

out of neoliberal economic globalization and movements to reform globalization. It therefore provides a valuable case study for assessing claims that economically, socially and politically marginalized groups can benefit from neoliberal economic globalization.

Unfortunately, AmazonCoop fails to fulfill these hopes. Although the cooperative's international alliances provide significant material benefits for Altamira's indigenous people, they also limit the cooperative's ability to fulfill the cooperative values of democracy, participation, autonomy and self-sufficiency. AmazonCoop is largely controlled by international advisors and FUNAI, seeming to reinforce and consolidate outsiders' power over indigenous villages. This significantly restricts the cooperative's success on development measures that consider factors beyond economic and infrastructural change.

Finally, understanding the continuities and differences between Amazonia's historical and contemporary globalizations provides a basis for reflecting on the political terrain on which indigenous people can pursue their interests. The AmazonCoop case demonstrates that contemporary globalization creates a range of opportunities for indigenous people to engage in new political and economic projects that may alter the terms of their interaction with dominant societies or advance other indigenous interests.

Although the cooperative institutionalizes outsiders' power over indigenous communities, this power is not and cannot be total. Indigenous people continue to have possibilities to evade, resist, rework and cooperate with outsiders' power. Many of these possibilities are based on historical strategies. Others, however, originate in the cooperative itself or the new context of contemporary globalization, which offer institutional spaces for indigenous unity, a language through which to make demands, potentially powerful international relationships, and a new way of using indigenous symbolism for political ends.

Successful international indigenous politics may depend on relationships established through both material and symbolic exchange, through both economics and politics. AmazonCoop and its international links offer a framework for organizing these relationships in the context of global markets, global identity politics and at the local level. This framework is not ideal to the extent that it limits indigenous participation and fosters dependencies, but it is also not static and not the only one available.

Since I left Brazil, indigenous people have assumed control of the cooperative and initiated substantial changes. The nature and consequences of these changes are not yet clear, but they will mark the next chapter in the history of indigenous political-economic negotiations on the extractive frontier.

Please send any comments, suggestions, ideas, including photos for future columns to Hortensia Caballero-Arias at hcaballe@ivic.vc or at Centro de Antropología, IVIC, Carretera Panamericana Km 11, Caracas 1020-A, Apartado Postal 21827, Venezuela.

Society of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists

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Accidental Signposts

Social units, whether state, community, work, school or family, are a powerful determinant of how individuals "find their way" in the world and forge an identity they can feel comfortable with. Our individual social interactions are part of the "growing up" process and whether we undergo these at an early age or wait until we are older, we feel the impact deeply. What others say about someone, what others do for and to another and even how individuals work and play together is a large part of the "identity engine."

The interactions between individual and social units can, at certain times and in certain ways, act as a kind of signpost, validating or denying individual identity. Many such experiences are gentle and positive, but others can be harsh lessons, and despite the ministrations of "what doesn't kill me makes me stronger," may take years or even decades to understand and absorb. Some are practically tripped over, others are "in your face," and still others emerge as part of some larger process or event, offering themselves as a way through the melee.

This particular account is about an individual who undergoes a process of crucial self-discovery by accident, has his identity reinforced, strengthened, and finally realizes a level of comfort about himself, all through the conversations with someone else, who, as he later comes to realize, is a kind of "accidental signpost."

"I never really appreciated how important she was to me in my life, in my own struggle to come to terms with who I really am and be honest with myself about my sexuality and gender identity." The surprise in his voice was obvious. "It took a few years of conversations, letters, a few little gifts and email before I realized that so many of the things we had shared were all about her telling me about myself."

My informant had been, as he so delicately put it, "living a lie" for some 14 years, enjoying all the usual trappings of despair, suicidal tendencies and treatment, and somehow surviving it all. It was only late in life that exchanges with her had helped him in his struggle and he felt valid. For the first time in his life, he mattered—to himself, to others.

He told me that his identity had always been a challenge: fluid, changing, hidden, he never was sure who he was, and he knew that part of it was never really feeling like he fit in. There was no place to go that felt comfortable, no avenues of social connection. He told me he never once felt safe until after he had returned from a large gathering, an event he attended several times, always with a lot of fear.

"It was not the being at that event that did it, it was having her point out the obvious, that the

SAFE PERSON ALLY SAFE SPACE

whole thing was a 'safe space', a place where who we were, how we acted or dressed, was okay." He continued: "I realized that while I was there, I had been who I really was, I let the real me out of my prison cell, and nothing bad had happened."

There was a tone of astonishment in his voice. "Safe," for him, had taken most of his life to experience, and while the process of trying to understand his own identity was so difficult, who he was had been deeply hidden from everyone, even himself. "'Safe space' had always been a peculiar type of abstraction posted on those little signs: 'Safe Space—Ally'" he told me. "It was never anything I experienced."

No matter how much we might choose to believe them or subscribe to the underlying political message, signs, after a while, lose their impact. The dilution of their meaning occurs not through repetition, but often because we never feel as though we are part of the underlying meaning. We are outsiders, even to our own cause.

It was this sudden shock of discovery that had fooled my informant and taken him by surprise, but left him stronger. His good friend had embraced him in her act of telling others about her own feelings and experience. Such epiphanies are rare enough, all the more so when we are part of an unpopular minority and are forced to live in the margins. When we meet them, the messengers may seem like angels. To him, she obviously was.

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Society for Linguistic Anthropology

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Lies, Damn Lies and Political Ads

By Mark Allen Peterson (Miami U-Ohio)

That all politicians lie is an assumption many Americans bring to any discourse framed as political speech. How, then, can politicians hope to persuade voters not already committed to their "side" of the validity of their claims? One way is through quotation from authoritative sources like newspapers.

A now-classic ad technique for television political advertising is to represent a newspaper banner and its headline, or a quotation from the text, in order to authorize the point being made in the ad. In this construction, the newspaper icon indexes a newspaper story from which the headline or quotation is presumably drawn.

Except when it doesn't.

In the Illinois Republican primary, Jim Oberwies's campaign launched two ads saying he wanted to "end this culture of political corruption in the state of Illinois." The ads were aimed primarily against frontrunner Judy Baer Topinka, who was tied to the "culture of political corruption" by representations of headlines from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *State Journal Register*.

The headlines shown in the ad do not exist. One ad shows a *St. Louis Post Dispatch* masthead with the headline "Ordered to Destroy Document." The actual headline (from 1995) read "Illinois Treasurer Aide is Accused; Loans, Hotel Investor' List are Involved." In another ad the masthead of the *Chicago Sun-Times* was displayed with the banner headline, "\$30 Million Sweetheart Deal." No such headline ever appeared in the newspaper; an editorial headline from 1995 read "Sweetheart Deal Should Be Jilted." The words in the ads don't appear verbatim in the body of the news stories either; they are at best rough paraphrases.

Quoted speech is, in Bakhtinian terms, "double-voiced"—it adds the moral weight of prior voices to the ads' own speech. But this presumes accurate mimetic reproduction of the voices it indexes. In this case, we have a false mimesis that disrupts both the spatial deixis of ad to quoted text and the temporal deixis of ad to time in which events occurred.

The power of double-voicing in such political ads also depends on the trust of the hearer that the indexical chain leads accurately back not merely to the claimed source but, since newspapers are already double-voiced instruments, that they index the proper speaker. This too, can be falsely constructed.

Consider four of Sen Jim Talent's ads criticizing his opponent Claire McCaskill. In these ads, words or phrases about McCaskill appear in quotes, superimposed over the banner of the *Kansas City Star*. These include: "spreading untruths," "exaggerating," "false," "embellished" and "clearly violated ethical standards."

All these terms *do* in fact appear in the *Kansas City Star* in stories about McCaskill. However, they are not the words *of* the newspaper, expressed in editorials or other direct speech genres through which institutions speak to their readers. Instead, they are drawn from quotations *within* the *Star* of words spoken by McCaskill's political opponents.

But can Talent's campaign managers be accused of misattribution? These are visual ads, and the quotations appear superimposed over the *Star*'s banner. The indexical operation here is what classical writers called *anaphora*—we presume the quotations are drawn from the newspaper because its banner is the only thing

in the visual context that *could* reasonably be being referred to.

Some might construe these constructions as "lies." But for speech to be categorized a lie depends on many contextual criteria, including genre expectation. No one expects the events in a novel or a joke to be true, so it is incorrect to characterize them as lies.

Wiegand seems to be taking this position, claiming these practices are legitimately associated with the genre of speech he and his staff are constructing. As he told the *Tribune*, "We are not printing a newspaper. We are doing a television advertisement." In other words, it's political speech. Don't believe it.

(These examples involve Republican vs Democrat and Republican vs Republican. I don't want to be accused of partisanship here, but the fact is I could not find any examples of 2006 Democratic ads falsifying quotations. There are plenty of examples of Democratic ads using selective quotations, however, in some cases so decontextualized as to infer close to the opposite of what they originally conveyed. But that's a different column...)

For more accounts of mediated truths, lies and every shade or representation in between, check out the Annenberg School of Communication's factcheck.org. If you have news or views you'd like to see placed in this column, contact Mark Allen Peterson (petersm2@muohio.edu) or Jim Stanlaw (stanlaw@ilstu.edu)

Society for Medical Anthropology

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Council on Anthropology and Reproduction Advocacy Initiative

By Lynn M Morgan (Mt Holyoke)

In 2006, the Council on Anthropology and Reproduction (CAR) launched a new initiative to ensure that feminist anthropologists have a voice in public conversations about reproductive and sexual rights and health. The goal of the CAR Advocacy Committee is to position anthropologists as reproductive health advocates worldwide.

The Advocacy Committee organized its first workshop for the 2006 AAA meetings in collaboration with partners from Ipas (an international organization dedicated to women's sexual and reproductive rights) and Ibis Reproductive Health. "From Research to Policy in the Anthropology of Reproduction" brought two academic-advocate teams together to discuss collaborations and translating academic research into action. Tina Stevens and Diane Beeson spoke about their "Hands Off Our Ovaries" collaboration, which opposes stem cell research until more is known about the health effects of egg extraction. Tracy Weitz and Eleanor Drey from UCSF spoke about

ensuring evidence-based abortion care and policy.

Next, the Advocacy Committee partnered with feminist sociologists led by Christine Morton and Danielle Bessett in a workshop at the National Advocates for Pregnant Women Summit conference in Atlanta, January 2007. The workshop was called "Connecting the dots: Linking.edu with org, or, From Reproductive Research to Policy and Grassroots Advocacy." Marlene Fried, the keynote speaker, spoke about her work as an activist working in an academic setting. Participants came from a range of backgrounds and institutions and included many representatives from community-based organizations around the country.

A third activity involved the advocacy committee in issuing a statement opposing the Global Gag Rule. First implemented by the Reagan administration in 1984, rescinded by President Clinton, and reinstated by the Bush administration in 2001, the Global Gag Rule prohibits foreign organizations that receive US funds from providing abortion or referring clients to abortion services, even if they do not use US funds to do so. Although unconstitutional in the US because it requires an organization to "surrender its right to use its own funds to exercise free speech and participate in the political process" (Population Action International), the Global Gag Rule forbids international organizations that receive US funds from working to legalize abortion in their own countries.

Anthropologists have ample opportunity to observe and document the cruel and devastating effects of the Global Gag Rule in poor countries and communities as it has hurt women and families by closing clinics. Ironically, Global Gag Rule *increases* abortion and HIV rates by restricting access to much-needed contraceptives, including condoms.

Because anthropologists listen carefully, observe closely, attend to local context, and acquire unique insights into how people understand and practice reproduction, we can lead policy changes. The advocacy committee encourages anthropologists of reproduction to distill academic articles into fact sheets and press releases, to publish their findings as newspaper op-ed pieces, to contribute to blogs, and to talk to the press and policymakers, who may find our research outcomes counterintuitive. For example, anthropologists of reproduction have recently learned:

That birthing women in southern India sometimes reject anesthesia while requesting injections to *increase*—rather than decrease—the pain of labor (Cecilia Van Hollen).

That vulnerable pregnant women in Mozambique often perceive prenatal medical care as a potential *threat* to their health (Rachel Chapman).

That indigenous Guatemalan women who understand the risks associated with childbirth nonetheless *opt* to give birth at home with traditional midwives (Nicole S Berry).

Such research reinforces our conviction that sound policy and effective advocacy must begin

