

DISSERTATION FIELDWORK GRANT APPLICATION

MAY 2018

(Do not change the default format. Please limit your responses to the space provided.)

<p>1. Name of Applicant (Please give full legal name: first, middle, and SURNAME in uppercase letters): Lukas Robert ABERLE</p> <p>Preferred Mailing Address of Applicant: 4624 SW 29th Pl., Portland, OR</p> <p>E-mail: aberlelr@plu.edu Telephone: (503) 502-8330 Fax:</p>	<p>2. Name of Supervisor, Department, & Institution: Jordan Levy, Anthropology, Pacific Lutheran University</p> <p>Mailing Address of Supervisor:</p> <p>E-mail: levyjd@plu.edu Telephone: (253) 535-8285 Fax:</p>
<p>3. Applicant's Personal Information Gender: Male Date & Place of Birth: <u>08/26/1996, Portland, OR</u> Citizenship: <u>United States of America</u></p>	
<p>4. Applicant's Education History Highest Academic Degree: Bachelors Year Degree Awarded: <u>2019</u> Institution Awarding Degree: <u>Pacific Lutheran University</u></p>	
<p>5. Applicant's Current Doctoral Status Are you registered for a doctoral degree? No Date you expect to receive degree: _____ Department and Institution that will award the degree: _____</p> <p>What requirements for the degree (other than the dissertation/thesis) have yet to be completed, and what is their expected date of their completion?</p>	
<p>6. Title of Project (15 words or less): Competing Masculinities Among Indigenous Groups in Oaxaca, Mexico</p>	<p>7. Total requested for Dissertation Fieldwork Grant (maximum \$20,000): US\$ <u>12974</u></p>
<p>8. Abstract of research proposal (Provide a general description of your proposal in plain English. If this proposal is successful, this abstract will be posted on the Foundation's website.)</p> <p>The Cargo System, Mayordomía, or the Fiesta System, is an institution among indigenous groups in Latin America that deals with male status and power within their communities. It is executed through the assignment of different intermittent cargos, or posts, to (traditionally male) members of the community, and allow for a higher social status and political power in the community through successful completion of those posts. In the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, this power is additionally vindicated in many places by the commonly-used usos y costumbres legal system, which allows for indigenous ways of political life to serve in the place of Western municipal governments. In the past few decades, certain aspects of this institution have been affected by increasing transnational migration, where communities must adjust and make acceptions for the completion of these jobs. Since the majority of migrants are men, the understanding of masculinity in these communities is inevitably shifting, as they distance themselves from traditional modes of male success and more commonly utilize modern, globalist ones. In my project, I want to explore how this shift is taking place, and specifically seek out undergoing changes to masculine forms of responsibility, aspirations, authority, and position in the larger community.</p>	
<p>9. Start and end dates of project for which support is requested (start date must fall between January 1 and June 30, 2019): June 30, 2019–June 30, 2020</p>	<p>10. Location where project is to be carried out: San Pedro Ocoteppec, Oaxaca, Mexico</p>

<p>11. List research permits and/or ethical approvals required for this project.</p> <p>Formato de solicitud para la expedición de permiso para realizar investigación científica por extranjeros en territorio mexicano, PLU ethics board</p>	<p>12. What date do you expect to have all required permits/permissions in hand?</p> <p>June 15, 2019</p>
<p>13. Will you work with academic personnel (other than your supervisor) while conducting research? Yes (If so, please list below. See the Application Information and Procedures for instructions.)</p> <p>Jorge Hernández-Díaz, Doctor of Social Anthropology, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca; Holly Worthen, Doctor of Anthropology, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca.</p>	
<p>14. Budget itemization: Provide a detailed budget for the requested funding (maximum \$20,000).</p> <p><i>(See the Application Information and Instructions for budget guidelines, and include a justification for any piece of equipment that costs over \$750, childcare expenses, research and/or transcription assistance, and per diem estimates. Please also include a justification for any budget items not specifically listed as allowable expenses. Press Ctrl key + Tab to utilize pre-set tabs in application form)</i></p> <p>Travel</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Air travel from Seattle (SEA) to Oaxaca de Juárez (OAX) and back: \$553 -Transport between Oaxaca de Juárez and San Pedro Ocotepc: \$50 <p>Amenities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Per diem for San Pedro Ocotepc for a year: (\$15 for 365 days) \$5475 **1 -Year of wifi: \$1188 **2 -Lodging for a year: \$4000 **3 <p>Research</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Primary laptop: \$1000 **4 -Secondary laptop: \$379 **5 -Primary audio recorder: \$150 **6 -Backup audio recorder: \$79.90 **7 -Translator for a year: \$3723 **8 -Money for potential involvement in cargo system: \$100 **9 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The U.S. State Department per diem rates for "other" locations in Mexico is \$65 for Meals and Incidentals. Since rural Oaxaca is a generally undeveloped area, I only anticipate needing \$15 for this. 2. A year of tepWireless allows for internet connection from any location. 3. This figure is based off of the Mexican minimum wage, doubled and rounded up to the nearest thousand. I will have to live with a family in San Pedro Otoctepc. 4. This is for a new MacBook Air. This will be important for taking and recording field notes, as well as staying in contact with my advisor and Oaxacan professors. 5. This is for a new Acer Swift 1. This will be important for if the first laptop breaks. 6. This is for a new Sony ICD PX333. This will be important for recording interviews and conversations. 7. This is for a new Sony ICDUX560BLK. This will be important for if the first recorder breaks. 8. This figure is based off of the Mexican minimum wage, doubled. 9. If I am thoroughly integrated into the community, I might be asked to participate in the cargo system. Certain cargos cost money to complete. 	

14. **Budget Itemization continued.** *(Use this page to list additional items to your project budget, if necessary.)*

15. Have you applied to other agencies for funds covered in this application? No (If so, please list other funding sources you have contacted to aid this project and indicate whether funds have been awarded.)

16. Sources of aid received for other phases of the project:

N/A

17. Please help categorize your project by Discipline and Area or Topic:

Application Discipline	Geographic Research Area	<i>Physical/Biological Projects Only</i>
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Social/Cultural	Mesoamerica	(Select)
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If "Other,"	If "Other," please describe	If "Other," please describe
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Not Applicable

Not Applicable

18. Key Words (Please provide "key words" and/or phrases that best describe your research project.)

Migration, Transmigration, Masculinity, Cargo system, Oaxaca, Indigenous community, Usos y Costumbres

19. Have you received a Wadsworth Fellowship? No

(If so, Reporting Requirements for the Wadsworth Fellowship must be completed. Contact the Foundation for further information.)

20. Are you resubmitting an application that was unsuccessful in a prior season? No

If the current application is a resubmission of a previous unsuccessful Dissertation Fieldwork grant application, you must include a resubmission statement. This statement should describe how your application differs from your previous submission and how you have addressed reviewers' comments. Include this resubmission statement whether or not the current project is similar to your previous one. A resubmission statement is often a benefit to an applicant in demonstrating how and why his/her thinking has changed. *(Press Ctrl + Tab to use tabs.)*

21. Project Description Question 1: Describe your research question/hypothesis or research objective. That is, what will the focus of your investigation be? (*Press Ctrl + Tab to use tabs.*)

My projects seeks to understand an emerging change in the indigenous communities of Mexico; Oaxaca in particular. As traditional institutions come into contact with globalization and increased ability for transnational migration, a competition between traditional and globalized means of valuing individuals is inevitable. In contexts where men hold a more directly public identity, this means that methods of achieving masculine prestige split into two competing forms. This split and its implications in indigenous Oaxaca have yet to be described. Study into this subject is a good opportunity to see how the introduction of an alternative form of upward social mobility, specifically, financial growth through migration, can transform a community's conceptions of masculinity. In my project, I will address these questions: Q1) How do indigenous Mexican men negotiate between fulfilling masculine goals based in migration and those based in the cargo system? Q2) How does this negotiation affect the larger community, in familial or political relationships? Q3) How do these views of masculinity affect the understanding of gender in general, and how women in particular fit into society?

The institution of the cargo system is a significant tradition of indigenous culture across Latin America. The typical structure comprises a community's adult, male members executing unpaid projects (called cargos) relating to political or religious life in return for prestige and political authority in the community. These projects can range from taking care of public buildings, to being responsible for celebrations of saints, to addressing disputes within the community (Cancian 1967). In the cargo system, cargos are split between religious and political assignments, and are hierarchical in that completing one well lets an individual ascend to a more intensive, but more powerful position (Chance and Taylor 1985). While women have always had a significant role in this system (Mathews 1985), until recently, men have been its direct contributors and benefactors. Recently, though, increased migration out of indigenous communities, especially of men, has placed this institution in a state of significant change (Robson and Berkes 2011). However, the effects of this change do not clearly support or detract from the continuation of this institution (Ibid.).

The implementation of *usos y costumbres* in Oaxaca has caused controversy due to the use of its autonomy by indigenous groups to exclude women from voting, causing tension between ideals of indigenous autonomy and human rights. (Worthen 2015). This shows that the relationship between gender and political authority is significantly different in indigenous Mexico compared to the larger political discourse in the country; indigenous politics is conceived of as a generally male domain. Not only does this highlight the relationship between *usos y costumbres* and masculinity, but it also provides a pressing reason to understand this relationship on a deeper level.

For my project addressing these topics, I will stay two years in a smaller, rural community, San Pedro Ocotepc, Oaxaca, Mexico. Size, in particular, is significant because smaller communities have both a higher percentage of members capable of taking on cargos, and the absence of any individual due to migration will be more intense. Though my studied community will be in the Mixe region of Oaxaca, the community's ethnicity will not be an important factor for my purposes, since the basic structure of the cargo system and the increase in migration transcends ethnic boundaries. I will use both participant observation and interviews to understand shifting ideologies behind gender. I will practice participant observation with men and their families completing cargos of varying levels, seeing how they approach and feel about their tasks, and understand what it means to the larger community, seen through their interactions with others. Regarding interviews, which I plan on doing later on in my time in the town to assure mutual trust and honesty, I will have two types: one in which I focus on asking men about their direct ideas regarding gender and their values surrounding gender, and another in which I ask transmigratory men about how their migration has affected their participation in the cargo system and other communal work, as well as how it has affected their beliefs about gender.

The state of Oaxaca is particularly significant because it allows for municipal governments to be organized according to indigenous political customs, so indigenous ideologies regarding authority and power have legal significance and are justified in the eyes of the state; structural change will not come from a requirement of cultural assimilation on the part of the larger government as much as a result of new ideas gained through migration. Oaxaca is also a place where transmigratory communities flourish, with many groups migrating together and attempting to recreate certain parts of the communal institutions in their place of migration (Stephen 2007). This situation has created plenty of cases where indigenous institutions have tried to adapt and continue into a neoliberal world. Consequently, indigenous ideologies on gender will follow similar patterns of continuing to exist, but still adapt to new circumstances.

In terms of theory, my project will contribute to a greater understanding of the formation of masculinities and gender inequality, as well as how conceptions of gender transform under shifts of economic circumstances. My research will also be relevant to studies on neoliberalism and globalization, showing how traditional institutions transform and may or may not persist under these new economic conditions. These are important questions because, as the world becomes increasingly interconnected, dealing with different conceptions of gender will be more common, such as in the controversy surrounding indigenous women's suffrage. If there are already pressures transforming traditional understandings of gender, there are then many opportunities for social progress or destruction of culture, depending on one's perspective.

22. Project Description Question 2: How does your research build on existing scholarship in anthropology and closely related disciplines? Give specific examples of this scholarship and its findings. (*Press Ctrl + Tab to use tabs.*)

The relationship between gender and migration has been explored in various ways. Because gender, in of itself, exists primarily in the realms of ideology and interpretation, the usage of the concept of gender varies, whether in the context of kinship (Barcus and Werner 2015; Coe 2011), as a lens to understand ethnicity (Mutluer 2011), or as a way to understand greater transformations in a given culture (Pribilsky 2007). However, these analyses do not directly address the question of what the explicit and implicit beliefs are regarding what it means to be a man, woman, or other gendered identity. Analyzing how the traditional and emerging institutions of a culture, which is what I will do, create gendered experience allows for a much deeper understanding of the relationship between gender and migration.

The majority of academic attention regarding gender and traditional indigenous government in Oaxaca revolves around the exclusion of women (Dygart 2017; Eisenstadt 2007; Karver et. al 2017; Stephen 2005). This issue explores the limits of cultural relativism, as well as the boundary between communal and individual rights. While this is not the focus of my project, my project is relevant and important for understanding the topic. Given that beliefs about gender are ultimately what motivate the political marginalization of women, understanding what those beliefs are are fundamental to understanding the specific cases of marginalization. In particular, understanding how the institutions of the cargo system and transmigration contribute to masculine identities show why certain social areas are seen as valuable as men's domains. Of course, understanding femininity in this context is important as well, but exploration into both sides is necessary to inform culturally appropriate and effective solutions for this issue. There has been work done searching for the origins and causes of change in gender in Latin America (Asencio 1999; Casey 2010; Stockett 2005), but this topic has not been addressed in contemporary indigenous populations of Oaxaca and the surrounding area. The masculine nature of descriptions of the cargo system are generally treated as a given, or passively mentioned, with some exceptions that specifically focus on women, as an exception to the rule or reinterpretation of their relationship to the institution (Dygart 2017; Mathews 1985; Valdivia 2002). Not only does this have a questionable assumption of male authority, it also leaves out a valuable part of understanding the cultural dynamics of the region. Since membership in the cargo system and migration are largely male activities, how masculinity is reckoned is essential for fully understanding these practices. The contribution of the cargo system to masculinity can largely be inferred through its relationship to power and authority, but this subject has not been explored directly. More theoretically, there is a precedent of trying to explain the existence of gendered behavior, and even masculinity in particular (Butler 1990; Candace and Zimmerman 1987; Gilmore 1990; Leacock 1987). That type of exploration is beyond the scope of my project, being more along the lines of ethnology than ethnography, but as debates and change in reference to gender increase in indigenous Oaxaca, analyzing the traditional institutions provides an opportunity to see the fundamental causes for their largely masculine makeup.

With respect to the relationship between transmigration/globalism and community life in this area, there is a strong debate on whether or not it is ultimately helpful or harmful for the institutions of 'sending communities.' One side of this debate argues that the sending community becomes dependent on remittances, unable to develop since those of working age are constantly away from the community. The other side proposes that the capital gained from remittances allows for local economic growth and increased participation in expensive community events when members are present (Cohen 2008; VanWey et al. 2005). Participation in community life is also affected by the practice of transmigration, as local subsistence practices are increasingly replaced by international capitalist employment. There are certainly examples of robust transmigratory support of sending communities, such as when migrant members of a community organize themselves together in their place of migration, reconstructing some of the religious and political organization abroad and focus more on working for their hometown as a whole (Robson and Berkes 2011). However, this practice is relatively rare (Cohen et al. 2003) and even more transmigration is being replaced with permanent emigration (Robson and Berkes 2011).

In any case, there is strain on the traditional forms of communal work and governing, and they are continually subject to change (Magazine 2011; Robson and Berkes 2011; Roth-Seneff 2017). However, Roth-Seneff points out that change is nothing new to these systems, and so they do not necessarily need to be feared or discouraged (Roth-Seneff 2017). The literature does a good job at describing and debating the history and structure of this migration, but there is little exploration of what the experience means for migrants and their communities, such as how it fulfills their sense of self, accomplishment, or responsibilities. Authors discuss how increase integration into capitalism is probably alienating, but it is hard to tell how people actually feel due to the focus on statistics and set interviews, with little participant observation. Gender roles are changing significantly under these conditions (Stephen 2005), and gender exists in the subjective realm through its procession from both socially constructed ideas and the meaning that it gives to individual life experiences (Barcus and Werner 2015). My research, then, would be a good way to explore the subjective realities of these communities as they undergo such radical changes to their lifestyles.

23. Project Description Question 3: What evidence will you need to collect to answer your research question? How will you go about collecting and analyzing this evidence? (*Press Ctrl + Tab to use tabs.*)

To answer my research questions, I will use three methods of gathering data: participant observation, interviews aimed at specific subjects, and life history interviews. My research questions, again, are Q1) How do indigenous Mexican men negotiate between fulfilling masculine goals based in migration and those based in the cargo system? Q2) How does this negotiation affect the larger community, in familial or political relationships? Q3) What can the shifting social environment's effect on gender reveal about how masculinities develop in the first place?

In my participant observation, I will focus on three different social situations. The first will be to follow around men completing their cargos. I will do this throughout my time there, since it is so central to my research questions. I will observe their feelings about this process, such as if they enjoy it or not, or if they feel like this work has purpose. I will follow many men completing these positions; not only will I get a good general understanding of how they feel about their cargos, but I will also be able to see how the type (political or religious) and level of cargo affect how they see their work. I will also observe those completing others' cargos, whether that be a family member, spouse, or paid laborer, to see how they conceptualize and execute the job, and what it means to them to be a man doing another man's work, or a woman doing a man's work.

My second focus of participant observation will be on community meetings. This will give me a perspective on how competing masculinities affect community life. I will be particularly attentive to questions of authority and influence. Who are most invested in the proceedings? Who speaks the most? Who leads factions in disagreements? I will look for how men with high status in the cargo system, versus men who have been successful in migrant work, position themselves in these meetings. If women are present, I will also watch how they are treated, and by who. Because these observations can only become relevant if I am already familiar with the community, I do not expect to make good observations until a month or so into my research, but I will attend these meetings from the beginning to understand the town's dynamics and public culture.

My third focus will be of home life, so I can understand how men interact with their families, and how those interactions are related to or correlated with different levels of integration into either system of masculinity. Again, questions of who has authority and how decisions are made will be central. I will also focus on the nature of these relationships. Do men more focused on the cargo system or migration have more affective relationships with their family members? Do these types of masculinities suggest different approaches to these relationships?

Secondly, for interviews regarding particular topics, I will interview three different groups of people: men who have migrated, men who have not migrated, and the families of both. My interviews with migrant men will focus around their reasons for migrating, the experience that they had as transnational migrants, and how they relate to and feel about their community. I will also want to know how they understand masculinity or manhood, and how they have seen themselves fulfill those roles in their lives both through migrant work and the completion of cargos. My interviews with non-migrant men will focus on their reasons not to migrate, how they feel in relation to transmigratory men, and how they relate to their community, as well as their ideas about masculinity.

Family members will be asked about how they feel about their relative's decisions to migrate or not, and how they see their relative's roles and positions in the community, as well as their families' positions in the community. If any wives have helped complete cargos for another family member, I will want to know what that means for them in terms of prestige in the community, and if they enjoy or dislike inclusion in the cargo system, or if they even feel if they are much more significantly part of this system than usual. Interviews with sons could also illuminate how their fathers' actions are socializing them, and more concretely creating the new types of masculinity of indigenous Oaxacans. Interviewing daughters in particular could also be fruitful, since their socialization complements the socialization of boys.

Finally, conducting life history interviews will be helpful to clarify underlying questions of how recent understandings of masculinity have developed, and what significant changes they have undergone. I will particularly ask about social conditions and understandings of masculinity at a young age, how the interviewees started to fulfill these social expectations, and if they have seen changes in these expectations and if they have modified their behavior in response to them. Life history interviews, given their wide breadth of subjects covered, will be able to show developing dynamics within the community that will not necessarily be obvious to the interviewees as important or relevant in the more particular interviews that directly get at the concept of gender and gender roles. In a sense, I want to be able to understand the cultural history of the community, to better contextualize what I see already in process. Since these will provide a lens through which to see the community, I will want to do these relatively early, but it might be somewhat difficult for people to be open enough to me before I have fully established myself there.

There are two groups of people, in particular, that I want to hear the life histories of: men who have achieved a high position in the cargo system, and men who have found a lot of success through migrant work. The successes of these two types of interviewees in their respective areas of work will highlight differences within both groups' understandings of masculinity and men's responsibilities. Due to the time it takes to ascend the cargo system, and the recent growth of indigenous Oaxacan men entering into migrant work, there will likely be an age gap between these two groups. Those who are at the top of the cargo system will be older, on average, and so these interviews will be able to give longer, more comprehensive histories, showing significant points of change. However, the histories of the younger people will also be helpful, especially if and when the accounts of times that both groups can remember have any discrepancies between them.

24. Project Description Question 4: What is your training; how are you prepared to do this research? List examples of your language competence, technical skills, previous research, and any other relevant experience. Describe any work you have already done on this project, and/or how it relates to your prior research. If you are collaborating with other academic personnel describe their role/s in the project and the nature of the collaboration. (Press Ctrl + Tab to use tabs.)

I already have a level of familiarity with this region and topic. I studied abroad in the fall of 2017 in Oaxaca, Mexico. While I largely spent my time within the city, I had first-hand contact with people of indigenous groups, and many urban residents, regardless of their identity, had some familial connection to indigenous and rural parts of Oaxaca. Studying there, I took a class on indigenous groups of Mexico that focused on their contemporary institutional and political issues, ranging from the details of the cargo system, to the Zapatista movement, to multilingual education and more. From this, I have a comprehensive understanding of the issues facing indigenous Mexican groups, including, and beyond, the cargo system and migration. I also worked as an intern for Servicios del Pueblo Mixe A.C., an organization made by and for the Mixe people, though their scope in projects and employees included many different indigenous Oaxacan groups, exposing me to questions of indigenous Oaxacan culture as a whole, and not just specifically to the Mixe people. Since my project will be in a Mixe community, though, having learned specifically about certain issues in the Mixe region and cultural practices, such as a greater emphasis on religious syncretism, will help me in my understanding of the community. I had positive interactions with the members of the organizations, and have the continued ability to contact some of these people through Facebook. Since my proposed town of study is in the Mixe region, I could potentially use these links to better integrate and familiarize myself with the community. For my anthropology class' final project, I interviewed three indigenous women that worked at this organization about their feelings towards women's place in indigenous culture, so I have already carried out some informal ethnographic research related to my project.

I am also currently taking a class on cultural anthropology in Latin America, which gives me a framework to understand some of the larger cultural markers and shifts of the region, in particular, narratives promoting mestizaje over indigeneity or issues of neoliberalism, that will be relevant to my work. I am already familiarized with many different understandings of Mexican-American migration and so similarities between these and those that I see in my work will be readily available and easy to find. My other major is Hispanic Studies, and through this major I have reached a proficient level of Spanish speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing, as well as familiarity with Hispanic cultures and ideologies, such as the relationship with Spanish heritage, the tenor and motivations behind large social movements, and views on migration and relationships with place. I started studying Spanish in middle school and had continued academic instruction in Spanish through 2018, which is not only an indication of my language proficiency, but also has kept me consistently exposed to different themes and issues of hispanic culture. In particular, this has familiarized me with many different understandings of Hispanic migration to the United States through reading and watching different case studies, narratives, and analysis on the subject. As a result, similarities between these and the cases of immigration that I see in my work will be readily available and easy to find. I also have a minor in Religion, which will be helpful in better understanding the religious dynamics of the cargo system, since learning about different religious practices has familiarized me with the multifaceted role that religion can have in life, guiding a sense of purpose and place in the world. Since the Mixe practice a particularly syncretistic religion, being able to understand religion through a more nuanced lens will help me resist reductionism to standardized or stereotypical forms of belief and practice.

I also have a fair amount of informal experience in interviewing about these topics, since I have a weekly talk radio show on my college's online radio station that largely consists of interviewing guests about their religious beliefs, with a special focus on life histories and practical application and integration of their beliefs into daily life. This will be relevant to how the religious aspects of the cargo system are understood and valued in the community I study. This practice has made me a more capable interviewer, being able to ask in-depth questions fluidly, to know when to listen, and to gain important information in a casual setting, all important skills for participant observation and field interviews.

The town I will be doing my fieldwork in would ideally have about half of the population able to comfortably speak Spanish or English, since this would reflect the level of integration into the dominant Mexican and international culture that would contribute the most to my research. However, this means that I would have to use a translator until I learn the native language so that I am able to have a full understanding of the community. In the past, I have studied multiple languages both in formal and informal contexts for academic and personal reasons, including four college classes in Mandarin Chinese, and I find that I am able to pick up on different types of languages relatively easily, as well as thoroughly enjoying the process of doing so. Through doing my research over two years, rather than one, I will eventually be able to speak the local language proficiently while I am in the community.

25. Project Description Question 5: What contribution does your project make to anthropological theory and to the discipline? Please note that the Foundation's mission is to support original and innovative research in anthropology. A successful application will emphasize the contribution its proposed research will make, not only to the specific area of research being addressed, but also to the broader field of anthropology. (*Press Ctrl + Tab to use tabs.*)

My project will go beyond description of gender through explanation of its development. Eleanor Leacock's "Interpreting the Origins of Gender Inequality" is a foundational example of this. As those who study gender abstractly see it as a restrictive construct with little inherent basis to it (Butler 1990; West and Zimmerman 1987), understanding why it can be so crucial is important. Furthermore, the study of masculinity has been insufficient, leaving male behavior unquestioned (Gilmore 1990). Non-Western masculinities, in particular, are not well understood (Jackson and Balaji 2011). While there are many examples of anthropologists exploring the relationship between migration and gender (Coe 2011; High 2010; Mutluer 2011; Pribilsky 2007; Barcus and Werner 2015), my research would observe the negotiation between the fulfillment of two different systems of masculinity. *Usos y costumbres* allows for the traditional system to be vindicated by the federal government (Valdivia 2002). Part of the continued incorporation of indigenous Oaxacans into the larger Mexican nation is that their political authority is recognized on a federal level, meaning that the municipal society does not have two distinct forms of social organization with unequal justification to the national government.

Moreover, the shift from a political system of masculinity to an economic one could show the development of individualist masculinities, since the focus changes to a migrant worker and his family, rather than contribution and attention to community matters as a whole. However, since there is evidence that money brought by transmigrant workers supports the cargo system, there could be increased communitarianism despite involvement in a neoliberal world system. In any case, because indigenous Oaxacans are balancing these two systems, their coexistence implies the creation of a new, more dynamic form of masculinity. Directly observing this creation could show how and why gendered identities come to exist in the first place.

In terms of applied significance, certain municipalities have used *usos y costumbres* to preclude women's suffrage, either explicitly or in practice. From this, there is a conflict between the individual human rights of indigenous women versus the communal rights of indigenous communities. Teresa Sierra proposes that this conflict be resolved by looking towards the goals of indigenous women, who seek to affirm their rights as women through focusing on gender-complementary aspects of their culture (Sierra 2001). I suggest that understanding the reasoning behind masculine authority in these communities will help transition men towards a more equitable worldview.

26. Required Attachments

Applicants are required to attach the following documents to their online application.

- **Dissertation Fieldwork Application Form** (*this document*)
- **Project Bibliography** (*ten pages maximum*)
- **Applicant's Curriculum Vitae** (*five pages maximum*)
- **Supervisor's Curriculum Vitae** (*five pages maximum*)

Do NOT include appendices, endnotes, charts, illustrations, letters of reference, or other materials.

Attachments must be compatible with the Microsoft Word 2003, 2007, 2010, or submitted as PDF files.

Required Attachments should use single-line spacing with 10-point font or larger, and have 1-inch (2.5 cm) margins, top, bottom and either side of each page. Answers in the application form must use the preset Ariel 10-point font.

Please note: if the attachments do not meet these requirements, the application will not be accepted for review.

27. Online Application Submission

After completing the official Dissertation Fieldwork Grant Application Form, Project Bibliography, and required Curriculum Vitae, applicants must submit these application materials using the Foundation's online application submission procedures.

Click on or type https://www.GrantRequest.com/SID_577?SA=SNA&FID=35017 into your Internet browser to begin the online application submission process.

For detailed instructions on how to submit your application materials online, please see the "Access the Online Application" section in your application instructions or posted on the "Dissertation Fieldwork Grants" section on the Wenner-Gren website.

30. Printed Application Materials -- Assembly and Submission Instructions

After submitting the application form and required attachments online, applicants must send one (1) printed copy of the application form and attachments, PLUS four (4) additional copies of the application form only, to the Foundation offices to complete the filing process:

1. Applications must be received in **complete** and **final** form, with all questions answered. Revisions and items sent at a later date cannot be accepted.
2. Application must be made using the official Dissertation Fieldwork Application Form, and all questions and required attachments written in English.
3. Printed materials must be single-side copies.
4. Application materials should be divided into five (5) sets.

Set 1 must be paper-clipped (NOT stapled) and collated as follows:

- Dissertation Fieldwork Application Form
- Project Bibliography
- Applicant's and Supervisor's curricula vitae

Sets 2-5 consist of the application form only, and should be stapled in upper left hand corner

Application materials must be postmarked by the application deadline (and received by the Foundation no later than two weeks after the deadline). Materials should be mailed in a single, securely bound package to:

**Applications Office
WENNER-GREN FOUNDATION
470 Park Avenue South, 8th Floor North
New York, NY 10016
U.S.A.**

If you are planning to submit your application materials via the U.S. Postal Service, please be advised that all packages weighing more than 13 ounces must be taken to the Post Office for mailing.

PLEASE NOTE: PRINTED APPLICATION MATERIALS MUST BE PHYSICALLY MAILED TO FOUNDATION

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Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

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RESEARCH INTERESTS

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RELEVANT WORK

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Volunteer at Archeological Site near John Day, OR, through Passport in Time, Summer 2018

LANGUAGES

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Mandarin Chinese	Intermediate speaking, reading, and writing
Portuguese	Intermediate speaking, reading, and writing