

and tribal histories published by Schapera in 1938 and 1940 are used in the Botswana school system. Schapera's *Praise-Poems of Tswana Chiefs* (1965) records the recollections of elders in the 1930s of the oral poetry composed to praise and criticize chiefs as far back as the 17th century. This text also is widely read and admired in Botswana today. Finally, Schapera's legacy rests on the large number of prominent Africanist scholars whom he helped train and with whom he shared his voluminous research notes.

Frederick Klaitz

See also Evans-Pritchard, E. E.; Firth, Raymond; London School of Economics; Mair, Lucy; Malinowski, Bronisław; Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.; Richards, Audrey; Seligman, Charles Gabriel; World-Systems Theory

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SCHEPER-HUGHES, NANCY

Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1944–), professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, is a prominent and prolific scholar known for her work in critical medical anthropology, her courageous fieldwork and exploration of ethics, her public exposure of criminal activities taking place in human organs trafficking, and her evocative anthropological writing. In her anthropological career, she has examined schizophrenia among rural bachelors in Ireland, hunger, impoverishment, child mortality, the violence of everyday life in rural Brazil, and structural violence and health inequities evident in human organ trafficking in Moldova, Israel, South Africa, and the United States. Her writings and her mentorship have launched generations of inspired anthropologists, both in the United States and globally. Overseas, she has given dozens of keynote addresses on violence, human trafficking, organized crime, dangerous and endangered youth, heretical methods, and

undercover research. Scheper-Hughes is one of the most influential anthropologists of the past 30 years.

Biography and Major Works

Scheper-Hughes was born in an ethnically diverse working-class neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York, where she attended a Catholic school and then Queens College before joining the Peace Corps. After serving in the Peace Corps in Brazil in the early 1960s, Scheper-Hughes returned to the United States and participated in the Catholic Worker Movement and in civil rights organizations working in the U.S. South. She completed her undergraduate and doctoral degrees at the University of California at Berkeley under the tutelage of the anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker. After teaching briefly at Southern Methodist University, she was invited to return to Berkeley and has remained there since. In the course of her career, Scheper-Hughes has authored or edited at least 10 books and more than 160 scholarly articles.

Scheper-Hughes is the recipient of many grants, awards, and book prizes, including a Guggenheim Fellowship, the Margaret Mead Award, the Staley Prize, the Wellcome Medal from the Royal Anthropological Institute, and the William Sloan Coffin Award for moral leadership. Scheper-Hughes has taught in Paris, Manchester, and Cape Town and is a frequent keynote speaker at institutions and conferences across the globe. At Berkeley, she has served as chair of the anthropology department, interim director of Latin American studies, director of the doctoral program in medical anthropology, and dean of the division of freshman and sophomore studies. She is currently Chancellor's Professor of Medical Anthropology and the cofounder and director of Organs Watch, an organization that grew out of the Bellagio Task Force; she monitors the social and economic organization of the organs trade and advocates for the human rights of populations made vulnerable by this activity. She also serves on the World Health Organization advisory panel on global transplant safety and ethics and is a member of the Asian Task Force on Combating Traffic in Humans for Organs.

Her first book, the 1979 *Saints, Scholars and Schizophrenics: Mental Illness in Rural Ireland*, won the Margaret Mead Award in 1980. Scheper-Hughes's book caused a stir; the residents of the small village

of An Clochán took offense at what they saw as a public airing of community secrets. Scheper-Hughes eventually reflected on her Ireland research experience in a number of articles, exploring the contours of how anthropology is—whether it wants to be or not—centrally engaged in a number of ethical pursuits. Scheper-Hughes has argued that anthropologists ought to be scribes, witnesses, cultural critics, friends, and collaborators in pursuit of diverse forms of social justice and that much of our activity will be—even should be—controversial. Scheper-Hughes's own work has evolved to advocate for different, and increasingly radical, approaches to methods and ethnographic writing—beginning with “good enough,” progressing to “militant,” and, more recently, speaking to “heretical” methods—referring to her undercover work with the police and prosecutors in Brazil, Turkey, South Africa, and the United States to prosecute illicit networks of human traffickers.

Her second major book, *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*, published in 1992, is an internationally recognized *tour de force*. A classic in anthropology and seminal in the fields of medical anthropology and the anthropology of Brazil, *Death Without Weeping* won the Staley Prize from the School for American Research and was a finalist for the National Book Critics Circle Award, a rare achievement for an academic publication. The book communicates the historical conditions—specifically, colonialism, the slave trade, and the sugar trade—that transformed vast parts of northeast Brazil into a land of hunger seemingly abandoned by modernity, a region where impoverished mothers are cared for neither by the state nor by the political-economic system that sustains brutal inequalities. Scheper-Hughes argued that in these circumstances some mothers are unable to care for their children and must ration their emotional and economic resources in favor of those who appear to have a knack (*jeito*) for life. *Death Without Weeping* politicized generations of anthropologists to use their expertise to bring social injustices to light, using ethnographic writing to examine and advocate for those who are less powerful.

Critical Contributions to Anthropology

Scheper-Hughes's contributions to anthropology build on and deepen themes first developed in her earlier ethnographic work. For example, following

the themes first developed in *Death Without Weeping*, Scheper-Hughes (and coauthor Philippe Bourgois) redefined anthropology's understanding of human violence, broadening the definitions and the outlines of what contemporary anthropology can address; Scheper-Hughes has developed multiple foci for studying violence, including the everyday, medical-psychiatric, symbolic, and political aspects that have pushed anthropologists to comprehend violence in a much broader and philosophically relevant perspective.

In her more recent work, Scheper-Hughes has uncovered criminal aspects of the global traffic in humans for their transplantable organs and tissues. This work not only speaks to the ways in which the world's poor are once again treated as disposable but also points to how trafficking illuminates human approaches to death and dying. Scheper-Hughes intends to elaborate fully on this work in two projected books, the first on the global traffic in organs and the second on the Argentine “dirty war” of the 1970s and 1980s. Scheper-Hughes has written a number of seminal articles on themes that build on her earlier work. For example, in “The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology,” Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock examine how medical anthropology might better conceptualize the body as tripartite, as (1) phenomenally experienced, (2) socially constructed and symbolized, and (3) created as an artifact of social and political control. In Scheper-Hughes's research tracking the global traffic in human organs, she extends this tripartite extension to include the idea of a body in debt under conditions of late capitalism and the divisions among and between the global rich and poor. In particular, she explores the idea of neo-cannibalism, the possibility that because of economic inequalities, body parts are made available in ways that suggest that the poor are being exploited for their organs. This idea is also visible in her earlier work in *Death Without Weeping*, where the poor and disenfranchised of the community she studied believe that their body parts and organs are being snatched for medical research and profit, a rumor with historical grounding that Scheper-Hughes later came to document.

Scheper-Hughes's Legacy

Scheper-Hughes is a militant and critical medical anthropologist, known for her ability to debate

and write both persuasively and with great wit. She advocates for the transformative capabilities of anthropological writing and has a large following of admirers both within anthropology and far beyond. In a memorable debate that took place on the pages of *Current Anthropology*, titled "The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology," Scheper-Hughes sets out the parameters of what an ethically grounded anthropology might look like, critiquing the idea that cultural relativism can be appropriately applied in contemporary anthropological settings that require new and much bolder forms of political and social commitments. A provocative interlocutor and courageous field-worker, Scheper-Hughes has produced an influential oeuvre that attempts to rattle anthropological complacency and to make anthropology intellectually vibrant and politically relevant, while producing new engagements for anthropology within a broader public.

Donna M. Goldstein

See also Applied Anthropology; Globalization Theory

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SCHNEIDER, DAVID M.

David Murray Schneider (1918–1995) was one of the most influential American anthropologists of the middle to late 20th century. He made important contributions to Micronesian ethnography and the understanding of marital alliance. With Clifford Geertz, he pioneered what came to be called "symbolic" or "interpretive" anthropology. From the 1960s through the mid-1970s, he was a powerful force in the University of Chicago's anthropology department. He was instrumental in founding the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania. Beginning around 1970, he was responsible for deconstruction of kinship as a cultural category and, thereby, became arguably the most important precursor of postmodernism in American anthropology.

Early Life and Education

Schneider was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1918. His parents were Eastern European immigrants and, during the Great Depression, members of the American Communist Party, who passed their leftist sympathies on to their son. David respected his father but had a difficult time with his mother and resented his younger brother. In an act of rebellion, he performed poorly in school, leading his parents to send him to a boarding school in Darien, Connecticut. After high school graduation, he entered Cornell University. He planned to study agricultural bacteriology but changed his major to anthropology after being introduced to the subject by R. Lauriston Sharp. At Cornell, he met his lifelong friend—and intellectual adversary—Ward Goodenough, as well as his future wife, Addy. David and Addy married on June 17, 1940, the day of their Cornell graduation.