CONFRONTING CATEGORIES
3RD ANNUAL ANTHROPOLOGY GRADUATE CONFERENCE
MARCH 6-8, 2015
UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
UCC ROOMS 60 AND 61

ABSTRACT BOOKLET

Western Social Science
WESTERNANTHGRAD /UWOANTHROCONFERENCE
A Message from the Conference Organizing Committee:

This year’s Anthropology Graduate Student Conference Confronting Categories is a continuation of an annual tradition put forth by the Western Anthropology Graduate Society (WAGS) since 2012. These conferences have had success in promoting idea sharing and networking between graduate students from the different departments of Western University as well as between graduate students from different universities. We hope that this year’s conference will continue to promote similar interactions, as we have graduate student presenters from a number of universities across Canada and the United States, making this an international graduate student conference.

The chosen theme “Confronting Categories” is meant to encourage critical thinking in one or more of three major areas of academic research. First, how do the humans we study classify the observable world around them and why? Second, how do the categories that we use as academics help or limit us in communicating our ideas (e.g. what information is lost when we break our data up into categories? What information is gained?). Finally, which categories and labels still present in anthropological research (and other academic disciplines) are rooted in colonial thought, and how can we best use our awareness to decolonize the discipline? In discussing these three major aspects of the overall theme, this conference should encourage graduate students to reflect critically on how “categories” influence their own research, as well as the research of academic publications and the research used in applied contexts. This theme speaks to all four sub-disciplines of anthropology (sociocultural, archaeological, biological, and linguistic) and is relevant to other disciplines who have a close relationship with anthropology (such as First Nations Studies, Sociology, History, Political Science, Women’s Studies, Geography, and Biology). As a result, we hope that this conference will foster an interdisciplinary and friendly atmosphere of discussion. We would like to thank all of the presenters for submitting their abstracts to the conference. We received a wonderfully broad range of topics which add to the depth of our conference theme.

We would like to acknowledge the funding support we received from the Society of Graduate Students (SOGS) in the form of the Graduate Student Joint-Fund and the Faculty of Social Science Dean’s Office, approved by Dean Brian Timney. We also thank the Anthropology Department (Faculty and Staff) at Western University for all their support and guidance throughout the planning and execution of our conference.

Sincerely,

The Western Anthropology Graduate Conference Committee

and

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We would like to take this opportunity to thank the undergraduate and graduate student volunteers who will be dedicating time and energy to support this year’s conference during the weekend of March 6-8, 2015.
Confronting Categories: Keynote Address
Dr. Christopher Krupa
(University of Toronto)

Indigenous Interiors: Economic Psychotechnics in Ecuador

This talk is concerned with the problem of interiority, the inner lives of persons and personalities, and with the technologies used to expose it. It asks about how the notion of an inner self that can be externalized and deciphered, made available to observation, might intersect with the pragmatic challenges of postcolonial capitalism, in which the capital/labor nexus tends to be rather explicitly haunted by histories of (categorical, that is to say, essential, human) difference. How can the potential dangers of this re-encounter with difference, inhering in labor itself, be made to confess ahead of time, be managed, become productive?

The ethnographic ground for this inquiry is the recent resurgence of industrial psychology in Ecuador and its application to the expansion of labor-intensive agro-industrial complexes in and around indigenous territories in the highlands. Focusing on the psycho-projective testing methods used by management teams in these industries to select (predominantly indigenous) workers, this talk examines the intersections of political economy, psychology, race, and personhood on an agro-industrial frontier.

Biography

Christopher Krupa is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. His research focuses on agrarian capitalism, indigenous politics, state formation, and violence in highland Ecuador and the Andean region. Dr. Krupa’s writings have appeared in such journals as American Ethnologist, Comparative Studies in Society and History and in such books as Subalternity and Difference: Investigations from the North and the South (Gyanendra Pandey, ed, Routledge) and Neoliberalism, Interrupted: Social Change and Contested Governance in Contemporary Latin America (Mark Goodale and Nancy Grey Postero, eds. Stanford). He is an editor of Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology and, with David Nugent, of State Theory and Andean Politics: New Approaches to the Study of Rule (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). He is currently completing an ethnography of Ecuador’s cut-flower industry and finishing the research for a book about the prison writings of guerrilla combatants in late cold war Ecuador.
Material Culture and Community Session: 10:15 - 11:35 AM (UCC 60)

Session Chair: Dr. Andrew Walsh
Session Organizer: Diana Moreiras

10:20 – 10:35 am

**Who Defines the Addict?: The Imposition of Labels in Anthropological Studies of Drug Users**

Hilary Agro
University of Western Ontario

The medical anthropological study of drug and alcohol use has long been subservient to individualistic approaches and definitions employed by public health and epidemiological models. In cross-disciplinary health research, harm reduction is a set of practical strategies and ideas aimed at reducing the negative consequences associated with drug use. Harm reduction is also a movement for social justice built on a belief in, and respect for, the rights of individuals and groups who use drugs—whether recreationally, or due to addiction, or both. As the uptake of the first half of this model has been hard-won by health researchers fighting against harmful morality-based and abstinence-only models, the consequence of this struggle has been reluctance on the part of medical anthropologists to emphasize the importance of the latter social justice half.

The continued use of received categories (such as "addict") hinders more insightful analysis. In uncritically accepting the prevailing problem-oriented conceptualizations of legitimacy, addiction, and harm, anthropologists have neglected to fill a significant gap in drug-use research which attempts to form a holistic understanding of users' lives and acknowledge the agency of users themselves. This gap is particularly noticeable when looking at the research—or lack thereof—on drugs which are widely used but neither physiologically addictive nor involved in disease epidemiology, such as MDMA (street names: ecstasy, molly) or marijuana.

I will explore three categories in the context of my current research on drug users in electronic music contexts: (Il)legal versus socially (il)legitimate practices, addiction, and harm. I will discuss who/what defines these terms, the importance of engaging with community understandings of these concepts, and how their applications in research have been internalized (or not) by both anthropologists and users themselves, and the consequences thereof.
Entanglements of Ancient and Modern: Defining Archaeological Space on the West Bank of Luxor

Casey Kirkpatrick and Jennifer Willoughby
University of Western Ontario

The Theban necropolis, including the modern town of Qurna, is an important cultural and archaeological site as well as an area inhabited by Egyptian families. During the New Kingdom, the Theban necropolis was the burial place for elite ancient Egyptians. The area was re-used throughout the Greco-Roman period and was inhabited by Copts prior to the modern occupation. The modern Qurnawis can trace their arrival to the area back several generations; their culture has been influenced by their landscape and the Qurnawis have, likewise, influenced the archaeological landscape. The Qurnawi self-description continues to be based largely on the villagers’ relationships with the archaeological ruins, while they are now infamous to outsiders for their alleged role in the antiquities trade. In recent years, the residents of Qurna have been relocated and the hill-side houses demolished in order to preserve the archaeological features of the landscape.

This paper will examine some of the many relationship dynamics between Qurnawis and their archaeological surroundings, including how the landscape is categorized and by whom, in the context of the rise of archaeology and archaeotourism. Attention will be directed toward issues affecting the categorization of historic and archaeological sites, and the invisible, dynamic line separating modern, historic and archaeological space and objects. The importance of local narratives and engagements with archaeological sites and objects will also be discussed. The Qurnawi’s copious knowledge of the landscape and skilled archaeological work as well as the underrepresentation of that work in archaeological publications will be considered.

Keywords: Egypt, community archaeology, Luxor, archaeotourism
As a method of relative dating, seriation has long been a central archaeological technique. Seriation involves the ordering of the material record into a chronology of categories based on the form, technique, material, and general appearance of archaeological remains. Once a timeline is established for a given “culture area,” new discoveries can be placed in the relative sequence, providing an approximate date for the material. Though its importance as a dating technique declined with the advent of absolute dating methods, seriation still allows archaeologists to order objects in a general sequence. From there, our investigations can probe deeper, to ask why stylistic changes occur, as James Deetz demonstrated in In Small Things Forgotten (1977). Material objects such as gravestones may illustrate and connect both historical events and the intricacies of daily life. Thus, today, seriation’s importance lies in its ability to relate material and stylistic categories to more general societal changes. In this paper, we investigated changes and trends in gravestone styles over a 100-year period at Mount Royal Cemetery in Montréal. We discuss the usefulness of seriation as a tool for modern-day archaeologists, our stylistic and symbolic findings, and our interpretation based on the historical context of Anglophone Montréal society from the 1850s to the 1940s. However, there are lasting issues related to seriation’s temporal precision, the conflation of superficially similar gravestone categories, and the comparison of geographically distinct timelines. Just as seriation studies of gravestones are a useful source of information, we are called to address the inherent difficulties of categorizing data into relative chronologies.

**Keywords:** Seriation, gravestones, material culture, typologies
Constructed Categories: The Use of Typological Approaches to Woodland Ceramics in the Great Lakes Region

Katelyn Mather
University of Western Ontario

Ceramic analysis in the Great Lakes region has been dominated by the use of types and typologies of various forms. For example, there are two commonly used methods for studying Ontario ceramics: the typological approach, which involves the formulation of pottery types, or the use of existing types, to categorize vessels; and the attribute approach, which provides a finer level of examination by looking at small units of analysis such as decorative techniques or morphological measurements. The former method has been criticized for resulting in a more subjective assignment of pots into types, and for not accounting for the variation within assemblages. I plan to discuss the use of pottery types in Ontario archaeology, as well as the reliance on pottery to delineate both 'cultures' and time periods in the archaeological record. I will explore the history of these trends, as well as some of the issues that accompany these approaches to studying ceramics. I plan to use my own research, examining the pottery from two early-Late Woodland sites in Elgin County, Ontario, to illustrate the problematic nature of using constructed categories when studying ceramics.

Keywords: Ceramics, Great Lakes Archaeology, Typology
Gray-Artifacts: Confronting Notions of Artifact and Non-Artifact in Archaeology

Ramsay Macfie
University of Western Ontario

Over the last century, archaeology has developed into a field of study which aims at providing an understanding of the realities of the human past through careful objective studies of material culture. Using scientific techniques which record, analyze and test physical phenomena and hypotheses archaeologists have recorded the physical traces of human history, and developed an ethic of meticulousness in the process. Functioning within the framework of Modern Western philosophy, however, archaeological investigations are underlain by scientific assumptions regarding the relationship between humans and the real observable world they inhabit. One result of this tradition has been a long and problematic obsession with classification, categorization, and physical description of material things. Only in the last couple of decades have approaches begun to be developed which incorporate alternative, or less positivist means of understanding through phenomenological and experiential interactions with the materiality of the human landscape.

These concepts have enabled theorists to access the archaeological record in a variety of new ways. This paper considers the problematic effects of traditional categorizations of material things as "artifacts," and by association, "non-artifacts" which are shown to be inadequate in understanding the reality of human experience through its material traces. Certain cultural materials do not seem to fit the traditional definitions of artifact and non-artifact. I argue that one type of archaeological object, fire-cracked rock, has been relegated to an unrecognized gray-area between artifact and non-artifact, causing it to be ignored in most archaeological analyses.

Keywords: artifacts, non-artifacts, fire-cracked rock, materiality
Density Assessment of Müller’s Gibbon (Hylobates muelleri) in Two Different Forest Types in Sungai Wain Protection Forest, East Kalimantan, Indonesia

Lauren Gilhooly
University of Western Ontario

There are a number of different methods for estimating the density and population of wild primates, though the accuracy of these methods across different habitats and species is difficult to assess. Surveys of Hyllobatid populations have traditionally involved triangulation and associated formulae rather than relying on the use of designated computer software programs. We compare the results of two different density estimate methods, triangulation and Distance sampling. We surveyed the Hylobates muelleri population within Sungai Wain Protection Forest in East Kalimantan, Indonesia from May-July. We collected data on the location of bonded groups and used two different methods to estimate the density and population of gibbons in both the pristine and regenerating forest. Estimates generated by Distance were higher than the triangulation values, but results were not significant. We hypothesize that point transect sampling overestimated group density, but further investigation into the accuracy of point transect analysis via Distance with respect to gibbons is needed. These results highlight the need for careful consideration of habitat type classification in primate density surveys.

Keywords: Distance sampling, conservation, triangulation, regenerating forest
In the 2011 Guide for the Care and Use of Laboratory Animals, the National Research Council uses the conceptual apparatus of Replacement, Reduction, and Refinement developed by W.M.S. Russell and R.L. Burch in 1959 as a tool to develop more humane research practice in the United States. As the Three Rs become institutionalized as part of the regulatory apparatus of the National Institutes of Health, a question arises of how this triad operates to negotiate the epistemic and ontic space between human and nonhuman. I propose that each 'R' is an expression of a paradox that emerges from the practice of animal experimentation: the more researchers use an animal, the more human that animal becomes and the use of that animal becomes less humane. Using Marshall Sahlins idea of kinship as a mutuality of being and Robert Proctor's notion of agnotology, I argue that the appeal of the Three Rs comes from each concept’s ability to simultaneously produce kinship and ignorance, thereby managing the affective relationship between researcher and experimental object.

**Keywords:** Animal Studies; Science and Technology Studies; Philosophy of Biology; Ethology
1:35 – 1:50 pm

Enchanted Forests and Contested Identities: Peasant Societies in Northwest Amazonia

Daniel Ruiz-Serna
McGill University

Many Amazonian societies experience the forest as inhabited by different kinds of beings capable of establishing relationships of reciprocity, care or contest with people. They also see these beings, whether animals or spirits, as endowed with agency and personhood. Amazonians are, to use a term that has re-gained value in recent years, animists. In Amazonian ethnographies, animism has been often ascribed to indigenous communities, which in many cases are seen as ecologically noble savages that have both the wisdom and culture for protecting nature. But what if the people who engage in animistic relations with the forest are not indigenous communities but peasant settlers? What if these peasants do not identified themselves as indigenous people? Amazonian peasant societies are often defined in terms of what they apparently are not (indigenous people, agents of environmental conservation) or what they supposedly lack (ethnicity, culture, tradition), and yet their practices and accounts reveal an ontological frame in which the natural world stands as a sentient entity in which humans, animals, and spirits have to symbolically interact. This paper describes the sylvan, enchanted world of a peasant society in Colombian Northwest Amazonia in order to show how some categories as ethnicity, tradition or identity are called into question. It also discusses how in the relations that these peasants have with the forest, other categories such nature and culture, tradition and innovation or sylvan and civilized are contested.

Keywords: animism, Amazonian peasant societies, ethnicity.
Developing a More Inclusive Cosmopolitics

Kelly Abrams
University of Western Ontario

Anthropology has often been described as a holistic science, one that attempts to capture the complexity of the human experience across time and space. Yet anthropologists have consistently relied on reductionism and the use of categories to make sense of our complex world: nature/culture, material/organic, individual/society, mind/body, biological/social. While many social scientists argue for the usefulness of these distinctions, dichotomies do little to enhance our understanding of the world. Instead, they impose an artificial barrier between different spheres of existence rendering continuities invisible. In a time of growing concern over climate change, ecological crises and problems within the world food system, contemplating the entanglement between politics and ecology has become increasingly relevant. Although non-humans feature prominently in issues of key importance to anthropologists, discussions of environmentalism and conservation have often been engaged from an anthropocentric perspective, ignoring the complex relationships that exist between humans and non-humans. By moving beyond dualisms and embracing a cosmopolitical approach to anthropology - one which does not insist on the distinction that humans are somehow isolated from a ‘natural’ world (cosmos) that exists outside or apart from the world as humans live in it (politics), - we have the potential to bring about a sense of responsibility that can encourage the prosperity, possibility, and proliferation of forms of being other than our own. In this diversity there is opportunity and the adaptive capacity necessary for the survival of biodiversity on earth. An earth of which humans are just one small part.

Keywords: cosmopolitics, dichotomies, environmentalism, non-humans
In music, the designation of categories is often a delicate matter. This is particularly true when it comes to the expansive domain of world music, a label that has sparked heated debate due to the multiplicity of musical practices to which it has been applied. Its sub categories have come to include not only specific genres such as Samba, Raï, Reggae, as well as entire geographical areas – South America, West Africa, India, etc. – turning world music itself into what anthropologist Bob White describes as an “umbrella category” (2012).

While these issues have preoccupied researchers and music industry executives alike, how do the musicians themselves see these categorizations in relation to their own practice? When and how do they refer to them when describing their individual musical activities, their projects and the aesthetics they promote?

This presentation is the result of research conducted for a master’s thesis project which investigates the lives and careers of migrant musicians of Arabic origin living in Montreal and working in the so called world music scene. From numerous interviews where these artists were invited to share their personal musical trajectories – education, professionalization, influences – it attempts to analyze how they describe and make sense of their activities, through the acceptance or rejection of various categories or labels. It will show that each of their musical backgrounds involves a unique reconstruction, a personal re-appropriation of the various influences that have marked their musical paths, through which the boundaries between genres, instruments and membership are perpetually renegotiated.


Keywords: boundaries; labels; self-representation; world music
Museums are places of awe and wonder that allow the audience to emerge themselves into the unfamiliar and grab a glimpse into a people and a past that many would argue no longer exist. In North America the dominant exhibit and display is often focused on the Indigenous people of the area with their own distinct and vibrant culture and traditions in focus. However, museums much like their ideological cousins – World Fairs and Wild West shows – were created not only to let visitors see something new, but were to highlight civilization alongside racial subjugation in a means of comparison.

This paper will examine the categories that Indigenous peoples in North America were placed in, and present an Indigenous perspective as I examine the early foundations of museums and exhibitions to challenge misconceptions, misinterpretations, and misunderstandings. From early cabinet of curiosities to the examination of who were in charge of museum leadership during the early years, I will reveal where the future of heritage management and museums must go in order to challenge and change an institution built on imperialism and colonial injustices. We will explore early movements by Indigenous Nations during the 1960s to date and witness how the exhibition and presentation of Indigenous peoples has evolved (Sleeper-Smith 2009). Bringing forth my own research and study, I will focus on my own Indigenous Nation in Alberta as we undergo the creation of a new provincial museum set to open in 2017. Through this exploration we will witness multiple confrontations and collaborations as we re-envision exhibiting Indigenous.

Keywords: Indigenous, Museums, Heritage, Intellectual Property, Ownership, Methodologies
Who is a Child? The Meaning of Childhood in Aztec Society

Diana K. Moreiras R.
University Western Ontario

In present-day societies (includes Western society) the age category of ‘child’ is defined biologically and legally as a vulnerable individual between birth and puberty lacking independence and self-sufficiency, in need of protection and care, who is limited from making important decisions or participating in significant social and economic activities. While this is the social construction of the category of childhood in present-day society, this was not the way ancient societies viewed and conceptualized childhood. Children tended to be excluded from the archaeological record since they were associated with the domestic sphere (alongside women), and thus considered “invisible” by some scholars. However, with the rise of feminist archaeology, studies in archaeology and bioarchaeology have more recently begun to consider the role of children in ancient societies, including Mesoamerica. In this presentation, I discuss the meaning of childhood as conceptualized and categorized by the Aztec people by providing examples from my own PhD project involving two skeletal collections of sacrificed children from the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco’s Templo R as well as from the Mendoza Codex. In essence, I argue that children were of great importance in Aztec society as a social group as they played a very active role in the production and reproduction of Aztec culture and religion.

Keywords: Aztec perspectives on childhood; Aztec social organization; childhood as a category in Mesoamerica; children in archaeology; Non-Western approach to childhood.
Ritual activities in the archaeological record represent an often-contentious category of site and artifact types. This is evident in the propensity for archaeologists to classify poorly understood patterns as “ritual” in nature, and certainly ambiguities arise in the poorly understood distinction (or lack thereof) between sacred and profane realms of existence. From the caching and sacrificing of tools to increasing funerary elaboration, ceremony and symbolism constitute a rich variety of tangible and intangible elements of the archaeological record. Using cases from across North America, including my own thesis work on ritually broken stone tools in the Middle Archaic of Southwestern Ontario, this presentation seeks to explore a working model for identifying and qualifying the nature of ritual as it arises through the course of fieldwork.

Keywords: Ritual, Archaic, Methodology, Middle Archaic
Through my research I seek the narratives of male sex workers, how they use cultural (gendered etc.) discourses to reflect on their lives, and to provide the only detailed and contextualized account of the phenomenon of male sex work specific to a mid-sized Canadian city (London, Ontario). This presentation is a reflection on an ethnographic moment with an informant who decentred my inadvertent erasure of men-who-sell-sex-to-women in my original recruitment process. Though I never intended to erase these men when trying to fit my research into a manageable box, to provide a “contextualized account of the phenomenon of male sex work” ultimately requires that I move beyond homonormative (or any normative) pre/conceptualizations avoiding the re/production of essentialized categories. To understand what happened, I re-engage with the discursive sites I re/produce when I make the hidden, explicit in the ethnographic process. As Warner aptly states in The Trouble with Normal, queering requires on my part a constant re-engagement, a constant questioning of my own assumptions.

**Keywords**: male sex work; ethnographic reflexivity; normativity; interview dynamics; queer theory
Nomenclature: A Detriment To Individuals Who Are Intersex in North America?

Katie Garrett
University of Ottawa

In 2005, 50 international experts met in Chicago to review the "management of intersex". One of the major modifications was the change in nomenclature. The experts deemed that the terms intersex, pseudohermaphroditism, and hermaphroditism were particularly controversial. Instead, the term that was proposed to replace them was "Disorder of Sex Development". While this term may be acceptable for the medical field as a whole, activists and advocates hold many different views. When the shift in nomenclature occurred, it divided activists. Some accepted the term, and saw it as a step forward, while others could not identify with a term that made them a disorder.

My objectives are to understand the events that led to the change in nomenclature, how the change in nomenclature has impacted activists and the medical field, and ultimately if the change in nomenclature has hindered or facilitated the intersex movement. My methodology will consist of conducting a literature review, interviews, as well as an internet ethnography in order to see the full impact of the nomenclature change. In conclusion, my research seeks to critically analyze the nomenclature shift, and to determine if it has hindered or facilitated the intersex movement.

Keywords: Intersex, Disorder of Sex Development, Activism, Nomenclature
Paradigms, Embodiment and Stigmas: ADHD as a 'Way of Being a Person'.

Patrick Galler
University of Western Ontario

The classification Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) has come-to-be a way to be a person. How is ADHD produced as a category in everyday life? Following Kuhn (2012/1962), the meaning of this question and any potential answers are dependent upon the paradigm or 'worldview' of the scholar. Anthropology, pharmacology, and philosophy of science each offer unique ways of thinking about ADHD and although complete reconciliation may not be possible, a dialogue contributes a more flexible framework.

ADHD was not always a way to be a person, nor will it always be a way to be a person: its existence as a category is historically embedded in and always coming-to-be. In practical activities, concepts from various scientific paradigms come to be embodied. The categorical, yet historically transient, 'reality' of ADHD continues to be malleable and emerges from people's use of the classification to organize experiences of the behaviours, emotions and drugs associated with the category. ADHD is produced as people appeal to the classification in the practice of everyday life.

This talk will center around how the embodiment of classifications—in this case ADHD—change the people classified, and how this embodiment changes the classifications. The transient nature of ADHD allows for changes in the degree of stigma around the disorder, in ways which are not possible for more fixed mental illnesses. ADHD can be framed as a productive or enabling category (both opening up and closing off) certain ways of experiencing—categorizing human behaviours.

Keywords: ADHD, Embodiment, Stigma, Classification.
The classification of continuous data into discrete categories is fundamental for the study of human diseases in the past. These categories, such as healthy or diseased, are essential for determining the prevalence of specific diseases in past populations. Prevalence data from these studies can be compared to current populations allowing for an investigation into not only the evolution of diseases and disease pathogens but the role of contributing factors such as the environment, social status, behaviour, genetics, sex and age on the prevalence of specific diseases. The Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt, offers an ideal setting for paleoepidemiological research due to the high quality of preservation and the large skeletal population. The implementation of discrete categories in both qualitative and quantitative data sets has allowed for the identification of several pathologies including osteoporosis, leprosy and tuberculosis within the Dakhleh population. Specifically, continuous data such as bone density can be separated into discrete categories such as healthy and osteoporotic. The discrete categorization of individual samples allows for the assessment of bone health on both individual and population scales of analysis. From the Dakhleh Oasis skeletal collection, 194 individuals (116 females and 78 males) were assessed for volumetric bone density using the first metatarsal. From this study, 14 females (12.1%) and 10 males (12.8%) were diagnosed as having osteoporosis based on their volumetric bone density levels. Previously research based on fractures assessed only 4 females (3.4%) and 0 males as having osteoporosis. This new analysis has increased our understanding of the prevalence of this disease in ancient Dakhleh. Without the use of discrete categories based on continuous data, paleoepidemiological analysis would not be possible and the communication of these results would not be practical.

Keywords: Egypt, Dakhleh Oasis, paleoepidemiology, osteoporosis, bone density
Since the early 2000s, global health has increasingly relied on markets—rather than on governments—to organize flows of products, assistance, and expertise around the world. A curious consequence of this shift has been the emergence of strategic management consultants, traditionally economic actors, as new sources of moral and ethical expertise. This paper takes consultants as a focal point for considering the ways in which global health disrupts the established categories of critique in the social sciences.

Whose responsibility is it to care for humanity? How is it to be done? Classical answers to these questions have looked to the nation-state as the appropriate caretakers of their citizens, and indeed as ensuring the category of humanity itself. Drawing on Arendt, many have argued that humanity requires membership in a polis, or that citizenship is a prerequisite of dignity. Critiques of global health have thus taken issue with its disregard for national borders—what is read as a focus on species-level humanity, ignoring human dignity. Yet for many working in global health, nations seem poor defenders of humanity or providers of health. Consultants thus speak deliberately and self-consciously about linking ‘stakeholders’ in ways that “blur the traditional boundaries of private vs. public sector, profit vs. charity, donor country vs. emerging market vs. developing world” (Global Health Strategies 2012). The disruption of these categories is itself the way they envision making a healthier, more equitable world.

What happens to the concept of ‘humanity’ when the nation state is relinquished as its counterpart? Who is responsible for its care when the ideal of a ‘family of nations’ has been revealed as too dysfunctional to survive? On what grounds are we able to offer critique when the concept of the ‘social’ is destabilized? I take up these questions in this paper, asking how we decide whether to defend or relinquish our central categories—and what the consequences of our choice may be.

Keywords: Global Health, Consultants, Humanity, the Social, Critique, Nation-States, Morality & Ethics