

Dear Sandi: (November 29, 2016).

Today I write to you as I remember your brilliance, passion, scholarship, and amazing insights with colleagues and friends from the University of Oregon. I can hear you saying that we have to study what is all around us, usually invisible or taken for granted. To honor your profound spirit of collaboration, I asked some of your colleagues to write about the impact of your research in the field of anthropology. They all concur on the enduring themes of your research.

Hallmark Themes of Sandi's Research

Karen Brodtkin, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at UCLA writes:

Sandi's career has been dedicated to exploring how people translate their visions of social justice, especially race, class and gender justice, into organizational practice, and what that means for public policy. Morgen's ethnographic attention to the interface between sentient actors and organizational structure in health care and social welfare has made her work valuable beyond the academy. By "pushing the envelope" in ways that policymakers can understand and appreciate, she's helped open the door for the use of anthropological expertise in public policy research.

Ann Bookman, director of the Center for Women in Politics and Public Policy (CWPPP) at the University of Massachusetts Boston says of your work:

Sandi utilized "intersectional feminism" in her research, long before it was fashionable and Kimberly Crenshaw coined that term. For Sandi, whether she was writing about poor women's access to health care in New Bedford or women welfare recipients and their struggle for economic security in Oregon,

she insisted that one could only fully understand women's lives by integrating an analysis of gender, with an analysis of race/ethnicity and class. Second, Sandi was a pioneer in building bridges between rigorous scholarship and impassioned activism. She held herself to the highest standards in both areas, and insisted that that one actually amplified the other, that the arrows of impact pointed in both directions, and that the only way to be a feminist anthropologist was to embrace both.

Recent Research and Relevance to Today's Political Climate

When I was writing this, I couldn't stop thinking of how pissed you would have been after the election results were known three weeks ago. Then I realized that the research you were doing right before we lost you was putting us in touch with some of the people who helped elect Donald Trump.

Your 2014-2015 study, "The Production of Tax Politics and Inequality: A Case Study of Tax-Related Ballot Initiatives" held important clues. I remember talking with you about what it is like to interview people from the Tea Party, go to rallies and interview anti-tax advocates with whom you profoundly disagreed, but learned so much from. You wanted to know how people who said they were anti-tax advocates and those who called themselves advocates of "tax justice" came to their very different political positions. How did these positions shape larger ideas about individual and collective taxes, income inequality, income distribution, and feelings of disenfranchisement from our country? You took seriously the ways in which neoliberal tax policies reproduced and reinforced class inequities that intersected with gender and race.

Your ground-breaking work that resulted in *Stretched Thin: Poor Families, Welfare Work, and Welfare Reform* with Joan Acker and Jill Weight brought to light the plight of poor women in Oregon, many of them white, and their struggles to be seen, heard, respected, and treated with dignity in their interactions with other women who were social service workers. How were poor families in Oregon left out or diverted from Food Stamps or Temporary Aid for Needy Families? What did they experience? How did they feel? You studied three welfare offices in Oregon to find out how dramatic policy shifts like the implementation of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act really affected people. And you didn't stop there. You took your findings and brought them to policy forums, professional meetings, and more. Right now, we are obligated to reexamine our ideas about the meanings of class, race, gender, the rule of law, and "the public good" in our own country.

When I first met you in 1988 when you were pregnant with Sarah. I saw you as a powerful professional woman who had many dimensions to her life. We met as a part of three-year project you led, "Gender and the Anthropology Project." I was introduced to feminist anthropology as an undergraduate and some of the people I read and admired you were leading in this project. And you were writing recommendations for the revision of five mainstream anthropology textbooks that had little or nothing on gender. I was a faculty evaluator for draft chapters of the path breaking book you edited, "Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching." You were part of an amazing team of feminist anthropologists from all subfields and perspectives who created the field of feminist

anthropology and organized a new section of the American Anthropological Association, The Association for Feminist Anthropology. You were an incredible role model, brilliant intellectual, and amazing strategist who knew how to change the field of Anthropology. That was pretty awesome to watch as a first year assistant professor.

I am not the only one you made an impression on with that project .Our colleague Madonna Moss wrote: *As a mentor, Sandi gave junior faculty courage to incorporate feminist critiques into our research and teaching. Her 1989 book, "Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching" compiled works from biological anthropology, archaeology, and cultural anthropology to map out new ways to combine research and activism to work for social change. This set the stage for substantial forward movement in archaeology, which had been incredibly static and sexist for a very long time.*

Long time friend and colleague Lynn Bolles also wrote about your work with her in feminist anthropology. *"In the early 80s I met Sandi Morgen who at that time was at UMASS Amherst. As 2nd generation of Feminist Anthropologists, we were on a mission to include as many women of color into the Gender and Anthropology project that Sandi directed and I served on the board. The Gender and Anthropology reader changed in small and large ways intro to anthro textbooks, but also recognized that Feminist Anthropologists came in varying colors, races, identities, expertise and experiences. It was sort of an anthropological answer to " all the men are white, but some of us are brave."*

Sandi, you played an equally crucial role in building the field of the Anthropology of North America, including helping to found the Society for the Anthropology of North America. Pushing against the long colonial history of anthropology and the continued coloniality of insisting that valid fieldwork could only be done “abroad” --as if the U.S is not part of the world-- you modeled the importance of studying the U.S.

Jeff Maskovsky, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Environmental Psychology of CUNY Grad Center says of your work:

Sandi was a pathbreaker of US studies in anthropology. She entered US anthropology at a time when most US anthropologists studied exotic “Others” in far-flung places. If they studied the US at all, it was in studies of the “vanishing cultures of” Native America. Instead, Sandi’s work explored the cultural, political, and economic complexities of the United States itself. She was as interested in large-scale economic restructuring as she was in race, class, and gender interrelations. Her work on the women’s health movement, for example, was one of the first comprehensive historical accounts showing how women’s activism in the 1970s to the 1980s shaped the contours of women health care in the decades beyond.

From anthropologist to anthropologist, I have to say that one of my greatest connections with you was how you did your work. One of my greatest pleasures as chair of the Anthropology Department more than a decade ago, was when I was able to work to bring you into our department from Sociology as a colleague in 2003. Since then, we have seen each other almost every day, but also worked together

inside and outside the department on many issues. Today while I was going through my computer I came across a document labeled “Sandi script for meeting.” It was for a meeting we had in the fall of 2015 with our current president and provost to discuss the loss of women leaders at UO. It reminded me of how seriously you took everything and how carefully you worked to think through how to achieve a particular goal in an engaged, consultative, and inclusive way. You truly excelled at leadership and bringing out the best in others. Your colleague and current chair of the Department of Anthropology, Frances White wrote:

Sandi was the stateswoman who, for me was an empowerer, a mentor, and supporter of my growth to become department head of Anthropology.

When I think of Sandi, when I hear her voice in my head, when I still talk with her for her advice on a complex issue, I feel – not the hole that her loss has made – but the mountain that she built in my life, in all our lives, that I, and all of us, stand on every day and that will never go away.

Collaboration

Sandi, collaboration was a key element of all of your work. Of your eight published books, only one of them is a single-authored monograph, Into Our Own Hands: The Women’s Health Movement in the United States, 1969-1990. The rest are all co-authored and co-edited. Writing with other people takes more time and is harder than writing alone, but yields powerful insights through collaboration. You did fieldwork with other people, with your students, and thought with others—always.

One of my greatest privileges was teaching with you. Ironically it took you being sick for us to be able to teach together. In the spring of 2014 we team taught the course “Reading Ethnography, Writing Ethnography”. I remember it for two reasons: First because of how we worked together and secondly because it was about writing, something that you cared deeply about and did so well. We would do the reading, and meet together for a couple of hours and figure out the strategy for class and in class each play to our strengths. It was a dialogic process inside and outside of class and great model for our students. And in terms of writing, we spent a lot of time working on how to dignify people on the page, how to convey the complexity of emotions and the messiness of ethnography, and how to communicate with readers. That experience was a real gift for me and for our students. All of the anthropologists I wrote to and quoted here commented on your extensive collaborations as have many UO colleagues.

Dialogue, discussion, engagement, caring, and collaboration were hallmarks of you, your friendships, your relationships, your teaching and mentoring, and your research. Today I am channeling you like never before. And I am certain that if you were here, we would be outside walking now in the beautiful and somewhat rare Oregon fall sunshine gleaming on the red and yellow leaves, and heading to Prince Pucklers for a chocolate milkshake. And you would be saying, we cannot give up now. We have to work harder, think harder, and reach out, not in. We must find beauty, strength, and connection as we continue our path to achieving social justice. I miss you every day. You are a part of me and I will never let that go.

— *Lynn Stephen, University of Oregon, Department of Anthropology*