



The

MULTISPECIES SALON

INTRODUCTION

TACTICS OF MULTISPECIES ETHNOGRAPHY

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A swarm of creative agents animated the Multispecies Salon, an art exhibit that traveled from San Francisco to New Orleans and then to New York City. Artists, anthropologists, and allied intellectuals explored three interrelated questions at the Salon: Which beings flourish, and which fail, when natural and cultural worlds intermingle and collide?¹ What happens when the bodies of organisms, and even entire ecosystems, are enlisted in the schemes of biotechnology and the dreams of biocapitalism? And, finally, in the aftermath of disasters—in blasted landscapes that have been transformed by multiple catastrophes—what are the possibilities of biocultural hope? As we began to answer these questions, the divisions separating anthropologists and informants, culture and nature, subject and object began to break down. Collaborative research and writing projects emerged from the Salon that helped spawn a new mode of interdisciplinary inquiry: multispecies ethnography.

Ethnography, commonly glossed as “people writing” (*ethno-graphy*), is the signature method of cultural anthropology. In conventional ethnographies, “all actors are human,” to paraphrase Timothy Mitchell. “Human beings are the agents around whose actions and intentions the story is written.”² Lately, ethnographers have begun to expand the purview of anthropology. Experimenting with different modes of storytelling, anthropologists are rediscovering the Greek root of the word *ethnos* (ἔθνος) “a multitude (whether of men or of beasts) associated or living together; a company, troop, or swarm of individuals of the same nature or genus.”³ Ethnographers are now exploring how “the human” has been formed and transformed amid encounters with

multiple species of plants, animals, fungi, and microbes. Rather than simply celebrate multispecies mingling, ethnographers have begun to explore a central question: Who benefits, *cui bono*, when species meet?⁴

To answer this question, multispecies ethnographers are collaborating with artists and biological scientists to illuminate how diverse organisms are entangled in political, economic, and cultural systems. Collaborative methods and tactics are being used to study questions opened up by Anna Tsing, who recently suggested that “human nature is an interspecies relationship.” Social conservatives with autocratic and militaristic ideologies have long dominated discussions of human nature, according to Tsing. Stories about primates, about the genes and behaviors we share with apes and monkeys, have been used to assert that dominance hierarchies, patriarchy, and violence are fixed in our own nature.⁵ Rather than just consider our genetic nature, Tsing suggests that we adopt “an interspecies frame” to open “possibilities for biological as well as cultural research trajectories.”⁶

Exploring ways to bring other species (and ways of thinking) back into anthropology, multispecies ethnographers have found inspiration in the work of scholars who helped found the discipline. Studies of animals have a long lineage in anthropology, going back to canonical texts such as Lewis Henry Morgan’s *The American Beaver and His Works* (1868). Morgan studied the “acquired knowledge” of lodge, dam, and canal building transmitted among beavers. Drawing parallels between this knowledge and the engineering of people, he described beavers as one among many species of what he thought of as clever animal “mutes.” The book also contained an argument for animal rights: “The present attitude of man toward the mutes is not such, in all respects, as befits his superior wisdom. We deny them all rights, and ravage their ranks with wanton and unmerciful cruelty.”⁷ In the late nineteenth century, at a moment when anthropology was a field of natural history, the primary theoretical aim of such comparative studies was to better understand the dynamics of evolution.⁸

As the theoretical concerns of anthropology broadened in the early twentieth century, diverse forms of life appeared alongside humans in studies of symbolism, religion, economic systems, and meaning. Animals proved to be “good to think” (as Claude Lévi-Strauss wrote in 1962), and also more instrumentally, “good to eat” (as Marvin Harris countered in 1985). Early ethnobotanists also studied the instrumental use of plants and their role in human belief systems. Later in the twentieth century, plants and animals began appearing in studies of marginality and mimesis, landscape and place, as well as agriculture and bioprospecting. With critical assessments of biodiversity

discourse emerging from political ecology and social studies of science in the 1990s, scholars began venturing away from animals and plants and toward microbiota that rarely figure in discussions of biodiversity.⁹

As cultural anthropologists became focused on issues of representation and interpretation, ethnographers interested in plants, animals, and microbes began asking: Who should be speaking for other species? Arjun Appadurai has raised similar questions about the ability of anthropologists to represent other people. “The problem of voice (‘speaking for’ and ‘speaking to’),” he writes, “intersects with the problem of place (speaking ‘from’ and speaking ‘of’) Anthropology survives by its claim to capture other places (and other voices) through its special brand of ventriloquism. It is this claim that needs constant examination.”¹⁰ Such critical scrutiny should be redoubled when anthropologists speak with biologists, nature lovers, or land managers about the creatures they represent.

As multispecies ethnographers speak for members of other species—or even attempt to speak with them, in some cases—we certainly still run the risk of becoming ventriloquists.¹¹ Bruno Latour seems unaware of this risk with his playful call for scholars in the humanities and social sciences to build new *speech prosthetics*: “subtle mechanisms capable of adding new voices to the chorus.” Echoing Lewis Henry Morgan’s early writing about clever animal mutes, Latour suggests that “nonhumans” have “speech impedimenta” that must be overcome so that they might more fully participate in human society. In *Politics of Nature*, he proposes bringing democracy to nonhumans by drawing them into parliamentary assemblies, where they will be represented by human “spokespeople.”¹² Questioning the ability of other organisms to hold their human representatives accountable initially led us to ask, rhetorically, “Can the nonhuman speak?”¹³ But after further reflection, we realized that this question was not quite right. “Nonhuman is like non-white,” says Susan Leigh Star. “It implies a lack of something.”¹⁴ While lacking speech should not be the defining characteristic of a broad category of beings, Latour’s notion of the nonhuman has another problem: It assumes too much about the very thing it opposes—that is, the human.

Moving past questions about representation, Donna Haraway has argued that animals are not just “good to think” or “good to eat” but are also beings that are good “to live with.”¹⁵ Other species are being regarded by anthropologists “as parts of human society,” in the words of John Knight, “rather than just symbols of it.”¹⁶ Many anthropologists have begun to chart an “ontological turn” in the discipline, focusing not just on how humans and their worlds are portrayed but on how they are thought to be.¹⁷ Ontology traditionally refers

to a branch of philosophy that examines modes and structures of being, such as essence and existence. Matei Candea, a British social anthropologist, associates the ontological turn with a move away from foundational distinctions in European thought between nature and culture, humans and nonhumans.¹⁸ Recent provocations within anthropology suggest that human beings, seen ontologically, are multispecies beings.

Anna Tsing's suggestion that "human nature is an interspecies relationship" can best be understood with these debates in mind.¹⁹ "Multispecies ethnography is less focused on delimiting and defining the boundaries of the human," according to Aimee Placas and Jennifer Hamilton.²⁰ Rather than "What is the essence of the human?" a key question that is orienting multispecies ethnography is, "What is the human becoming?" Ethnographers have long been studying how humans have been refashioned by the modern sciences of biology, political economy, and linguistics.²¹ Ever since Haraway issued her influential "Manifesto for Cyborgs" in 1985, cultural anthropologists have been studying how we are becoming cybernetic organisms, hybrids of machine and organism, creatures of social reality as well as of science fiction.²² Bringing other forms of life into this conversation, Cary Wolfe suggests that we have become *post-human*, since our mode of being is dependent on complex entanglements with animals, ecosystems, and technology.²³

At the Multispecies Salon, the art exhibit where we started testing these ideas out, ethnographers began to push humans from center stage to study the lives and deaths of critters who abide with us in multispecies worlds. The gallery served as an experimental arena for reworking the relationship of anthropology to the natural sciences.²⁴ While philosophy was offering us critical theoretical resources, we found that bringing art interventions together with empirically rich ethnography could produce unexpected ruptures in dominant thinking about nature and culture.

Visitors to the 2008 Multispecies Salon, which debuted in San Francisco, could hear the twitter of live cockroaches mingling with recorded sounds of chimpanzees screeching for meat. A video installation juxtaposed images of whooping cranes following ultralight aircraft on annual migrations with footage of humans playing with dolphins in captivity. Collages of naked human and animal bodies, including a photograph of a fish head on a human torso, competed for space on the walls with a painting of two men riding a shark with its mouth agape. Laboratory organisms—fruit flies and pictures of transgenic *E. coli* bacteria—shared the gallery with apparently everyday household artifacts. One installation contained milk cartons and junk mail

featuring missing amphibians in the place of missing children. A cartoon featuring the golden road of Monte Verde, Costa Rica, an animal now presumed extinct, asked, "Have You Seen Me?"²⁵

Creative interventions at the Multispecies Salon set the stage for research collaborations where artists, ethnographers, and biological scientists came together to explore issues of common interest and concern. Bioartists, who grew art for the show using living matter as their medium, and ecocritics, who created aesthetic interventions to "help the worms and watersheds," offered ethnographers new tools for grappling with multispecies worlds.²⁶ Following Joseph Beuys's 1973 decree, "Everyone is an artist," ethnographers and biologists brought organisms and artifacts into the gallery, tentatively venturing together into an opening in the art world created by the Salon.²⁷

Interdisciplinary contacts and encounters at the Multispecies Salon facilitated new ways of thinking and speaking about critters that normally inhabit the realm of zoe, or "bare life," creatures that usually are deemed killable: hermit crabs slated for "disposal" because they were covered with oil following BP's Deepwater Horizon disaster, lab rats who had outlived their usefulness in experiments, and common weeds growing in sidewalk cracks. Amid apocalyptic tales about environmental destruction, we discussed modest examples of biocultural hope—delectable mushrooms flourishing in the aftermath of ecological disturbance, microbial cultures enlivening the politics and value of food, multispecies communities being cultivated by guerrilla gardeners in clear-cut forests. We also began to discuss the best methods for the emerging field of multispecies ethnography—how artistic tactics and equipment from biological laboratories might augment existing ethnographic practices. These discussions also prompted us to experiment with new collaborative approaches to writing ethnography.

POACHING

Trespassing beyond the art gallery further into the domain of biology, multispecies ethnographers began stealing organisms—such as bacteria, acorns, and vultures—and claiming them for their own. These transgressions were inspired by Michel de Certeau, who describes "reading as poaching," a form of intellectual trespassing in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Reading as poaching allows one to "convert the text through reading" to trespass on the "private hunting reserves" cultivated by elite literati, who alone claim rights to ascribe meanings to texts or landscapes.²⁸ The tactic of poaching fits within

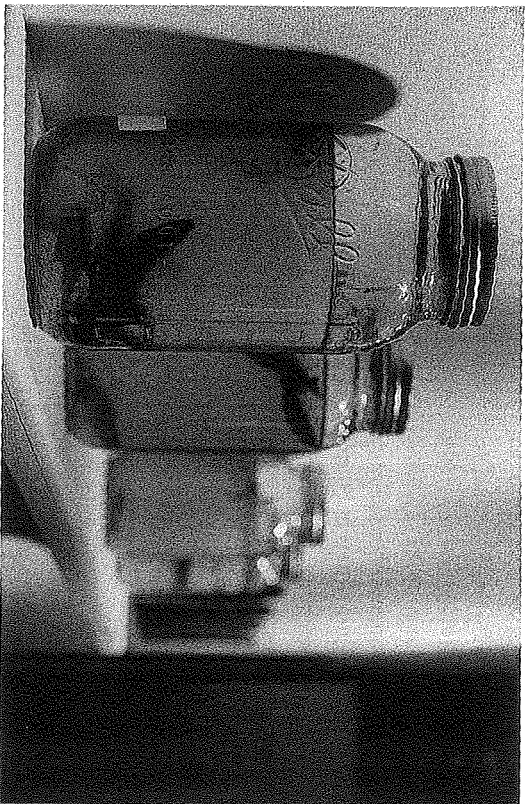


FIGURE 1.1. The Multispecies Salon picked up new elements, like new infectious spores, as the exhibit moved around the United States. Initially the show followed the routes of anthropologists as they travelled from San Francisco (2008) to New Orleans (2010) for a conference: the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association. In New York City the exhibit alighted in midtown Manhattan at the CUNY Graduate Center before migrating across the East River into Brooklyn. There the Salon took up residence at Proteus Gowanus, an art gallery that was probing how “movements are affecting our future on the planet, bringing crisis and calamity aplenty.” A piece illustrating one crisis, called *Multispecies Migrations*, involved living African Clawed Frogs in mason jars. These frogs were first exported from South Africa in the 1930s for use in human pregnancy tests. Unbeknownst to anyone at the time, this frog species can be an asymptomatic carrier of infectious spores from a deadly fungus that has begun to drive thousands of amphibian species extinct. *Multispecies Migrations* (2012) was a collaborative performance art piece involving Eben Kirksey, Mike Khadavi, Krista Dragomer. Photograph courtesy of Rashin Fahandej. See multispecies-salon.org/migrations.

de Certeau's larger argument that consumption is not a passive act determined by systems of production. He suggests that reading is a primary activity of modern consumers and, therefore, of everyday life.

The Matsutake Worlds Research Group, a collective of multispecies ethnographers formed by Anna Tsing, brought the tactic of poaching to the Multispecies Salon. Following the supply chain of matsutake mushrooms around the globe, the group is illuminating the workings of capital and power, nature and culture. “Thoughts for a World of Poaching,” a short essay published by Lieba Faier on behalf of the group, describes how they went about collaborative writing: “What does it mean to “poach” another person’s paper, especially an unpublished one?” asks Faier. The English word “poach” is related to the Middle French word *pocher* (to thrust, poke), and the Old French *pochier* (to poke out, gouge, prod, jab).²⁹ “Poaching is a way of pushing or poking pieces of one’s research towards that of another,” suggests Faier, “something of an offering; not an encroachment but a gift.”³⁰

Conventionally, a Call for Papers (CFP) is issued by editors of books to enlist the participation of authors. We issued a different sort of CFP to lay the groundwork for this book: a Call for Poachers.³¹ A multitude of creative agents, a swarm, responded to our call. Biological anthropologists, multispecies ethnographers, and scholars from kindred interdisciplinary fields attended a special event at the Multispecies Salon in New Orleans. Rather than give conventional fifteen-minute conference presentations about their own work, participants came to the event with texts they had borrowed from others. A spirited discussion erupted as authors met authors. Reports from the field about the latest research were “poached” with fresh theory. Infusing papers with inventive ideas, participants enhanced one another’s papers as one might poach a pear, using red wine and honey to intensify and transform the flavor of the fruit.

Shiho Satsuka, a member of the Matsutake Worlds Research Group, told fellow panelists and the assembled audience that “eating is a nodal point of life and death.” She was poaching insights from the original work of Thom van Dooren, whose article “Vultures and Their People in India” describes how the mass death of carrion birds generated piles of dead bodies and an anthrax outbreak.³² The vultures had been indirectly poisoned with diclofenac, a drug used as an anti-inflammatory for cows. Vultures once gathered along riverbanks of India, consuming the dead bodies of cattle and other animals, sometimes including people. Satsuka framed this ethnographic anecdote as a problem of situated action with other agents in the world, concluding, “As

humans, we are making choices about what multispecies worlds we most want to live in—in this case, whether we should live with anthrax or with vultures.³³

Thom van Dooren's study of entanglements among birds, anthrax viruses, and dead mammals prompted Satsuka to rethink her research on the intimate associations of matsutake mushrooms with other fungi, plants, and microbes.³⁴ "When we think of multispecies connectivities," she said, "eating is central. One's eating and living also means killing other species, directly or indirectly." Satsuka described her ethnographic fieldwork with a group of "Matsutake Crusaders" in Kyoto, Japan, who systematically "clean" the forest of dead wood, fallen leaves, and grasses to create a niche for red pines, a species of tree that forms symbiotic associations with matsutake mushrooms. The Matsutake Crusaders intensively modify forest ecosystems, uprooting broadleaf trees and other competitors of pines. Rather than preserve pristine natural ecosystems outside cultural influences, Satsuka found that the crusaders were selectively killing some species of trees and disturbing ecosystem dynamics to "contribute to the flourishing and health of the land and its critters" (see chapter 3: Blasted Landscapes).³⁵

Panelists pushed and poked at biopolitics, a concept introduced by Michel Foucault in 1975 to understand how life has been optimized and controlled. Foucault was largely concerned with the regulation of human life—how populations of certain human groups were "allowed to die" (*laissez mourir*) while others were "made to live" (*faire vivre*). Our discussions brought these ideas to bear on plants, animals, and mushrooms living together in ecosystems.³⁶ A freshly published paper by Heather Paxson, describing her ethnographic research on the biology and politics of raw-milk cheese, was on the table for poaching. A diversity of microorganisms figured into Paxson's paper: some good for making tasty cheese; others bad for human digestive systems. Drawing on Foucault, Paxson illustrated her own idea of *microbiopolitics*.³⁷ Talking about microbiopolitical heroes and villains, she made it clear that such designs are not absolute but must be judged on the basis of situated, contingent action and effect. Dissent over how to live with microorganisms, Paxson suggested, reflects disagreement about how humans ought to live with one other.³⁸

Illustrating her ideas with a fact of life that made some feel squeamish, Paxson reminded us of an often cited biological finding: that 90 percent of the genetic material in "us" is "not us." Instead, it belongs to "our" microbiome. "No matter how many times I hear this I still experience a little ontological whiplash," said Jake Metcalf, the poacher of Paxson's essay.³⁹ The physical presence of microbes within our bodies thus grounds the claim

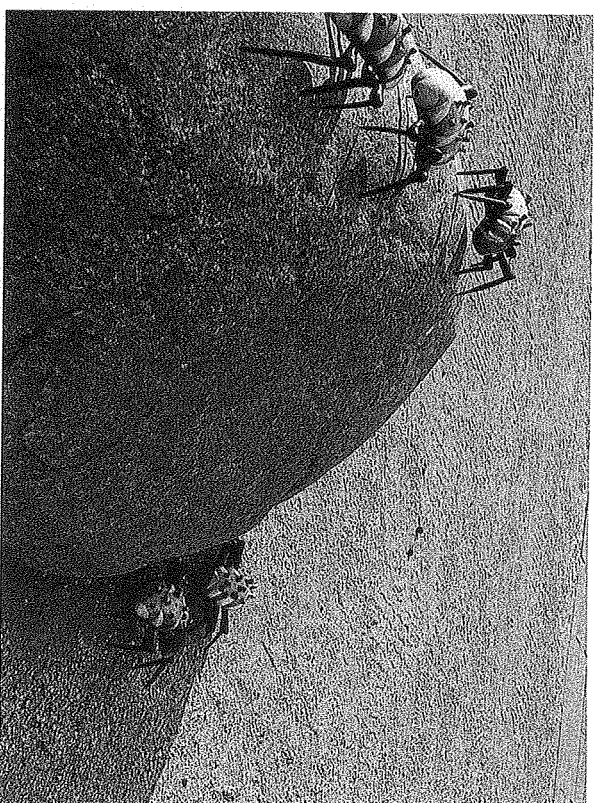


FIGURE 12 Marnia Johnston, *Paranoia Bugs*, ceramic sculptures, 2005. This artwork by Johnston, one of the curators of the Multispecies Salon, invoked the contagious fears that are often triggered when bioartists make tactical interventions (see chapter 5: Life in the Age of Biotechnology). Photograph by Eben Kirksey. See multispecies-salon.org/johnston.

that "human nature is an interspecies relationship."⁴⁰ These beings literally and figuratively make us who we are. *Tactical Biopolitics*, an influential book about bioart edited by Beatriz da Costa and Kavita Philip, begins with a microbiopolitical dictum: "Never think you know all of the species involved in a decision. Corollary: Never think you speak for all of yourself."⁴¹

Poaching is just one of the many *tactics* and clever ruses described by de Certeau. "A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place," he writes. "It is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing.'"⁴² Drawing on the tradition of "tactical media," which combines cheap devices and diverse apparatuses with a do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos, some artists who exhibited their work at the Multispecies Salon reconfigured biopolitical relations by tinkering with technoscience.⁴³ Working with some of the same theoretical ideas animating discussions among anthropologists at the Salon, the artists began to catalyze new insights by reconfiguring matter and meaning with their own creative research practices. Some showcased artworks

made with kitchenware and readily accessible household tools, cooking up genre-bending recipes, bringing our attention to practices of interspecies care and responsibility.⁴⁴ Other artists insinuated themselves into the place of ethnographers as they deliberately messed with the lines that conventionally separate anthropologists and natives, experts and informants.⁴⁵

ARTISTS BECOMING ETHNOGRAPHERS

Performance artists tested out clever tricks for generating productive insights at the Multispecies Salon. These artists might be understood as “para-ethnographers,” to borrow a term coined by George Marcus. Para-ethnography involves collaborations among anthropologists and “other sorts of experts with shared, discovered, and negotiated critical sensibilities.” The root of “para” means “alteration, perversion, or simulation.” It also means “auxiliary”—as in paramedics, professional staff who perform critical medical functions in ambulances and on the front lines, or paralegals, who are qualified to perform legal work through their knowledge of the law gained through education or work experience. Rather than relegate para-ethnographers to a subservient role to bona fide anthropologists, fully embracing their work can destabilize power hierarchies based on expertise.⁴⁶ As artists and anthropologists experimented with different tactics and methods, the Multispecies Salon became a “para-site,” or an auxiliary ethnographic field site.

When the Salon opened in New York City, one performance artist who called herself the Reverend of Nano Bio Info Cogno brought critical attention to biotechnology dreams and schemes. While blessing the gallery opening, she lampooned popular beliefs about the capacity of technology to save humanity from medical and environmental disasters. The Reverend of Nano Bio Info Cogno offered prophecy of technologically mediated rapture. After leading sing-along hymns for scholars at the City University of New York Graduate Center in midtown Manhattan, she ministered to the masses outside on Fifth Avenue. Some anthropologists at the Salon maintained their distance from the Reverend—perhaps wary of being caught up in a performance by a fellow cultural critic who was using unfamiliar methods and tactics. Many passersby were simply perplexed or amused by her presence. Others let the artist do her work. She turned ethnographers into informants, drawing out ambivalent insights about biology and technology.⁴⁷ Cornering an ethnomusicologist who was wandering down Fifth Avenue, she initiated a lively dialogue by inviting him to commune with his mobile phone:

“Put it to your forehead for the third eye experience. You are connected to that device, you can’t live without it.”

“I want to,” replied the obliging ethnomusicologist with a wan smile.

“I’m trying to put it away, to keep it in the bag, to not have it on my body.”

“But why, son? Don’t fight it. Join the Church of Nano Bio Info Cogno.”
(see a video of this exchange at multispecies-salon.org/pilar)

Praba Pilar, the Colombian performance artist who masquerades as the Reverend, has long been critical of emerging technologies that are entrenching divides marked by geography, race, and class.⁴⁸ She insists that we think critically about how technologies are always entangled with systems of resource extraction, industrial production, and labor.⁴⁹ But before she began dressing up in a silver jumpsuit, she found that few people in the United States were willing to take her seriously—few were willing to listen to her critiques of biotechnology and inequality. Adopting the persona of an outlandish biotech booster, Pilar began masquerading as a white person under a thick layer of silver makeup. Fervently celebrating the vacuous promises of new technologies in this disguise, she reached new audiences by staging uneasy, thought-provoking interventions (see chapter 5: *Life in the Age of Biotechnology*).⁵⁰

The Reverend of Nano Bio Info Cogno was just one, among many, performance artists who turned the tables on anthropologists at the Multispecies Salon.⁵¹ Some of these artists became authors, contributing chapters to this book. Caitlin Berrigan invited spectators to join her performance by sipping dandelion root tea while she fed a living dandelion with her own hepatitis C-infected blood.⁵² This gesture of reciprocal care and reciprocal violence illustrated that Berrigan’s blood, which would be dangerous to any human, could nonetheless still serve as a nutritious fertilizer for plants (see chapter 4: *Life Cycle of a Common Weed*). Miriam Simun offered up a tasty sampling of homemade cheese—a blend of goat’s milk and human breast milk obtained from an online marketplace. This edible intervention prompted animated and agitated discussions about the risks of interspecies and intraspecies contact and contagion (see recipe 2: *Human Cheese*).

Performance art augmented conventional ethnographic methods in a project by Karin Bolender, who describes herself as “a poet with a busted tongue.” Bolender’s research involved a seven-week walking journey in the US South with an American Spotted Ass, a variant breed of the common domestic donkey (*Equus asinus*) bred specifically for its piebald (spotted) coat

color. Taking art interventions beyond galleries, Bolender walked with her donkey from Mississippi to Virginia, using her excursion as an opportunity to glean ethnographic insights about landscapes blasted by past horrors and present global economic and political forces. Rather than just write up the results of this research, she made bars of soap as an experiment in multiple species storytelling. Words contain the danger of hurting—or, at the very least, obscuring—ourselves and those we love; Bolender's project involved weaving material and symbolic elements together into a different kind of story. The soap, made with the milk of her donkey companion, congealed invisible traces of bodies and antibodies entangled in specific times and places (see chapter 2: R.A.W. Assmilk Soap).

Hal Foster's critical essay "The Artist as Ethnographer?" (1994) suggests that artists and ethnographers once envied each other. From the artist's point of view, Foster claims, this envy stemmed from ethnographers' ability to conduct contextual analysis, to forge interdisciplinary connections, and to engage in self-critique. On the flip side, Foster alleges that with the artist-*envy* of ethnographers, "The artist becomes a paragon of formal reflexivity, sensitive to difference and open to chance, a self-aware reader of culture understood as text." Anthropology is "prized as the science of alterity," Foster claims, describing others and outsiders on the margins.⁵³ If Foster was writing about the more recent multispecies Zeigeist sweeping art and ethnography, perhaps he would take a similar line to that of Eduardo Kohn, who writes, "If we take otherness to be the privileged vantage from which we defamiliarize our 'nature,' we risk making our forays into the nonhuman a search for ever-stranger positions from which to carry out this project. Nature begins to function like an 'exotic' culture."⁵⁴

Getting past any feelings of envy that might have been present when Foster penned his critical intervention in the 1990s, artists and ethnographers have since initiated and sustained long-term collaborations based on shared aesthetic and critical sensibilities. Ethnographic Terminalia, a curatorial collective that has been staging annual art exhibits since 2009, is only one of the more steadfast groups of artists and anthropologists committed to exploring the possibilities of new media, new locations for interventions, and new methods of asking old questions.⁵⁵ Multispecies ethnographers began collaborating with artists to study long-standing concerns about human nature, as well as speculative questions about matter and meaning. Anthropologists insinuated themselves into the place of artists at the Multispecies Salon to figure out new responses to critiques about the voice, agency, and subjectivity of nonhuman "Others."

ETHNOGRAPHERS BECOMING ARTISTS

During an earlier experimental moment in anthropology, James Clifford drew attention to the fact that ethnography "is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures."⁵⁶ If Clifford understood ethnography as the art of writing culture, then multispecies ethnographers began making culture by collaborating with artists. "Ethnography is much richer in possibility if it collaborates with the practices of other intellectual crafts that have a kinship and resemblance to it," write Fernando Calzadilla and George Marcus.⁵⁷ Rather than just producing "the monograph" or "the essay," anthropologists started to generate multimedia installations and performative interventions, bringing attention to multispecies associations we take for granted and exposing emergent forms of life. Multispecies ethnographers began using art to explore biocultural borderlands, places where species meet.⁵⁸

Future Mix, a pioneering collaborative project that used art and ethnography to probe biocultural entanglements, investigated new possibilities opened up by transgenesis, cloning, regenerative medicine, and stem cell science. Sarah Franklin, a cultural anthropologist at the University of Cambridge, collaborated with a biochemical engineer, an artist, and schoolchildren to generate imaginative responses to emergent technologies. The team fleshed out new biological connections implied (and forged) by the cultivation of human stem cell colonies and the production of *admixed* human-animal hybrid embryos. "Multi-perspectival responses" emerged from the artistic interventions, writes Franklin, "providing a contrast to the insights gained through ethnography or more conventional academic research."⁵⁹

Franklin's team used conventional media, such as drawings, cartoon animations, and videos. Other multispecies ethnographers have cultivated critical friendships with bioartists who grow their own artworks with living matter. Some of these thinkers and tinkers have even created new life forms, opening up a host of ethical questions.⁶⁰ Cobbling together medical and visual apparatuses in new arrangements, bioartists have illuminated living objects of interest to anthropologists and opened up new ethnographic horizons.⁶¹ Ethnographers are expanding their toolkits with help from these artists, who are practiced at poaching scientific instrumentation—for instance, microscopes and DNA test kits. Purlining materials and methods from biological laboratories, ethnographers are producing artworks to ask their own research questions.

Ethnographers, artists, and living organisms co-produced a number of artworks at the Multispecies Salon: a ready-made flask with transgenic fruit flies, a retrofitted refrigerator housing a living rainforest ecosystem, a collage made with microscopic images of a queer bacteria called *Wolbachia* (see chapter 5: Life in the Age of Biotechnology). These para-ethnographic objects facilitated unconventional ways of speaking and thinking about the issues at hand.⁶² Against the backdrop of this lively art, ethnographers gave presentations about their use of novel methods and tactics. Eva Hayward discussed how she “sexed” cup corals by “extracting gut contents with a Pasteur pipette and examining them for sperm under a compound microscope.” Perverting the scientific instrumentation at her disposal, and using her own appendages, Hayward also described how she came to know cup corals through her “fingeryes” by touching, tasting, smelling, and groping the creatures.⁶³

Food artists also showed ethnographers how to craft recipes to rework multispecies entanglements with everyday household appliances. They made concrete proposals for creating livable futures in the aftermath of disaster by reworking matter and meaning. Linda Noelle, the former poet laureate of Ukiah and a member of the Koyungkowi tribe, invited us to savor the bitter flavor of acorn mush while contemplating deeply rooted biocultural networks that have survived white settler colonialism (see recipe 4: Bitter Medicine Is Stronger). Wrapping up indigenous knowledges of starvation foods in brightly colored plastic packets, the artist Lindsay Kelley drew on her own familial entanglements with the US Southwest to subvert dominant regimes for managing life (see recipe 1: Plumpiñon). Deanna Pindell’s guerrilla bioremediation strategy, her recipe for reseeding clear-cut forests with brightly colored wool balls, offers an opportunity to think about the hopeful possibilities that emerge when one subverts dominant regimes for managing life (see recipe 3: Multispecies Communities).⁶⁴

A pair of cultural anthropologists from the Matsutake Worlds Research Group who masquerade under the pen name Mogu Mogu brought delectable mushrooms to a multispecies meal in the gallery. (Mogu Mogu, in China, translates as “mushroom” twice over, while in Japan, the phrase registers the kind of satisfaction in the belly one feels when one says “yum, yum.”⁶⁵) While participants smacked their lips with delight after eating matsutake mushrooms, many certainly also experienced indigestion after sampling insects, dandelions, and other edible companions. Eating freshly baked sourdough bread became an opportunity to discuss Haraway’s ideas about companion species—organic beings such as rice, bees, tulips, and intestinal flora, all of

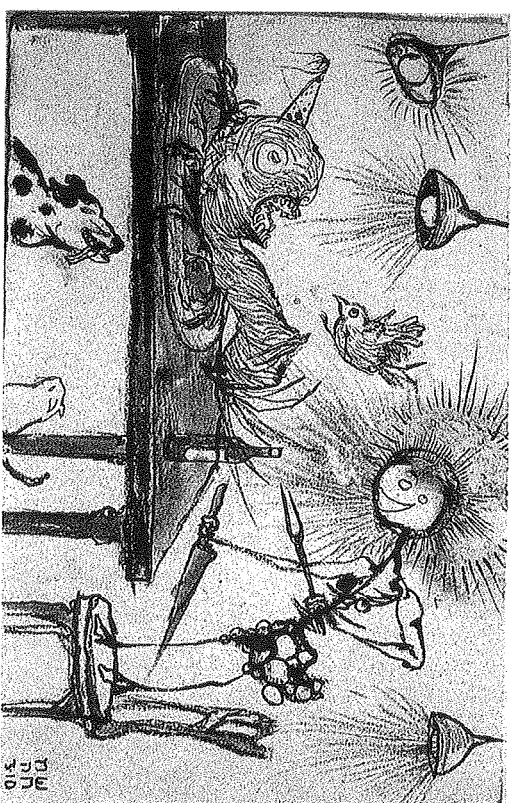


FIGURE 1.3 Myrtle von Damitz III, *Slug Fest*, 2010. Paintings by von Damitz, the core member of the “curatorial swarm” who oversaw the participation of more than eighty artists in the New Orleans show, framed our discussions of creatures that are good to live with and to eat. Image courtesy of the artist and Andy Antipapas, Barrister’s Gallery. See multispecies-salon.org/vondamitz.

which make life for humans what it is, and vice versa.⁶⁶ The etymological roots of “companion,” Haraway reminds us, can be traced to the Latin *cum panis* (with bread). Sniffing living sourdough cultures during this multispecies meal became an opportunity to nourish indigestion, to dwell on the presence of parasitic critters eating and living with us.⁶⁷ (For a video of this meal, see multispecies-salon.org/edible.)

Parasites are loathed in popular culture. The bacteria, viruses, and fungi living on the surface of our bodies, and in our guts, are usually noticed only when they make us sick. Animals like rats and cockroaches, as well as weedy plants like dandelions, are associated with vacant lots, trash heaps, and other sites of abandonment. In French, the word *parasite* has more diverse associations: It refers to “noise” in addition to biological or social freeloaders.⁶⁸ Michel Serres, a French thinker, wrote an unusual book, *The Parasite*, which celebrates the creative and productive potential of noise: “The parasite doesn’t stop. It doesn’t stop eating or drinking or yelling or burping or making thousands of noises or filling space with its swarming and din. . . . [I]t runs and grows. It invades and occupies.”⁶⁹

Anthropologists and artists who poached Serres’s ideas at the Multispecies



FIGURE 14 Goats from the Pretty Doe Dairy, a guerrilla bioremediation scheme, by Nina Nichols and Amy Jenkins (2010). Photograph courtesy of the Black Forest Fancies. See multispecies-salon.org/prettydoedairy.

Salon came to understand the exhibit as a para-site, or a para-ethnographic field site. Ethnographic parasites, in the words of George Marcus, are spaces that facilitate alternative ways to speak and think with “moderately empowered people” who are “deeply complicit with and implicated in powerful institutional processes. . . . The para-site is a space of excess or surplus in a subject’s actions but is never fully controllable by him or her. [It is] a site of alternavity in which anything, or at least something different, could happen.”⁷⁰ The Multispecies Salon involved the unfolding of encounters. The exhibit was an initial attempt to get at something we did not already know rather than a reorganizing of existing knowledge. In this book we have written up the results of this provisional experiment in conversation with a multitude of poachers and para-ethnographers.

GLEANINGS FROM A PARA-SITE

The same transgressive spirit that guided artists and anthropologists who collaborated in making culture at the Salon also guided our turn back to writing culture, as we gleaned texts, images, and ideas from galleries after the artworks were packed up and shipped home. Gleaning is a form of trespassing that makes use of excess. Rusten Hogness, a science writer, has produced a multimedia website called “Gleaning Stories, Gleaning Change,” with ethnographic vignettes about contemporary gleaning practices in Northern California.⁷¹ Hogness has recorded the stories of gleaners who descend on farm fields after harvests, picking up any food that is left.

“Gleaning is a democratic, individualized practice,” says Susan Friend Harding, a cultural anthropologist who accompanied Hogness to lettuce fields and orchards near Santa Cruz. Gleans involve swarms of people who descend on freshly harvested fields who generate “a gathering, rather than a community.” Rather than “conscious collaborations, interactions across boundaries” of language and culture, gleaners are “a bit out of control . . . often with an element of revelry.” Both the Bible and the Qur’an have passages celebrating gleaning and charity, but recent legislation has turned gleaning into stealing. Gleaners must obtain special permissions from landowners in the contemporary United States before taking excess produce from fields.⁷² The spirit of gleaning guided the intellectual work that went into editing this book, as common threads from diverse stories told at the Multispecies Salon were picked out and woven together.⁷³

“Narratives appeared in sudden snippets and disjointed revelations” at the Multispecies Salon, wrote Matt Thompson in a review of the exhibit for the *Savage Minds* blog: “There was a clear connection to the human,” he continued. “The exhibit remained consistently relevant to anthropology throughout. And it sent out rhizomes to tap into relationships with other living things: animal, plant, microbe. Hidden ecologies—networks of bio-culture—unsettled established narratives about history, gender, and trade. No noble savages were found in this clearing of naturecultures. Indeed, romantics were largely absent while the surrealist love of the found object and the psychoanalytic was embraced with revelry. Painting, sculpture, fashion, architecture, collage, video, photography, and installation art enlivened the show. While robots roamed around, clacking and blinking, a troupe of actresses demonstrated a home pregnancy test by injecting human urine into a frog.”⁷⁴

This book is a gathering of poachings and gleanings from a para-site—a

collection of recipes, ethnographic vignettes, and other genre-bending essays that speak to the three themes at play in the Multispecies Salon. “Blasted Landscapes” (part I) will lead readers from the wickedly hot, haunted, and weedy US South to the radioactive gardens of Japan, and back again. Recipes and treatises about “Edible Companions” (part II) will unravel microbiopolitical entanglements with critters that are both good to live with and good to eat. Creatures that are proliferating amid the dreams and schemes of late capitalism will be illuminated by essays concerning “Life and Biotechnology” (part III). Gathering together snippets of narrative and establishing connections among disjointed revelations, this book knits together insights that emerged during the Multispecies Salon. Bringing together multispecies ethnographers, theorists, and artists who double as authors, this collection departs from apocalyptic tales about environmental destruction, and fabulous stories of salvation, to illustrate sites of modest biocultural hope.

NOTES

Collaborative authorship is a relatively new phenomenon in mainstream cultural anthropology. This gives us the opportunity to invent new conventions for spelling out collaborative labor relations. The *Journal of Science*, for example, requires authors to quantify contributions for each paper they publish with percentage points. In addition to tallying up numbers for the design and interpretation of experiments, *Science* authors are asked to account for “particular, specialized roles in the research, e.g. statistical analysis, crystallography, preparation of cell lines.” Eben Kirksey did the lion’s share of the work in writing this introduction. He designed the experiment (curating art exhibits to test out new methods and tactics of multispecies ethnography) and played the leading role in the acquisition of the data by installing the exhibits, interviewing artists, coordinating para-ethnographers, and formulating a Call for Poachers. Kirksey also took the lead in interpreting and analyzing data, as well as in drafting and revising the manuscript. Craig Schuetz helped in the early phases of the project by participating in the design of the experiment, formulating the CRP, and conducting and transcribing interviews. Schuetz also transformed “raw” field notes into “cooked” thick description, drafting the very first accounts of Multispecies Salon happenings. Stefan Helmreich provided pointers to histories of anthropology and kept chasing after questions of sex, gender, and race as they appeared and (sometimes) disappeared in discussions of multispecies becomings. This introduction expands our earlier essays (Kirksey and Helmreich, “The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography”; Kirksey et al., “Poaching at the Multispecies Salon”). We build on central theoretical concepts and claims from these earlier interventions, pushing and poking them in new directions. For the “Science/AAAS Authorship Form and Statement of Conflicts of Interest” see <http://www.science.org.org>, accessed February 13, 2014.

1. Ron Broglio has explored related questions about art in the cultural world of humans while coming to terms with nonhuman realms. He explores how art calls us to consider and negotiate the space of the animal other: Broglio, *Surface Encounters*, xvii.

2. Mitchell was actually writing about history, but the same can certainly be said of ethnography: Mitchell, “Can the Mosquito Speak?” 29.

3. Grimm et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 168.

4. Susan Leigh Star first suggested, “It is both more analytically interesting and more politically just to begin with the question, *cui bono?* than to begin with a celebration of the fact of human/non-human mingling”: Star, “Power, Technologies, and the Phenomenology of Conventions,” 43. See also Haraway, *When Species Meet*.

5. Haraway, *Primate Visions*.

6. Tsing, “Unruly Edges,” 144.

7. Morgan, *The American Beaver and His Works*, 281–82; see also Feeley-Harnik, “The Ethnography of Creation: Lewis Henry Morgan and the American Beaver.”

8. See, e.g., Star and Griesemer, “Institutional Ecology, Translation, and Boundary Objects.”

9. Kirksey and Helmreich, “The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography,” contains an exhaustive review of the literature on ethnobotany, animal studies, political ecology, ethno-primateology, and science studies. For other recent literature reviews, see Cassidy, “Lives with Others”; Fuentes, “Ethnoprimateology and the Anthropology of the Human-Primate Interface”; Mullin, “Mirrors and Windows”; Nazara, “Local Knowledge and Memory in Biodiversity Conservation.”

10. Appadurai, “Introduction,” 17, 20.

11. Donna Haraway has critically evaluated the prospect of “speaking with” other beings across species lines. She describes how Penny Patterson, a graduate student at Stanford University, taught a modified version of American Sign Language to Koko, a gorilla with a “vulgar sense of humor” who invented a variety of jokes and insults: see Haraway, *Primate Visions*, 142. Her more recent *Companion Species Manifesto* describes attempts at interspecies communication with her own dogs and explores the power relations at play in a “pedagogy of positive bondage” that provides canines “the freedom to live safely in multi-species, urban and sub-urban environments with very little physical restraint and no corporal punishment”: Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, 46. Joe Hutto, a naturalist who spent a year living with a group of turkeys, learned how to interpret and imitate turkey calls and even initiate dialogue about other beings in the world. Hutto learned to say, “Look, a snake!” and “Everything is OK.” “With the exception of my incorrect vocalizations now and then,” Hutto reports, “we have never had any significant miscommunication”: Hutto, *Illumination in the Flanwoods*, 152. Multispecies ethnographers are starting to follow naturalists, primatologists, and comparative psychologists to responsibly speak with and for others, across species lines.

12. Latour, *Politics of Nature*, 67, 231–32.

13. Here we are echoing Mitchell’s question “Can the mosquito speak?” Mitchell, in turn, was borrowing from Gayatri Spivak, who famously asked, “Can the subaltern speak?” Spivak was asking whether subordinate others had any pos-

stibility of being represented in dominant languages and discourses: Mitchell, *The Rule of Experts*; Spirak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" For a similar criticism of Latour, see Kohn, *How Forests Think*, 40.

14. Susan Leigh Star, personal communication, September 12, 2008.

15. Haraway, *When Species Meet*.

16. Knight, *Animals in Person*, 1.

17. Henare et al., *Thinking through Things*, 6.

18. Candea, "I Fell in Love with Carlos the Meerkat," 243.

19. Tsing, "Unruly Edges," 144.

20. Hamilton and Placas, "Anthropology Becoming . . . ?" 252.

21. See Rabinow and Rose, "Biopower Today"; Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*; Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*.

22. Haraway, "Manifesto for Cyborgs," 65.

23. Wolfe, *What Is Posthumanism?*

24. Marcus and Myers, *The Traffic in Culture*, describes how art and anthropology can interact to create a "discursive arena." See also Calzadilla and Marcus, "Artists in the Field." The fertile terrain where art and anthropology intersect has already been discussed: see Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer"; Pinney and Thomas, *Beyond Aesthetics*; Schneider, "Uneasy Relationships."

25. The artists whose work animated the prose in this paragraph are, in order of mention, Craig Schuetze (*Animal Ambassadors*); Rachel Mayeri (*Primate Cinema*), a collaborative piece involving Traci Warkentin, Eben Kirksey, and Michael Gooder (*Umwehen*); Frédéric Landmann (*Wolbachia and Drosophila*); Andre Brodyk (*Alzheimer's Portraits*); and Ruth Wallen (*If Frogs Sicken and Die, What Will Happen to the Princess?*).

26. Bioart entails "tactical biopolitics," a do-it-yourself approach to remaking biological and political relations, in the words of Beatriz da Costa and Kavita Philip, who edited *Tactical Biopolitics*, a definitive book on the subject. For other key accounts of the bioart movement, see Anker and Nelkin, *The Molecular Gaze*; Kac, *Signs of Life*; Wolfe, "From Dead Meat to Glow-in-the-Dark Bunnies"; Zylińska, *Bioethics in the Age of New Media*. Ecoartists work with dynamic processes and agents—organisms that grow, mutate, and die, according to Linda Weintraub's account in *To Live!* Grounded in an ecological ethic, these artists are experimenting with new practices of restoration and remediation: see Wallen, "Ecological Art," 235.

27. Beuys was a twentieth-century art icon who inspired much subsequent work by ecoartists and environmental activists. One of Beuys's iconic performance pieces, *Coyote: I Like America and America Likes Me* (1974), involved living in a cage for three days with an animal—a coyote named "Little John"—in a New York City art gallery. Critics of the day uncritically celebrated Beuys's attempt to reconcile and communicate with animals, nature, and shamanic spirits of Native Americans. Art historians have more recently subjected the piece to rigorous critique. Beuys moved beyond the notion that "nature" is a physical backdrop to human history but assumed that nature is deeply ingrained in the "cultural unconscious" of modern human societies.

While mystifying nature and misappropriating indigenous religious traditions, Beuys enlisted the coyote in a "social sculpture" that inadvertently reinforced and sustained the idea that humans are dominant over animals and ecological systems. Regarding animals, plants, or microbes as "artists" or "collaborators" in a common project similarly risks hiding relations of domination and exploitation. On Beuys, see Gandy, "Contradictory Modernities," 638. On collaboration, see Kirksey, *Freedom in Entangled Worlds*, 2–7. On hidden hegemonies in art, see Bishop, "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics," 65. For a discussion of the agency of material artifacts, see Gell, *Art and Agency*.

28. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 165, 171, 176.

29. Here we are "poaching" de Certeau's original ideas and language. In the French original of *The Practice of the Everyday Life* (*L'invention du quotidien*), he does not play with the Middle French word *pocher* or the Old French *pochier*. The original text uses the word *braconnage*, which only means "poaching" in the sense of hunting. We are layering in these other meanings, building on interpretations by the Matsutake Worlds Research Group and engaging in trans-linguistic word play.

30. Matsutake Worlds Research Group, "Thoughts for a World of Poaching." See also Choy et al., "A New Form of Collaboration," 385.

31. "CFP: Call for Poachers," accessed July 19, 2013, <http://ebenkirksey.blogspot.com.au>.

32. van Dooren, "Vultures and Their People in India."

33. Satsuka, "Eating Well with Others/Eating Others Well," 134.

34. Matsutake form structures called mycorrhiza, or "fungus roots," with the roots of red pines. Through these mycorrhiza, the mushrooms exchange nutrients with living trees.

35. Haraway, quoted in Satsuka, "Eating Well with Others/Eating Others Well," 137. See also chapter 3 in this volume.

36. Along related lines, Rafi Youatt describes how biopolitics became "a form of ecologically distributed power that involves interventions in human and nonhuman lives": Youatt, "Counting Species," 409.

37. Microbiopolitics involves the circulation of matter and meaning in local networks, outside dominant regimes of biopolitics—standardized and centralized approaches to managing life. In a similar vein, Molly Mullin has described how some dog owners, who call themselves "wild feeders," refuse to buy into the corporate pet food industry. Elsewhere, Mullin has conducted an authoritative review of the literature on animals in anthropology. She explores studies that have explicitly attempted to combine economic, ecological, and symbolic perspectives on food. Research on hunting and pastoralism has begun to grapple with how relationships among humans, animals, and their environments have been transformed by colonial and neocolonial processes: Mullin, "Feeding the Animals," 293; Mullin, "Mirrors and Windows," 209.

38. Paxson, "Post-Pastorian Cultures," 15. See also the interlude in this volume.

39. Metcalf, "Fermenting Ethics," 147.

40. Tsing, "Unruly Edges," 144.

41. da Costa and Philip, *Tactical Biopolitics*, xvii–xix. Dumit, “Foreword,” xii.
42. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xix.
43. “An aesthetic of poaching, tricking, reading, speaking, strolling, shopping, desiring” animates the tactical media movement. Garcia and Lovink, “The ABC of Tactical Media.” See also Raley, *Tactical Media*, 43; Critical Art Ensemble, *Digital Resistance*, 23; Wodiczko, *Critical Vehicles*, 25; da Costa and Philip, *Tactical Biopolitics*, xvii–xix.
44. Bureaud, “The Ethics and Aesthetics of Biological Art,” 39; Zurr, “Completing Notions of Life,” 402; Kac, *Signs of Life*.
45. Anthropology has long been focused on “representing the colonized,” in the words of Edward Said: Said, “Representing the Colonized.” One influential art intervention in 1993, “The Couple in the Cage: A Guatnanu Odyssey,” deliberately played with this problematic exhibitionary tradition. Guillermo Gomez-Peña and Coco Fusco put themselves on display in museums as caged Amerindians from an imaginary island. While the artists’ intent was to create a satirical commentary on the notion of discovery, they soon realized that many of their viewers believed the fiction and thought the artists were real “savages”: Fusco, “Couple in the Cage,” accessed February 13, 2014, <http://www.things.net/~cocofusco>.
46. Holmes and Marcus, “Refunctioning Ethnography,” 1104; Marcus, “Multi-sited Ethnography,” 188; Marcus, *Para-Sites*, 7–9.
47. See also Foster, “The Artist as Ethnographer.”
48. Similar insights about inequalities in access to health care that cut along lines of race, class, and geography have been explored by medical anthropologists: see, e.g., King, “Immigration, Race, and Geographies of Difference in the Tuberculosis Pandemic”; Sunder Rajan, *Biocapital*.
49. Haraway, *Moderst_Witness@Second_Millennium_FemaleMan_Meets_Onco-Mouse*, 42.
50. Fortun, “Mediated Speculations in the Genomics Futures Markets,” 146. See also chapter 5 in this volume.
51. Playing with the French word *hôte*, which means both “host” and “guest” in English, Michel Serres suggests, “It might be dangerous not to decide who is the host and who is the guest, who gives and who receives, who is the parasite and who is the *table d’hôte*, who has the gift and who has the loss, and where hostility begins within hospitality”: Serres, *The Parasite*, 15–16.
52. “Viruses appear as authors, as agents; they govern us, they rule, they reign; they are fickle, whimsical, unreasonable, inconstant” writes Ed Cohen. “They veer from one place to another; they shift shapes”: Cohen, “The Paradoxical Politics of Viral Containment,” 17. With this performance, Berrigan explored the limits of viral agency, showing that human viruses fail to rule and reign in the world of plants.
53. Foster, “The Artist as Ethnographer?” 305.
54. E-mail from Kohn, quoted in Kirksey and Helmreich, “The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography,” 562.
55. For an early example of such collaborations, after the critical turn in anthropology, see: Calzadilla and Marcus, “Artists in the Field.” For more on Ethnographic Terminalia, see Brodine et al., *Ethnographic Terminalia*.
56. Clifford, “Introduction,” 2. See also Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 8.
57. Calzadilla and Marcus, “Artists in the Field,” 96–97.
58. Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 25; Haraway, *When Species Meet*. See also Schneider and Wright, *Contemporary Art and Anthropology*, 1; Kolodny, “Rethinking Frontier Literary History as the Stories of First Cultural Contact,” 18.
59. Franklin, “Future Mix,” 81.
60. da Costa and Philip, *Tactical Biopolitics*, xvii–xix. Dumit, “Foreword,” xii.
61. Bureaud, “The Ethics and Aesthetics of Biological Art,” 39; Zurr, “Completing Notions of Life,” 402; Kac, *Signs of Life*.
62. See Marcus, *Para-Sites*, 5.
63. Hayward, “Fingeryeyes.”
64. Pindell is an ecocrit who addresses the web of interrelationships in which art exists—the physical, biological, cultural, political, and historical aspects of ecosystems. “Ecoartists, in creating their work, engage in collaborations with places and nonhuman agencies,” writes Beth Carruthers. Ecoart involves making subversive interventions or confrontational direct actions. It entails a mode of praxis, to borrow the key phrase from Carruthers’s work, which involves “acting as if everything matters”: Carruthers, “Praxis,” 8. See also Gablik, *The Reenchantment of Art*, 7; Wallen, “Ecological Art,” 235.
65. Tim Choy and Shihō Satsuka are Mōgu. See Matsutake Worlds Research Group, “A New Form of Collaboration in Cultural Anthropology,” 384–89; Myers, “Poaching Mushrooms,” 139–41.
66. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, 15.
67. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 78, 300.
68. Wolfe, “Introduction,” xiii.
69. Serres, *The Parasite*, 253.
70. Marcus, *Para-Sites*, 5.
71. Hogness participated in the first Multispecies Salon event in 2006, playing a special segment of a different radio show, “California Bird Talk,” which is available on his website at <http://www.hogradio.org>. “Gleaning Stories, Gleaning Change” is hosted by the Digital Humanities Initiative at the University of California, Santa Cruz, accessed February 13, 2014, <http://humweb.ucsc.edu/gleaningsstories>.
72. Donna Haraway collaborated with Hogness on the project. (Hogness is Haraway’s husband). She describes gleaning as “complex connection through bodily pleasure.” Venturing into these fields became an opportunity for Haraway to reflect on the fact that hunger “is not a natural disaster but a political arrangement.” She says, “The history of gleaning is tied to the rights of the peasantry to glean after the harvest.” With enclosures came “the deepening of rights of property over and against the rights of communities, gleaning became illegal in Europe.” The contemporary gleaning initiatives described by Hogness are sponsored by Ag Against Hunger, a group of businesses interested in charity “within a world where we take poverty and hunger as a natural fact”: see <http://humweb.ucsc.edu/gleaningsstories>.
73. If Clifford Geertz famously described “The Anthropologist as Author,” per-

haps it is time to move beyond an individualistic model of innovation to think about the anthropologist as editor who gleans narratives and ideas from others: Geertz, *Works and Lives*.

74. Matt Thompson, "Swarm," accessed January 15, 2011, <http://savageminds.org/2010/11/29/swarm>. See also Hannah et al., "The Xenopus Pregnancy Test."

PART I

BLASTED

LANDSCAPES

