so, later studies will become necessary to ensure they are effective not only at reducing overdose mortality, but also reducing new infections and assessing cost effectiveness. Herein lies the opportunity for medical anthropologists and epidemiologists to work together to assess the efficacy of these sites and inform "best practice."

To keep controversial public health interventions legal and funded, much burden is put on the stakeholders to prove that these interventions are efficacious and cost effective (Des Jarlais et al., 2008, 1105). Evaluation of such interventions should be data driven. City and county governments want numbers and statistics which is where epidemiologists often play a large role in research of public health interventions (Kothner, 2011, 17-18). Social science has also played a large role in assessing these facilities' efficacy (Kothner, 2011, 32). As has been demonstrated, there is nothing novel about researching such facilities by medical staff, epidemiologists and social scientists. A mixed methods approach also is not a novel idea. However, a mixed methods approach involving ethnographic data to supplement longitudinal epidemiological cohort studies may provide insights that other less comprehensive studies may have missed.

Potential Study Design

Epidemiologists rely on several types of study design depending on what they are attempting to measure (Gordis, 2014, 239-40). One of the most powerful study designs they have at their disposal is the cohort study as this provides a strong measure of outcome association in the field; clinical trials would not be appropriate in this case (Gordis, 2014, 239-240). Cohort studies also tend to be long term as one cohort which has been exposed (in this case exposure = access to the SCF intervention) is followed while another group of PWID which has not been exposed to the intervention is also followed. The overdose mortality rate as well as infection rate of PWID who refuse to use the SCF or who cannot make it there for certain reasons would be compared to rates of mortality and infection in those who regularly access the SCF. Longitudinal prospective cohort studies tend be resource intensive and costly; grants can be more difficult to obtain (Gordis, 2014, 239-240). The advantage though to a longitudinal cohort study is the ability to measure incidence of overdose and infection in the population over time for those exposed to the intervention compared to those who have not been. Although very useful for generating incidence data, longitudinal cohort studies have their limitations. This is why a mixed methods research project should be considered.

Epidemiological prospective cohort studies generate useful data, however they are contextually limited. The researcher does not spend as much time with the participant as an ethnographer might and thus may miss key attitudinal, behavioral, or structural barriers to success that participants experience. Cohort studies also suffer from loss to follow up (Gordis, 2014, 239) and when working with a vulnerable population such as PWID, many of whom are unhoused, barriers to best practice in public health interventions are not always apparent to the researcher. Numeric data alone are too delimiting. SCFs in several other countries have been studied by social scientists, yielding qualitative and quantitative observations which have influenced policy and best practice protocols at these facilities (McNeil and Small, 2014, 151). Social science has a long history of informing public health praxis (McNeil and Small, 2014, 151-158), and so the prospect of a mixed methods study, particularly a long term prospective cohort study embedded with an in-depth ethnographic study of both PWID who use and do not use SCFs, could have tremendous value. The data that would be obtained would both inform and empower these institutions regarding best practices. Furthermore, ethnographers could work with epidemiologists on future, innovative survey designs and informant tracking protocols.

Discussion

Applied medical anthropology has made its mark on public health policy in the past (Scheper-Hughes, 2006, 30), and should assert itself in the evaluation of public health interventions in the future. There is no doubt that insights from the field by astute ethnographers can add to the value and power of conventional longitudinal prospective cohort studies engaged by epidemiologists. These types of studies also have the potential to yield discovery of previously unseen or unrecognized mediators in exposure vs non-exposure groups. Potential confounding variables and biases may be more likely discovered with such studies given the greater amount of time spent with study participants by the ethnographers.

Potential problems for researchers and participants are

several. Such studies can be logistically challenging. A study would require a lot of funding if it were long-term, likely at least two to five years to get meaningful ethnographic and prospective data. Such study designs carries the risk of loss to follow up which could cost the study its internal validity and render it less statistically meaningful. A comprehensive study would also require the efforts of many researchers across disciplines. No doubt there would be skepticism in regards to such an ambitious study, but that has never stopped the best in science from pursuing such ambitions.

Conclusion

Safe Consumption Facilities are spaces where people who inject drugs can do so under the supervision of medical staff. They also have the added benefit of reducing HIV and HCV transmission, and PWID who access such facilities are more likely to seek mental health and substance abuse treatment (McNeil and Small, 2014, 151-158). The first SCF in the United States will open in Seattle and several other cities are looking to follow suit. The opening of these facilities will provide prospects for mixed methods studies looking at efficacy, at "what works and what doesn't," and would have the added benefit of influencing best clinical practice. Due to the nature of the public health intervention, a longitudinal prospective cohort study with an embedded ethnographic component could yield the most powerful assessment of efficacy both qualitatively and quantitatively.

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