



# THE EMIC



Sociology | Anthropology | Carleton College

## What's INSIDE...



Students of Constanza Ocampo-Raeder's Introduction to Anthropology class met outside Leighton on a brisk Saturday morning to construct an igloo. They received help from budding anthropologists of all ages

### Field Guide

Connor Rechtzigel (Relgion/'17) and Ingrid Hofeldt (SOAN/'17) share stories from their off-campus experience in the fall *Page 3-5*

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Nancy Boudreau (Burtis) and Emily Scotto. *Page 10*

### Notes from Guatemala

View snapshots from Professor Jay Levi's Socio-Cultural Field Research in Guatemala

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### Meet the New Profs

Get to know visiting professor Mary Vogel

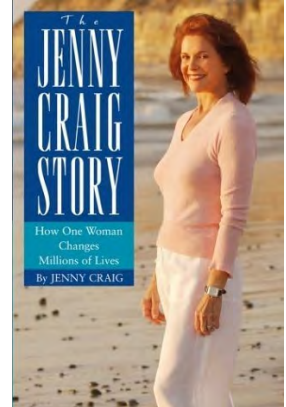
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# SOAN TRIVIA



Which SoAn Professor worked as backstage security for Kanye West at a concert in 2006?

Which SoAn Professor worked as a consultant for Jenny Craig Weight Loss Center as a consultant before graduate school?



*Answer found on page 11*

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If you have questions, comments, or things you would like to submit for future editions of the Emic, please contact Mary at [mdrew@carleton.edu](mailto:mdrew@carleton.edu).

# MARTHI AND RICKSAWS

## INGRID HOFELDT IN INDIA



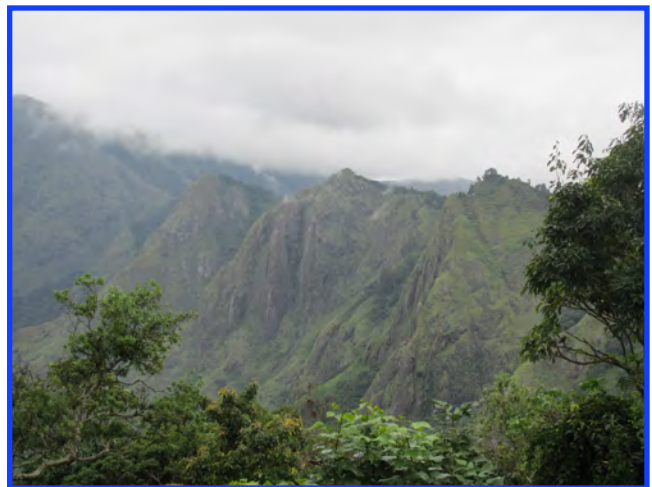
I learned the Marathi language while studying abroad in Pune, India. More accurately, I learned how to direct a rickshaw part of the time and say “Good Morning!”

For the Diwali holiday I traveled to the southern state of Kerala with a group of students from my program. One day, we were climbing up a large hill when I saw a rickshaw by the side of the road (a rickshaw is a small, covered vehicle sort of like a taxi). In the driver’s seat was a small boy of less than ten pretending to drive it. I bent down, knocked on the edge of the rickshaw, and asked, “Rickshaw khali ahe ka?” This expression, “Is the rickshaw empty?” implies that you’re asking for a ride in the rickshaw. The boy burst out into giggles. I smiled while running back to my group, pleased about this small encounter I’d had.

When I got back to Maharashtra, one of my professors explained the system of languages in India to me. India has dozens of languages, and about every state has its own language. In Maharashtra, the state I was in, Marathi is spoken, but Marathi is spoken very rarely outside of Maharashtra.

Needless to say, Marathi is not the language spoken in Kerala and the boy I talked to probably had no idea what I was saying. There was definitely a chance he spoke Marathi, but not likely. My self-idealized encounter with this child was probably nothing like how I imagined it. Maybe he was laughing at my accent, or the sweaty, disheveled group of American girls climbing up the hill, but probably not at my joke.

In many ways this event speaks to my experience in India, the ideal compared to the reality, my interpretation of an interaction and its actuality. The really strange aspect of my encounter with this boy wasn’t the fact that I misunderstood it so deeply, but the fact that I probably misinterpreted dozens more interactions with as little knowledge of my mishaps as that boy’s knowledge of the Marathi language.



## SUN, SAND, SHOLAT

### CONNOR RECHTZIGEL

As those familiar with SIT Study Abroad know well, the organization prides itself on having its students conduct an independent study project, otherwise known as the “ISP.” For my particular program (“SIT Indonesia: Arts, Religion, and Social Change”), students were allowed to go anywhere within Indonesia for the ISP, so long as one had the necessary contacts and some prior knowledge of their proposed ethnographic field. Given a recent article I had stumbled upon in the Jakarta Post about the development of Sharia tourism on the small Indonesian island of Lombok—a type of tourism aimed at Muslim travelers—I decided to leave Bali and Java and head to Lombok to carry out my field study. (The complication involved in taking a ferry due to a volcanic eruption is a story for another day...)

During my three-week stint of fieldwork, I was able to join various personalized tour groups of Indonesian Muslim travelers thanks to a local connection through my study abroad advisor. Besides being more fun than I could have ever imagined, the experience allowed me to see how the tourists I followed ‘performed’ tourism in surprising and often unexpected ways. In the ethnographic description below, I attempt to narrate my experience following one particular tour group to an island known as Gili Trawangan (“Gili T”). Gili T is a very small island (3 km long, 2 km wide) located just off of mainland Lombok’s northwest coast, and it is by a large margin hepthrovince’s most visited tourist hotspot.

However, it’s also considerably different from Muslim-majority Lombok in that it’s renowned for providing a welcoming space for those with pleasure-seeking, “spring-break”-type travel inclinations, especially come nightfall—namely, a handful of bars and limited law enforcement. Not surprisingly, I was intrigued when my friend Ilham, a local tour guide, told me he would be leading a tour group of older Muslim travelers from Jakarta to Gili T. Below, retrospectively, I attempt to narrate some of the experience:



At about 11:00 a.m. on a Saturday in November, twenty Indonesians, their tour guide Ilham, and I climb into a passenger boat near the quaint seaport of Teluk Nara, Lombok. The group, whose members average around age fifty, chose Lombok as their 2015 vacation destination—an annual tradition to commemorate completing the hajj to Mecca together in 2010. Each of the group’s fifteen women sport bright-pink headscarves and freshly purchased pink sunbonnets, while the males don dark blue, button-up shirts and baseball caps. Today’s tour was one that Ilham had guided countless times, yet was nonetheless among his favorites: the Gili Trawangan (“Gili T”) tour.

In addition to classroom instruction, Ilham's mastery of navigating both Lombok and the cultural baggage of his guests is acquired through watching foreign movies and television, reading magazines, talking with other tour guides, and most importantly, his own experience. Based on the demographics of today's group—and his own intuition, cultivated over the years—Ilham made further arrangements to visit a nearby monkey forest and to buy *oleh-oleh* (souvenirs) in Mataram upon returning to mainland Lombok. As the boat retreats from the mainland and slowly gathers steam, Ilham whispers to me: "They'll have had enough of Gili T after three hours."

About a half an hour later, the driver shuts off the motor as the boat's fore gently grips Gili Trawangan's sandy

shores. As guests cautiously dismount the boat in the hopes of avoiding touching the water, one woman points to the dozens of tourists sunbathing on the beach in minimal attire—indeed, nearly everybody was already staring—while announcing with both (comedic) disbelief and fascination: "Look at the *bule!*" (The slang Indonesian word "bule"—pronounced as "boo-lay"—refers to foreigners, which implies white visitors.) Curious, I ask what the spectacle is, to which another woman immediately responds: "Their skin will become dark! It's *so* hot out!" followed by a shivering gesture and laughs.

Seeing as everybody was now gazing at the beachgoers—and to a lesser extent,

at the glistening turquoise-colored waters—another man in the group asks if I personally enjoy sunbathing, as a *bule* myself.

Responding that I do "sometimes," he inquires (half-jokingly) why *bule* are so insistent on getting their skin dark; to him, as he later explained, it just simply didn't make any sense. Of course, he, like all of the other guests from Jakarta, had long known that many vacationers enjoy basking in the tropical sun; but now was his opportunity to ask a *bule* directly. Not having a

good answer, I simply begin to join in laughing with the others. At this point, about five minutes after making landfall during the fiercest heat of the day, the guests quickly set off for shore and immediately enter one of Gili Trawangan's only halal-friendly restaurants (food permitted in the Islamic faith), where various other Indonesian (and largely Muslim) tour groups sit.



Throughout the rest of the group's stay, which ended up being less than three hours as Ilham had rightly predicted, the guests stopped by the island's single mosque to *sholat* (perform one of the five daily prayers), took a few photos on the beach—although quickly, given that the day's heat was especially sweltering—and watched individuals sunbathe and swim from the shady fringe of the coconut palm trees. Right before piling into the boat to head back to Lombok, I ask the youngest member of the group why they chose the Gili Trawangan tour, seeing as their 'performance' as tourists was unlike anything I had ever experienced. Without hesitation, she immediately responded: "Because Gili T is famous! Plus seeing *bule* is so amusing...it's like we're not even in Indonesia anymore."

# Fresh Faces

Visiting Professor, Mary Vogel, took the time to share a bit about herself and her research.

## What made you decide to come work at Carleton?



Right now I hold a Professorship and Chair at University of Manchester in England. During 2014-2016, I am also a Visiting Scholar at NYU. Originally, I moved to England to accompany my partner the American sculptor Tony Long. We lost him to cancer several years ago and I have stayed to secure his legacy and works. Now I am spending more time in the United States. Carleton is widely known as a premier liberal arts college. When I noticed an ad for a visiting position here last summer I wrote to Carleton and was invited to come as Benedict Distinguished Visiting Professor of Sociology and Anthropology this winter term. It has been a pleasure to be here. I will return to NYU later this spring, continuing my research leave from Manchester.

## What is your specific field of study?

My work lies at the intersection of democracy, social ordering and governance. Recent years have been a time of consolidation when one phase of my research has been published, funding for new work has been secured in the form of a Leverhulme Trust Research Fellowship and then a British Academy grant, and new projects have begun even as the last works of the prior phase have been completed. My book *COERCION TO COMPROMISE: PLEA BARGAINING: THE COURTS AND THE MAKING OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY* was published by Oxford University Press in 2007. It was fortunate to be recognized as Runner-Up for the British Society of Criminology Book Prize in 2008. Several articles have been published from that work including "The Social Origins of Plea Bargaining: Conflict and the Law in the Process of State Formation, 1830-1860", which received the ASA, Law Section, Distinguished Article Award for 2001 and the international LSA Best Article Prize for 2000. Several other refereed articles have been published including: "Embedded Liberty" (2007), "Between Markets and Hierarchies: The Making of Post-colonial Political Authority in the "Imagined" American Republic, 1820-1850. From Discourse to Discipline." (2011) and "Plea Bargaining: Enigmas of Coercion, Fairness and Efficiency. Interpreting Fifty Years of Conflicted Research into Its Contemporary Consequences" (2013). Other manuscripts are in review.

Now several new inter-linked projects, begun several years ago, are moving to completion in a next stage of work. A first explores the earliest practice of plea bargaining in 19th century England. Despite these old roots, the existence of plea bargaining has, paradoxically, long been denied in the UK and is only beginning to be accepted now. My project probes bargaining's historical origins and its relation to the socio-political transformations of the First and Second Great Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867. A second new study explores what is a virtual explosion around the globe since 2000 of legal mechanisms of discretionary informality and leniency in criminal prosecution, generally, and plea bargaining, in particular. This project, which is related to the first historical one, is already underway but turns from a comparative-historical to a contemporary transnational perspective. My interest is in understanding why such practices have suddenly sprouted up around the globe, why now, and what this tells us about the nature of such a substitute for trial and its consequences.

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A third new projects has grown of these first two. It explores the changing context of power in which dramatic changes in legality are unfolding today.

It highlights what I argue to be a shift in the balance of power -- between publicly accountable democratic power and private networks of national and transnational power -- in the direction of the latter. An edited volume, which has also emerged from my work on plea bargaining explores prosecutorial practice in ten countries examining, especially, how discretionary practices of leniency are deployed.

What makes these book projects so significant is that, despite popular images of jury trial, most cases, both in the US and also increasingly in the UK and elsewhere, are being resolved by means of the controversial practice of plea bargaining. Despite the growing prevalence of bargaining, we understand surprisingly little about why it occurs and how it works. Yet, court outcomes profoundly affect life chances. To the extent that proceedings involve coerciveness or differentials in treatment, justice can suffer.

These current projects are laying the groundwork for a next stage of work that focuses on Democratic Transformation, Law and Social Ordering. This work has already begun. As my work on prosecution and plea bargaining has developed, I have found that the story is very much about the role of the courts in the making, sustaining, distorting, rebuilding and struggling over democracy. The next upcoming phase of my work focuses on this theme.

This stage of my work involves a first book on democratic state formation. It explores the tension between "law rule" and "self rule" that lies at the heart of democratic governance. It uses that dilemma as a way of understanding the varieties of democracy today. In particular, it probes republicanism as a steppingstone on the way to popular democracy. The absence of a strong republican phase in the democratic transitions of later developing countries, and especially the Arab spring, is notable and something I explore in depth. This project directly engages debate raging today over the implications of juridification, or court ascendancy, in governance and whether it fosters or abates inequality. It considers Ran Hirschl's argument, for example, that constitutionalism, with its reliance on the courts at potential expense of the legislatures is, at root, a mechanism of "hegemonic preservation". This is in contrast with arguments made by Heinz Klug and others that such "law rule" represents a liberating globalization of a "rights culture".

This next phase of work include a second book on the role of law in shaping contours of inequality through various modes of socio-legal control (i.e., criminalization, franchise and civic participation; citizenship; apprenticeship; kinship, marriage and divorce; and inheritance. It explores how diverse regimes create the "subject of power" in varied way and in different forms. A third project in this phase considers what I argue to be a fundamental misreading of the nature of law in modernity that explains why the challenge of social ordering is so fraught and perhaps why imprisonment has surged so dramatically. A final project focuses on the historical development of the theory and practice of rights. conceptions of health and how issues in health have been, and continue to be addressed. I have various other interests and I'd be happy to discuss them, so come talk to me about it!

### What classes are you teaching?

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Law and Society; Social Movements

### What have been your first impressions of the school?

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Carleton strikes me as notable for the excellence, cordiality and gracefulness of its faculty and, especially, for the intelligence, curiosity, competence and creativeness of its students. It is an especially lovely campus set in the stark beauty of the Minnesota landscape.

I would be remiss, however, if I did not mention that one of my strongest memories will always be that of experiencing the temperature of -17 below zero along with the gentle soft night snow.

**What has been the best part of your experience thus far at Carleton?**

Gifted and interesting students and cordial stimulating colleagues.

**If you were to create the perfect “Mary Vogel” class, what would it look like?**

While no class is "perfect" and I would tend more to aspire to "interesting", a course on Democratic Transformation" would be "dreamy" to teach. It focuses on the process of making, reforming, distorting, disrupting and reshaping democracy.

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## Update from Guatemala



Photo taken by Edith Emmings (Chemistry/ '17)

“I had the rare privilege of being welcomed into a Zapatista community for a night. We ate meals, danced and played basketball. Although the Zapatistas are no longer at war with the Mexican government, they still have all of their firearms and refuse pictures of their uncovered faces #ezln #ejercitozapatistadeliberacionnacional



# SOAN Celebrates World Anthropology Day!



On February 18th, in celebration of World Anthropology Day, SOAN professors, majors and friends celebrated by making veladoras honoring their favorite sociologists and anthropologists.



A sampling of the veladoras. Sociologists on the left and anthropologists on the right. All connected in the middle by Clifford Geertz

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# Alumni News

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**Emily Scotto '15**

After graduating in June, I moved to Omaha to begin my year-long Weitz Fellowship at the Women's Fund of Omaha. The Women's Fund is a coordination, research, and funding non-profit that examines issues and conducts research to provide informed support for initiatives that improve the lives of Omaha-area women and girls. Since beginning my Fellowship nearly 6 months ago, I've worked on a wide range of projects that have asked me to apply my SOAN skills I learned at Carleton. For instance, in the first month of my fellowship, I analyzed quantitative survey data gathered from nearly 700 respondents from Nebraska non-profits about services available for trafficked individuals. After analysis, I compiled and presented the information in a survey brief that was submitted to the Nebraska State Legislature. Over the past three months, I've also conducted twice monthly participant observation at Omaha Public School (OPS) public board meetings and forums. In an effort to track the development of conversations about and stakeholders in the implementation of comprehensive sex education in OPS, I have written a series of analytical reports based on my participant observation. Owing to the skills I gained through classes like Methods of Social Research, Advanced Writing for SOAN, and many other classes, I've already been able to jump into meaningful projects like these and many others during my short time in Omaha

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**Nancy Boudreau  
(Burtis) '94**

I'm working for a Portland, OR-based health/tech start-up as one of the founding members. We have a network of medical providers who film their patient encounters (pediatrics, emergency medicine, EMS, developing world, more) and give us case details. We turn this content into video case studies for medical education. VERY fun and as the companies only salaried employee, I get to take advantage of the best things I learned at Carleton - how to think critically and apply knowledge broadly!

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# Picture of Winter

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As the snow melts and the days grow longer, we take a look back at some our favorites image from another great Winter term

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Photo by Constanza Ocampo-Raeder

Answers:  
-Professor Nierobisz! In fact, she got the chance to talk to Kanye briefly and said he was very friendly.  
-Professor Liu! However, she quit when her boss stole money from the company and tried to pin it on her.