

## ESSAY

## The house is coming from inside the call

Lachlan Summers 

Max Planck Sabbatical Award Working Group,  
Max Planck Institute for the History of  
Science, Berlin, Germany

## Correspondence

Lachlan Summers, Max-Planck-Institut für  
Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Boltzmannstraße  
22, 14195, Berlin, Germany.  
Email: [lsummers@mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de](mailto:lsummers@mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de).

## Abstract

You are reading the first sentence of this essay. In fact, outside of this abstract and a brief introduction, there are only first sentences in this essay, all collected from anthropology monographs and articles. Anthropology is a promiscuous discipline, but there are only about half a dozen ways to begin an anthropology essay. I collect sentences into their tropes, organize the sentences within those tropes, then arrange those tropes among one another, so this text reads like an opening to an anthropology essay, despite being composed entirely of openings to anthropology essays. I'd like to say I got the idea from Christian Marclay's film, *The Clock*, a memento mori whose 24-hour narrative is driven by excerpts of movies that feature timepieces, but it probably came from a YouTube montage of Nicholas Cage screaming "Fuck" 40 times in 40 seconds. The expectations of academic realism as a genre transform this essay from archive to narrative: the text itself is theoretical, geographic, and historical nonsense, but it consolidates as an essay through the academic readers' (your) efforts to suture discrepancies into cohesion. If this essay makes any sense, it's due to a magic trick realism performs on us. This might be worth thinking about whenever we read something that makes sense.

## INTRODUCTION

Realism is a style, Shelly Errington taught me, which is why I'm uncertain about including the preliminary note you're currently reading. First, I'm not adding anything new to discussions of style in anthropological writing. Clifford's (1986) "partial truths," and the idea that science and history are forms of literature, cover some of my thinking here; as does Fabian's (2014) suggestion that ethnographic writing denies an interlocutor's coevalness; as does Visweswaran's (1994) argument that ethnographies by men are canonized as "theory" while those by women are considered "subjective;" as does Trouillot's (2003, 132) statement that we anthropologists "are not so much reading over their [interlocutors'] shoulders as we are writing on their backs." Second, while I'm attempting in this essay to make a similar point, I'm doing so in an intentionally oblique way, because to argue it directly would rely on the academic realism I'm trying to spotlight.

In his book *Ethnography #9*, Klima (2019) describes how the syntax, style, and form of academic writing conspire to say that whatever is being described—social structures, economies, spirits, culture—is really real. Coauthored with a ghost, *Ethnography #9* is an astonishing book that writes something true without relying on the academic style that denotes "the real." And yet, the book's first chapter is a 44-page critique of the status of "the real" in anthropological writing; only in the remaining 125 pages does "the visitor" appear. Fernando (2022, 578), in her discussion of the analytic limits of materialist epistemologies and ontologies, underscores this predicament, acknowledging that "even as I have critiqued a secular

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

© 2024 The Author(s). *American Anthropologist* published by Wiley Periodicals LLC on behalf of American Anthropological Association.

investment in self-mastery, I have done so by performing a kind of argumentative mastery of my own." A critique of "the real" is, at least in academic writing, still the real; the house is coming from inside the call.

It is for this reason that this essay tries to perform academic realism without writing it. It does so by using syntax as a tool. At a sentence level, paratactical syntax writes simple, declarative statements, in which independent clauses have no clear relationship—except, perhaps, for the expectation of their sequentiality. For example (and here I am actually describing the really real): "Lachlan got on his bike and he listened to music and he rode into a parked car." If we feel as readers that we can understand the event this sentence describes, that's because we're interpreting how its clauses hold together. Hypotaxis, conversely, includes those details; being written via compound sentences in which syntactic units are elevated or subordinated against one another, hypotaxis provides the possibility of writing cause-effect relations, spatiality, nonsequential temporalities, comparisons, and so on. "It was Lachlan's music, which quickly absorbed him, that distracted him from the traffic, so after a few minutes, while singing, he crashed into a parked car, even though he had ridden past it every morning on his way to work."

Because this essay is composed entirely of unrelated sentences, it should read paratactically—which is to say, because I don't add clauses or connections that knit them together, all of these sentences should be irrelevant to one another.<sup>1</sup> However, by carefully organizing them, I could make these discrete sentences sing together. As disparate sentences turn into thematic paragraphs, and isolated paragraphs into something like an introduction, archive becomes narrative and text becomes essay, and the hypostatic force of academic realism makes itself known. To put it crudely: this essay makes sense, and it shouldn't.

\*\*\*

## March 19, 1987.<sup>2</sup>

*On a mild April day in 2015 with the wildflowers on the hills in full bloom, I stood by the side of the road and watched half a dozen men, armed with crowbars and blowtorches, swarm a shipping container:*<sup>3</sup>

*"I am going to start by stating the obvious: you are going to die."*<sup>4</sup>

*"You cannot be serious!"*<sup>5</sup>

*"The fact is defined, it appears, by our geological nature."*<sup>6</sup>

*"Well, you know, they did it to me a few years ago..."*<sup>7</sup>

*"Beautiful, right!"*<sup>8</sup>

*"¿Vámonos?" Let's go!"*<sup>10</sup>

*A balding elderly man sits in front of a mirror applying dark kohl around the edges of his large eyes and across the arches of his brow.*<sup>11</sup>

*"Now you are free," he said with a smile.*<sup>12</sup>

Death is a universal component of the human condition, and one might argue that people everywhere attempt to die well, to achieve "good deaths" for themselves and their loved ones<sup>13</sup>—there are humans stalking the world of specters.<sup>14</sup> In Switzerland, as in the vast majority of countries in the world, euthanasia—the active ending of a person's life by a medical professional—is not, and has never been, legal.<sup>15</sup> Absolutely not.<sup>16</sup> A complex conjunction of technologies and events must intersect in the creation of "living cadavers," as they were first named in the 1960s, and are now known as brain-dead bodies.<sup>17</sup> The corpse, in the American way, is the repository of fears about death including the medical, theological, and social failures to prolong life.<sup>18</sup> Over the last decade, a small, marginalized, and often discredited assembly of groups that has had as its goal the elimination of biological death by technoscientific means has grown to gain major influence in Silicon Valley and become accepted as a bona fide part of the world of biotechnology and scientific research more generally.<sup>19</sup> We live in a world of style and fashion, and even death, in all its gravity, cannot escape that.<sup>20</sup> My central question is: How should ethnographies talk about death and bereavement?<sup>21</sup>

*On the cusp of her 29th birthday, Alma Gallegos was covered lying in the parking lot near the emergency room entrance at Española Hospital.<sup>22</sup> Sitting around a smoking fire of Arctic heather and driftwood, a young boy, Paul, told me the story of his best friend's death:<sup>23</sup>*

*"All I have are stories."*<sup>24</sup>

They found Adelita's body where they dump the manure by the Mexico-Oaxtepec highway, near the rural community of Milpa Alta, south of Mexico City.<sup>25</sup> She is sitting on a worn papyrus mat.<sup>26</sup>

"Here you die easier," said Dario, an artist hailing from the city of Tlacolula de Matamoros in the Mexican state of Oaxaca.<sup>27</sup>

"Only a few people have ever died during the 200 years of this practice," Salvador whispered.<sup>28</sup>

"You know too much!"<sup>29</sup>

The wake, held at nightfall, surges with mourners.<sup>30</sup> Flies.<sup>31</sup>

## August 28th, 1998.<sup>32</sup>

The beauty of fieldwork is its unpredictability.<sup>33</sup> (I quit smoking thanks to Islamic activists.<sup>34</sup>) As I try to reconstruct the trajectory that has led to this book, my mind returns to the night I was stung by a scorpion by the side of the road on my way to Kamdesh.<sup>35</sup> We came upon the roadblock suddenly;<sup>36</sup> this book began while waiting for a bus.<sup>37</sup> Ten years ago, I had just finished writing a book about Chinese migrant families in Hong Kong and was looking for a new project.<sup>38</sup> After a 3-year absence, I was returning to Moonshadow Pond, a village in southeastern China, where I have periodically undertaken field research for almost twenty years.<sup>39</sup> At first, I didn't think much about the sonogram images on the screens of Mexico City's public abortion clinics<sup>40</sup>—sometimes an ethnographic project springs to life during the most mundane of social interactions.<sup>41</sup>

"Listen, I'm gonna tell you something ..."<sup>42</sup>

As is the case with most of us who conduct ethnographic studies, I came to know a few of my informants quite well.<sup>43</sup> Before becoming a bomb technician, an interlocutor of mine served as a monk for seven years at a Theravada Buddhist temple in Vientiane, the capital of Laos.<sup>44</sup> The first time I interviewed Andrena was in the main lobby of a large urban hospital.<sup>45</sup> Two months after I began research for this book in the Zapotec town of Yalálag, in Mexico's Oaxaca State, a man named Roberto Limeta Mestas was killed.<sup>46</sup> During the tenth month of my fieldwork in Mumbai, I had scheduled an interview with an advocate and law professor who was very involved with minor property disputes in the Court of Small Causes.<sup>47</sup> I met one of my interlocutors, Célia, and her new baby for a postpartum and life history interview at their apartment complex in East Haven, Connecticut, before COVID-19 restrictions precluded in-person interviews.<sup>48</sup> Kasar was the last person I stopped to visit as I hiked down from the Sulawesi highlands in 2006.<sup>49</sup> I sometimes find myself thinking about Julai, and I wonder where she is now.<sup>50</sup>

Ethnography is made of relationships.<sup>51</sup> "Rapport" and "friendship" are terms that occur repeatedly in fieldwork literature;<sup>52</sup> almost invariably, ethnographers stress, if not celebrate, the centrality of rapport to their intellectual and interpersonal endeavors.<sup>53</sup> Of all the fieldwork-related conversations I've had with students, colleagues, and myself over the years, one of the most persistently vexing focuses on the question of how to label a category<sup>54</sup>—I'd like to think that the woman I will call Tié is my friend, even though there is no word in her language for the absent kind of friendship I can offer.<sup>55</sup> Conventionally, anthropology has maintained a sharp distinction between subject and object by defining the relation between the fieldworker and his/her subject as an us/them relationship, allowing the anthropologist to retain his/her authoritative voice in the ethnographic text.<sup>56</sup> The reflexive turn that made anthropologists protagonists of their texts did not alter the role of informants: they remain objects rather than creators of anthropological knowledge.<sup>57</sup> Every ethnographer is in some sense marginal to the society being studied.<sup>58</sup>

## February 12, 2011.<sup>59</sup>

Travel and travelers are two things I loathe—and yet here I am, all set to tell the story of my expeditions.<sup>60</sup> Let's begin with the proverbial arrival story.<sup>61</sup> Early this morning, I was in a bad mood and decided to break a law and start my car without a seatbelt.<sup>62</sup> I arrived at Guatemala City's Hotel Conquistador at 6:45 a.m., just before the Guatemalan military's annual medical conference was scheduled to start.<sup>63</sup> It was early in the morning (coffee is not enough, alas<sup>64</sup>), but Cindy and Beto had already been waiting on the street corner to "connect," or score heroin, for what seemed like hours.<sup>65</sup> I arrive at the *questura* [the immigration office] at 7:45 a.m., much later than everyone else.<sup>66</sup> As I walk down the hallway, it is completely silent;<sup>67</sup> an uneasy feeling crept into my heart as I stare at WeChat on my cell phone.<sup>68</sup> It's a sunny, hot Los Angeles day.<sup>69</sup> It is already hot at 8:30 a.m., even in the higher elevations of what locals call Rim Country, at the southern edge of the Colorado Plateau.<sup>70</sup> My eyelids kept twitching.<sup>71</sup> We hear shuffling steps, distant birds chirping, a rumbling hum of traffic from the freeway, murmurs, and whispers as people enter a large room.<sup>72</sup>

"Are you sure it's here?"<sup>73</sup>

The fluorescent bulb flickered as it always did, emitting an unrelenting, low, and persistent buzzing that filled the space.<sup>74</sup> Brooke handed me a paper towel so I could wipe the sweat from my forehead.<sup>75</sup> The noontime air was sweltering, the outdoor market packed, and Fadhil was not in the best of moods.<sup>76</sup> He could be sleeping.<sup>77</sup> A summer afternoon in Msinga, wind.<sup>78</sup> We reached the edge of town at sunset.<sup>79</sup> Just before dusk, Qais and his brother Taher returned home from working in their greenhouses.<sup>80</sup> Dusk falls in hues of rust and mauve in a borderland hamlet in South Lebanon, and the family, having completed the tasks of the day, gathers after the sunset prayer in the cool stone courtyard of their home.<sup>81</sup> 30 men stood in a circle on a wooden terrace.<sup>82</sup> At this hour, the fictional country is still, and twelve men glide through the dark into a cotton field.<sup>83</sup> Two young boys point up at the night sky, silhouetted against a lake reflecting the oranges, blues, and purples of a sky at sunset.<sup>84</sup> If there had ever been another time that was this dark, this hot, I could not remember it.<sup>85</sup> Settling down to sleep under our hunting camp's thatch lean-to in the foothills of Sumaco Volcano, Juanicu warned me, "Sleep faceup! If a jaguar comes he'll see you can look back at him and he won't bother you."<sup>86</sup> I wake up to his breathing.<sup>87</sup>

## Tuesday, June 17, 2014.<sup>88</sup>

Anthropology discovered globalization before it became fashionable.<sup>89</sup> Each year, the International Monetary Fund releases a list of the "World's Best Economies":<sup>90</sup> People in the United States live in a Pasteurian world;<sup>91</sup> Buenos Aires is a city of listeners;<sup>92</sup> Nicaragua is a place where people like to talk, even about things one is not really supposed to talk about;<sup>93</sup> Peru is in the midst of a gastronomic boom;<sup>94</sup> year after year, Sudan has placed among the top three countries on *Foreign Policy's* annual Failed State Index.<sup>95</sup> (It is a place from which it is hard to return.<sup>96</sup>)

Cultural anthropologists' interests in global and multisited phenomena require new kinds of ethnographic methods.<sup>97</sup> Recently, political anthropologists and theorists have begun to address two interrelated problematic concerns:<sup>98</sup> violence and fear are entangled with processes of social change in contemporary cities, generating new forms of spatial segregation and social discrimination.<sup>99</sup> There aren't too many places on this congested island where a developer can build a single high-rise, let alone a cluster of them, *tabula rasa*.<sup>100</sup> What would a city look like if its infrastructures were designed, built, certified, and managed by its residents?<sup>101</sup> To plan a city into being is a formidable task of the imagination.<sup>102</sup> (Imagine a city characterized by the radicalization *en masse* of students, workers, and professional associations.<sup>103</sup> Imagine yourself walking onto the plaza at Palenque, a Maya archaeological site tucked into the northeastern corner of Chiapas.<sup>104</sup> Imagine yourself the object of the following surveillance report, found in the file the Romanian Secret Police kept on me from 1973–1988.<sup>105</sup> Imagine a large screen suspended in front of a manual slide projector.<sup>106</sup> Imagine yourself suddenly set down surrounded by all your gear [...].<sup>107</sup> Imagine it.<sup>108</sup>)

On the Zege peninsula, it is forbidden to plough the land or to keep cattle or horses.<sup>109</sup> A stopping point along the vast stretch of shore between the Atlantic coast city of Bluefields and the Costa Rican border, Monkey Point is the easternmost rocky outcropping of land.<sup>110</sup> Polje was a space unto itself.<sup>111</sup> An open space.<sup>112</sup> The walk from the university toxicology laboratory to the children's hospital is not far; Wang Bo and I have plenty of time to stop at a sidewalk fruit vendor's stand to purchase a watermelon, a gift we will present to the staff at the hospital.<sup>113</sup> It is early April and our group is leaving the Triqui village of San Miguel in the mountains of Oaxaca, Mexico, each of us wearing dark-colored, long-sleeved clothes and carrying a small, dark-colored backpack with one change of clothes, a plastic bag with coyote fur and pine sap made by a Triqui healer for protection and called a *suerte* (luck), along with many *totopos* (smoked, handmade tortillas) and dried beans to eat.<sup>114</sup> One takes the road that leads west, leaving behind the stately buildings and palm-lined boulevards of Alexandria, passing rows of identical sand-colored buildings with balconies crowded with children, men in undershirts, women shouting across to neighbors, and clotheslines covered with multicolored garments that dry instantly in the bright Egyptian sun.<sup>115</sup> Pulling into Gaakwen, one of Kenya's busiest truck stops, a driver might reach a hand out of the window of his truck's cabin and make a gesture—a rotation of the wrist, like someone holding a bottle by the neck and swishing it around.<sup>116</sup> (It was with these words and gestures that Pastor Sérgio von Helder, on the October 12 religious holiday dedicated to the Virgin Mary, sparked a controversy that would become known in Brazil as the Guerra Santa.<sup>117</sup>) Having momentarily broken away from the group, I stood, waiting in silence, between rows of climbing plants, fruit trees, beds of tubers, and shrubs.<sup>118</sup> What first struck me was the lushness.<sup>119</sup> When one had almost reached the Hindu shrine of Kedarnath, there used to be a point along the footpath following the Mandakini River where, in good weather, the top of the temple came into view against the backdrop of a bright, wide Himalayan panorama.<sup>120</sup> As Ibrahim and I walked back to the small village of Banta on a narrow footpath through fields tall with corn, a low growl silenced our chatter about the weather and the possibility of rain.<sup>121</sup> We suddenly realize that the enormous padauk tree is about to fall down and crash into the surrounding rainforest.<sup>122</sup>

Over the last 30 years, social anthropology has helped us understand nature conservation as a practice that involves much more than biodiversity, natural science research, and technical solutions.<sup>123</sup> Motivated by concerns over environmental unsustainability in the Anthropocene, scholars have called for a new, posthuman approach to sociality<sup>124</sup>—how could it have ever occurred to anyone that living things other than humans are not social?<sup>125</sup> A new genre of writing and mode of research has arrived on the anthropological stage: multispecies ethnography.<sup>126</sup> Ethnographic studies have often led anthropologists to conclude that the boundaries between the social world of people and the natural world of animals are more porous in certain symbolic and experiential contexts;<sup>127</sup> anthropologists have long been aware that many northern hunting peoples conceive of animals as other-than-human persons who give themselves to hunters.<sup>128</sup> The ocean is strange:<sup>129</sup> put a stony coral under a microscope and a landscape opens itself to you;<sup>130</sup> a ship is a world unto itself, even if it is docked in port.<sup>131</sup> *Can we do plant ethnography?*<sup>132</sup> The advent of posthumanism has revived

attention across the social sciences and humanities to the lives of plants as agentic and relational lifeforms.<sup>133</sup> Human nature is an interspecies relationship.<sup>134</sup>

Loss seems to define our present era, particularly losses associated with climate and other forms of environmental change.<sup>135</sup> Most people have a story to tell about climate change;<sup>136</sup> global connections are everywhere.<sup>137</sup> Hurricane Katrina, 9/11, the Indian Ocean tsunami, another off the coast of Japan and the subsequent Fukushima nuclear disaster, earthquakes in China and Chile and Nepal, Superstorm Sandy, Ebola: such catastrophic events, varying in cause, scale, and duration, have contributed to a mounting sense that we now live in a world-historical era of uncertainty and insecurity.<sup>138</sup> Think about the timing:<sup>139</sup> we take as our starting point a permanently polluted world.<sup>140</sup> Life is not what it used to be.<sup>141</sup> We are, it has been widely observed, haunted by the future.<sup>142</sup>

## May 2015.<sup>143</sup>

*"The government used to steal our money," Ahmad says with a sad smile on his face.<sup>144</sup> Mariela straps \$50,000 to her body and those of her brothers, who will accompany her from her bank to that of the seller<sup>145</sup>—states don't do things; people do.<sup>146</sup>*

*"See!<sup>147</sup> I found a job!"<sup>148</sup>*

*His speech was ecstatic<sup>149</sup>—Mateo preached amid chaos.<sup>150</sup>*

*"Did you know that a brokerage firm can lend you up to 50 times your real trading capacity?"<sup>151</sup>*

*"That's dope," said Daniel.<sup>152</sup>*

*"Debt is faith."<sup>153</sup>*

*"You always have to be ready for God."<sup>154</sup>*

I did not set out to study religious culture but was confronted with its salience and importance in the course of fieldwork on rural "civil society" and nongovernmental organizations.<sup>155</sup> Spirit possession is prevalent in many parts of the world<sup>156</sup>—belief kills; belief heals.<sup>157</sup> The academy has long had difficulty with stories in which gods, spirits, and other "supernatural" entities have agency since it remains largely tethered to the notion that humans are the only agents who can act on and in the world.<sup>158</sup> There has been a recent challenge to anthropologists that they have been insufficiently cognizant of the moral aspects of social life.<sup>159</sup> Over the last 15 years, many anthropologists of religion have focused on the various ways that the distance between the divine and the earthly is mediated.<sup>160</sup> To some, the Christian apocalypse has a dubiously permanent presence, with the end of the world having been "just around the corner" in every day and generation.<sup>161</sup> What can we learn about Christianity from people who are not Christians?<sup>162</sup>

Everyone knows that suffering exists.<sup>163</sup> Suffering is one of the existential grounds of human experience; it is a defining quality, a limiting experience in human conditions.<sup>164</sup> Academic work, at least in the social sciences, cannot be detached from the conditions of the real world in which it takes place.<sup>165</sup> There is little doubt that the analysis of morality and ethics has become central to the work of many anthropologists.<sup>166</sup> For several decades now anthropologists have been researching efforts to "do good" in poor and damaged regions of the world<sup>167</sup>—anthropologists have long tried to make a difference beyond the academy.<sup>168</sup> Anthropologists have been reluctant to become involved with human rights movements largely because the concept of human rights is historically an artifact of Western cultural traditions raised to the status of global normativity.<sup>169</sup> One consequence of the recent expansion of anthropological interest in humanitarianism is the seeming obviousness and conceptual stability of "humanitarianism" itself.<sup>170</sup> The study of culture, we commonly suppose, is a branch of anthropology, that is of the study of humanity.<sup>171</sup> Who or what is the "human" of human rights and the "humanity" of humanitarianism?<sup>172</sup>

## It was 2016.<sup>173</sup>

*The boundaries of anthropology have always been problematic... Never, however, so problematic as they are today.<sup>174</sup>*

For much of this century cultural anthropology has been concerned with divergent rationalities, with explaining how and why various cultural others thought, reasoned, and lived-in-the-world as they did.<sup>175</sup> Until fairly recently, anthropological theory has been united in its quest to discover regularities in social life.<sup>176</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s we argued about theory;<sup>177</sup> during the last decade, anthropology has taken a curious turn.<sup>178</sup>

It might sound absurd for a social anthropologist to suggest he or she could imagine people having no society.<sup>179</sup> Imagination goes too far, too fast<sup>180</sup>—anthropologists have not been doing enough homework.<sup>181</sup> The subject matter of anthropology is intrinsically messy.<sup>182</sup> cancer is a process of proliferation;<sup>183</sup> emergent dynamics can destroy the existing order;<sup>184</sup> sex changed in the second half of the 20th century;<sup>185</sup> neoliberalism seems to mean many different things depending on one's vantage point.<sup>186</sup> As an object of ethnographic inquiry truth is elusive.<sup>187</sup> Many social scientists have made the observation that human nature is, perhaps, encountered in the raw in the midst of a riot<sup>188</sup>—the disco ball is not made of a single mirror, but numerous tiny mirrors.<sup>189</sup>

To theorize is to try to make sense of the world.<sup>190</sup> Ethnography is about getting to know;<sup>191</sup> the field in anthropology is the milieu for knowledge production.<sup>192</sup> In the course of fieldwork, many anthropologists encounter revelatory events which serve to crystallize a series of partial understandings into a lens through which the lives of those they are studying come into sharper focus.<sup>193</sup> While the power of language in structuring social worlds is a well-established theme in anthropology and other disciplines—words can hurt<sup>194</sup>—there has been a renewed interest recently in the power of particular words—not just as the building blocks of language but as semantic vehicles that can dictate discourse and shape knowledge and its production.<sup>195</sup> How naturally we entify and give life to such.<sup>196</sup> An old and obscure word has recently acquired new currency in the lexicon of contemporary world politics, summoning the attention of anyone who follows the matter of empire.<sup>197</sup> The question of *evidence* is acute if anthropology shall aspire to anything but reporting quaint stories from strange places.<sup>198</sup>

*When does evidence seem necessary?*<sup>199</sup>

*How does a discipline that studies “what is really concrete in the actual present moment” come to understand “abstract things”?*<sup>200</sup>

*What is communicated in communication?*<sup>201</sup>

*What does it mean to refuse a passport?*<sup>202</sup>

*How is a home made comfortable?*<sup>203</sup>

*How do people share a place?*<sup>204</sup>

*Is culture a luxury?*<sup>205</sup>

*What is land?*<sup>206</sup>

*Why Paris?*<sup>207</sup>

*Who are you?*<sup>208</sup>

*Why look at animals?*<sup>209</sup>

*Is there a secular body?*<sup>210</sup>

*Can the subaltern listen?*<sup>211</sup>

*Have the people of Africa always starved?*<sup>212</sup>

*What do you do when your world starts to fall apart?*<sup>213</sup>

## Winter 2017.<sup>214</sup>

This article is about *hasho* in the Syrian Orthodox church of Antioch.<sup>215</sup> This book is about the force of writing and the feel of documents, about lettered governance and written traces of colonial lives.<sup>216</sup> This is an ethnographic study of sound as a cultural system, that is, a system of symbols, among the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea.<sup>217</sup> This book is not about Hurricane Katrina.<sup>218</sup> This is a study in empirical philosophy.<sup>219</sup> This is a story about data and place, told from one especially unsettled nexus of technological, geopolitical, and environmental change.<sup>220</sup> This is an ethnography of economy, labor, and affect in a time and place of neoliberalism.<sup>221</sup> This is not a book about UFOs.<sup>222</sup> This article was accepted for publication in *American Ethnologist* on February 16, 2022.<sup>223</sup> This is a book about design.<sup>224</sup> This book is concerned with a basic human question: How do families hold together when turbulent forces threaten to tear them apart?<sup>225</sup> Their stories seem impossible, nearly tragic.<sup>226</sup> This is a story.<sup>227</sup> This is an experiment, not a judgment.<sup>228</sup> This is a work of nonfiction.<sup>229</sup>

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special thanks and apologies to Sophia Roosth, Leander Diener, and Gloria Maritza Gómez Revuelta for their ideas and patience.

Open access funding enabled and organized by Projekt DEAL.

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

This work has no conflicting interests to report.

## ORCID

Lachlan Summers  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0737-3868>

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> I should note that I do occasionally tinker with the sentences' punctuation.
- <sup>2</sup> Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2016. *Exiled Home: Salvadoran Transnational Youth in the Aftermath of Violence*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1.
- <sup>3</sup> Coburn, Noah. 2018. *Under Contract: The Invisible Workers of America's Global War*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. 1.
- <sup>4</sup> Buchbinder, Mara. 2021. *Scripting Death: Stories of Assisted Dying in America*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>5</sup> Lester, Rebecca. J. 2019. *Famished: Eating Disorders and Failed Care in America*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>6</sup> Gustafson, Bret. 2020. *Bolivia in the Age of Gas*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1.
- <sup>7</sup> Gutmann, Matthew C. 2007. *Fixing Men: Sex, Birth Control, and AIDS in Mexico*. Oakland: University of California Press. [Emphasis removed]. 1.
- <sup>8</sup> Gammeltoft, Tine M. 2014. *Haunting Images: A Cultural Account of Selective Reproduction in Vietnam*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>9</sup> Jusionyte, Ieva. 2018. *Threshold: Emergency Responders on the US-Mexico border*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>10</sup> Gammeltoft, Tine M. 2021. "Spectral Kinship: Understanding how Vietnamese Women Endure Domestic Distress." *American Ethnologist* 48(1): 22-36. p.22. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13002>
- <sup>11</sup> Kamath, Harshita Mruthinti. 2019. *Impersonations: The Artifice of Brahmin Masculinity in South Indian Dance*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1. <https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.72>
- <sup>12</sup> Natanel, Katherine. 2016. *Sustaining Conflict: Apathy and Domination in Israel-Palestine*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>13</sup> Stonington, Scott. 2020. *The Spirit Ambulance: Choreographing the End of Life in Thailand*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>14</sup> Klima, Alan. 2019. *Ethnography# 9*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1.
- <sup>15</sup> Stavrianakis, Anthony. 2020. *Leaving: A Narrative of Assisted Suicide*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>16</sup> Biehl, João. 2016. "The Postneoliberal Fabulation of Power: On Statercraft, Precarious Infrastructures, and Public Mobilization in Brazil." *American Ethnologist* 43(3): 437-450. p.437. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12337>
- <sup>17</sup> Lock, Margaret. 2004. "Living Cadavers and the Calculation of Death." *Body & Society* 10(2-3): 135-152. p.135. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X04042940>
- <sup>18</sup> Emerick, Elizabeth J. 2000. "Death and the Corpse: An Analysis of the Treatment of Death and Dead Bodies in Contemporary American Society." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 11(1-2): 34-48. p.34. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ac.2000.11.1-2.34>
- <sup>19</sup> Farman, Abou. 2020. *On Not Dying: Secular Immortality in the Age of Technoscience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1.
- <sup>20</sup> Lomnitz-Adler, Claudio. 2005. *Death and the Idea of Mexico*. Brooklyn: Zone Books. 1.
- <sup>21</sup> Rosaldo, Renato. 1998. "Death in the Ethnographic Present." *Poetics Today* 9(2): 425-434. p.425. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772697>
- <sup>22</sup> Garcia, Angela. 2008. "The Elegiac Addict: History, Chronicity, and the Melancholic Subject." *Cultural Anthropology* 23(4): 718-746. p.718. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2008.00024.x>
- <sup>23</sup> Stevenson, Lisa. 2014. *Life Beside Itself: Imagining Care in the Canadian Arctic*. Oakland: University of California Press. 1.
- <sup>24</sup> McGranahan, Carole. 2018. "Refusal as Political Practice: Citizenship, Sovereignty, and Tibetan Refugee Status." *American Ethnologist* 45(3): 367-379. p.367. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12671>
- <sup>25</sup> Whittaker, Catherine. 2023. "Beyond the Dead Zone: The Meanings of Loving Violence in Highland Mexico." *American Anthropologist* 125(1): 112-124. p.112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13808>
- <sup>26</sup> Dubal, Sam. 2018. *Against Humanity: Lessons from the Lord's Resistance Army*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>27</sup> Lamrani, Myriam. 2022. "The Ultimate Intimacy: Death and Mexico, an Anthropological Relation in Images." *American Ethnologist* 49(2): 204-220. p.204. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13075>
- <sup>28</sup> Vaczi, Mariann. 2016. "Catalonia's Human Towers: Nationalism, Associational Culture, and the Politics of Performance." *American Ethnologist* 43(2): 353-368. p.353. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12310>
- <sup>29</sup> Roberts, Elizabeth F. 2021. "Making Better Numbers Through Bioethnographic Collaboration." *American Anthropologist* 123(2): 355-369. p.355. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13560>
- <sup>30</sup> Allison, Anne. 2023. *Being Dead Otherwise*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>31</sup> De León, Jason. 2015. *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>32</sup> Srinivas, Tulasi. 2018. *The Cow in the Elevator: An Anthropology of Wonder*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>33</sup> Rees, Tobias. 2016. *Plastic Reason: An Anthropology of Brain Science in Embryogenetic Terms*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>34</sup> Ménoret, Pascal. 2020. *Graveyard of Clerics: Everyday Activism in Saudi Arabia*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>35</sup> Edwards, David B. 2017. *Caravan of Martyrs: Sacrifice and Suicide Bombing in Afghanistan*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>36</sup> Takabvirwa, Kathryn. 2023. "Citizens in Uniform: Roadblocks and the Policing of Everyday Life in Zimbabwe." *American Ethnologist* 50(2): 236-246. p.236. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13166>
- <sup>37</sup> Loperena, Christopher A. 2022. *The Ends of Paradise: Race, Extraction, and the Struggle for Black Life in Honduras*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>38</sup> Newendorp, Nicole Dejong. 2020. *Chinese Senior Migrants and the Globalization of Retirement*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>39</sup> Oxfeld, Ellen. 2017. *Bitter and Sweet: Food, Meaning, and Modernity in Rural China*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>40</sup> Singer, Elyse Ona. 2022. *Lawful Sins: Abortion Rights and Reproductive Governance in Mexico*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>41</sup> Shankar, Arjun. 2022. *Brown Saviors and Their Others: Race, Caste, Labor, and the Global Politics of Help in India*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>42</sup> Sharman, Russell Leigh. 2007. "Style Matters: Ethnography as Method and Genre." *Anthropology and Humanism* 32(2): 117-129. p.117.
- <sup>43</sup> Green, Linda. 1999. *Fear as a Way of Life: Mayan Widows in Rural Guatemala*. New York: Columbia University Press. p.1.

- <sup>44</sup> Zani, Leah. 2019. *Bomb Children: Life in the Former Battlefields of Laos*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>45</sup> Mattingly, Cheryl. 2010. *The Paradox of Hope: Journeys Through a Clinical Borderland*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>46</sup> Faudree, Paja. 2013. *Singing for the Dead: The Politics of Indigenous Revival in Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>47</sup> Vevaina, Leilah. 2023. *Trust Matters: Parsi Endowments in Mumbai and the Horoscope of a City*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>48</sup> Cerdeña, Jessica P. 2023. *Pressing Onward: The Imperative Resilience of Latina Migrant Mothers*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>49</sup> Li, Tania M. 2014. *Land's End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>50</sup> Wardlow, Holly. 2020. *Fencing in AIDS: Gender, Vulnerability, and Care in Papua New Guinea*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>51</sup> Tavory, Iddo. 2019. "Beyond the Calculus of Power and Position: Relationships and Theorizing in Ethnography." *Sociological Methods & Research* 48(4): 727-738. p.727. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004912411987596>
- <sup>52</sup> Glesne, Corrine. 1989. "Rapport and Friendship in Ethnographic Research." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 2(1): 45-54. p.45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839890020105>
- <sup>53</sup> Springwood, Charles Fruehling and C. Richard King. 2001. "Unsettling Engagements: On the Ends of Rapport in Critical Ethnography." *Qualitative Inquiry* 7(4): 403-417. p.403. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040100700401>
- <sup>54</sup> Leve, Lauren. 2022. Interlocutors: Language, Power and Relationality in Decolonial Ethnographic Practice. *Fieldwork in Religion* 17(1): 47-61. p.47.
- <sup>55</sup> Bessire, Lucas. 2014. *Behold the Black Caiman: A Chronicle of Ayoreo life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p.1.
- <sup>56</sup> Paerregaard, Karsten. 2002. "The Resonance of Fieldwork. Ethnographers, Informants and the Creation of Anthropological Knowledge." *Social Anthropology* 10(3): 319-334. p.319. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0964028202000216>
- <sup>57</sup> Gay y Blasco, Paloma and Liria De la Cruz Hernández. 2012. "Friendship, Anthropology." *Anthropology and Humanism* 37(1): 1-14. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1409.2012.01104.x>
- <sup>58</sup> Herzfeld, Michael. 1983. "Looking Both Ways: The Ethnographer in the Text." *Semiotica* 46(2-4): 151-166. p.151. <https://doi.org/10.1515/semi.1983.46.2-4.151>
- <sup>59</sup> Winegar, Jessica. 2016. "A Civilized Revolution: Aesthetics and Political Action in Egypt." *American Ethnologist* 43(4): 609-622. p.609. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12378>
- <sup>60</sup> Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1961. *Tristes Tropiques*. New York: Criterion Books. p.1.
- <sup>61</sup> Kramer, Alejandra Letelier. 2006. *When the Political is Personal: Right Wing Women Politicians Negotiate Power in Democratic Chile*. Doctoral Diss... University of California, Santa Cruz. p.1.
- <sup>62</sup> Latour, Bruno. 1992. "Where are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts." In *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*, edited by Wiebe Bijker and John Law, 225-259. Cambridge: MIT Press. p.225.
- <sup>63</sup> Yates-Doerr, Emily. 2015. *The Weight of Obesity: Hunger and Global Health in Postwar Guatemala*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>64</sup> Dumit, Joseph. 2014. "Writing the Implosion: Teaching the World One Thing at a Time." *Cultural Anthropology* 29(2): 344-362. p.344. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca29.2.09>
- <sup>65</sup> Syvertsen, Jennifer Leigh. 2022. *Dangerous Love: Sex Work, Drug Use, and the Pursuit of Intimacy in Tijuana, Mexico*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.133>
- <sup>66</sup> Tuckett, Anna. 2018. *Rules, Paper, Status: Migrants and Precarious Bureaucracy in Contemporary Italy*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>67</sup> Knight, Kelly Ray. 2015. *addicted. pregnant. poor*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822375180>
- <sup>68</sup> Zhang, Li. 2020. *Anxious China: Inner Revolution and Politics of Psychotherapy*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>69</sup> Kondo, Dorinne. 2018. *Worldmaking: Race, Performance, and the Work of Creativity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>70</sup> Richland, Justin B. 2018. "Jurisdictions of Significance: Narrating Time-Space in a Hopi-US Tribal Consultation." *American Ethnologist* 45(2): 268-280. p.268. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12637>
- <sup>71</sup> Silver, J., 2023. "Tear Gas in Orbit: On the Olfactory and the Extraplanetary in Palestine." *American Ethnologist* 50(1): 129-140. p.129. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13137>
- <sup>72</sup> Kashani, Maryam. 2023. *Medina by the Bay: Scenes of Muslim Study and Survival*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>73</sup> Achtnich, Marthe. 2021. "Bordering Practices: Migrants, Mobility, and Affect in Libya." *American Ethnologist* 48(3): 314-326. p.314. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13030>
- <sup>74</sup> Ameerai, Lalaie. 2017. *Downwardly Global: Women, Work, and Citizenship in the Pakistani Diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>75</sup> Stout, Noelle. 2019. *Dispossessed: How Predatory Bureaucracy Foreclosed on the American Middle Class*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>76</sup> Li, Darryl. 2019. *The Universal Enemy: Jihad, Empire, and the Challenge of Solidarity*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>77</sup> Makley, Charlene. 2015. "The Sociopolitical Lives of Dead Bodies: Tibetan Self-Immolation Protest as Mass Media." *Cultural Anthropology* 30(3): 448-476. p.448. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca30.3.05>
- <sup>78</sup> Meintjes, Louise. 2017. *Dust of the Zulu: Ngoma Aesthetics After Apartheid*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>79</sup> Jusionyte, Ieva. 2016. "Crimecraft: Journalists, police, and news publics in an Argentine town." *American Ethnologist* 43(3): 451-464. p.451. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12338>
- <sup>80</sup> Calis, Irene. 2017. "Routine and Rupture: The Everyday Workings of Dbysal (Dis)Order in the Palestinian Food Basket." *American Ethnologist* 44(1): 65-76. p.65. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12426>
- <sup>81</sup> Khayyat, Munira. 2022. *A Landscape of War: Ecologies of Resistance and Survival in South Lebanon*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>82</sup> Parker, Caroline Mary. 2021. "Keeping Busy When There's Nothing to Do: Labor, Therapy, and Boredom in a Puerto Rican Addiction Shelter." *American Ethnologist* 48(3): 301-313. p.301. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13029>
- <sup>83</sup> Stone, Nomi. 2022. *Pinelandia: An Anthropology and Field Poetics of War and Empire*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>84</sup> Messeri, Lisa. 2016. *Placing Outer Space: An Earthly Ethnography of Other Worlds*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>85</sup> Cox, Aimee Meredith. 2015. *Shapeshifters: Black Girls and the Choreography of Citizenship*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>86</sup> Kohn, Eduardo. 2013. *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>87</sup> Kenner, Alison. 2018. *Breathtaking: Asthma Care in a Time of Climate Change*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p.1.
- <sup>88</sup> Pérez, Miguel. 2022. *The Right to Dignity: Housing Struggles, City Making, and Citizenship in Urban Chile*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>89</sup> Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2003. "Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness." In *Global Transformations*, 7-28. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p.7. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-04144-9\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-04144-9_2)



- <sup>90</sup> Appel, Hannah. 2017. "Toward an Ethnography of the National Economy." *Cultural Anthropology* 32(2): 294-322. p.294. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca32.2.09>
- <sup>91</sup> Paxson, Heather. 2008. "Post-Pasteurian Cultures: The Microbiopolitics of Raw-Milk Cheese in the United States." *Cultural Anthropology* 23(1): 15-47. p.15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2008.00002.x>
- <sup>92</sup> Marsilli-Vargas, Xochitl. 2022. *Genres of Listening: An Ethnography of Psychoanalysis in Buenos Aires*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>93</sup> Howe, Cymene. 2013. *Intimate Activism: The Struggle for Sexual Rights in Postrevolutionary Nicaragua*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>94</sup> García, María Elena. 2013. "The Taste of Conquest: Colonialism, Cosmopolitics, and the Dark Side of Peru's Gastronomic Boom." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 18(3): 505-524. p.505. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12044>
- <sup>95</sup> Salomon, Noah. 2016. *For Love of the Prophet: An Ethnography of Sudan's Islamic State*. Princeton University Press. p.1.
- <sup>96</sup> Fitz-Henry, E.E. 2009. *Municipalizing Sovereignty: The U.S. Air Force in Manta, Ecuador*. Doctoral Diss., Princeton University. p.1.
- <sup>97</sup> Choy, Timothy K., Lieba Faier, Michael J. Hathaway, Miyako Inoue, Shiho Satsuka, and Anna Tsing. 2009. "A New Form of Collaboration in Cultural Anthropology: Matsutake Worlds." *American Ethnologist* 36(2): 380-403. p.308. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2009.01141.x>
- <sup>98</sup> Zigon, Jarrett. 2018. *A War on People: Drug User Politics and a New Ethics of Community*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv62hh5d>
- <sup>99</sup> Caldeira, Teresa P.R. 2000. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520341593>
- <sup>100</sup> Mattern, Shannan. 2017. *Code and Clay, Data and Dirt: Five Thousand Years of Urban Media*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.5749/j.ctt1pwt6rn>
- <sup>101</sup> Jiménez, Alberto Corsín. 2014. "The Right to Infrastructure: A Prototype for Open Source Urbanism." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 32(2): 342-362. p.342. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d130>
- <sup>102</sup> Castellanos, M. Bianet. 2020. *Indigenous Dispossession: Housing and Maya Indebtedness in Mexico*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503614352>
- <sup>103</sup> Houston, Christopher. 2020. *Istanbul, City of the Fearless: Urban Activism, Coup d'Etat, and Memory in Turkey*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvw1d5xt>
- <sup>104</sup> Watson, Matthew C. 2020. *Afterlives of Affect: Science, Religion, and an Edgewalker's Spirit*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv14t4905>
- <sup>105</sup> Verdery, Katherine. 2012. "Observers Observed: An Anthropologist Under Surveillance." *Anthropology Now* 4(2): 14-23. p.14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19492901.2012.11728357>
- <sup>106</sup> Azcárate, Matilde Córdoba. 2020. *Stuck with Tourism: Space, Power, and Labor in Contemporary Yucatán*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv17db304>
- <sup>107</sup> Malinowski, Bronislaw. [1922] 1961. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. p.1. [Full sentence omitted because we don't really need to read it again].
- <sup>108</sup> Weston, Kath. 2008. "'Real Anthropology' and Other Nostalgias." In *Ethnographica Moralia: Experiments in Interpretive Anthropology*, edited by Neni Panourgia and George E. Marcus, 126-137. New York: Fordham University Press. p.126.
- <sup>109</sup> Boylston, Tom. 2018. *The Stranger at the Feast: Prohibition and Mediation in an Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Community*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>110</sup> Goett, Jennifer. 2016. *Black Autonomy: Race, Gender, and Afro-Nicaraguan Activism*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>111</sup> Saethre, Eirik. 2020. *Wastelands: Recycled Commodities and the Perpetual Displacement of Ashkali and Romani Scavengers*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>112</sup> Mittermaier, Amira. 2010. *Dreams That Matter: Egyptian Landscapes of the Imagination*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.xv.
- <sup>113</sup> Lamoreaux, Janelle. 2016. "What if the Environment is a Person? Lineages of Epigenetic Science in a Toxic China." *Cultural Anthropology* 31(2): 188-214. p.188. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca31.2.03>
- <sup>114</sup> Holmes, Seth M. 2013. *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>115</sup> Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2016. *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>116</sup> Bize, Amiel. 2020. "The Right to the Remainder: Gleaning in the Fuel Economies of East Africa's Northern Corridor." *Cultural Anthropology* 35(3): 462-486. p.462. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca35.3.05>
- <sup>117</sup> de Abreu, Maria José. 2021. *The Charismatic Gymnasium: Breath, Media, and Religious Revivalism in Contemporary Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>118</sup> Lyons, Kristina. 2016. "Decomposition as Life Politics: Soils, Selva, and Small Farmers Under the Gun of the US-Colombia War on Drugs." *Cultural Anthropology* 31(1): 56-81. p.56. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca31.1.04>
- <sup>119</sup> Langwick, Stacey Ann. 2018. "A Politics of Habitability: Plants, Healing, and Sovereignty in a Toxic World." *Cultural Anthropology* 33(3): 415-443. p.415. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca33.3.06>
- <sup>120</sup> Whitmore, Luke. 2019. *Mountain, Water, Rock, God*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.61>
- <sup>121</sup> Besteman, Catherine. 2016. *Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, Maine*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>122</sup> Hendriks, Thomas. 2021. *Rainforest Capitalism: Power and Masculinity in a Congolese Timber Concession*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>123</sup> Kiik, Laur. 2018. "Wild-ing the Ethnography of Conservation: Writing Nature's Value and Agency In." *Anthropological Forum* 28(3): 217-235. p.217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2018.1476222>
- <sup>124</sup> Kalshoven, Petra Tjitske. 2018. "Gestures of Taxidermy: Morphological Approximation as Interspecies Affinity." *American Ethnologist* 45(1): 34-47. p.34. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12597>
- <sup>125</sup> Tsing, Anna L. 2013. "More than Human Sociality." *Anthropology and Nature* 14(1): 27-42.
- <sup>126</sup> Kirksey, S. Eben and Stefan Helmreich. 2010. "The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography." *Cultural Anthropology* 25(4): 545-576. p.545. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2010.01069.x>
- <sup>127</sup> Orr, Yancey. 2015. "Animal Magnetism: Perceiving Environmental Objects as Social Subjects among Balinese Looking at Roosters." *Visual Anthropology* 28(2): 127-136. p.127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2015.996498>
- <sup>128</sup> Nadasdy, Paul. 2007. "The Gift in the Animal: The Ontology of Hunting and Human-Animal Sociality." *American Ethnologist* 34(1): 25-43. p.25. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2007.34.1.25>
- <sup>129</sup> Helmreich, Stefan. 2009. *Alien Ocean: Anthropological Voyages in Microbial Seas*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.

- <sup>130</sup> Klein, Joseph, and Stine Vestbo, Peter Funch, and Anna Tsing. 2023. "Marine Hitchhikers and Nested Holobionts: Is the Aquarium Trade Creating Weedy Sponge Invaders?" In *Rubber Boots Methods for the Anthropocene: Doing Fieldwork in Multispecies Worlds*, edited by Nils Bubandt, Astrid Oberborbeck Andersen, and Rachel Cypher, 249-275. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p.249.
- <sup>131</sup> Mahajan, Nidhi. 2021. "Notes on an Archipelagic Ethnography: Ships, Seas, and Islands of Relation in the Indian Ocean." *Island Studies Journal* 16(1): 9-22. p.9. <https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.147>
- <sup>132</sup> Hartigan Jr, John. 2019. "Plants as ethnographic subjects." *Anthropology Today* 35(2): 1-2. p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.12491> [emphasis added]
- <sup>133</sup> Chao, Sophie. 2020. "A Tree of Many Lives: Vegetal Teleontologies in West Papua." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 10(2): 514-529. p.514. <https://doi.org/10.1086/709505>
- <sup>134</sup> Tsing, Anna L. 2012. "Unruly Edges: Mushrooms as Companion Species: For Donna Haraway." *Environmental Humanities* 1(1): 141-154. p.141. <https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-3610012>
- <sup>135</sup> Ogden, Laura A. 2021. *Loss and Wonder at the World's End*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>136</sup> Schnegg, Michael. 2021. "Ontologies of Climate Change: Reconciling Indigenous and Scientific Explanations for the Lack of Rain in Namibia." *American Ethnologist* 48(3): 260-273. p.260. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13028>
- <sup>137</sup> Tsing, Anna L. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. p.1.
- <sup>138</sup> Zeiderman, Austin. 2016. *Endangered City: The Politics of Security and Risk in Bogotá*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>139</sup> Fortun, Kim. 2012. "Ethnography in Late Industrialism." *Cultural Anthropology* 27(3): 446-464. p.446. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2012.01153.x>
- <sup>140</sup> Liboiron, Max, Manuel Tironi and Nerea Calvillo. 2018. "Toxic Politics: Acting in a Permanently Polluted World." *Social Studies of Science* 48(3): 331-349. p.331. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312718783087>
- <sup>141</sup> Roosth, Sophia. 2019. *Synthetic: How Life Got Made*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p.1.
- <sup>142</sup> Fisher, Daniel. 2018. "Untidy Times: Alexis Wright, Extinction, and the Politics of Apprehension." *Cultural Anthropology* 33(2): 180-188. p.180. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca33.2.02>
- <sup>143</sup> Gaibazzi, Paolo. 2018. "West African Strangers and the Politics of Inhumanity in Angola." *American Ethnologist* 45(4): 470-481. p.470. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12702>
- <sup>144</sup> Mittermaier, Amira 2010. *Dreams That Matter: Egyptian Landscapes of the Imagination*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>145</sup> D'Avella, Nicholas. 2019. *Concrete Dreams: Practice, Value, and Built Environments in Post-Crisis Buenos Aires*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>146</sup> Feldman, Gregory. 2019. *The Gray Zone: Sovereignty, Human Smuggling, and Undercover Police Investigation in Europe*. Redwood: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>147</sup> Vaughn, Sarah E. 2017. "Disappearing Mangroves: The Epistemic Politics of Climate Adaptation in Guyana." *Cultural Anthropology* 32(2): 242-268. p.242. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca32.2.07>
- <sup>148</sup> Millar, Kathleen M. 2014. "The Precarious Present: Wageless Labor and Disrupted Life in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil." *Cultural Anthropology* 29(1): 32-53. p.32. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca29.1.04>
- <sup>149</sup> O'Neill, Kevin Lewis. 2018. "On the Importance of Wolves." *Cultural Anthropology* 33(3): 499-520. p.499. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca33.3.09>
- <sup>150</sup> O'Neill, Kevin Lewis. 2015. *Secure the Soul Christian Piety and Gang Prevention in Guatemala*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>151</sup> Núñez, Jorge. 2017. "A Clinical Economy of Speculation: Financial Trading and Gambling Disorder in Spain." *Cultural Anthropology* 32(2): 269-293. p.269. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca32.2.08>
- <sup>152</sup> Docuyan, Faye. 2000. "Governing Graffiti in Contested Urban Spaces." *PolAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 23(1): 103-121. p.103. <https://doi.org/10.1525/pol.2000.23.1.103>
- <sup>153</sup> Bartel, Rebecca C. 2021. *Card-Carrying Christians: Debt and the Making of Free Market Spirituality in Colombia*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>154</sup> Elliot, Alice. 2016. "The Makeup of Destiny: Predestination and the Labor of Hope in a Moroccan Emigrant Town." *American Ethnologist* 43(3): 488-499. p.488. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12341>
- <sup>155</sup> Yang, Mayfair. 2020. *Re-enchanting Modernity: Ritual Economy and Society in Wenzhou, China*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>156</sup> Igreja, Victor, Beatrice Dias-Lambranca, Douglas A. Hershey, Limore Racin, Annemiek Richters, and Ria Reis. 2010. "The Epidemiology of Spirit Possession in the Aftermath of Mass Political Violence in Mozambique." *Social Science & Medicine* 71(3): 592-599. p.592. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.04.024>
- <sup>157</sup> Hahn, Robert A. and Arthur Kleinman 1983. "Belief as Pathogen, Belief as Medicine: 'Voodoo Death' and the 'Placebo Phenomenon' in Anthropological Perspective." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 14(4): 3-19. p.3. <https://doi.org/10.1525/maq.1983.14.4.02a00030>
- <sup>158</sup> Fernando, Mayanthi L. 2022. "Uncanny Ecologies: More-than-Natural, More-than-Human, More-than-Secular." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 42(3): 568-583. p.568. <https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201X-10148233>
- <sup>159</sup> Mattingly, Cheryl. 2012. "Two Virtue Ethics and the Anthropology of Morality." *Anthropological Theory* 12(2): 161-184. p.161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499612455284>
- <sup>160</sup> Robbins, Joel. 2017. "Keeping God's Distance: Sacrifice, Possession, and the Problem of Religious Mediation." *American Ethnologist* 44(3): 464-475. p.464. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12522>
- <sup>161</sup> Webster, Joseph. 2022. "Anthropology-as-Theology: Violent Endings and the Permanence of New Beginnings." *American Anthropologist* 124(2): 333-344. p.333. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13705>
- <sup>162</sup> Engelke, Matthew. 2014. "Christianity and the Anthropology of Secular Humanism." *Current Anthropology* 55(S10): S292-S301. p.S292. <https://doi.org/10.1086/677738>
- <sup>163</sup> Farmer, Paul. 1996. "On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below." *Daedalus*, 125(1): 261-283. p.261.
- <sup>164</sup> Kleinman, Arthur and Joan Kleinman. 1996. "The Appeal of Experience; The Dismay of Images: Cultural Appropriations of Suffering in Our Times." *Daedalus* 125(1): 1-23. p.1.
- <sup>165</sup> Ortner, Sherry B. 2016. "Dark Anthropology and its Others: Theory Since the Eighties." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6(1): 47-73. p.47. <https://doi.org/10.14318/hau6.1.004>
- <sup>166</sup> Zigon, Jarrett. 2014. "An Ethics of Dwelling and a Politics of World-Building: A Critical Response to Ordinary Ethics." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 20(4): 746-764. p.746. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.12133>

- 167 Ortnier, Sherry B. 2017. "Social Impact Without Social Justice: Film and Politics in the Neoliberal Landscape." *American Ethnologist* 44(3): 528-539. p.528. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12527>
- 168 Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2016. "The Cross-Publics of Ethnography: The Case of 'the Muslimwoman.'" *American Ethnologist* 43(4): 595-608. p.595. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12377>
- 169 Merry, Sally Engle. 1996. "Legal Vernacularization and ka ho'okolokoloni kanaka maoli, the People's International Tribunal, Hawai'i 1993." *PoLAR* 19(1): 67-82. p.67. <https://doi.org/10.1525/plar.1996.19.1.67>
- 170 Brada, Betsey Behr. 2016. "The Contingency of Humanitarianism: Moral Authority in an African HIV Clinic." *American Anthropologist* 118(4): 755-771. p.755. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12692>
- 171 Ingold, Tim. 1988. "The animal in the study of humanity." In *What is an Animal?*, edited by Tim Ingold, 84-99. New York and London: Routledge. p.84.
- 172 Douzinas, Costas. 2007. "The Many Faces of Humanitarianism." *Parrhesia* 2(1): 1-28. p.1.
- 173 Belloni, Milena. 2019. *The Big Gamble: The Migration of Eritreans to Europe*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press. p.1.
- 174 Jobson, Ryan Cecil. 2023. "Facing the Flames: The Herskovitses, Trinidad, and the Anthropological Imagination." *American Ethnologist* 50(3): 368-374. p.368. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13189>
- 175 Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1995. "The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 36(3): 409-440. p.409.
- 176 Niehaus, Isak. (2013). "Confronting Uncertainty: Anthropology and Zones of the Extraordinary." *American Ethnologist* 40(4): 651-660. p.651. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12045>
- 177 Kuper, Adam. 1994. "Culture, Identity and the Project of a Cosmopolitan Anthropology." *Man* 29(3): 537-554. p.537. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2804342>
- 178 Knauff, Bruce M. 2006. "Anthropology in the Middle." *Anthropological Theory* 6(4): 407-430. p.407. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499606071594>
- 179 Strathern, Marilyn. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- 180 Koukouti, Maria Danae and Lambros Malafouris. 2020. "Material Imagination: An Anthropological Perspective." In *The Cambridge Handbook of the Imagination*, edited by Anna Abraham, 30-46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.30.
- 181 Gusterson, Hugh. 2017. "Homework: Toward a Critical Ethnography of the University: AES Presidential Address, 2017." *American Ethnologist* 44(3): 435-450. p.435. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12520>
- 182 Fuentes, Agustín, and Polly Wiessner. 2016. "Reintegrating Anthropology: From Inside Out: An Introduction to Supplement 13." *Current Anthropology* 57(S13): S3-S12. p.S3. <https://doi.org/10.1086/685694>
- 183 Van Hollen, Cecilia Coale 2022. *Cancer and the Kali Yuga: Gender, Inequality, and Health in South India*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- 184 Kirksey, Eben. 2015. *Emergent Ecologies*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- 185 Murphy, Michelle. 2012. *Seizing the Means of Reproduction: Entanglements of Feminism, Health, and Technoscience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. p.1.
- 186 Ong, Aihwa. 2006. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- 187 Holbraad, Martin. 2019. *Truth in Motion: The Recursive Anthropology of Cuban Divination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p.1.
- 188 Das, Veena. 1985. "Anthropological Knowledge and Collective Violence: The Riots in Delhi, November 1984." *Anthropology Today* 1(3): 4-6. p.4.
- 189 Allen, Jafari S. 2021. *There's a Disco Ball Between Us: A Theory of Black Gay Life*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- 190 McGranahan, Carole. 2022. "Theory as Ethics." *American Ethnologist* 49(3): 289-301. p.289. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13087>
- 191 Jefferson, Andrew M. and Bethany E. Schmidt. 2019. "Concealment and Revelation as Bureaucratic and Ethnographic Practice: Lessons from Tunisian Prisons." *Critique of Anthropology* 39(2): 155-171. p.155. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X19842922>
- 192 Berry, Maya J., Claudia Chávez Argüelles, Shanya Cordis, Sarah Ihmoud, and Elizabeth Velásquez Estrada. 2017. "Toward a Fugitive Anthropology: Gender, Race, and Violence in the Field." *Cultural Anthropology* 32(4): 537-565. p.537. <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca32.4.05>
- 193 Mearns, David. 1999. "Urban Kampongs in Ambon: Whose Domain? Whose Desa?" *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 10(1): 15-33. p.15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1835-9310.1999.tb00010.x>
- 194 Smalls, Krystal A. 2021. "Fat, Black, and Ugly: The Semiotic Production of Prodigious Femininities." *Transforming Anthropology* 29(1): 12-28. p.12. <https://doi.org/10.1111/traa.12208>
- 195 Sastramidjaja, Yatun. 2019. "Keywords and Key Words in AE: The Logic of Recognition and the Limits of Algorithmic Relevance." *American Ethnologist* 46(4): 387-403. p.387. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12835>
- 196 Taussig, Michael. 1997. *The Magic of the State*. New York and London: Routledge. p.1.
- 197 Khatchadourian, Lori. 2016. *Imperial Matter: Ancient Persia and the Archaeology of Empires*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- 198 Hastrup, Kirsten. 2004. "Getting it Right: Knowledge and Evidence in Anthropology." *Anthropological Theory* 4(4): 455-472. p.455. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499604047921> [emphasis added]
- 199 Keane, Webb. 2008. "The Evidence of the Senses and the Materiality of Religion." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14(S1): S110-S127. p.S110. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2008.00496.x>
- 200 Golub, Alex. 2014. *Leviathans at the Gold Mine: Creating Indigenous and Corporate Actors in Papua New Guinea*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- 201 Rutherford, Danilyn. 2021. "Becoming an Operating System: Disability, Difference, and the Ethics of Communication in the United States." *American Ethnologist* 48(2): 139-152. p.139. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13013>
- 202 Simpson, Audra. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- 203 Pertierra, Anna Cristina. 2015. "Practicing Tranquilidad: Domestic Technologies and Comfortable Homes in Southeastern Mexico." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 20(3): 415-432. p.415. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12186>
- 204 Hammond, Timur Warner. 2023. *Placing Islam: Geographies of Connection in Twentieth-Century Istanbul*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- 205 Lee, Toby. 2020. *The Public Life of Cinema: Conflict and Collectivity in Austerity Greece*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- 206 Nadasdy, Paul. 2021. "How Many Worlds are There? Ontology, Practice, and Indeterminacy." *American Ethnologist* 48(4): 357-369. p.357. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13046>
- 207 Beaman, Jean. 2017. *Citizen Outsider: Children of North African Immigrants in France*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- 208 McKowen, Kelly 2020. "Productive Values: Activating Labor and Finding Selves in Norwegian Job-Seeker Courses." *Anthropology of Work Review* 41(1): 3-13. p.3. <https://doi.org/10.1111/awr.12192>
- 209 Sharp, Lesley A. 2018. *Animal Ethos: The Morality of Human-Animal Encounters in Experimental Lab Science*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- 210 Hirschkind, Charles. 2011. "Is There a Secular Body?" *Cultural Anthropology* 36(4): 633-647. p.633. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2011.01116.x>

- <sup>211</sup> Slotta, James. 2017. "Can the Subaltern Listen? Self-Determination and the Provisioning of Expertise in Papua New Guinea." *American Ethnologist* 44(2): 328-340. p.328. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12482>
- <sup>212</sup> Logan, Amanda L. 2020. *The Scarcity Slot: Excavating Histories of Food Security in Ghana*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>213</sup> Tsing, Anna L. 2015. *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p.1.
- <sup>214</sup> Mattioli, Fabio. 2020. *Dark Finance: Illiquidity and Authoritarianism at the Margins of Europe*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. p.1.
- <sup>215</sup> Jarjour, Tala. 2015. "Hasho: Music Modality and the Economy of Emotional Aesthetics." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 24(1): 51-72. p.51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17411912.2015.1018918>
- <sup>216</sup> Stoler, Ann Laura. 2008. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p.1.
- <sup>217</sup> Feld, Steven. 1982. *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. p.1.
- <sup>218</sup> Adams, Vincanne. 2013. *Markets of Sorrow, Labors of Faith: New Orleans in the Wake of Katrina*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>219</sup> Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- <sup>220</sup> Johnson, Alix. 2023. *Where Cloud Is Ground: Placing Data and Making Place in Iceland*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1. [Original line includes title of book, rather than just the word "this".]
- <sup>221</sup> Freeman, Carla. 2015. *Entrepreneurial Selves: Neoliberal Respectability and the Making of a Caribbean Middle Class*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1. [Original line includes title of book, rather than just the word "this".]
- <sup>222</sup> Lepselter, Susan. 2016. *The Resonance of Unseen Things: Poetics, Power, Captivity, and UFOs in the American Uncanny*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. p.1.
- <sup>223</sup> Murawski, Michal. 2022. "Falshfasad: Infrastructure, Materialism, and Realism in Wild-Capitalist Moscow." *American Ethnologist* 49(4): 461-477. p.461. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13104>
- <sup>224</sup> Murphy, Keith M. 2019. *Swedish Design: An Ethnography*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. p.1.
- <sup>225</sup> Shohet, Merav. 2021. *Silence and Sacrifice: Family Stories of Care and the Limits of Love in Vietnam*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>226</sup> Chávez, Alex E. 2017. *Sounds of Crossing: Music, Migration, and the Aural Poetics of Huapango Arribeño*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1.
- <sup>227</sup> Beckett, Greg. 2019. *There is No More Haiti: Between Life and Death in Port-au-Prince*. Oakland: University of California Press. p.1.
- <sup>228</sup> Stewart, Kathleen. 2009. *Ordinary Affects*. Durham: Duke University Press. p.1. [Original line includes title of book, rather than just the word "this".]
- <sup>229</sup> Pine, Jason. 2019. *The Alchemy of Meth: A Decomposition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p.1.

## REFERENCES CITED

- Clifford, James. 1986. "Introduction: Partial Truths." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by Clifford J. & G.E. Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fabian, Johannes. 2014. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Fernando, Mayanthi L. 2022. "Uncanny Ecologies: More-Than-Natural, More-Than-Human, More-Than-Secular." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 42(3):568-83. <https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201X-10148233>
- Klíma, Alan. 2019. *Ethnography# 9*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Trouillot, Michel Rolph. 2003. *Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Visweswaran, Kamala. 1994. *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

**How to cite this article:** Summers, L. 2024. "The house is coming From inside the call." *American Anthropologist* 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.28037>