Doing, Undoing, and Redoing "Family" in Uncertain Times: Kinship as a Site of Struggle, Resistance, and Hope

Volume 14, Issue 2

Fall 2022

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Editorial: Doing, Undoing, and Redoing "Family" in Uncertain Times: Kinship as a Site of Struggle, Resistance, and Hope

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In *Relations: An Anthropological Account* (2020), Margaret Strathern argues that relations has always been a dominant concept in anthropology. Our interest in relations including the connective, the disjunctive, the ambivalent, and the affective perhaps stems from our ontological interest in how people relate to one another (or not) and how relations are defined. Central to this inquiry is a focus on kinship, as discussed in our opening commentary by Pamela Downe who reflects upon the history of the anthropology of kinship and its changing inquiries over the past century. In "Decolonizing Relatedness and Kinship: Kyle's Grandchildren," Downe illuminates important anthropological shifts from structures of kinship to more personal, intimate, and collective senses of relatedness. Looking to locally and personally meaningful relations can help, according to Downe, to "decolonize the narrow definitions of family." This becomes an important starting point for this issue of *NEOS*.

The anthropology of kinship in this contemporary moment combines classical questions in the discipline about how family is "done" as well as pressing concerns about how family may be "undone" amid precarity, violence, or resistance to heteropatriarchy. Several commentaries and original research articles explore what it means to define and "do family," while several others examine what happens amid familial complexity and the challenges of "undoing family" or "redoing family" after it has been undone. Margaret K. Nelson explains that "how we 'do family' depends on the normative expectations for our particular social group as defined by such variables as class, race/ethnicity, religion, community, region of the country, and sexual orientation" (2020, 7). Drawing on anthropological sensibilities, definitions and formations of family vary through practice and are always locally situated, upending normative biocentric, legal, nuclear, or heterosexual explanations of kinship.

Several contributions to this issue of *NEOS* engage in these discussions of "doing family" through localized practices that meaningfully bring people into relations with one another. Michelle M. Jacob and Leilani Sabzalian speak to the significance of decolonizing and indigenizing kinship in the classroom in "Reclaiming Indigenous Kinship Education: Lessons from the Sapsikʷałá Program." Jacob and Sabzalian showcase how Indigenous kinship systems, while heterogenous,

often consider relations beyond the human by recognizing the connection to land, water, and more. While settler-colonialism violently tried to sever these connections, Jacob and Sabzalian show that Indigenous kinship persists. They reveal how Indigenous kinship is enacted among Indigenous teachers-in-training and how this knowledge can be embodied and practiced in future classrooms through a return to love and care. An author interview follows that brings forward further dialogue about possibilities for practicing Indigenous kinship with students.

Further considering global inequalities, Cheryll Alipio speaks to migrant domestic workers' experiences of supporting families in Hong Kong amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Domestic workers, while already precarious and vulnerable workers, were all the more essential during the pandemic. At the same time, their work and autonomy became even more challenged by pandemic-related restrictions on mobility. Alipio considers the "linked lives" these women experienced through their work in Hong Kong and with their families back home, reflecting upon the "intricate and intimate nature of these interdependent and intergenerational" relations that were affected by the (im)mobility of the pandemic.

How kinship is cultivated in old and new ways is further explored by Naoki Asada in "'Doing Household': An Anthropological Study on Adoptive Family in Romania" and by Stephania Rovira Ochoa and Anastasia Badder in "Food and Family: Cultivating Kinship through Cooking in Times of Uncertainty." Asada illuminates how Romanian adoptive families employ a rural and indigenous concept of "doing household" in the effort to cultivate kinship with a newly adopted child. Asada reveals that in the Romanian context, "doing family" is particularized through active engagement between parents and child within the space of the household. Asada also reveals how the parties involved — parents and children — may have different desires and investments in cultivating kinship through "doing household," thus working to form family (or not) sometimes on different terms.

Rovira Ochoa and Badder similarly examine the spaces and practices that are activated to cultivate kinship among international students in Luxembourg. Here, culinary practices reflect senses of home as one shares a familiar recipe and meal with peers. Food also becomes an opportunity to learn about others' lives. Cooking is not only a way to engage in a common activity surrounding food and the senses, but cooking is also a means to provide care for one another through serving a meal — an event that takes on particular meaning amid the social uncertainty of living abroad.

In "Queering Kinship: Biopolitics, the Death Function, and Transcendent Capacity," Ari S. Gzesh theorizes how trans and gender-expansive youth cultivate queer kinship as a means to persist against the death function of biopolitics. From a Foucauldian perspective, Gzesh illustrates how gender and sexual minority youth have been subjected to neglect or even death at both the bodily and population levels through, for example, poor state responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Queer kinship or a "queer family tree" is one means that these young people have to resist and transcend

the death function of the state and cultivate relations of healing. Gzesh offers a model of this "transcendent capacity" for researchers to think with as well as an author interview to further expand on the model's applicability to a range of contexts that concern queer young people.

While some contributions explore the doing of family, other contributions in this issue invite readers to consider the ways in which family and kinship relations are undone through crisis, challenges, shifts, separations, and transitions, many of which occur under or due to conditions of precarity. Amidst uncertain and unequal times, many families live under constant threat of undoing from systems and policies. Cheryl Rodriguez's commentary explores one example of how families survive amidst constant threats of undoing, particularly in relation to the core need of housing and safe shelter. The home represents not only a core human need, but also a tangible and concrete structure through which people come together to form kinship and community through proximity. Rodriguez's research makes visible the work of Black mothers in the US state of Florida as they respond to threats of undoing from systems and policies that obstruct access to affordable, safe housing for their families. Recognizing the family not as a stand-alone unit, but as one part of a complex constellation of community, Rodriguez highlights the role of social support and community activism as strategies "to push back against social, political and policy issues that threaten to 'un-do' families and communities."

Like Rodriguez's commentary, the article from Shelene Gomes, Antonia Mungal, and Krystal Gopeesingh works to make visible the "unwaged and undervalued labor" required for the ongoing 'doing' of family and social relationships in Trinidad and Tobago. Their article explores kinship responsibilities and caregiving at the intersections of race, gender, and culture, referred to by the authors as "social reproduction in precarious times." In particular, the authors contend that the unpaid or undervalued labor of women, especially professional women who return to Trinidad to fulfill socially expected caregiving roles, is essential to the "reproduction of social life." However, through positioning this caregiving as an expected norm, the societal conditions necessitating such familial obligations become obscured. The authors conclude, "Within this context, the work is not accounted for, reminding us how work for society becomes framed as love for the family, highlighting the contradictions between values and value."

Sebastian Jackson's article offers another exploration of threats of undoing created by systems, policies, and structures. Examining how families are undone through racist policies and practices, Jackson explores Sara's retrospective on her childhood in South Africa through the significant transformations of the 1990s. Historicizing the present, Jackson reminds readers that the present is merely a moment in a larger historical arc, and that shifts in ethnoracial boundaries over time must be navigated not only at the political and societal levels but also at the personal and interpersonal levels and in everyday life. Sara's story reveals that while no longer legally enforced, the Apartheid's legacy of racism and discrimination continues to threaten the creation and construction of families in South Africa.

Through undoing prompted by crisis, challenge, and uncertainty, family remains a site of hope, and the potential of redoing emerges. Mãdãlina Alamã's article on the complex negotiation of family relations through opiate addiction recovery explores the notion that undoing may at times lead to redoing. Alamã's contribution encourages readers to consider: After disruptions in physical proximity and emotional closeness, what is necessary for redoing family and living a "good life"? For Mick and Hailey, a young couple in substance use treatment in the US state of Nevada, their struggle with opiate addiction led to their family being undone, resulting in both physical and emotional distance between them and their children. For this family, living a good life meant having opportunities to demonstrate that they exist for one another. With time, vulnerability, and healing, this family was able to "re/visit family relationships and re/connect with family."

Finally, Sandra Castro's article offers another perspective on redoing family and connecting or reconnecting after disruptions in physical proximity and emotional closeness. Castro explores the experiences of Central American mothers reunifying with their children in the US after years of separation. Though the separation was one of physical distance, it necessarily also invoked emotional distance. While in the US, many mothers had additional children, meaning that when their children joined them from Central America, they were joining blended families. Castro examines families in flux and the precarious nature of hope, offering "ambiguous reunification" as a term to remind readers that coming together also involves the loss of other kinship connections, such as grandparents, and the negotiation of shifts in autonomy and the relationship between self and others. Castro highlights mothers' reflections on the differential and unequal opportunities available to their children depending on their birthplace while also recognizing caregiving as a shared responsibility that increases a sense of bonding and connection, particularly among siblings.

Together, the collection of articles in this issue of *NEOS* encourage readers to consider doing, undoing, and redoing family as an ongoing, dynamic, and complex process shaped by experiences within and outside the family or kinship system. As families persist through uncertainty and inequality, the contributions in this issue offer examples and examinations of how people take up shared responsibilities for participating in the creation, maintenance, and persistence of social relations, kinship systems, and community.

We end our editorial introduction to this issue of *NEOS* with a quote that speaks to the long tradition of Black, queer, and socialist communities fostering diverse family formations to enable persistence, resistance, love, and hope across all kindred:

> In 1979, at the National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference, where Audre Lorde gave the keynote speech, a caucus of lesbians agreed on the statement: "All children of lesbians are ours," a socialist context for mothering, where children are not individual property but rather reminders of the context through which community exists. This means

that 'mothering' is a queer thing. Not just when people who do not identify as heterosexual give birth to or adopt children and parent them, but all day long and everywhere when we acknowledge the creative power of transforming ourselves and the ways we relate to each other. Because we were never meant to survive and here we are creating a world full of love. (Gumbs 2016, 23)

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To cite this article: Sanford, Rebecca L. and Jennifer E. Shaw. "Doing, Undoing, and Redoing 'Family' in Uncertain Times: Kinship as a Site of Struggle, Resistance, and Hope." *NEOS* 14 (2).

To link this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss2fall22/sanford-shaw

ACYIG Advisory Board Update

Ida Fadzillah Leggett, PhD (University of Illinois, Convenor, ACYIG)
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Dear NEOS Readership, 2022 has been a year of transition for the ACYIG Advisory Board. Let me first introduce myself: I am Ida Fadzillah Leggett, the new Convenor for ACYIG and an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Middle Tennessee State University. I would also like to welcome to the Board Courtney Helfrecht as our new Secretary, Adriano De Francesco as Graduate Student Representative, Seran Demiral as our Membership Coordinator, and Lee O'Donnell and Manya Kagan as our Book/Paper Prize Committee Members. We would also like to welcome Anne Marie Bedard, Manya Kagan, Chelsea Cutright, and Chang Liu to the *NEOS* Editorial Board, while thanking Matilda Stubbs, Kim Garza, and Sujatha Subramanian for their past contributions to the team. We are still seeking additional Book/Paper Prize Committee Members, a Conference Chair, and a Web Coordinator. Please email me at Ida.Leggett@mtsu.edu if you are interested! Many thanks go out to Elise Berman, the outgoing ACYIG Convenor, for her patience and advice in this moment of flux.

Other important information to share involves ACYIG activities to be held at the 2022 AAA Conference in Seattle in November. ACYIG is sponsoring a virtual Roundtable-- Session 3-145 "Growing Up in Unsettled Landscapes: New Directions in the Anthropology of Childhood and Youth" on Friday November 11 from 10:15-12:00. And we will also be hosting an in-person Reception and informal book fair-- Session 2-988 on Thursday November 10 from 4-6. I encourage you to come and visit, partake in the refreshments provided, and bring a copy of your book to display in an informal setting to share with others in the field. If you have any questions about these events or ideas about future events, please let me know.

Finally I would like to highlight a new feature on the ACYIG website: a Spotlight on Scholarship feature created by Julie Spray to showcase new and important work being conducted by scholars of childhood and youth. Please take a look at this feature, and if you would like to contribute your own, visit the author guidelines page to submit your work today.

I look forward to hearing from you and hopefully meeting you all in person at the Meetings in Seattle.

Sincerely,

Ida Fadzillah Leggett
Convenor, ACYIG

Spring 2023 Call for Papers

Theme: Girlhood and Sexuality at Intersections of Performance, Relations, and Representations

NEOS welcomes submissions for the Spring 2023 issue: *Girlhood and Sexuality at Intersections of Performance, Relations, and Representations.* From Margaret Mead's (1928) classic study of girlhood in Samoa to the more contemporary *She's Mad Real* by Oneka LaBennett (2011), *Shapeshifters* by Aimee Meredith Cox (2015), and *The Violence of Care* by Sameena Mulla (2014), anthropologists have long taken the world of girls as serious points of inquiry into power and resistance as well as pleasure and imagination. While girlhood varies across time and place, living amid multiple axes of power means that the world is often a complicated place for girls and young women as they navigate their gender identities, roles, and performances. Sexuality further brings girls and young women into contact with acts of violence, processes of consent, and receiving (or being denied) care. The Spring 2023 issue seeks to explore the worlds of girls and young women through interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary conversations between anthropology and gender and sexuality studies more widely. We invite submissions that focus on primary and original research with girl children and young women around the themes of the issue:

1. Violence, Consent, and Care
   - Gendered and sexualized violence experienced by girls and young women
   - Responses from parents and caregivers, politico-legal systems, and systems of care, including the health care system, to gendered and sexualized violence
   - Navigation of sex and sexuality within intimate partner relationships
   - Initiatives that support consent, empowerment, and resistance as it pertains to gendered and sexualized violence
   - Young women's definitions of and perspectives on pleasure, enjoyment, and fun

2. Gendered Expectations, Roles, and Performativity
   - Socio-cultural influences on the experience and performance of gender identity
   - Experiences of girls and young women in conforming to, transgressing, and resisting roles and expectations
   - Queer approaches to girlhood and womanhood including gender and heterosexual subversion
   - Girls' engagement with gendered representations in media and popular culture
   - Girl empowerment and participatory action projects

We invite short-form original research articles (1,200 words max, excluding references) that address the issue's theme. *NEOS* also welcomes short pieces (1,200 words max, excluding references) on scholarship and applied research that uplifts racial, economic, and social justice and

the dismantling of systemic oppression, for a dedicated standing column on anti-racism and equity in child and youth studies.

NEOS is an open-access publication of the Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group (ACYIG) of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). We publish research on childhood and youth from scholars working across the four fields of anthropology, as well from those interdisciplinary fields in conversation with anthropological theories and methods. Articles published in *NEOS* undergo a double-anonymous peer-review process.

The deadline for submissions is **February 16, 2023** (end of the day). Rolling submissions prior to February 16th are also welcome. While not required, authors are encouraged to submit a brief message about their intent to submit to the Co-Editors by February 2nd, 2023. The *NEOS* Editorial Team may be reached at acyig.editor@gmail.com Visit our website for further information on *NEOS,* as well as submission guidelines and instructions. You may access the submission portal for the Spring 2023 issue here.

Doing and Undoing "Family" in Uncertain Times

Commentary: Decolonizing Relatedness and Kinship: Kyle's Grandchildren

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Kyle was a trusted research participant. For over eight years, he was a key interlocutor in my research on parenting in the context of HIV/AIDS. Kyle was also dying. His lung cancer had progressed quickly. After years of living with HIV/AIDS and opioid addiction, his body was exhausted, and therapeutic interventions were not effective. Kyle did not want to die in the hospital. One of his biggest fears was that his grandchildren would have no official say in his care. "They are my legacy. I trust them the most. They won't be allowed in the hospital room if I'm there." Kyle's grandchildren included his great nieces and nephews, cousins, the young people who came to know him well at the AIDS Saskatoon drop-in centre, the grandchildren of close friends and former foster home brothers, as well as his own children's sons and daughters. These are the children who are an integral part of Kyle's family and, in his words, "make me a Cree grandfather." Unfortunately, Kyle's desire to die at home with his grandchildren around him could not happen. He became too ill. As he feared, the children were not permitted in his hospital room. He died in 2011 with his sister holding his hand.

In the palliative care unit where Kyle died, only "close family" are permitted to visit. The narrow interpretation of "family" did not align with the realities of care in Indigenous communities. Hospital staff made no accommodation for the fact that family roles in Indigenous communities are largely defined through the responsibilities that people have towards each other rather than genealogical assignment. The contrast between these interpretations of family undoubtedly sounds familiar to many anthropologists. It reflects the contrast between the early disciplinary focus on the political structures of kinship and the broader understanding of relatedness that characterizes the field today. As I have argued elsewhere (Downe 2021, 27), early studies of kinship focused on how networks of economic and political power were maintained by family structures and patterns of inheritance. Anthropologists relied largely on colonial models of linear descent even when the peoples with whom they worked experienced family life differently.

Over time, anthropologists' focus shifted from the static and structural dimensions of kinship to the ways that families function as social units of intimacy, nurturance, and collective belonging. The concept of relatedness came to the analytical foreground. Janet Carsten (1995) was particularly influential in challenging not only the biological determinism of colonial kinship models but also the very distinction between the biological relations and the social bonds that constitute relatedness. She advanced the argument that categories of blood- and fictive- relatives often overlap to such an extent that the distinctions commonly drawn between them do not represent the dynamic and relational dimensions of kinship.

The shift in how anthropologists approach the study of kinship has opened important spaces for critical engagement. The need to decolonize the narrow definitions of family that are reinforced in institutional practices of hospitals, courts, and social services (among others) has become abundantly clear. The need to center the role that children play as agentive and productive family members is now well understood. It is within this space that anthropologists must now take up the challenge of application. How can the anthropological insights of relatedness guide structural change so that others who find themselves in Kyle's situation will be able to leave this world with their grandchildren, and all their relations, around them?

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Pamela Downe is a professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Saskatchewan. As a medical anthropologist, her research focuses on infectious diseases and syndemics, illness ethnography, and maternal care. Her most recent book is Collective Care: Indigenous Motherhood, Family, and HIV/AIDS (University of Toronto Press).

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Commentary: Mobilizing Care Work Amid Uncertain and Unequal Times: The Linked Lives of Filipino Domestic Workers in Hong Kong

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As a top migration destination, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China has long relied upon the care work of overseas Filipino workers with one in seven households employing what is commonly known as domestic helpers (Kok 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic, however, has led Hong Kong to institute some of the world's most stringent government responses, including school closures, travel restrictions, bans on public gatherings, emergency investments in healthcare facilities, new forms of social welfare provision, contract tracing, and lengthy compulsory quarantine (Hale et al. 2021).

Despite little evidence suggesting these workers are responsible for virus transmission within the household (Cruz et al. 2020), they are at high risk of infection by SARS-CoV-2 due to the international mobility required by their occupation (Yu et al. 2022) and the childcare, eldercare, and diverse household tasks they perform for Hong Kong families (Wang 2021). As a result, domestic workers face intense health surveillance and infectious disease control, which has deepened their experiences of discrimination and vulnerability. Existing social and structural inequalities, such as a mandatory policy requiring domestic workers to live-in with their employers, has led to some involuntary immobility and of increased workloads and childcare burdens as children stay at home and parents telework.

For example, during Hong Kong's fourth COVID-19 wave that started in November 2020 and resulted in the extended closure of all kindergartens and primary and secondary schools, some working parents leaned more on domestic workers to share parenting responsibilities and to supervise and monitor schoolwork as they juggled working from home or going into the office. Shiela Tebia-Bonifacio, the chairwoman of Gabriela Hong Kong, an organization that supports Filipinas in Hong Kong, found that on top of their household chores, many domestic workers looked after children, even finding ways "to keep the children busy, such as doing artwork, baking, anything to keep them occupied so they don't bug their parents who are working" (Westbrook 2020). In the effort to create a stable structure that would otherwise be provided by parents or the school environment, domestic workers have the added burden of ensuring the emotional well-being of children and youth, who may variously feel isolated, frustrated, stressed, or overwhelmed by the challenges of online learning and being confined to their homes.

Consequently, not only do we witness how the restrictions placed on young people's physical mobility during the COVID-19 pandemic impacts personal wellness, but we also see how the movements of migrant workers are being curtailed and policed to the detriment of their health and human rights (Yu and Keralis 2020). Due to the integral and indispensable nature of domestic workers in Hong Kong households, their social and economic mobility in navigating work and living conditions is often stymied and tempered by the needs of the children and families they take care of. Arguably, these experiences are not limited to Filipino domestic workers or even international migrants. Indeed, as described above, the pandemic has engendered physical, psychological, and emotional distress and socioeconomic strain that Hong Kong citizens also have to contend with.

On the one hand, the "linked lives" connecting domestic workers both to their left-behind families and children in the Philippines and to the young and elderly household members they care for in Hong Kong is palpable (Mulder 2018). We see the reciprocal relationship of the linked lives of domestic workers and families in Hong Kong through Hongkongers' desperation to bring in new workers for their families, their concern over delays due to COVID-19 restrictions, their anxiety in securing quarantine spots for hired workers, and their frustration with flight suspensions and vaccine documentation (Magramo 2021; Yeo 2020). On the other hand, the stress on family resources and of maintaining job security in Hong Kong and the Philippines demonstrates the intricate and intimate nature of these interdependent and intergenerational, linked lives. With their families' well-being and quality of life contingent on each other's mobility, the lives of domestic workers and their Hong Kong employers are seemingly lived in "someone else's hands" (Alipio 2019).

Governance around public health and the migrant labor market during COVID-19 is therefore tightly interlinked. Given this coupled system, greater public awareness of worker rights and employer responsibilities, notably that of rest days and healthcare, is imperative, alongside recognition and inclusion of their changing and dual needs in policies and measures that impact mobile populations who play an essential and critical role in the care work of children and families, particularly in uncertain and unequal times.

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Commentary: Mothers, Children, Families and Housing: The Ongoing Crisis

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The theme of "Doing and Un-Doing Family" speaks to multiple and complex conditions that can enhance and support or disrupt and devastate households, relationships and kinship networks. Among the most critically important issues in the life of any family is access to housing. Over the years, I have examined family life in low-income communities with a particular focus on Black mothers as public housing activists (Rodriguez 2003; Rodriguez 2006; Rodriguez 2015). Since 1937, the public housing program has served some of the poorest families in the United States but these communities became the subjects of serious, ongoing debates as tenants became more impoverished, as appropriations for the program decreased, as the properties fell into severe disrepair and as they became sites of crime and violence (McCarty 2014). Exploring the critical intersection of race, gender, and place, I have been interested in the ways in which Black mothers advocate for the safety and health of their children and the strategies they use to push back against social, political and policy issues that threaten to "un-do" families and communities.

I witnessed Black women's community activism in a number of extensive and engaged research contexts, including a project on public housing policy, that examined the ways in which race, class and gender situate Black women's lives in the urban core and influence their relationships to the state. From 1999 to 2004 I was a member of an anthropological research team examining life in public housing communities as residents prepared for impending demolition and inevitable relocation. Our team examined multiple aspects of HOPE VI, a federal housing program that mandated massive demolition of public housing complexes, relaxation of the one-to-one unit replacement rule, the building of mixed-income, lower density housing, and vouchers to assist low-income families as they searched for housing in other locations (Greenbaum et al. 2008). In our study of HOPE VI in Tampa, Black women in various neighborhoods made significant contributions to our understanding of the politics of public housing (Williams 2004) and the layered difficulties poor families and children experience when forced to relocate (Popkin, Cunningham and Burt 2005). For example, women attended all meetings of the Public Housing Authority and challenged policies that did not align with the lived experiences of low-income families. These women, who had been leaders in their communities for many years, also called attention to inconsistent practices and policies that further oppressed families whose relationships to housing were already precarious. It was these women who helped us to understand the critical roles of social support networks in the lives of residents who were about to be disconnected from friends and family members by the HOPE VI project.

The research on HOPE VI reveals very mixed conclusions. While some studies have shown the possibility of positive outcomes for children (Chyn 2018; Popkin, Eiseman and Cove 2004), others have argued that poor families experience few benefits from mixed-income housing (Vale and Shamsuddin 2017). Our research in Tampa (which reflected a national trend in HOPE VI) showed that many families were simply moved to other public housing communities that were no better than those that were demolished (Greenbaum et al. 2008). What is clear is HOPE VI was not an effective solution to urban poverty. In fact, with fewer available public housing units, more families are threatened with homelessness, hunger and poor mental and physical health. This was predicted by some of the housing activists and residents whom we interviewed.

The contemporary lack of access to safe, decent, affordable housing has deep roots in U.S. policies and practices, including racial segregation, redlining, discrimination in lending and renting, urban renewal and highway construction. Through our research we will continue to show that public housing policy is also intricately connected to the legacies of these historic forces that affect how poor families survive in America.

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Food and Family: Cultivating Kinship through Cooking in Times of Uncertainty

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Attending university abroad can be a transformative experience for students. It can open social, cultural, and educational opportunities for students and allow them to discover new places, people, and ways of life. However, it can also be a challenging experience; students can feel isolated and adrift as 'foreigners' in a new country without friends or family nearby. In Europe, for so-called 'third country nationals' and non-European students, this experience can be particularly unsettling (Smith & Khawaj 2011). COVID-19 and the associated restrictions on socializing and travel made it even more prominent. Distanced from existing kin connections and unable to return home or meet classmates in person, many international students experienced deep feelings of disconnect and loneliness during this period (Hawley et al., 2021).

However, for some international students at the University of Luxembourg, coming together around food became a powerful way to give and receive care and create new belongings. In October 2021, I[1] was an MA student at the University of Luxembourg, looking for a topic for my MA thesis. I was interested in food and identity and asked Samu[2], a friend and fellow student, if we could cook together; seeing how others cook and talk about cooking, I thought, might offer a starting point for my research.

This request became the foundation for a series of group meals and cooking sessions among international students at the University of Luxembourg. I extended invitations to 16 students living in the student residences across different programs, identities, and backgrounds, hoping to get a sense of diverse student experiences. All the invitees agreed to participate, and we embarked on a culinary journey of 12 cooking sessions from October 2021 to February 2022. During each session, at least one student suggested a dish to prepare, walked me and the others through the preparation, and then ate together. Most sessions involved multiple students preparing multiple dishes, sometimes, the participants and I went grocery shopping together before cooking, and on some occasions, we had the opportunity to cook for fellow students who were ill. Throughout these sessions, I maintained detailed field notes, took photographs, and audio-recorded my participants' narratives whenever possible.

As an 'insider' – a fellow international student living in the student residences – I had much in common with my interlocutors, which provided a solid ground to build trust relations (O'Reilly,

2009). Over time, as we shared time and food practices, we became close, and the relationships I describe in this paper involved not only my interlocutors but also myself. At the same time, as an ethnographer, I sought to learn from my interlocutors (Miller, 2017), maintain a critical eye and look at the field and my field notes with an ethnographic orientation (Madden, 2010). My discussions 'out of the field' with Anastasia (my thesis supervisor and second author of this article) further helped me critically reflect on and theorize the deeply relational cooking process together. Thus, drawing on my short-term ethnographic fieldwork (Pink & Morgan 2013), in this article, I explore the ways a group of international students cultivated non-biocentric kinship relations through the shared substance and sensory experience of cooking and eating.

In what follows, I take kinship as a process of distinguishing those for whom we care and who care for us (Edwards & Strathern 2000), a collective making and caring for each other rather than a biological inheritance (Haraway 2016), and a being through feeling collectively (Ahmed 2004). Feminist theorists, new materialists, and others have convincingly undone the ties between reproduction and kinship (c.f. Barad 2007, Weston 1994), overturning earlier biocentric understandings of kin relations that rested on biogenetic linkages. Other anthropologists have also begun highlighting how non-bodily substances support kin-making beyond certain substances, like blood and breastmilk, which are often mobilized to represent biologized linkages (c.f. Wright 2020). Inspired by these ways of thinking about kinship and kin-making, I argue that the process of cooking, sensing, caring, and eating together enabled the emergence of kin relations amongst my student interlocutors, including myself.

Learning to Cook

One evening, Julee invited me and another student, Mar, to bake cookies in her room in the student residences. As she prepared the dough, she explained:

> When I was small, my sister and I made them [Christmas cookies] with my grandpa, so this is my grandpa's recipe…he probably made them better than me because when we made them together, he made the cookie dough, and my sister and I did the shapes.

This culinary practice was framed as something done with family, and as heritage, something passed down by family. At that moment, Julee took on her grandfather's role by showing Mar and me, positioned as novices and inheritors of this *savoir-faire*, how to prepare the dough and involved us in cutting the shapes, just as her grandfather did when she was a child.

Participants often discussed and enacted cooking as a learning process and specific dishes as family heritage. As I joined my peers in the kitchen, many described the process of learning to prepare dishes from expert family members in childhood. These experiences were not only

explanatory but participatory; as student Carlos explained, "there was not a time when my mom said to me, do it like this…It was more like I learned the dish by helping my mom".

By teaching each other such dishes, we shared life stories and assumed the role of knowledge carriers responsible for passing on heritage. In doing so, we transferred past family dynamics to the present, cultivating a sense of and enfolding each other into family traditions and relations. Cooking was thus both a social activity that took place amongst loved ones and a space of social (re)production.

Getting Close

As we shopped, cooked, learned from each other, and ate, my interlocutors and I were brought into close bodily and emotional proximity. Shopping for ingredients and cooking together required collective thinking, negotiation, and cooperation. Creating dishes like Mat's Vietnamese summer rolls or Felipe's *pollo tika* required multiple hands working to roll, chop, or stir. Multiple sensory apparatuses look, taste, and smell the food, culminating in multiple bodies consuming these collectively prepared meals. And around small kitchen tables, we served each other from shared platters and sat close together. We ate what each other had prepared, ingesting food substances with long familial histories.

While cooking, we shared our experiences. For my participants and I, it seemed that the process of working together and with the materials of the kitchen opened up space for and evoked talk about our childhood memories, parents, grandparents, and siblings, our home countries, our worries related to COVID-19, our preferences, and desires.

Many found these exchanges particularly impactful during the isolating experience of the COVID-19 lockdown. Some even noted that our cooking sessions were the first time since the pandemic started that they shared the table with more than one person, making these experiences very meaningful. Through such intimate matter(s), we built new bonds, attachments, and meanings by coming closer together and through our experiences as students from different lands. Meals became moments in which to share stories, physical space, and substances.

Taking Care

Finally, we experienced cooking and sharing food as acts of care. Many of us recalled how our families, especially mothers or grandparents, prepared food for relatives and us as children as expressions of love. Inviting family over to eat, putting significant effort into cooking, preparing a great variety or quantity of food, or offering dishes with specific properties when a loved one was unwell were all discussed as acts of familial care that students recalled from childhood, which they then recreated in Luxembourg.

We cooked in abundance and set beautiful dining-scapes with candles and music, composing an inviting atmosphere. We sent each other home with leftovers, which many described as a maternal and loving act. Selected dishes were prepared, such as: Mar's *guǒ rén bō cài*, a favorite dish of his mother's that he often ate as a child but had not prepared since moving to Luxembourg; or Andres' *arroz con pollo guisado*, a dish his grandmother made for family gatherings, and which represented comfort for him. When fellow students felt ill, we cooked dishes we remembered our mothers making when we were sick as children.

Such foods and food practices were central acts of kin-making my interlocutors and I recalled from our childhoods and then reproduced in Luxembourg, cultivating new relations of reciprocal care and responsibility. Serving someone a meal was not merely a gift but "a way of showing that I care about them…that I love them and when someone cooks for me, I feel this, more than a gift," as student Mara explained.

Conclusion

When studying abroad during university, far from family, in a new place where nothing seems familiar, international students can feel lost. For many students studying during COVID-19, these challenges were only amplified. But for this group of international students at the University of Luxembourg, a culinary journey enabled us to (re)create kinship connections through food's material, sensory, and bodily experience.

We became familiar with each other in cooking and eating together (Yates-Doerr 2015: 314), and relations of care, responsibility, and affection emerged. We connected across national origins, ethnic identities, and linguistic repertoires. Where the aspirations associated with transnational education and migration motivated my interlocutors and me to leave behind childhood homes and kin, food and cooking were a means to transport and (re)produce these in a new space and time.

As anthropologists begin to attend to non-bodily kinship substances and non-biocentric kin, food, as a powerful means to cultivate kin relations across differences, deserves more significant focus. We further suggest that this has implications for the possibilities of food and cooking to open spaces for new conversations and relations amongst social actors in migration contexts.

Notes

[1] The 'I' here represents Stephania, the first author of this article. Please note that the entire text is written in the first person from Stephania's perspective. Any references to the second author will use her name (Anastasia), or the third person.

[2] All participant names are pseudonyms.

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To cite this article: Rovira Ochoa, Stephania and Anastasia Badder. 2022. "Food and Family: Cultivating Kinship through Cooking in Times of Uncertainty." *NEOS* 14 (2).

To link this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss2fall22/rovira-ochoa-and-badder/

"Doing Household": An Anthropological Study on Adoptive Family in Romania

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Introduction

In modern adoption, adoptive parents and adopted children receive official certification of family when they finish the legal procedure of adoption. However, do they really become a "family" immediately after their relationship is legally authorized?

This article examines Romanian adoptive families and their family formation. Romanian domestic adoption can be examined through the anthropological concept of fictive kinship because of its theoretical focus on "doing family" (Nelson 2020). The conventional dichotomy between real (blood and legal) and fictive kinship is complicated because adoption provides a new family with a legal relationship and, over time, a sense of being "true" family without a blood tie. In other words, adoption consists of aspects of both real and fictive kinship.

The aim of this article is to show that "*a gospodări* (doing household)" is key to making people a "true" family in Romania in cases of adoption. While one of my interlocutors said that Romanians showed a preference for having biological children rather than adopting, "doing household" gives both adoptive parents and adopted children a sense of truthfulness in their relationship as family.

Anthropological Kinship Studies

In her anthropological analysis of adoption, Signe Howell (2003) describes how internationally adopted children in Norway are made into Norwegian people through a process she calls "kinning." While "kinning" is a useful concept in cases of adoption (Alber and Martin 2018), Howell focuses on children's integration into wider kin networks rather than more localized familial units.

In contrast, the concept of fictive kinship focuses on network building in one-to-one relationships within smaller groups. Margaret Nelson (2020) points out that the creation of fictive kinship by "doing family" shows how daily actions construct "like family" relations among those who were previously not considered kin. However, her analysis only discusses how people create family-like relationships by "doing family." Within Romanian domestic adoption, doing family leads to more than becoming "like a family"; rather, "true" family is formed through doing family and, more specifically, through "doing household."

Studies of fictive kinship presuppose the distinction between real and fictive kinship. Even when scholars discuss intimate relationships between non-kin such as students with teachers (Wilson 2017) and adolescents with mentors (Scott and Deutsch 2021), they are just "like a family" and not a "family" because real family is considered a legal or blood relationship. As a result, the concept of fictive kinship seems to enforce a fixed dichotomy between real (blood and legal) and non-real kinship while, at the same time, emphasizing the process of creating close, familial bonds.

Janet Carsten, on the contrary, intends to overcome this dichotomy between real and non-real kinship through her research in Melanesia. She asserts that the constant sharing of substances such as blood, sperm, eggs, breast milk, and food can lead people to form kinship through notions of "relatedness" (Carsten 2000). While Carsten's (2000, 2011) work is useful to think about kinship and even broader cosmological ties, her argument does not account for the specificities and differences in individual social ties (Holy 1996).

Doing Household in Adoptive Family

While anthropological studies of fictive kinship investigate how kin-like relationships are created, they are unlikely to fully explain family formation in adoption because adoption forms what is often considered to be closer ties than fictive kinship. How can family formation in adoption be understood? This article examines kinship through narratives by two Romanian adoptive families.

The data was collected through unstructured interviews with adoptive mothers and adopted children at Brasov City in Romania in 2022. All participants were informed of the study and consented to participating. Conversations were held in Romanian and English but were translated to English by the author. Participant names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

Six years ago, Maria adopted a five-year-old girl. At the beginning, Maria and her husband spent most of the time with their adopted daughter "as family." For Maria, family consists of those who "stay together, help each other, and work together." However, the family was not achieved only by the parents' effort but also by actions of the daughter. Maria thought that her adopted daughter also had to participate in the household by helping the parents, such as washing dishes, taking care of the garden, and so on. In an interview, she insisted that her daughter had to "a *gospodări* (do household)" to be a member of the family.

This concept of doing household emerges from Romanian indigeneity. In Romania, the nuclear family household is the core of a collective identity, with children being an integral part of that collective. A study summarizes mid-twentieth century ethnographies of Romania and describes that "[c]hildren were part of the meaning of the core concept of *gospodar* (householder), which designated the most valuable rural identity" (italic in original: Stanciulescu 2010, 321). As I discuss, this importance of household is also applicable to the contemporary urban setting.

My focus on fictive kinship is not to suggest that Romanians do not have a concept of kinship based on blood and legal ties. In fact, adoption is often chosen as a result of couples' infertility. In Maria's case, adoption began as a substitute for having biological children. However, after "doing household" with her daughter since the adoption, they formed a family rather than only feeling "like a family." In fact, when Maria was asked the difference between biological family and adoptive family, she answered that there was no difference between them and both were a "true" family.

Active Participation in Family Formation by Children

Children are not just passive in this process of "doing household." Another interviewee, Elena, adopted an eleven-year-old girl, Silvia, a month ago. Elena discussed an ongoing negotiation between the two of them. In Silvia's relationship with her adoptive parents, she had a stronger attachment to her father than her mother, as revealed when she called him "father" but referred to Elena by her first name.

Silvia had not yet stepped into processes of "doing household." Because of her shorter time in the new family and less attachment to her mother, she refused to join in doing household with Elena. In the interview, Elena verbally expressed her dissatisfaction with Silvia not working in household but spending time as she pleased like watching television and listening to music. In addition, Silvia sometimes refused to fulfill a passive role in "doing household" by eating prepared food. Silvia did not eat what Elena typically cooked, resulting in Elena changing her cooking habits for the sake of Silvia.

Elena and Silvia's interaction demonstrates how children can negotiate with the parents in "doing household." In Romanian adoption, both parties partake in new family formation through engaging in or rejecting the joint effort of actively and passively doing household. Parents bring children into the household and provide opportunities to "do household." However, children may also refuse this participation by favoring their own indulgences instead.

How Do They Become a "Family"?

As these narratives indicated, adoptive parents and adopted children cooperate in "doing household" to make the family "true" even though they do not have a consanguineal tie. In this process, adopted children are not just a recipient of the new setting. Rather, they have power to negotiate with the parents to transform the household and make a new family.

The concept of "doing household" is not particular to family formation in Romanian adoption. Rather, Romanian adoptive families have borrowed this indigenous and rural concept of household

in their urban settings, employing it to create truthfulness within their new familial relationships. From this perspective, as Maria mentioned, both biological family and adoptive family are "true." Therefore, the investigation into adoption makes it clearer that family can be conceptualized as a unit of "doing household" in Romania rather than a group of people that are identified only by affinity and consanguinity.

Further research is required to examine whether "doing household" contributes to children's kinship formation with other adoptive relatives including their wider adoptive kin networks since these more distant relatives often do not share households in contemporary Romania. Nowadays, "doing household" is a particular practice within nuclear and cohabiting families. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate how "doing household" takes place in kinship formation across households and distance.

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To cite this article: Asada, Naoki. 2022. "'Doing Household': An Anthropological Study on Adoptive Family in Romania." *NEOS* 14 (2).

To link this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss2fall22/asada/

Social Reproduction in Precarious Times: A Youth Perspective from Trinidad and Tobago

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> "Initially, I didn't care to be home. Maybe a part of me was [thinking], 'they need me to come home because they need me to look after them in the medical aspect, and I'm the only one who's capable of doing it.' At that time, I was just very upset and angry. I didn't feel very supported by them…it just took an adjustment period for me to realize it was not a bad thing, and it wasn't like I was sacrificing my entire future."
> --- Christina (a pseudonym)

'They' refers to Christina's parents and grandparents for whom she cares daily in the two-island Caribbean state of Trinidad and Tobago. As a medical intern in her mid-20s, Christina's remarks highlight the tensions between obligations to oneself and the family. These tensions are central to understanding why professional women classified within international labor jargon as highly skilled (ILO 2014) from Trinidad, in particular, return to their countries of birth from living or studying abroad to provide proximate care for aging relatives.[1] If middle-class families can afford to hire workers to care for parents and relatives at home, why do women move back to Trinidad to undertake this caregiving in person? This question guided our microlevel research project into care work.

Christina is the youngest participant in our ongoing project. Regarding the methodology, the project team advertised and held a public roundtable discussion in Trinidad, with a subsequent workshop under an overall theme of caregiving for aging relatives. We recruited voluntary participants from these two events and used a purposeful snowball technique to source additional interviewees for a case study regarding care-motivated, voluntary return migration. We have interviewed nine 'professional' women who work in sectors inclusive of insurance, banking, administration, academia, medicine, interior design, and event planning. This article draws on six interviews that blended conversational and semi-structured techniques with voluntary women return migrants to Trinidad and Tobago. Participants range in age from 24-64, just short of the typical private sector retirement age of 65. Regarding our own positionalities, we are trained in various disciplines and of different ages and life stages, but we all identify as Caribbean women

who confront the same cultural expectations around caregiving. This position impacted our empathy and how we conducted the interviews, which we view as the project's methodological and analytical strength.

After completing her medical training in Europe, Christina chose to return to her natal country of Trinidad primarily to provide proximate care for her aging relatives. Growing up in an affluent suburb in south Trinidad, where she attended a prestigious high school, Christina explained that she went to university abroad like many of her contemporaries. These were the social and educational advantages of her class position. But quite unusually among her peer group, Christina decided to return to Trinidad to practice medicine. Although Christina's return was voluntary, matters of political economy, the retreat of state social protections, gendered norms within Caribbean kinship systems, and demographic changes are relevant considering Christina's decisions.

How economic precarity, cultural expectations, and population changes shape and constrain the lives of 21st-century youth is a matter of interest for anthropologists and multidisciplinary youth studies scholars, as also demonstrated by recent studies (Baldassar and Merla 2014; Devany et al. 2020; Heidbrink 2014). Some of these matters are specific to Trinidad. Some are shared among populations globally.

To provide relevant background, Trinidad and Tobago had centuries-long pre-colonial and colonial history of (forced and free) labor immigration in the development of capitalist "plantation economies" (Beckford 1972). Within the systemic brutality of the plantation economy, the family and community provided economic support and labor that literally sustained life. With indigenous Amerindian, European, African, and Asian (Indian and Chinese) populations forming the majority of the past labor force, especially Africans and Indians today, migration to and from the Caribbean is well established.

While migration from the Caribbean is also normative and valorized for individual and familial betterment, it raises the question of who cares for aging populations. For many, this care work is undertaken by unwaged relatives, community members, neighbours, and waged care workers. Paid care and geriatric employees work in private homes and care facilities — public or private — with generally poorly resourced public facilities compared to private ones, given the cost of care and the contraction of social protections within neoliberalism.

These questions are more acute given that the population of Trinidad and Tobago, categorized as a high-income developing country, is an aging one. In 2000, persons aged 65+ were approximately 9% of the population (Trinidad and Tobago National Census 2011, 13). By 2020, the number of persons in this age group was 11.1% of the total population, according to the Pan American Health Organization's Country Profile (n.d.).[2]

Within Caribbean value systems shaped by colonialism and a modern gendered division of labor, the conditions and expectations of social life are also shaped by the present-day hierarchies of public versus private medical care within shrinking state-provided social security in Trinidad and Tobago.[3] We refer to this phenomenon as social reproduction in precarious times. Women's unwaged or undervalued labor continues to be pivotal in the reproduction of social life. This is evident in caring for the elderly, for instance, along with the increasing difficulty of providing proximate care for the elderly among both the poor and the middle class — labors that are expected of kin given the legacies of colonial plantation life.

Ongoing debates about increasing taxes in Trinidad and Tobago to cover the state's pension fund for an aging population and the private sector's encouragement for working people to "save more" rather than "burdening" the state demonstrate the entrenchment of neoliberal reasoning. While economic advantages and educated relatives can buffer diminishing social services, as in the experiences of Christina's family, most people are not as privileged.

Returning to Christina's life story, as she explained in the interview, Christina thinks of caring for her grandparents as a "privilege." They are sufficiently mobile and do not require constant attention, but with chronic heart conditions, Christina visits them every day, depending on her work schedule. She is the only immediate family member with this sort of medical training. Christina's routine revolves around work and her family, with little leisure time for herself or for friendships and intimate relationships. And while Christina does not live with her grandparents, she does reside with aging parents who, while ordinarily self-sufficient, also require occasional care.

Christina's experiences provide an entrée for us to discuss the persistent invisibility of labors. Some of these are labors under the 'care industry' that keep economies functioning across both the 'Global North' and the 'Global South' and are typically done by women across cultures and geographies. For example, migrant care employees who work in wealthy and middle-class families often leave their families in the care of relatives at home (see Baldassar and Merla 2014; Bhattacharya 2017; Frederici 2012).

As Christina explains, she feels obligated to fulfil these responsibilities. Christina acknowledges that her gender shapes these expectations to a large degree, in addition to her medical training. Ethnicity also plays a role as Christina is from a Hindu, Indian-Trinidadian family. She explains:

> I have more of a caretaker role for them [the grandparents] …If they were going to a
> doctor's appointment, I would take care of them. My brother has a better relationship
> with my grandfather, so he would be the one to help him. One of my brother's roles is

to look after my grandfather in whatever he wants to do, whether it is drive him around or help him with paperwork…

Being a son in an Indian family…has a lot more merit than being a daughter, especially for the older generations…I think it kind of goes back to generally what we would do in gender roles. I would be the one to make dinner for them. And rub their feet, sit there, and talk nonsense...or watch t.v. My grandma watches soap operas. My brother would be the one to sit with my grandfather, watch cricket and talk about sports.

While the roles of Christina's relatives depend on their skills and personalities, her family's expectations are conditioned by norms. As a woman, Christina is already expected to do more of the care work. With her medical training, Christina's caretaking has an added component of accompanying her grandparents to their appointments to decipher the prescribed conditions and treatments. Although Christina is now pleased about returning to Trinidad, she explained feeling "constantly tired." These kinship norms with gendered and ethnic care patterns help explain the impetus for professional women to return to Trinidad to do the in-person care work for the aged. While care work, historically performed by women, continues to be framed as a duty or, in Christina's words, a "sacrifice" for the "privilege" of caring rather than as work, it demonstrates the necessity of this socially reproductive labor and how it is intertwined with kinship norms. Within this context, the work is not accounted for, reminding us how work for society becomes framed as love for the family, highlighting the contradictions between values and value.

The family continues to be a significant social institution. But if, in her 20s, Christina is already chronically tired, what does the future hold? What are the implications for her own prospects of career advancement, reproductive labor, and general well-being while undertaking this sort of care work? Additionally, given the projected demographic changes and state contraction of services, if privileged young people like Christina are strained, vulnerable groups will be more acutely exposed, given multiple inequalities.

Notes

[1]Additionally, approximately 8.4% of the population holds "tertiary university-level education," a very small percentage (National Census of Trinidad and Tobago 2011:18).

[2] Internationally, "the global population of older persons is expected to rise from 901 million in 2015 or 12% of the global population, to 2.1 billion by 2050," when "for the first time there will be more older persons in the world than children under the age of 15" (UNDESA 2015).

[3] There are complexities to the man as worker in the 'public' sphere and woman as caregiver in the 'private' sphere that was transgressed and complicated within the plantation societies of the

Americas, inclusive of Trinidad and Tobago, as enslaved and indentured women did productive as well as reproductive work. See Barriteau 2002; Hodge 2002 for additional discussion.

Acknowledgements

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Doing Family while in Recovery from Opiate Addiction

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Positionality statement

This article grew from my interest in what I perceived to be a major concern for the people in the opiate recovery community: the relationship between self and others during the processes of recovery, and the centrality of one family's support and love during the healing process.

For many families experiencing opiate use, recovery from opiate addiction is an opportunity to start doing family and build lives that go beyond survival. To understand how individuals in opiate recovery do life and the role their families play in the recovery process, I conducted fieldwork at Life, a Nevadan organization providing care for people in opiate recovery. I found that during recovery, life became worth living, happiness meant feeling connected and purposeful, and many people in recovery were able to achieve this via connection with their significant others.

Between 2018 and 2020, I engaged in daily participant observation at *Life*, joining in almost every activity at the site except individuals' therapy sessions. I spent time chatting informally with recoverees and caregivers and took detailed notes at the end of each day. The focal point of my inquiry was families, thus a great opportunity for observation and rapport building was Life's Family Support Program (FSP), a 14- week program of weekly meetings guided by addiction counselors and tailored to support the recoverees' interaction needs with their significant others. During each of the three 14-week programs I joined, I participated in counselor-guided group sessions focused on family-doing for recoverees and their loved ones. Each session opened with a dinner together. It was here that I first met and befriended Hailey, Mick, and their three young children. We initially connected while talking about spicy foods. It struck me that they were very protective of their children, always talking about and happy to be with their four children, yet very friendly to me. We grew closer over our appreciation of spices in foods and care-taking of small children. They often spoke of their family as being their main purpose in life.

There is a flourishing body of work on the good life, sense of purpose and happiness regarding people's values, moral engagements, and well-being (Fassin 2007; Fisher 2014; Lambek 2016; Robbins 2013; Stasch 2009; Throop 2016; Zigon 2014). Within this line of inquiry, there is a focus on exploring the multitude of ways people build lives individually and collectively to cultivate what they consider valuable and desirable, thus conducive to a good life (Corsin Jimenez 2008; Mathews and Izquierdo 2009; Walker and Kavedzija 2016).

This body of work has not specifically focused on people in recovery from opiate addiction and on how they envisage good lives. Thus, I explore doing family in the context of recovering from addiction and focus on one family's particularly difficult moment to reveal that doing family is an ongoing process. I also underline that for this young family, happiness is not a fleeting feeling of pleasant affect, but an orientation towards self and others, an enduring mode of being connected to their loved ones, and thus essential to maintaining a sense of purpose (Throop 2009). The article underscores that people in recovery from addiction may create good and happy environments through doing family.

"You don't exist!"

Mick and Hailey were dining at Life with three of their children, aged eight, two, and four months. Less than a year before, Hailey had sought support in managing her use of opiates. Now the couple had bought their first house together and planned on marrying. Between the two of them, they had four children, and Mick's son, Matt, was the only one living away. At the time Matt was born, both Mick and his former partner were struggling with active addiction, thus the child had always been in the care of his maternal grandparents. By his own description, during his years of active addiction Mick's family was undone. Now, Mick and Hailey spoke on several occasions about their common wish to "complete" their family. They wanted their four children under the same roof and were excited to have a spacious house they felt would accommodate the entire family. After several attempts, Mick had recently reconnected with Matt through FaceTime conversations. He was surprised to find that he did not seem to exist in Matt's mind. Mick relayed that during their conversations, Matt looked him in the eye and repeated: "You don't exist!".

This young family had been facing uncertain times, loneliness, and addiction before they sought assistance managing their substance use, and they now found themselves facing more uncertainty about forming a connection with Matt. They seemed overwhelmed at the idea they might not have their entire family together yet were aware that a relationship with the estranged boy would take years to build. Throughout our many conversations, they reiterated that for them, a good life included doing family by means of parenting together their four children. Despite their almost palpable sadness, they spoke of ways to arrange visits with Matt, to give him opportunities to know everyone in the family and to have everyone know him, and to reassure him that he was loved and would be loved and supported for the rest of his life, should he allow that. Family re/building was going to be a challenge, and Hailey and Mick were ready for it. In this context, happiness consisted of a willingness to work through reconnecting with Matt and an acceptance of his vulnerabilities. This family's entire orientation to life is an outstanding illustration of what Jackson names happiness as positive attunement, a condition marked by the constant interplay of insufficiency and discontinuity between who one is and who one might become (Jackson 2011).

Together, Hailey and Nick had been creating a sense of purpose through trying to become a 'complete' family and building the resilience needed to engage in this arduous work. Theirs was a condition of positive attunement to the world around them: they had the well-defined goal of bringing their family together, the awareness of how insufficient their efforts had proved to be, and the energy, flexibility, and joy to adjust their efforts in hopes of becoming parents to all of their children. Thus, for this young family in recovery from opiate addiction, happiness, or positive attunement, meant discovering a sense of purpose rooted in their robust feelings of deep connectivity to each other and their children, and capability to work constantly to fulfill that purpose.

Conclusion

Recovery from opiate addiction is inextricably and deeply connected with the search for happiness and a sense of purpose, and it is linked with one's relationships with significant others. In the context of recovery from addiction to opiates, family doing and undoing are essential, ongoing processes that are often intertwined with each other. In their quest for a good life, Hailey and Mick do the arduous work of exploring the connection between family, vulnerability, love, and recovery from addiction.

During my 2018-2020 period of fieldwork, I witnessed how, in their efforts to re/build their lives, people recovering from opiate addiction engage deeply, intensely, and wholeheartedly with the world around them. They re/visit familial relations and re/connect with family with whom they had no to little contact during periods of active addiction, and they do so from a place of awakening to the world and becoming attuned to it. If we are to accept that happiness is more than a fleeting feeling, but an enduring attachment to self, others and the world, a keen orientation to the world (Jackson 1998; Throop 2009), then there is a lot to learn from Hailey and Mick about doing family and finding happiness. As Hailey explained: "The kid just needs to see he is loved here, this is a good home, and we'll figure it out."

What could be more life-affirming than this family's decision to show their estranged child that they exist for him?

Note

All the names used above are pseudonyms.

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Mãdãlina Alamã is a cultural anthropologist whose dissertation fieldwork focused on the seeming contradiction between recovery from opiate addiction and building meaningful, purpose-filled lives. She explores Northern Nevadan women's efforts to create good lives, their relationships with their addiction, and the process of receiving care for opioid addiction from a non-governmental organization. Her work builds on and connects anthropological literature on the good life, gender, care, and NGOs.

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Central American Mothers' Perspectives on their Recently Arrived Children's New Sibling Relationships

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For transnational Central American mothers and their children, reunification in the US after years of separation represents a new life. Many mothers understand the complications of children integrating and forming blended families in a new home. In particular, recently arrived children must form critical sibling relationships.

Here, drawing on my doctoral dissertation on transnational Central American mothers from El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala migrating between 1976-2018 and, years later, reuniting with their children (Castro 2021), I explore how recently arrived children experience reunification with siblings in blended families through their mothers' eyes. To center mothers' voices, I used a phenomenological approach to examine how they lived their reunification and observed their children's interactions within new family arrangements. Phenomenology provided a useful mechanism to highlight their perspectives (Jackson 2015). Primary data included interviews conducted in Spanish and informal conversations with 25 mothers and their children.

Extant literature on transnational families' reunification experiences focuses on those from the global south migrating to the US and leaving children behind, establishing transnational families across borders (Dreby and Adkins 2010). The literature on Central American mothers describes women migrants' flow to the US over the last four decades due to war, violence, and social dislocation (Menjivar 2006). Economic providers from abroad, these mothers sought employment to support their families (Abrego 2014). The undocumented mothers, once in the US, had to wait years for reunification. Many experienced precarious hope amid limited legal pathways like the U-Visa, amnesty laws, marriage and/or employer sponsorship, or asylum (Parla 2019).

Literature has grown in parallel with unaccompanied minors and asylum-seeking families' increasing migration (Barros-Lane, Brabeck, and Berger Cardoso 2022). Young immigrant children seem to have little autonomy when reunifying with their mothers, transitioning uneasily to living together again (Arnold 1997; Suárez-Orozco, Bang, and Kim 2011). This is also due to the additional rupture they experienced in their kinship ties to their caretakers, usually grandparents, in their home countries who they had to leave behind.

Upon reunification, children may experience what Greif describes as "ambiguous reunification" derived from Pauline Boss' Ambiguous Loss theory, which describes separation and loss without closure. Ambiguous reunification exists after family members have experienced long periods of

separation but continue to feel uncertainty and disorientation when reunited and building new a life together (Greif 2012).

Reunification, although welcome, imposes social costs. Many mothers work full-time, doing low-pay domestic and service-sector work. Having little time to spend with children inhibits family-reconstitution efforts. Many mothers rely on older siblings, especially girls, to perform caretaking duties (Arnold 1997; Lee and Pacini-Ketchabaw 2011). A feminist lens highlights the power relations in kinship networks in newly reunited immigrant families, especially for blended families with single mothers impacted by gender and generational inequalities.

La Nueva Familia: The Blended Family

For mothers in this study, children's long-delayed arrival shifted the dynamics of their lives. Mothers expressed feeling a lack of trust, respect, and recognition of their sacrifice. Children who grew up living with their extended families, but who now entered a blended nuclear family, experienced a shift. These family relationships created numerous challenges for mothers, siblings, and stepparents.

Conflict with Siblings

Mothers described witnessing their children interact tensely with younger siblings. Some mothers reported jealousy, indicating that children who experienced multi-year separation said they felt less loved. This occurred with children arriving as adolescents but whose younger siblings grew up with their mothers. Martha, from Honduras, explains how expectations and experiences colored sibling relationships:

> My [younger daughter] has always been good, and I feel like the other two [who arrived recently from Honduras] picked on her because they were jealous. She is a good girl and does her best in school, and these two always have to bother her. One time, my daughter was staying out and not coming home straight from school. I asked my younger daughter if she knew anything and she started crying that she couldn't tell me, or her sister would hit her. They would threaten her if she said anything to me about the trouble they were getting into. (December 2019)

Supportive Siblings

Participants mentioned their children helping them care for younger siblings. One mother, Francisca, discussed her newly reunified daughter helping her son prepare for school and board the bus. After school, her daughter awaited him while Francisca worked late. Another mother, Ela,

said her two older daughters, coming to the US as teenagers, helped care for four younger siblings, one with multiple special needs. Mothers viewed caretaking as creating a special bond. These experiences demonstrate mothers' reliance on older siblings — especially daughters — for caretaking and/or household chores in these new family units.

With mothers as breadwinners, working exhausting hours, they generally viewed older children as helpers (Lee and Pacini-Ketchabaw 2011). However, boys didn't have the same caretaking and domestic obligations; they usually had substantial independence. Older adolescent boys were expected just to work and contribute financially.

Some older children looked forward to meeting their siblings. The following dialogue features Magda, who arrived at 18 from Guatemala to reunite with her mother and little sister:

> SC: How was it meeting your little sister for the first time?
> Magda: It was good. I said to myself, I had to come all the way here to meet my little sister. I had been waiting all this time. We didn't talk too much at first because she mostly spoke English, but, after some time, she started to speak more Spanish. You know…to be able to talk to me.
> SC: Did you get along?
> Magda: Yes, of course. Between sisters, there are always good and bad times, right?

Mixed-Status Families Paving Divergent Paths

Despite loving their children equally, participants recognized that US-born children enjoyed greater possibilities. US-born children had more upward mobility through education, employment, and social capital. They could potentially attend college, become professionals, and launch careers. US-born children were described as good, rule-following students. Luz, from Honduras, speaks of her children's choices:

> Elisa [US-born daughter] is incredible. I am so proud of the young woman she's become. She was the first of my children to graduate from college. I didn't go to school, so I am so proud of her. Elisa works hard and cleans houses and helps me too when I go clean houses. She also works to pay her education and support her baby. She's my greatest inspiration, as well as my other two sons [who were both born here]. Mario sings like an angel, and my youngest son is a wrestler in high school. I never miss a match. My other daughter has been working since she got here. She got with someone right away and got pregnant very quickly. She moved

in with him and is now raising her son. She didn't want to go to school. (November 2019)

The legal, linguistic, and institutional restraints of recently reunified children can obstruct equal success. The separation's effects, combined with difficulty adapting to a new language, culture, and education system, can result in newly reunified children struggling at home, at school, and in the community (Grzywacz et al. 2022).

Conclusions

We have examined children and siblings' reunification experiences. Mothers perceived newly arrived children as sometimes supportive and sometimes jealous. Unequal opportunities for upward mobility also impacted mothers' expectations and hopes, and, thus, siblings' reunification experiences. Mothers hoped newly arrived children would integrate and acculturate into US life but had greater optimism about their US-born children's prospects because of their English fluency and access to higher education and good jobs.

Children experienced what Grief (2012) describes as "ambiguous reunification" due to their difficulty with, and sometimes resistance to, adapting to blended family life with siblings and a distant parent. They experienced sentiments of ambiguity, uncertainty, and distrust of their mothers (Greif 2012). The older daughters who arrived as adolescents and teens were expected to care for siblings, due to their mother's work demands. Some older children felt resentment for having to do this, but for others, it also helped build strong bonds with younger siblings.

Note

This manuscript used pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants in the study.

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To cite this article: Castro, Sandra. 2022. '"Central American Mothers' Perspectives on their Recently Arrived Children's New Sibling Relationships." *NEOS* 14 (2).

To link this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss2fall22/castro/

Constellations: Connections Across Childhoods

"I'm Comfortable in My Own Skin": Reflections on Mixed-Race Identities and Family-making in (Post)Apartheid Cape Town

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Introduction

How do South Africans of mixed-race parentage remember their childhoods during the immense political, economic, and social transformations of the 1990s? What do these recollections reveal about the social and cultural afterlives of the apartheid regime's draconian segregation policies, and how do these legacies continue to construct and reproduce ethnic and racial categories, boundaries, and identities in the "new" South Africa?

Throughout the twentieth century, marriages and sexual relationships between people categorized as "Europeans" and "non-Europeans"—i.e., Black, Coloured, or Indian—were considered taboo, and all intimate relations across racial boundaries were strictly forbidden under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and Immorality Acts (1927, 1950, 1957) of White minority rule (Furlong 1994).[1] Children born from such illicit unions were—as Trevor Noah (2016) recounts in his autobiography—literally "born a crime." Under apartheid, mixed-race people were categorized as "Coloureds," and were associated with both moral and biological degeneracy. They were believed to "pollute" the imagined "blood purity" of the White minority community in southern Africa (Stoler 2002; Posel 2005; Steyn *et al.* 2018; Dalmage 2018). As such, mixed-race people were forced to live in the shadows of society, encumbered with the shame of their parents' sexual transgressions against the sacred boundaries of race (van den Berghe 1960; Wicomb 1998; Erasmus 2001; Adhikari 2008). While the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Laws were finally repealed in 1985, people entangled in interracial relationships continued to face extreme stigma in the late-1980s. Many were forced to live in separate residential areas and generally avoided appearing in public together as a family (Noah 2016). While apartheid formally ended in 1994, Jonathan Jansen (2016, 14) argues that the "mortal fear of loving together still drives many South Africans crazy."

In this article, I argue that mixed-race people's childhood memories offer invaluable insight into the ongoing legacies of apartheid's social engineering scheme, precisely because their own families resemble microcosms of a deeply segregated society, but one which is actively trying to reconcile its racialized communities, and to build a "Rainbow Nation" on the ruins of apartheid. The possibility for such a nascent multiracial nation is predicated on the ethical and epistemological principle of "ubuntu"—of being human *through* other humans (Tutu 2007;

Hawkins-Moore 2021). Mixed people's experiences of living and loving across racialized social boundaries bespeak how the principle of ubuntu is put into practice. They demonstrate how racial ideologies, structures, and mores are reproduced, but also how these colonial constructs can be contested, renegotiated—and perhaps even dismantled—through courageous acts of love for self and others.

Conceptually, this article builds on social constructivist theories in the anthropology and sociology of race and ethnicity. While interracial intimacies and romances are often believed to erase racial boundaries, scholars have demonstrated that people's perceptions of racial boundaries are often heightened when they encounter people in interracial relationships (Fernandez 2010; Osuji 2019, 3-4). Indeed, interracial relationships and mixed-race families are "hyperracialized" in segregated societies such as South Africa (Steyn *et al*. 2018). My ethnographic and archival research on mixed-race identities and family-making practices during South Africa's tumultuous transition from apartheid to democracy reveals some of the ways in which racial boundaries are reproduced to divide "us" from "them," how these divisions are externally and internally determined, but also how children learn to navigate and negotiate these boundaries in everyday life (Barth 1969; Osuji 2019).

Negotiating Mixedness After Apartheid

Methodologically, this article proceeds from my extended ethnographic, archival, and interview-based research, conducted in Stellenbosch and Cape Town, South Africa, over the course of sixteen months, between 2012 and 2020. I first arrived in Stellenbosch in 2012, when I studied at the university there as a visiting undergraduate student from the United States. As a native Dutch speaker, I chose to study in Stellenbosch because I wanted to learn Afrikaans. During these initial six months in Stellenbosch, I was continually confronted with the complicated and painful legacies of Apartheid. Indeed, Stellenbosch University was once regarded as the "intellectual home" of Apartheid, and it remains a deeply segregated place. As a Black American man, born to a Dutch mother and an African American father, I also felt deeply implicated in South Africa's racial history. Apartheid was constructed by White settlers of Dutch origins. However, as a social, political, and economic system of racial oppression, Apartheid most closely resembled American Jim Crow segregation. During my stay, I met several people who were involved in interracial marriages, or who were dating across the color line. Given my own mixed-race ancestry, I was able to connect with them on a personal level, and they felt comfortable sharing some of their experiences with me. These conversations left me with many unanswered questions, and these became the basis for my doctoral dissertation research.

In 2019, I returned to South Africa for ten months. I spent three months in Stellenbosch and then moved to the Gardens neighborhood in Cape Town. Cape Town is colloquially known as the "Mother City," and has been a site of cultural and ethnic mixing for centuries. I spent most of my time in Cape Town doing participant observation research in public spaces, such as shopping malls, gyms, restaurants, bars, and nightclubs. I wanted to observe how people interacted in public space, and with whom they interacted. I also interviewed twenty-four people who are or were involved in interracial marriages and had children, or who grew up in mixed-race families themselves. I began with my existing network of contacts and used snowball sampling techniques to recruit other interviewees.

In both formal interviews and informal conversations, many of my interlocutors revealed that growing up in mixed-race families during South Africa's transition from Apartheid to democracy in the mid-1990s came with a host of difficulties. Several informants expressed that they had difficulties fitting in among their peers, for they were perceived as being neither White enough, nor Black enough (Erasmus 2001; Adhikari 2005; Noah 2016). However, they also told me that that the ambiguous status of their mixed-race identities sometimes permitted them to creatively re-imagine and renegotiate their personal identities and subjectivities vis-à-vis their own communities and a globalizing world. Consider, for instance, Sara's memories of her childhood in Cape Town. While her story is unique, it also exemplifies the experiences of many mixed-race people grew up in the 1990s, and how they learned to navigate racial boundaries as children.

I met with up with Sara, a South African woman in her early thirties, at a cafe on Bree Street in downtown Cape Town. While many of my informants asked to be identified with pseudonyms, Sara preferred that I use her actual name in my research. She told me that her mother is Cape Malay, and that her maternal family members were legally categorized as "Coloured" under Apartheid's Population Registration Act (1950). The Cape Malay (or Cape Muslims) community has resided in Cape Town since the late 17th century, when the Dutch East India Company (VOC) first imported slaves and indentured servants from Southeast Asia to provide free labor in the Dutch's colonial settlement (Adhikari 2008). Sara's father was a White man from Leipzig, East Germany, who was, himself, born to a German mother and an American G.I. father, shortly after World War 2. He immigrated to South Africa in the 1970s and met Sara's mother shortly after his arrival. They fell in love and proceeded to live together in the predominately White and wealthy neighborhood of Sea Point—in contravention of the Immorality Act. Sara recalls that her parents were frequently harassed by the "immorality police," who were alerted by prejudiced neighbors. However, her father leveraged his American citizenship to avert being arrested and imprisoned. They were debarred from getting married in South Africa, so they relocated to West Germany to solemnize their union, before returning to South Africa in the late 1970s. Sara's maternal family did not approve of the marriage at first, but her father was able to ease some tensions with his Cape Malay in-laws by converting to Islam.

Sara told me that she has one older brother who was born in the early 1980s. He spent most of his childhood living under Apartheid rule. However, she was born in 1990, and most of her childhood took place after Nelson Mandela became South Africa's first democratically elected president in 1994. Sara shared that her brother had a lot of "hang ups" about race. He was one of the first children of color at his private school, and he also experienced discrimination from his own White cousins, who often made derisive comments about the darkness of his skin. As a result of this harassment, her brother became deeply self-conscious about his physical appearance, his sense of belonging, and he continued to harbor a great deal of pain and resentment. Sara, on the other hand, assured me that she was not bothered by racist bullies: "I know who I am, I'm comfortable in my own skin."

In addition to her parents and older brother, Sara informed me that she was largely raised by her Xhosa-speaking nanny. Employing comparatively cheaper African domestic workers was "the norm" at that time, particularly in affluent White communities. Sara's mother insisted that the racialized class and status distinction between their nuclear family and their domestic worker be actively enforced. Her nanny was forced to use a separate bathroom in the house, and to eat from separate dishes in a separate room. Sara spoke openly about her love for her nanny, who had since passed: "She was like my second mother…she was my everything. She was the first person I saw when I woke up…she would make my food, she put me to bed, like everything." Sara told me that she had developed such a strong emotional bond with her nanny that her biological mother became envious: "My mother was actually very jealous of our relationship." This jealousy, Sara recounted, gave rise to "weird dynamics" in their home.

In terms of her own identity, Sara told me that she is a practicing Muslim and continues to maintain strong ties to her mother's community. Yet, she also cherishes her German heritage. Most of her close friends are Jewish, and she admitted that her appearance, her upper-middle class milieu, and her educational background allowed her to "pass-for-White" (see Watson 1970). She told me that she identifies as White, but also as mixed. She had previously dated White and Coloured men, but now favored Black men. At the time of the interview, she was secretly dating a Zulu man from Durban. She fantasized about of having a family with him someday, but she also feared her mother's wrath: "We are gonna have little Cappuccino babies…but I don't think it's gonna get there because my mother will disown me…."

Conclusion

While Sara's story is unique, it is also indicative of how mixed-race children experience both social change and continuity in contemporary South Africa. While Apartheid's racial categorization scheme no longer has a legal basis, these categories continue to be reproduced informally in all matters of everyday life. Unlike her older brother, Sara was able to renegotiate the racial category

assigned to her at birth. As a light-skinned woman, Sara leveraged her father's status as an upper-middle-class White man with German and American citizenship to live and thrive in predominately White public spaces, and to identify herself as White. While her intimate relationship with her Xhosa nanny shaped her cosmopolitan worldview, her mother's anti-Black prejudice constituted a serious obstacle in her romantic life. Sara's childhood experiences indicate how ethnoracial categories and boundaries are made and unmade in everyday life, and how mixed children learn to navigate them. However, childhood stories such as these also demonstrate just how entrenched and resilient racialized social boundaries remain in post-Apartheid society.

Notes

[1] As in the United States and elsewhere, the use of racial categories is extremely controversial in South Africa. Since the categories "White" and "Black" are both constructs of colonial culture, I have chosen to capitalize both in order to draw attention to their mutually constructed artificiality (see Appiah 2020; Rouse 2021).

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To cite this article: Jackson, Sebastian. 2022. "'I'm Comfortable in My Own Skin': Reflections on Mixed-Race Identities and Family-making in (Post)Apartheid Cape Town." *NEOS* 14 (2).

To link this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss2fall22/jackson/

Reclaiming Indigenous Kinship Education: Lessons from the Sapsik'ʷałá Program

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Introduction

> "Love each other. Take care of each other. Be good to your land. Take care of it and all those who walk on the mountains, the four legged, those that swim up the river from the ocean. All of these things that grow in the mountains: the berries and roots that feed the people—that fed them from time immemorial. These things shall not be forgotten because they are still there. And it's important to discuss this with the little children…and also college students…anywhere."
>
> Advice to Graduating Indigenous Students given by Yakama Elder, Tux̱ámshish (Beavert 2021)

We begin with a powerful vision of Indigenous kinship in education, as shared by Sapsik'ʷałá Program Distinguished Elder Educator, Tuxámshish. In her speech to graduating Indigenous students, Tuxámshish intentionally focuses on an ethic of love and care in our relationships with humans and our more than human relations. She reminds our program graduates, all entering their careers as elementary and secondary school teachers, that it is important to discuss our commitments to reclaiming Indigenous kinship "with the little children" and also to keep doing this important work "anywhere" as it is our responsibility to keep building relationships that ensure Indigenous children and youth will have schools and communities enriched with ethics of love and care so that our kinship ties are strong and well. This work is crucial for all peoples, and particularly students training to be teachers serving Indigenous children and communities. Indigenous students taking on this important work have a special role to play. This is the focus of our program and this commentary.

Settler colonialism has always sought to control and eliminate Indigenous peoples, including imposing gendered heteronormative structures designed to displace Indigenous kinship systems (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013; Simpson 2017). Despite historic and ongoing forms of structural and colonial violence (Kim 2021), many Indigenous peoples, including our own Yakama and Alutiiq peoples, have maintained our practices of kinship, defying normative conceptions that

privilege blood, the nuclear family, and a human-centric vision (Bang et al. 2019; Jacob 2020a; 2020b; McCoy et al. 2021). Indigenous notions of family are inclusive, diverse, and recognize our kinship with land and more than human relations. Within Indigenous kinships systems "it is the *actual* relationship that is real and recognized" (Monture-Angus 1999, 159). Moreover, Indigenous genealogies often recount lands and waters in addition to our human relatives (Smith 2012). Elders, and precious teachings they graciously share, are central in helping us reclaim our broad and inclusive views of kinship and community (Beavert, Jacob, and Jansen 2021; Wilkins 2008).

We approach the work we analyze and describe in this commentary with deep love and care, reflecting both our commitments as Indigenous education scholars as well as Indigenous scholars who bring our own Indigenous teachings into the academy for the purpose of Indigenous liberation. In this article, we describe how Indigenous kinship informs our approach to Indigenous teacher education. We are Yakama (Jacob) and Alutiiq (Sabzalian) and we co-lead an Indigenous teacher education program that operates as a Consortium with nine federally recognized Indigenous Nations and has alumni from 49 Indigenous Nations. Our students and staff often refer to our program as "family" and in doing so we honor Indigenous kinship traditions and our Elders' instructions: to affirm our good relations with Indigenous peoples and lands and thus we disrupt narrow definitions of kinship prevalent in dominant society. Importantly, dominant discourses around heteronormative nuclear families that are prevalent in education harm *all* children, not only Indigenous youth (McCoy et al 2021). As such, Indigenous kinship pedagogies are vital for preparing future teachers, and students they will educate, to recognize families, "not as the nuclear family that has been normalized in settler society, but big, beautiful, diverse, extended multiracial families of relatives and friends that care very deeply for each other" and include "a web of connections to each other, to the plant nations, the animal nations, the rivers and lakes, the cosmos, and our neighboring Indigenous nations" (Simpson 2017, 8-9).

We discuss two key areas we witness and experience in our work leading an Indigenous teacher education program, and we offer them here as a guide for researchers and teachers whose work impacts children and youth. In doing so, we honor the instructions of Tu<u>x</u>ámshish (Dr. Virginia Beavert), who advises that the need to reclaim Indigenous kinship structures in education needs to be one of our highest priorities as we seek to build generative futures and opportunities for children and youth. We recruit and train master's level Indigenous teacher candidates who are dedicated to teaching in Indigenous-serving schools (for a more detailed program description: https://sapsikwala.uoregon.edu/). It is within this context that we affirm the importance of Indigenous kinship in education, by: 1) modeling an intergenerational approach to education that purposefully centers Elder wisdom, and 2) engaging Indigenous Storywork that more deeply connects students to families and communities.

Centering Elder Wisdom

Indigenous education systems value Elders as our most revered teachers. In contrast, whitestream education systems (Grande 2015), which normalize age segregation in learning, nearly always exclude Indigenous Elders from the classroom. Even in Indigenous language teaching, Elders are often kept out of schools due to a lack of "formal" teaching licensure or credentials from settler higher education institutions, even when Elders are typically the foremost experts on their own Indigenous languages. Such exclusionary practices are in fact ways of disrupting Indigenous kinship systems, as students are denied the opportunity to connect with and learn from Elders. We resist this form of education that perpetuates epistemic, linguistic, and familial violence. As program leaders, we took on the work of creating a new position at the university, Distinguished Elder Educator, and are honored that Tuxámshish chooses to serve in this role, mentoring and teaching faculty, staff, students, and alumni. Tuxámshish is now 100 years old and grew up in a time before English language dominance on Yakama homeland. Tuxámshish is world-renowned for her work leading language revitalization for Ichishkíin-speaking peoples, and for the most comprehensive gathering of traditional Yakama stories in the *Anakú Iwachá* project, along with her book, in which she recounts teachings learned from her family (Beavert 2017). All of these important resources are required readings in our program and are treasured gifts that connect students with multiple generations of Elder wisdom. What students treasure most, however, is time spent with Tuxámshish, who encourages students to take what they are learning about her Yakama teachings and compare and contrast them with students' own Indigenous teachings. She constantly advises students to approach Elders in their families and communities, and in doing so she affirms the teaching that intergenerational connections benefit us all. In multiple ways, students benefit from Elder wisdom in our program, and we hope that by witnessing and experiencing the power of intergenerational models of teaching and learning, they will foster Elder-guided, intergenerational learning spaces in their future classrooms. This is a gift students experience and are highly motivated to give to their future students, the youth of today.

Another lesson Tuxámshish imparts upon students is the necessity of engaging their Indigenous languages. Required readings in our program curricula affirm the importance of learning and using Indigenous languages in our classrooms, and students are required to engage Indigenous languages—either their own heritage languages, or to learn and use Sahaptin/Ichishkíin, the language Tuxámshish has taught for many years, including founding the Ichishkíin language program at our university. In our program, students are from many different Indigenous Nations, and they go on to teach at schools across the U.S., sometimes on their own homelands and sometimes on the lands of other Indigenous Nations. In their training with us, and under the advisement of Tuxámshish, students recognize how language affirms and strengthens our kinship systems and learn basic approaches to bringing Indigenous language into the classroom; these are skills that serve our students well as they launch their teaching careers serving Indigenous youth,

typically in schooling systems that have ignored or suppressed Indigenous languages in the classroom.

Engaging Indigenous Storywork

Indigenous education systems are rich with kinship meaning and description. Much of this important work takes place through our powerful storytelling traditions. We reclaim this curricular and pedagogical approach through an emphasis on what Stó:lō Elder Q'um Q'um Xiiem Jo-ann Archibald (2008; 2022) calls Indigenous Storywork, which has seven values: respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. While storytelling is a tradition shared across Indigenous communities, common features include a collaborative approach to teaching and learning, honoring that story readers/listeners have wisdom that will allow them to grasp the lesson most important for their situation, and an expectation that listeners/readers will continue to learn from stories shared with them. In this way, stories connect us to place and to each other, affirming and strengthening kinship. We engage Indigenous Storywork throughout Indigenous students' journey in higher education. We place an expectation that they will continue the tradition with their own students, as the whole purpose of our work together in Indigenous teacher education is to serve Indigenous youth, families, and communities. On a practical level, students read *Anakú Iwachá*, the collection of Yakama traditional stories, all of which Tuxámshish collected from Elders who intended the stories to be shared and used as curricular materials for Indigenous youth and anyone who wants to learn from our powerful stories (Beavert, Jacob, and Jansen 2021). Students also read and reflect on Jacob's collections of stories about contemporary Indigenous communities, all of which have prompts that encourage students to reflect on meaningful relationships and teachings from their own communities (Jacob 2020a; 2020b; 2021).

Collectively, stories instill in students a sense of reverence and accountability to the vast network of relations in their lives, only some of whom are biologically related or human. We intentionally model practices students can take into their own careers as they prepare to teach the next generations of Indigenous youth. Stories are a generative way to help children develop a deep sense of love and responsibility to their homelands and communities. Stories can foster resurgence by helping turn children toward the brilliance of their communities (Simpson 2017). As a pedagogical approach, stories defy coercive forms of pedagogy by respecting children's capacities as learners to make meaning. Just as Elders are respected within Indigenous kinship, the rights and responsibilities of children are also recognized and cherished (Simpson 2017; Wilkins 2008).

Conclusion

Our work is built upon a long-term, intergenerational commitment we have learned from Elders and are bringing into settler schooling systems. All of this work to transform schooling spaces is

to benefit children and youth, who have too often been harmed by systems that deny opportunities for kinship systems to be reclaimed in education. We seek nothing less than to transform education

systems so they are in alignment with Indigenous desires for schools to be places of learning that affirm our kinship structures. For generations, Indigenous families and communities have been disrupted by settler state-imposed structures of schooling and "the social and psychological pathologies that colonization unfailingly trails in its wake" (Collingwood-Whittick 2020). In contrast to Indigenous education systems that are led by Elders and are deeply place-based, today's public schooling system is nearly always led by people who are not required to have knowledge of place, Indigenous languages, or cultures. In our work in Indigenous teacher education, we are leading the way to disrupt such harm, and in doing so we are upholding a vision Elders have urged and honored across generations so that our future leaders—today's children and youth—may have a strong and vibrant future.

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Author Biographies

Michelle M. Jacob loves imagining and working toward a future in which kindness, fierceness, and creativity saturate our lives and institutions in delicious and inviting ways. Dr. Jacob is an enrolled member of the Yakama Nation and is Professor of Indigenous Studies and Co-Director of the Sapsik'ʷałá Program at the University of Oregon where she is also Affiliated Faculty in the

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Leilani Sabzalian is an Alutiiq scholar, educator, and mother. She is Assistant Professor of Indigenous Studies in Education and Co-Director of the Sapsik'ʷałá Program at the University of Oregon. Her research draws on Indigenous feminist theories to create more just and humanizing spaces for Indigenous students in public schools. Her work also supports all educators to challenge colonialism in curriculum, policy, and practice, and implement important Indigenous-led initiatives, including Tribal History/Shared History, a law that mandates curriculum on tribal history and sovereignty in all K-12 public schools in Oregon.

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Indigenous Kinship in Education: An Interview with Michelle M. Jacob and Leilani Sabzalian

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Chloe: First, I want to thank you for your time as you share your knowledge and experiences with us based on your commentary. Before talking about the commentary specifically, do you want to tell us a little bit about yourselves and what you are currently working on?

Michelle: Shix páchway! (Greetings!) I am honored to be working on a project examining the importance of my Yakama storytelling tradition. Our stories are the foundation of our Indigenous education systems, which have sustained our people Since Time Immemorial, as our Elders instruct.

Leilani: Cama'i. My heartwork has been leading the Sapsik'ʷałá Program alongside Dr. Jacob where we prepare the next generation of Indigenous educators to support Indigenous youth and communities. It has been such a joy to take part in this work and help cultivate a beautiful network of Indigenous educators that are committed to Indigenous self-determination in education.

Chloe: You mention in your commentary that it is important to build relationships that ensure Indigenous children and youth will have schools and communities enriched with ethics of love and care. Can you elaborate on what this ethics of love and care looks like in praxis and how it is cultivated?

Michelle and Leilani: We envision schools that are places of belonging, in which children and youth feel welcomed and know their strengths are honored and affirmed. This is cultivated by our schools and communities aligning with Indigenous values of love and care and the basis for responsible relationships. Indigenous children and youth benefit from this; Indigenous communities benefit from this; all peoples benefit from this approach.

Chloe: Your commentary paints a beautiful picture of Indigenous kinship and relationships not only to each other but also to the land. Would you be willing to further elaborate on this "web of connections to each other" and on what it means for the "actual relationship" to be recognized within Indigenous kinship systems?

Michelle: In my Yakama storytelling tradition, we understand that humans are humble beings who only exist due to the generosity of our more than human relations, who are the First People. This humility and gratitude guides our understanding of how precious our web of connections is.

Leilani: Indigenous kinship is such a beautiful and expansive practice! Within Indigenous kinship systems, it is not only our biological relationships that are valued, but also the various people and places—human or more than human as Dr. Jacob highlighted—that we are in meaningful relationships with. As an example, many of the "Aunties" and "Uncles" in my own children's lives aren't actually related to them by blood, but they are nevertheless precious and important relatives to my children and considered members of our family.

Chloe: Could you further explain the significance and importance of raising up Indigenous teachers and scholars to teach and educate from an Indigenous worldview?

Michelle and Leilani: The Sapsik'ʷałá Program is guided by the belief that *education strengthens our people*, or Sápsikw'at xtúwit naamí tananmamíyau in Ichishkíin, a phrase gifted to our program by Átway Arlita Rhoan and Suzie Slockish from the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. To me, this highlights the vital role that Indigenous educators have within in our communities' broader movements of Indigenous self-determination and nation-building.
Readers interested in this topic can benefit from engaging Dr. Sabzalian's excellent book, *Indigenous Children's Survivance in Public Schools*!

Chloe: You discuss the importance of intergenerational learning within the classroom and how Elders are typically kept out of schools because of a lack of "formal" credentials. Can you further highlight the significance of centering Elder wisdom within the classroom? Could you also discuss the harm in keeping Elders out of the classroom and how their inclusion could help to disrupt dominant colonial ideology that prioritizes credentials over lived experience?

Michelle and Leilani: Elders are our most revered teachers. It makes no sense to keep experts out of learning environments. It makes no sense to have a credentialing system for educators that denies Elders' lifelong experiences and knowledge. It makes no sense to have children being

denied meaningful intergenerational connections and relationships in the settings in which they spend the majority of their days.

Chloe: In thinking about applying these lessons to the classroom, are there any resources or other works you would like to share or highlight that would provide additional learning relevant to Indigenous kinship systems in education?

Michelle and Leilani: A beautiful way to understand Indigenous kinship systems is through Dr. Jacob's book series. In each book, she shares her Yakama way of understanding kinship and invites readers to reflect on and appreciate the vast network of relations in their lives.

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To cite this article: Jacob, Michelle M. Leilani Sabzalian and Chloe Bozak. 2022. "Indigenous Kinship in Education: An Interview with Michelle M. Jacob and Leilani Sabzalian." *NEOS* 14 (2).

To link this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss2fall22/jacob-sabzalian-bozak/

Queering Kinship: Biopolitics, the Death Function, and Transcendent Capacity

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> "Blood does not family make. Those are relatives. Family are those with whom you share your good, bad, and ugly, and still love one another in the end. Those are the ones you select."
> Hector Xtravaganza (1965 - 2018)

In our current political climate, there are daily onslaughts on the rights of sexual and gender minorities (SGM), particularly trans and gender-expansive youth and their caregivers (ACLU 2022). While extensive documentation (Abreu et al. 2022; Kidd et al. 2021) highlights the detrimental impacts thereof, less research has focused on strengths embedded in SGM communities. To bolster the possibility of self-actualization, more attention must be given to supportive SGM networks formed through both necessity and nurturance. By creating chosen families, SGM defy cisheteronormative formations predicated on blood relation, and assert the legitimacy of non-biological kinship and queer lineage.

Chosen family refers to self-selected non-biological relationships developed in absence of or in addition to biological families of origin (Jackson Levin et al. 2020). This cultivation of kinship is particularly salient for people with marginalized identities who are subject to violence and surveillance, and for whom intergenerational trauma spans beyond biological lineage (Freeman 2011). Violent surveillance functions through discriminatory policies and practices resulting in societal control and circumscription (Rifkin 2022), codifying whose identities are protected from prejudice in both public and private spheres, spanning from housing and employment to worthiness for marriage or adoptive parenthood (Butler 2002). Previous scholarship has reconceptualized and critiqued kinship (Bailey 2013; Butler 2022; Carsten et al. 2002, 2007; Eng 2010; Sahlins 2013; Schneider 1980; Weston 1991). However, relatively few of these theoretical contributions have been taken up by the social sciences; all too often, pathology pervades research on SGM. In contrast, this paper incorporates teleological narratives of queer kinship with psycho-social sequelae to physiological needs induced by embodied oppression, while also celebrating strengths embedded in queer community.

Macro-level phenomena are often instantiated at the micro-level: in this case, through embodied oppression. This concept operationalizes how stigma is cemented into distal systems of enforcement that result in shame, rejection, and ostracization (Hatzenbuehler 2010). Distal stressors become proximal[1] and get "under the skin" (Hatzenbuehler 2009, 707) through emotion

dysregulation, attachment ruptures and interpersonal conflict, and disruption of psychosocial/cognitive processes that contribute to psychopathology.

Prevailing theoretical approaches focus primarily on SGM risk factors and behaviors, such as suicidality, overdose, unwanted pregnancy, STI/HIV diagnosis, precarious housing, unemployment, and arrest (CDC 2019; Hafeez et al. 2017; Tyler and Schmitz 2018). Extant frameworks (Meyer 2003; Hatzenbuehler 2010) often elide opportunities to celebrate means of resistance and persistence; current research offers inadequate conceptualizations of – and therefore lackluster operationalized measures for – the protective potency of chosen family.

By problematizing established definitions, poststructuralism provides an epistemic armature upon which to articulate alternative theoretical approaches. Foucault's theory of biopolitics (1990) refers to the process through which human life – anatamo-politics of the human body, and the biopolitics of the population – come under surveillance for the goal of state-sanctioned agendas. This set of regulatory discourses and epistemic strategies function to administer, optimize, and control aspects of phenomena specific to the human condition, including fertility, mortality, marriage, health, and life expectancy, all of which also impact familial formation.

In order to maintain normative ideals, transgressive bodies—either individuals or identity groups (e.g. SGM)—must be disciplined and punished (Foucault 1990). Biopower produces social categories that legitimize the status quo, meaning that the "power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death" (Foucault 1990, 136) determines who is categorized as abnormal and should be 'let to die;' this death function (Foucault 1990) delineates who must be subjugated in order for the more deserving to thrive.

Biopolitical regulation normalizes violence on bodies that defy normative ideals and categories arising from them. If the death function is predicated on identity rather than blood, then intergenerational trauma can be transmitted through non-biological lineage. As a defining traumatic moment, an entire generation of queer elders was wiped out during the AIDS epidemic, including Foucault himself (Miller 2000), with ripple effects that reverberate into the current day. State-sanctioned irresponsiveness to AIDS (Thomas 2020) was a stark example of the death function in biopolitics, and subsequently continues to serve as a vector for public health discourse around queerness/transness and transmission of undesirability and disposability.

Just as trauma can be transmitted, so too can forms of capacity. Capacity is both an "active power or force" and "an ability to receive or maintain; holding power" (Getsy 2014, 47), and as such, functions as a means of cultivating resistance to subjugation. Queer elders are an untapped resource to bolster intergenerational capacity-building, thereby buffering SGM youth from the violence of

biopolitics and building resistance to interpellation by these oppressive structures (i.e. performative pathology).

Foucault writes that genealogy examines "the history of the way in which things become a problem" (Foucault 2000, 117). If gender and sexuality are flashpoints around which biopolitical deservingness is codified, then they may also offer interstices for intervention and expansion. Chosen family is not predicated on blood relation, but rather through queer lineage. Therefore, genealogy takes on new capabilities for SGM whose relational structures are unfettered by cisheteronormativity. A queer family tree may take the form of nonlinear (Ahmed 2006), intricately convoluted, nonhierarchical connections, invoking what Jack Halberstam (2005, 1) describes as queer time and space, wherein "strange temporalities, imaginative life schedules… [are] unscripted by the conventions of family, inheritance, and child rearing." And yet, in contrast to queer theory that examines the healing role of chosen family, there are few strengths-based conceptual frameworks for utilization in social science research.

In response, I have leveraged my lived experience, clinical acumen, and ongoing research to build an alternative theoretical framework entitled "Transcendent Capacity" (Figure 1). This theory incorporates not only proximal and distal stressors internalized by marginalized identities through embodied oppression, but also the unique forms of capacity activated by SGM networks. I contend that transcendent capacity encompasses how queer kinship invokes navigation of and resistance to the violence of biopolitics.

Figure 1*: A Conceptual Model of Transcendent Capacity
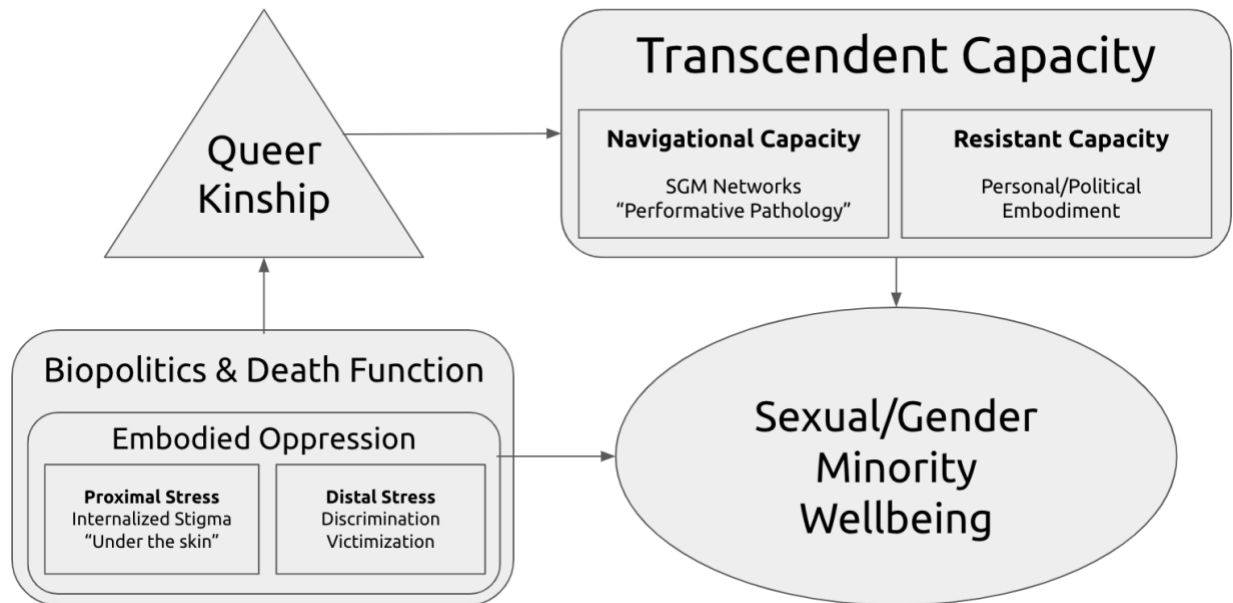
SGM have long been cast as deviants (Cervini 2021), and such defectiveness demands a cure, even to the point of eradication (Clare 2017). The hegemony of whose bodies are normal versus abnormal thereby become coded in pathology–the death function–and reified through empirical research predicated on the premise that bodies must be broken in order to be fixed; some diagnoses make violence justified, so that cures can function to eradicate difference (Clare 2017). Foucault stipulates that "classifying homosexuality also made possible the formation of a 'reverse' discourse: homosexuality began to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturality' be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified" (Foucault 1990). SGM subvert these taxonomies through transgression, challenging hegemonies encoded on bodies, both in vivo and the body politic.

Resistant capacity refers to the skills and knowledge fostered through defying inequity, encompassing both the personal and political, micro and macro, proximal and distal. To insist on embodiment is to defy erasure, and as the queer artist and activist David Wojnarowicz declared, "to make the private into something public is an action that has terrific repercussions in the pre-invented world" (Carr 2014). By foregrounding that which biopolitics would elide, embodiment and unabashed presence (e.g. gender euphoric expression, regardless of binary) becomes a form of not only survival, but also activism and self-actualization.

Resistant capacity is linked to navigational capacity, which refers to how SGM subvert epistemes that seek to discipline non-normativity, necessitated in part because of the interpellative function of pathology. Interpellation, coined by Foucault's contemporary Louis Althusser (2014), is a constitutive process through which an individual becomes a subject through subjection to social discourse. Pathology transmutes subjecthood into subjugation through punishment, so how might performativity sidestep concomitant powerlessness? Performativity is an established concept in queer theory, encompassing the interpellative fashion through which identity is constituted; eschewing essentialism, postmodernist Judith Butler (2006) argued that gender is dependent upon the cultural framework within which it is enacted through social roles effectuated by individuals and validated by society. Theories of gender performativity can be expanded to 'performative pathology,' which entails the demonstration of etiology necessary for dysphoria diagnoses while avoiding corollary disempowerment.

Emergent navigational networks are necessary, given that SGM are required to prove dysphoria in order to access gender-affirming healthcare. Clinicians function as "street-level bureaucrats" (Lipsky 2010, 4) by gate-keeping access for subjugated populations. The World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH) codifies clinical protocol for identifying who can and cannot access services, and is considered the gold standard in evidence-based services. According to a previous WPATH president, Dr. Jamison Green, "...if you want cross-sex hormones and/or surgery, and if you don't have a body that is considered ill, that is considered problematic.

You can't get medical treatments without a diagnosis, and you certainly can't get insurance to cover it" (Urquhart 2016). Yet the interpellative function of pathologizing diagnosis exacerbates already-pervasive proximal and distal stressors. Queer elders can support SGM youth in accessing gender-affirming care (which necessitate performance of dysphoria), while buffering internalization of stigma and shame resulting from endorsement of diseased abnormality. Navigational capacity enables SGM to subvert unjust gatekeeping by service providers through crowd-sourced knowledge of what to say/do to access care, while protecting against the pathologizing disenfranchisement of these utterances and actions.

I titled this framework "Transcendent Capacity" to showcase how SGM are not only surviving, but thriving – doing so despite and because of embodied oppression, which serves as a whetstone against which we hone our capacity. We surmount societal and biological familial structures to create our own, soothed by "the salve of love and care that can buoy us in times of need… the ways some of our dear ones cradle us in our pain and nurse us through" (Cerankowski 2021, 22). By invoking the prefixial "trans," I hope to elicit more robust cross-pollination between social sciences and queer/trans studies and theory. Moreover, transcendence pushes back on discourses of deficit pervading research focused on the lived experience of SGM, showcasing how chosen families can instill capacity to resist and circumvent the violence of biopolitics and the death function. By expanding definitions of kinship, while recognizing the potentially dire consequences of embodied oppression, this conceptualization offers a strengths-based approach to acknowledging the agency and capacity of SGM communities to care for themselves and each other.

Notes

[1] Distal stressors encompass external prejudice, such as discrimination, victimization, and microaggressions. Proximal stressors are defined as an internal or subjective response (Meyer 2003), such as internalized homophobia, expectations of rejection, and concealment of one's LGB identity. Distal stressors are theorized to contribute to the development of proximal stressors (Douglass and Conlin 2022).

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Author Biography

Ari S. Gzesh, MSW is pursuing a PhD in Social Welfare at UPenn's School of Social Policy and Practice, and serves as a Fellow in Leadership Education and Adolescent Health at Children's Hospital of Pennsylvania. Gzesh is passionate about exploring how identity-based support systems like chosen families can provide corrective experiences for past attachment ruptures, embodied oppression, and complex trauma for sexual/gender minority youth. Gzesh uses critical qualitative methods and harm reductive interventions to build on clinical work supporting system-involved youth experiencing housing instability, substance use, and sexual exploitation.

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Teaching Tool for Queering Kinship: Biopolitics, the Death Function, and Transcendent Capacity

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We've created this teaching tool to support educators in using the article by Ari S. Gzesh in their classes. The teaching tool includes questions for reflection and discussion, coupled with comments from the author, to encourage engagement with the theory. Educators can share the author's comments with students directly, or they can use the comments to inform their contributions to the discussion with students. The teaching tool is appropriate for a wide range of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, gender studies, political studies, and social work, among others.

Preparation

Have students read the article in advance, and encourage them to consider questions for reflection:

- How does the article align with or diverge from your understanding of family and kinship? What new insights about family and kinship are you considering after reading the article?
- The author uses the example of queer elders supporting youth in accessing gender-affirming care as a form of navigational capacity. What other examples of navigational capacity come to mind? Think about various stages of life and development (e.g., employment, parenthood, aging, etc.).
- Consider the significance of the theory of Transcendent Capacity for your discipline. How might this theory be applicable? What might this theory help to accomplish?

Author Comments: Consider the following example of navigational capacity. Dev relocates to a new city, and needs to find new medical providers. As a transman, he feels anxious about ensuring continued access to hormone assisted therapy, and about reproductive healthcare. Dev posts in a local trans-affirming Facebook page for suggestions, and finds a primary care provider who not only continues to prescribe his hormones, but also never misgenders him, which is especially important when he is getting gynecological check-ups.

Discussion

Create space for in-class discussion using these prompts as guidelines for small or large groups:
- What new insights about family or kinship are you pondering after reading this article?
- Why might it be important for research to seek out means of resistance and persistence by SGM, instead of just focusing on risk factors and behaviors?
- What are some current examples of how the death function puts SGM at risk? Think about recent legislative and policy initiatives, as well as common practices in health care, child welfare, and judicial systems.
- What examples of navigational capacity did you identify in your individual reflection? Consider how those might connect to the examples of the death function identified in your group discussion.
- What changes might reduce unjust gatekeeping by service providers and increase support for SGM?

Author Comments: In my role as a clinician, I provided crisis stabilization and community-based therapy to system-involved young people. I bore witness to many examples of the death function operating against SGM youth, which played out in adverse mental and physical health. SGM youth experience heightened levels of precarious housing and unemployment, sexual exploitation, STI/HIV diagnosis, arrest, overdose, assault, and suicidality.

Lack of cultural competence and gender-affirming care by service providers exacerbated these realities. For instance, many transitional housing programs operate on gender binaries, while trans youth are significantly more likely to experience homelessness than their cisheterosexual peers. If a young transwoman does not feel safe being housed in a shelter (because she would often be forced to be in a men's shelter, aligning with her sex assigned at birth instead of her gender identity), then she may need to resort to illicit economies to procure safety. Many transwomen turn to survival sex work – the transactional exchange of sex for food, shelter, hormones, or other basic needs – which may in turn increase vulnerability to STI/HIV, assault, or arrest.

Research, policy, and practice must better attend to recognizing not only the ways the death function exacerbates vulnerability of SGM youth, but also how Transcendent Capacity functions in terms of resistance and resilience. Queer communities support one another when systems fail to do so. Direct service providers are positioned to heal the harm enacted by unjust gatekeeping, and strengths-based theoretical frameworks are necessary in recognizing best practices already extant in communities. By bolstering informal efforts already in place, we can work to alleviate health disparities for SGM, in partnership with those who are most impacted by these interventions.

Debrief and Integration

As a follow-up to the in-class discussion, have students write a short post for a class forum. Encourage students to consider the following questions as optional prompts for their post:

- How did your perspective on family and kinship change as a result of the reading, reflection, and class discussion?
- What are the potential implications of the theoretical framework "Transcendent Capacity" for research, policy, and/or practice?
- How does this commentary build upon or connect to other readings we've done in the course or readings you've done in other courses?

Author Comments: Many have acknowledged that it is easier to build strong youth than to repair broken adults. Throughout a decade of direct service work, I've sought to leverage experiences of co-care and interdependence, an approach contrasting the conventional emphasis on independence as a measure of success; the latter obscures relational aspects of wellbeing, and misses opportunities for reparative influences through collective support systems. For marginalized youth, having a single caring adult is among the greatest protective factors to attenuate compounded traumatization. In the queer community, elders often occupy a parental role, particularly for youth who have experienced ruptures from family of origin. In so doing, queer elders can transmit Transcendent Capacity, thereby instilling hope for the future.

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To cite this article: Bozak, Chloe and Ari S. Gzesh. 2022. "Teaching Tool for Queering Kinship: Biopolitics, the Death Function, and Transcendent Capacity." *NEOS* 14 (2).

To link this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss2fall22/bozak-gzesh

About *NEOS*

NEOS is the flagship publication of the Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group (ACYIG), American Anthropological Association. The bi-annual publication consists of peer-reviewed original short-form research articles as well as editor-reviewed commentaries and feature pieces. *NEOS* relies on the work of many volunteers, including the full editorial board, peer reviewers, the ACYIG communications team, and a multitude of advisory board members for both *NEOS* and ACYIG. If you are interested in getting involved, please contact acyig.editor@gmail.com.

About ACYIG

Launched in 2007 as an Interest Group within the American Anthropological Association, the Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group (ACYIG) now boasts more than 1200 members in over ten countries. Members include academics and practitioners who publish on and work with children all over the world. The need for an anthropological interest group concerned with children and childhood continues to center on the fact that, despite growing interest in the area of cross-cultural research on childhood, children's experiences, and children's rights, there are very few established places to discuss and publicize such work, especially outside the realm of education and health disciplines. To read more about ACYIG, visit our website at http://acyig.americananthro.org

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Co-Editor - Rebecca L. Sanford, PhD, RCSW

Rebecca is an Assistant Professor in the School of Social Work and Human Service at Thompson Rivers University, situated on the unceded territory of Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc within Secwépemc'ulucw. Rebecca has over 18 years of experience as a clinical social worker, researcher, administrator, and educator, with specialization in the areas of child and youth mental health, working with children and their families in community-based settings, program development and evaluation, clinical supervision and workforce development, suicide prevention, and intervention, and trauma and traumatic bereavement. Rebecca's research interests include the impact of exposure to suicide, the suicide bereavement trajectory, disenfranchised grief, and ambiguous loss, and the development and dissemination of interventions for people who are bereaved or otherwise impacted by suicide.

Co-Editor - Jennifer Shaw, PhD

Jenny is an Assistant Teaching Professor in the Faculty of Arts at Thompson Rivers University, within Secwépemc'ulucw. She has a PhD in Anthropology from Simon Fraser University and an MA in Anthropology from the University of Victoria. Jenny's research explores the

intergenerational implications of immigration and labor policies in Canada, focusing on Filipinx youths' experiences of long-term family separation and reunification. Her research also concerns migrant domestic labor and gendered forms of work across borders. As a multimodal ethnographer, she employs photography, drawing, song, and poetry in her research as avenues for youth-centered expressions. Her work has been published in peer-reviewed journals including Children & Society, Anthropology of Work Review, and Global Studies of Childhood.

Developmental Editor - Anne-Marie Bedard

My name is Anne Marie Bedard and I'm very happy to be a new developmental editor with the NEOS team. I recently graduated with a Master of Arts in Psychology from Pepperdine University. I'm currently completing an internship in clinical therapy, with the goal of obtaining my license to practice as a professional clinician. I'm also working as an adjunct instructor of Psychology at the community college level. I am a lifelong resident of the state of Michigan, where I'm a very active member of my church's music program, singing and playing the piano. I can also be found interacting with several wonderful cats when it pleases them to allow me to do so.

Digital Scholarship Intern - Chloe Bozak

Chloe is a bachelor's student in Social Work at Thompson Rivers University in Kamloops B.C. She is currently assisting on a research project exploring students', faculty's, and staff's experiences with equity, diversity, and inclusion on campus at Thompson Rivers University. She is passionate about immigration policy, Canadian law, and learning about how to create a more equitable society.

Assistant Editor and Developmental Editor - Chelsea Cutright, PhD

Chelsea Cutright (she/her) is currently a Visiting Assistant Professor of International Studies and Anthropology at Centre College. She has a PhD in cultural anthropology from the University of Kentucky. Her teaching and research interests include gender, sports for development, youth studies, and contemporary Africa.

Assistant Editor and Peer-Review Coordinator - Alexea Howard, MA

Alexea Howard, MA is a recent graduate from California State University, Long Beach whose focus is in Medical Anthropology. She graduated at the top of her class with awards such as Distinguished Graduate Student, Academic Excellence, and Best Thesis. Alexea earned her BA (Honors) in Anthropology with a focus in Medical and Psychological Anthropology from the University of California, Los Angeles, and received post-baccalaureate training in Psychology and Addiction Studies. Her research explores the way that concepts of health and illness are impacted by a sense of community and a gained sense of agency. Her most recent work focuses on reasons for continued use among those who participate and frequent pro-anorexia websites

and how the use of these sites has impacted the community's conceptions of health and illness as it relates to anorexia.

Assistant Editor and Developmental Editor - Manya Kagan, PhD Candidate

Manya Kagan is a Ph.D. Candidate at the Department of Education and Tamar Golan Centre for African Studies at Ben Gurion University in the Negev. Kagan is interested in the intersection of migration and education, particularly in East Africa and participatory and visual qualitative methods.

Developmental Editor - Chang Liu, PhD

Chang Liu is a clinical assistant professor from the Division of Educational Leadership and Innovation in the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College at Arizona State University. Her research focuses on how young children learn to become culturally and socially appropriate members of their society and how preschools play their role in this process. As a scholar from the global South, she also interrogates how and why globally circulating ECEC policies and practices originating in the global North and West are taken up, rejected, and localized in other countries and communities. Her work has appeared in leading journals such as *Comparative Education Review*, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, and *Ethos. She is also one of the co-founders of Nonsignificance, an independent, non-profit podcast focusing on gender, family, childhood, childrearing, and education issues in general.*