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Issue in Honor of Terence S. Turner

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Terence Turner was known for his committed long-term ethnography and advocacy work with the Kayapo as well as for his innovative anthropological theory: his work on value, his approaches to the body and adornment, kinship, political organization, film and self representation, indigenous engagement with environmentalism, ritual, and the production of social consciousness among other topics. As Steve Sangren and Dominic Boyer (2006) have observed, these facets of his career—ethnography, advocacy, and theory—are not unrelated. Turner's decades-long ethnographic engagement with Kayapo communities was the foundation and springboard for his theoretical insights. And, as Turner (2006) himself has noted, his advocacy was crucial to his ethnography and to the development his theoretical work, not an endeavor done alongside of or in addition to his scholarship. The papers in this volume are all contributions of his former students and speak to select parts of this well-integrated Turnerian endeavor that we came to know and admire over the course of our graduate careers at the University of Chicago and at Cornell University. Thanks to Turner's wife, Jane Fajans, and daughters, Vanessa and Allison Fajans-Turner, we are fortunate to be able to include a selection of photos from their family's collection. They give us a vivid portrait of Terry over many decades.

Terry was for all of us, a bit larger than life. Upon meeting him, one was struck both by his keen intelligence and physically imposing presence. His voice seemed to be always animated by the energy of the argument he was formulating. Getting to know him as a teacher and advisor, one gradually realized that he possessed an unusual combination of abilities. He was, as is obvious from his publications, a very systematic thinker as well as uncannily perceptive, and at times also shockingly direct, in his critiques of other approaches. But he was also unusually gentle in his guidance, letting us go our own ways to seek our own theoretical inspirations. He did not demand that his approach to be replicated. As Marcos Lanna notes in this volume, he was more concerned to be understood than quoted. One had the sense that he was committed to respecting the agency of his students and treating them as equals. He had a clear vision, one that he was ready to vigorously defend, but he was also open to new ideas and interpretations and we felt that he allowed us to chart our own paths.

Papers in this volume came from a much more encompassing collection of papers held in his honor at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 2013 in Chicago.¹ They represent only a sampling of the topics presented there.² The contributions included in this special issue honor Turner's theoretical creativity and his dedication to ethnography. They show how some of his interventions are important anthropological contributions, widely applicable beyond the Kayapo and lowland South America. Much like Claude Lévi-Strauss and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, Turner's work is both firmly grounded in the ethnography of the lowlands and has important implications for anthropological theory and practice more generally. Turner's ideas have, for example, been employed in research concerning aboriginal Australia (Myers 1986), China (Sangren 1987, 2000), Nepal (Holmberg 2000), New Guinea (Fajans 1997; Munn 1986), and South Africa (Comaroff 1985, 1997; White 2011). Articles by Jessica Jerome and Kathleen Lowrey carry on Turner's work on the value and reproduction of households through rich ethnographic discussions of small town life in the Brazilian Northeast city of Fortaleza and in a Guarani-speaking indigenous community in Bolivia. The first and last articles are less explicitly ethnographic, but point out the implications of Turner's ideas for ethnographic projects beyond the South American lowlands. The first by Daniel Reichman gives a sense how his ideas reflect a creative synthesis of his training at the Harvard Department of Social Relations, his reading of Marx, and his Kayapo fieldwork that offer insights for the ethnography of globalization. The last article by Marcos Lanna is inspired by Turner's way of bringing areas of scholarship together in un-

conventional and interesting ways and makes the case that something similar to Marx's ideas of alienation can be found in Mauss's work. Each of these articles points back to some of Turner's more creative works and shows their continuing potential to inform new research.

Reichman discusses Turner's graduate training under Talcott Parsons and how a revised Parsonian theory emerged through his study of Marx that also resulted in revisions to Marxist anthropology. Reichman argues that at a fundamental level Turner carried on Parsons' interest in the relationship between structure and agency. To more productively explore this relationship, however, he imported Marxian ideas on production, value, ideology, and the nature of symbolic activity. With this move, he added a critical dimension to Parsonian theory. Through these Marxist ideas, the Parsonian concept of a collective system of value also came to be understood as transformable, rather than static as in its earlier formulation. Turner's Parsonian training, in turn, led him to see the appropriate focus for a Marxian approach as the production of fully social persons whose action is oriented toward the pursuit of social values in place of an approach that focused more narrowly on economic value. Turner first applied this approach to understand the Kayapo and only later to transnational and global relations. Reichman sees this analytical move as offering a useful alternative to Marxist political economy for understanding globalization because it provides "a way to think about the relationship between changing ways of life and changing ways of understanding and symbolically representing the world." He points out that, in its refusal to one-sidedly stress either the capitalist market or local cultural systems it offers a means of understanding the production of social consciousness.

Turner's work on the ritual means through which social consciousness was produced for Kayapo at different historical moments is particularly insightful in this respect. As most readers of *Tipiti* know well, in Turner's Kayapo ethnography, ritual practice often plays the pivotal role in how new social wholes are imagined. Turner's (1999) analysis of the Altamira protest of the proposed Kararao Dam in 1989, for example, shows brilliantly how the Kayapo Green Corn ceremony was used by chiefs as an "organizational and ideological matrix" to communicate to the rest of the Kayapo what was being threatened by the dam, namely the generative interdependence of society and nature. The performance of the ritual in the context of the multiethnic international protest created a cross-cultural link between Kayapo values and the values of foreign and urban environmentalists. Turner furthermore showed how a dramatization of a part of the Kayapo myth of the corn tree during this ceremony, was reworked by chiefs to suggest a pattern for interethnic indigenous unity. Similarly, at the 2006 protest held against the same dam (rebaptized "Belo Monte" by Brazilian authorities) in the Kayapo village of Piraçu, a new collective ritual was staged in which senior and junior chiefs from different communities partnered to plant seedlings, thereby representing the coming into being of a unified "Kayapo" ethnic group in the place of independent, often antagonistic villages (Turner and Fajans-Turner 2006:6). Turner's work is compelling because it shows exactly how ritual can work as switch-point for conceptualizing and bringing into being these new kinds of social wholes. The fact that Turner worked with the Kayapo for over five decades allowed for him to track changing collective representations over an unusually long span of time. How emergent social entities come to be imagined for participants is a crucial part of understanding contemporary advocacy as it so often relies on the construction of expansive, novel, and frequently also ephemeral social connections. Articles by Jessica Jerome and Kathleen Lowrey develop Turner's work on value by adding a focus on gender. Jerome's article discusses the values of dignity and fraternity produced by mature women in the households of a poor neighborhood in Fortaleza, Brazil through activities such as courtyard maintenance, providing care, and cooking meals for others. She argues that values produced at the household level are in opposition to the values expressed and enacted by public officials at community health care councils. This leads senior woman to avoid participating in these gatherings for fear of being dispossessed of values accrued at the level of the household. Her use of Turner's focus on activities generative of value offers an answer to the question of why the public health meetings are not better attended by community members. Turner's work on value and his theoretical depiction of the human subject as a living body constituted in action is thus brought to bear on an applied problem in medical anthropology.

Lowrey, through a retrospective account of her own decades-long research in Guarani-speaking communities in Bolivia, tracks her own changing research focus from showy male

shamans and their display of dominance to the less immediately perceptible, but equally valued, care-giving of less charismatic shamans and their wives. She draws parallels between these values of dominance and care-giving and the values of dominance and beauty which Turner identified in Kayapo communities. Lowrey highlights the relevance of women and family organization for different types of male shamanism. The more showy, “dominant” shamanism is correlated with polygamy and the inheritance of power. The understated, “beautiful” shamanism is correlated with monogamy and the acquisition of power directly from forest spirits. Lowrey credits Turner’s attention to the household and topics such as child socialization and bodily treatment among the Kayapo, as having eventually lead her to a sensitive appreciation of the quieter, less showy role of women and family with respect to shamanism. Lowrey’s article also highlights the hybrid nature of many Amazonian communities. Isoso’s communities were formed when Guarani migrants, desiring control of trade networks, conquered local Arawakan-speaking people. Her observations regarding the co-existence of multiple kinds of marriage practices, household structures, and opposing sorts of values suggests how regimes of value may reflect intergroup history.

Recently, David Graeber (2001 and 2013) has set out to further expand upon and develop Turner’s ideas on value, with the aim of formulating a general “anthropological” or “ethnographic theory of value.” One of his observations is that Turner’s theory of value requires that one think in terms of social wholes, an idea that, at least in any simple sense, now has come to be seen as a throwback to earlier kind of anthropology, which can make Turner’s ideas seem outmoded. Both Jerome’s and Lowrey’s papers speak to some of Graeber’s recommendations for how to bring Turner’s work into line with contemporary conceptualizations of social realities. As Graeber observes, there can be more than one imagined social whole oriented around distinct values. Actors are part of many different value regimes or “universes” over the course of their lives and even over the course of a day (Graeber 2013). The household universe and the public health universe are two within which the poor in Fortaleza circulate, as are the care-giving household and more male-dominated public (and even in some cases) international domains in Isoso, Bolivia.

Along with his stress on the need to conceive of social totalities, Graeber (2013:266) emphasizes the role played by public recognition in the realization of value. The subjective sense of being recognized by an audience as someone possessing value is also stressed by Nancy Munn (1986) in her work on the production of value in Gawa. The agency exercised by Jerome’s women in Fortaleza’s poor neighborhoods who refuse to go to public health meetings can be seen in their choice of public evaluators. Their absence from public meetings, in effect, excludes one possible audience and potential universe in favor of a universe comprised of neighborhood households. Lowrey’s discussion of her engagement with different types of shamans in Isoso opens up the issue of the anthropologist as a significant, recognition-granting audience, one who, in many cases, is also linked to funding from NGOs and universities. One wonders after reading her account if the overriding anthropological preference for and gravitation toward the hypermasculine, “dominant” sort of shaman, might not, in fact, be playing a significant role in shaping lowland traditions of shamanism.

Marcos Lanna’s article addresses Mauss’s conceptualization of the capitalist market and gift prestation as two forms of exchange existing side by side (cf. Turner 1968) to argue that the gift has an encompassing quality that can also include the commodity form itself. Turner’s orientation towards exchange leans decidedly in the direction of Marx, seeing it in relation to the total process of social production, circulation, and reproduction of which it forms but one moment or aspect (Turner 1989:260). Although inspired by Turner’s work on value in non-capitalist societies, especially that which keeps the notions of exchange and circulation analytically distinct, Lanna follows a more Levi-Straussian line of thought. Learning from Turner (1989:263) that “[n]ames, or reputations, circulate but are not ‘exchanged,’” Lanna argues that gift prestations are in fact debt circuits. His comparison of Mauss to Marx and Lacan with respect to their ideas of alienation offers a way to approach the contradictory relation between persons and things, as both inextricably linked, yet distinct.

The photographs in this special issue take us from Turner’s participation at the Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, Germany in 1968 to his fieldwork among the Kayapo, work that began in 1962 and spanned until his death in 2015. When I would mention that I was a stu-

dent of Turner (also known as “Wakampu”) to Kayapo that I met in the Xingu Park during the era when some still lived there, the response I received at the mention of his name was a striking mixture of respect and warmth. The photos of Turner with Kayapo individuals show these same sentiments. The image of Turner gathering census data taken by Mike Beckham, director of the films, *The Kayapo* (1987) and *The Kayapo: Out of the Forest* (1989), is from the period of Turner’s initial work with ethnographic film. He was the consultant anthropologist on these award-winning films, but more significantly, he also encouraged the Kayapo to become involved with filming and editing during these projects. In 1990 Turner founded the Kayapo Video Project, an endeavor that was awarded the United Nations Equator Prize in 2015. His involvement in Kayapo ethnographic film led to a series of articles on the Kayapo’s use of video in political protest as well as Kayapo ideas of beauty (1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1995, 2002, 2003). The photo of Turner’s face being painted in red achiote brings to mind one of his most widely cited and reproduced articles, *The Social Skin*, (most recently reproduced in 2012) in which he explored the skin and hair as domains where self and society interface and which convey a system of meanings and structural principles. Turner’s activism is featured in several photos. Over his life, he worked with the Kayapo as well as other indigenous peoples for indigenous rights. He was, for example, the president of Survival International and a founding member of the American Anthropological Association’s Ethics and Human Rights Committee. In 1998 he received the Solon T. Kimball Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Application of Anthropology to Human Rights and Development Issues. He worked with Kayapo and others against their exploitation and to gain the legal recognition of Kayapo territory. In a number of photos Turner is pictured, fittingly, in conversation with various Kayapo leaders, including chiefs Magaron and Raoni. In another, he is pictured at the 2006 Piraçu protest of the Belo Monte Dam. As a group, these images remind us that Turner was full of energy and compassion and that his life was spent engaged in fights for the causes he believed were just. The papers published in this volume are, in great part, an expression of gratitude of those of us who feel lucky to have had Terry as our teacher.

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Notes

¹Co-organized by Michael Cepek and myself, this session included papers by Thomas Abercrombie, Michael Cepek, Lêda Martins, Stuart Rockefeller, Stephan Schwartzman, Julie Skurski, and myself in addition to the ones published here.

²The session also included papers on advocacy. Lêda Martins, for example, presented “Since *Tristes Tropiques*: Considerations about Anthropology and Indigenous Rights” which described anthropologists’ twentieth-century engagement in human rights in the Amazon region. In a presentation, since published (Schwartzman et al. 2013, that carries on Terry’s work against environmental degradation in Amazonia, Stephan Schwartzman spoke on how indigenous lands and protected areas work to halt deforestation.

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