

Anthropology Now

“Symbolism and Resilience in the Aftermath of a Destructive Volcanic Eruption”

Samuel Weeks, M.A., Ph.D.
College of Humanities and Sciences
Thomas Jefferson University

samuel.weeks@jefferson.edu

*The following is the **proofs version** of the article. Here is the citation of the published article:*

Weeks, Samuel and Vitor Popinsky
2016 “Symbolism and Resilience in the Aftermath of a Destructive Volcanic Eruption.”
Anthropology Now 8(2):57-68.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19428200.2016.1202582>

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19428200.2016.1202582>

9 **Symbolism and Resilience**
10 **in the Aftermath of a**
11 **Destructive Volcanic**
12 **Eruption**
13
14

15 *Samuel Weeks and Vitor Popinsky* **AQ1**
16
17

18
19 **O**n the afternoon of November 23, 2014,
20 we were working on tasks related to the
21 fieldwork we conducted in Chã das Caldeiras
22 from 2006 until 2013. Commonly known as
23 “Chã,” this community is located inside the
24 crater of the Pico do Fogo, the 2,829-meter
25
26
27

59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116

volcano on the island of Fogo in the West African republic of Cape Verde. Awful news reached us via social media: After 19 years of being dormant, Fogo’s volcano had started to erupt.

During the coming days, we followed intently the reports of the evacuation effort¹ and the whereabouts of the expanding lava field. Initial hopes that the flow would not damage the village and its surrounding farmland were quickly dashed. A week into the eruption, lava submerged the recently inaugurated headquarters of the Fogo National Park and was threatening to engulf Portela, the larger of Chã’s two neighborhoods. After a day of cautious optimism, during which the spread of the lava had slowed considerably, the village’s inhabitants confronted a horrible

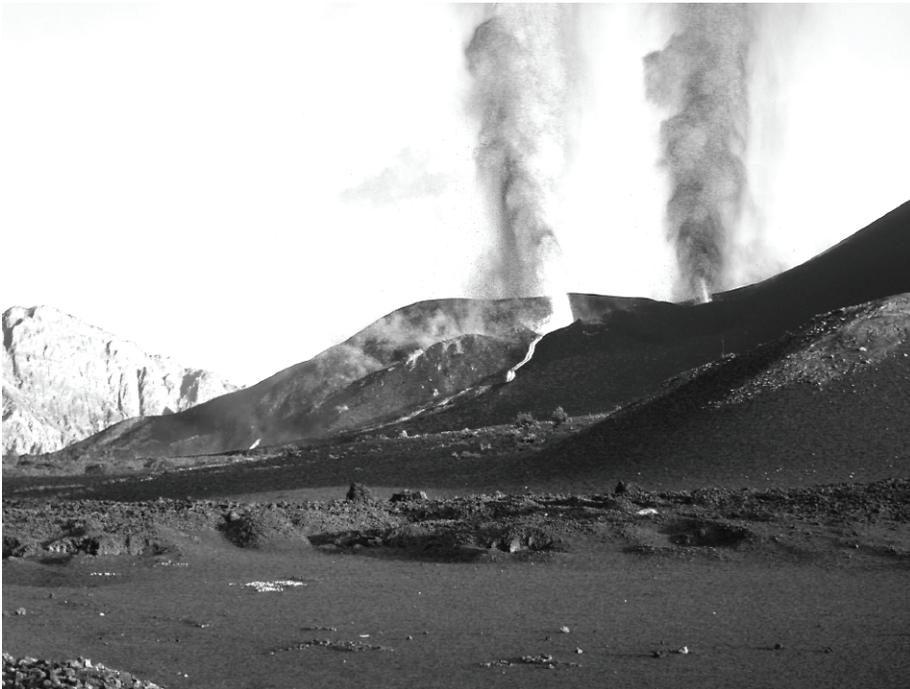


Figure 1. The 2014 eruption. The neighborhood of Bangaeira before the recent eruption. Courtesy Vitor Popinsky n. Courtesy Greta Frick/Nos Ku Nhos Association.



Figure 2. The neighborhood of Bangaeira before the recent eruption. Courtesy Vitor Popinsky.

reality: A new lava flow had picked up force and was headed squarely in the direction of both Portela and Bangaeira, which is Chã's other neighborhood. By December 7, 2014, this entire village — previously home to some 700 inhabitants — had been destroyed.

From the beginning of the eruption, a series of questions began to emerge in the news and on social media. People asked why residents would stay in Chã if they knew that disaster was imminent, how they coped and made sense of the eruption and whether they would return to Chã now that the volcanic activity had stopped. In an effort to address these and other questions, we will share

our understanding of why people initially decided to settle in this seemingly hostile place. We will compare a previous eruption in 1995 with the one in 2014 in order to discuss the bond that exists between the people of Chã and the volcano. We also will attempt to characterize how residents and commentators have conceptualized and explained the reasons behind the recent eruption, using information presented in the news and on social media. Finally, we will consider the likelihood that most residents currently displaced from Chã will disobey government orders and return to living inside the crater. We believe that figuratively picking through

1
2
3
4
5 the embers and rubble that now make up
6 Chã is a necessary step to further compre-
7 hending how victims of this disaster come to
8 understand the misfortune they face.
9

10 11 12 “The Volcano — It’s Our Friend” 13

14 Chã das Caldeiras, the region inside Fogo’s
15 active volcanic crater, was still unpopulated
16 at the beginning of the 20th century, even
17 though it was long known that the area pos-
18 sessed reliable water sources and rich soil,
19 two rarities in arid Cape Verde. The greatest
20 obstacle to settlement in Chã was undoubt-
21 edly the fear of eruptions, which had oc-
22 curred regularly since the settlement of Fogo
23 in the late 15th century. From the mid-19th
24 to the early 20th centuries, however, the vol-
25 cano remained unusually dormant, which
26 reduced the fear of eruptions among the in-
27 habitants of Fogo.² A few pioneering fami-
28 lies with no firsthand knowledge of previous
29 eruptions settled in Chã in order to graze
30 their livestock and grow crops in the fertile
31 volcanic soil.
32

33 While these first residents undoubtedly
34 knew that they were vulnerable to potential
35 eruptions, they persisted in living inside the
36 crater. One local explanation for this paradox
37 is that the volcano is “like a friend.” Accord-
38 ing to this line of thinking, even if eruptions
39 destroy homes or farmland, in the end the
40 volcano always “gives more than it takes,”
41 as Chã native Teodoro told the newspaper *A*
42 *Semana*.³ This personification of the volcano
43 as a benevolent friend seems to be reinforced
44 during eruptions. The Pico do Fogo is a low-
45 intensity Strombolian-type volcano, meaning
46 that local residents will have some warning
47
48
49
50
51
52
53

55 before the eruption begins. The testimony of
56 a long-time inhabitant of Chã reflects local
57 sentiment when he notes that “the volcano is
58 more a friend to man than man is his friend
59 ... He [the volcano] warns us before the
60 eruption, so we can get out of Chã.”⁴
61
62

63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116

117 Such a warning did, in fact, precede the 1995
118 eruption, which began on April 2, an other-
119 wise normal day. Later that night, lava be-
120 gan to spew from Pico Pequeno, a smaller
121 crater adjacent to the main volcano. After
122 residents had removed as many belongings
123 as they could from their modest homes, a few
124 remaining inhabitants witnessed the eruption
125 from an elevated point nearby. Firsthand ac-
126 counts describe the event with mixed feel-
127 ings, as something both magnificently beauti-
128 ful and awesomely destructive. Adding to the
129 drama during the eruption was an official de-
130 crease announcing that the government would
131 commence building houses for the people of
132 Chã outside of their crater home. This worri-
133 some ruling notwithstanding, the end of the
134 1995 eruption reportedly brought relief, even
135 elation. The Portela and Bangaeira neigh-
136 borhoods were spared destruction, though some
137 property owners did see their agricultural
138 lands covered by lava.⁵

139 As time passed and the lava cooled, evac-
140 uees from Chã became eager to return to
141 their homes, fields and livestock. They were
142 shocked and angry when the Cape Verdean
143 government further declared that the people
144 of Chã could not go back to living inside the
145 crater. To compensate, the government hasti-
146 ly constructed houses for residents in two
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58

59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116



Figure 3. A local guide with tourists climbing the volcano, the 2,829-meter Pico do Fogo. Courtesy Vitor Popinsky.

villages outside the volcano. Left with few alternatives, many moved into these homes, but they quickly realized that this new life would be nearly impossible as they would have no access to farmland or pasture areas. To make matters worse, rumors swirled alleging that the government wanted to relocate Chã's population in order to construct a lux-

ury tourist resort. These allegations prompted a few intrepid locals to flout the government decree and return to their homes and fields in Chã. When the remaining population followed suit, the government relented on its ban.

Against all odds, the post-1995 lives of Chã's residents began to improve. In this re-

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58

gard, the volcano was again their “friend.” The end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new century brought the development of new economic activities, namely tourism and viniculture. In the process, Chã became one of the most recognized places in Cape Verde. The 1995 eruption provided the two elements necessary to develop these industries: infrastructural improvements and international visibility. As the number of people visiting the crater increased, local families began adding rooms to their homes in order to accommodate tourists, who hailed primarily from France and Germany. The more adventurous of these visitors came to hike the volcano, with its spectacular views of the crater wall, surrounding areas and the nearby Island of Santiago. Accordingly, young men and a few women from Chã became the village’s first guides, leading tourists up the treacherous trail to the summit of the volcano. Another significant post-1995 development was the construction of a new cooperative wine cellar. Aided by Italian specialists, this project helped to commercialize local wine-making and, as a result, prompted the farmers of Chã to increase their cultivation of vines. At harvest time, the grapes were bought by the cooperative and made into export-quality wines to sell throughout Cape Verde and abroad.

Samuel Weeks and Vitor Popinsky



Figure 4. Three locals pruning grapevines. Courtesy Vitor Popinsky.

Perhaps the most significant post-1995 addition to Chã was the Fogo National Park headquarters, inaugurated in March 2014 to great fanfare, including a visit from the prime minister of Cape Verde. A team of Portuguese architects designed the headquarters, paying homage to the U-shape of the crater. Locals constructed it using — in what would become a tragic irony — volcanic materials. Sadly, this majestic building was the first to be destroyed in the recent eruption.

59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58

59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116



Figure 5. Trying to save belongings from the lava flow. Courtesy Greta Frick/Nos Ku Nhos Association.

Local Understandings of the 2014 Eruption

The 2014 eruption of the Pico do Fogo has amounted to an acute existential challenge for the residents of Chã das Caldeiras. The lava flows were significantly larger and stronger than during previous volcanic activity. The newly paved road leading into the community and dozens of acres of prime farmland were destroyed. More devastating, the densely populated Portela and Bangaeira neighborhoods are now submerged under three meters of lava, in contrast to earlier vol-

canic events that merely skirted the residential parts of the village. Effectively, the people of Chã have become “landless, homeless and jobless at once.”⁶

To focus attention on how Chã’s residents (and others) are making sense of a calamity that has brought them such anguish and suffering, we will highlight themes that have recurred in responses to the eruption by locals and observers alike, as documented in press accounts and on social media. The people of Chã know very well that there is a geological basis for volcanism, but they also bring notions of causality rooted in spiritual, alle-

gorical and symbolic realms to bear on their understanding of volcanic phenomena. The men and women we know from the village, some of whom are speaking out publically today, negotiate numerous understandings of the recent tragic events that point to a long-standing entanglement of scientific and symbolic explanations for volcanic activity on Fogo.

As noted by researchers of other volcanic eruptions,⁷ the descriptions of victims commonly feature analogy, which helps survivors to contextualize these extraordinary and calamitous occurrences. Likewise, employing metaphor, personification and even the supernatural sets the events apart from the happenings of everyday life. In the case of Chã, volcanic flows became *frentes* (phalanxes), lava *veias de fogo* (veins of fire) and the eruption site a *colosso* (colossus). Water symbolism was also common, particularly when used to describe the destructive movements of lava: *torrente* (gushing), *corrente* (a current), *ondas* (waves) and *mar* (a sea).

More systematic were a number of frameworks providing not only descriptions of the recent tragic events but also some explanations for them. The two most notable of these resonate with the binary oppositions “nature versus culture” and “destruction versus rebuilding.” These are indicative of the struggle among Chã’s residents to situate the eruption — an incident challenging both experience and comprehension — within a conceptual system that can provide some “reasons” for its occurrence.⁸

Regarding the first framework, survivors and commentators immediately cast the volcanic activity as a “natural” phenomenon. Speaking to *A Semana*, Chã native Carla

stated that she did not blame the volcano for destroying her home because such events “are simply a part of nature.”⁹ While on the one hand residents cast the eruption as being wild and uncontrollable, on the other they stressed how this act of “nature” is somehow necessary to foster human life and culture in Chã. A striking example of this sentiment is found in a June 2015 posting on the Facebook page of Alcindo, a well-known local guide: “I am from Chã and I discovered that in my veins is lava that flows and in my heart is fire¹⁰ (flame) that makes me get out of bed every morning.”

Combining these two characteristics, journalist Nicolau Centeio spoke of the volcano’s nature to both remove and provide culture: “The volcano gives, the volcano takes away ... It gave the soils in which one of Cape Verde’s richest agricultural and tourist areas flourished. [But it also] took away everything in recent hours, consuming slowly infrastructure, houses and farmland. We should all remember that before *Nature* we are nothing”¹¹ (emphasis added). From these examples, one can see how those implicated in the eruption have in part removed “nature” from blame, citing instead its vital role in sustaining the “culture” of Chã das Caldeiras.

The second explanatory framework of note, destruction versus rebuilding, depicts in an alternating fashion the volcano as either a destroyer or a creator. As understood by survivors and national media observers alike, the 2014 eruption represents one of the dividing lines that periodically mark the end of one era in Chã and the beginning of another. After the total destruction wrought by the recent eruption, the people of Chã have now begun to “rebuild” their lives — at first,



Figure 6. Confronting “nature.” Courtesy Greta Frick/Nos Ku Nhos Association.

through speech acts. Seemingly every verb we found in media accounts was preceded by the prefix “re.”¹² In a posteruption interview with *A Semana*, poet José Luís Tavares spoke of Chã’s plight precisely in these terms: “There is ... an uncommon tenacity in those people of Chã and, at the same time, and infinite innocence that leads them to believe that however *destructive* nature can be ... there will always be strength and motives for a new fresh start [*um novo recomeço*]. That is why [you have] the recurrence of certain motives ... such as renewal [*renovo*]¹³ (emphases added).

Appearing in the newspaper *A Nação*, a profile of Chã hoteliers Marisa and Mustafa poignantly titled “To Be Born Again [*Renascer*] from the Lava” features similar “rebuilding” imagery. “[The couple] lost everything in the November 23 eruption. *The wrath of the lavas* took from them [their only] two guesthouses ... Nevertheless, Marisa and Mustafa do not want to turn their backs on Chã das Caldeiras or its people. They have made up their minds: they want to *return* to investing in Chã¹⁴ (emphases added). In these and other examples, destruction and rebuilding oscillate in a dialectical fashion; one is thought to give way to the other, and

1
2
3
4
5 vice versa. Even as the recent eruption has
6 resulted in utter devastation for Chã's resi-
7 dents, reconstruction is very much on their
8 minds. So the cycle continues.
9

10 The final noteworthy trope we found in
11 personal and journalistic responses to the
12 eruption can be referred to as supernatu-
13 ral personification. In the case of Chã, the
14 erupting volcano has been called a *gigante*
15 (giant), a *Homem Grande* (Big Man) and a
16 *colosso* (colossus), all uncontainable figures
17 who have "consumed houses," "swallowed
18 the school and a hotel," "cleansed an en-
19 tire line of dwellings" and "climbed to the
20 other side of the village." As has been docu-
21
22

59
60
61
62
63 mented by other researchers,¹⁵ such motifs
64 are common in the aftermath of destruc-
65 tive volcanic activity, a metaphoric way of
66 "bounding uncertainty."¹⁶ Accordingly, the
67 use of such devices reflects the work of sur-
68 vivors to transform an unknowable, unpre-
69 dictable disaster into a mythical figure pos-
70 sessing human characteristics as universal as
71 rage, vengeance and authority. To quote *A*
72 *Semana*: "And the volcano wakes up again,
73 almost two decades after [its last eruption, in
74 1995]. It awoke practically without providing
75 a warning, bringing with it the fury [a *ira*] of
76 a *giant* who has at its feet a fragile and needy
77 village"¹⁷ (emphasis added). Thus, evading
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108



23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58

Figure 7. Residents moving their belongings to high ground. Courtesy Greta Frick/Nos Ku Nhos Association.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58

59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116

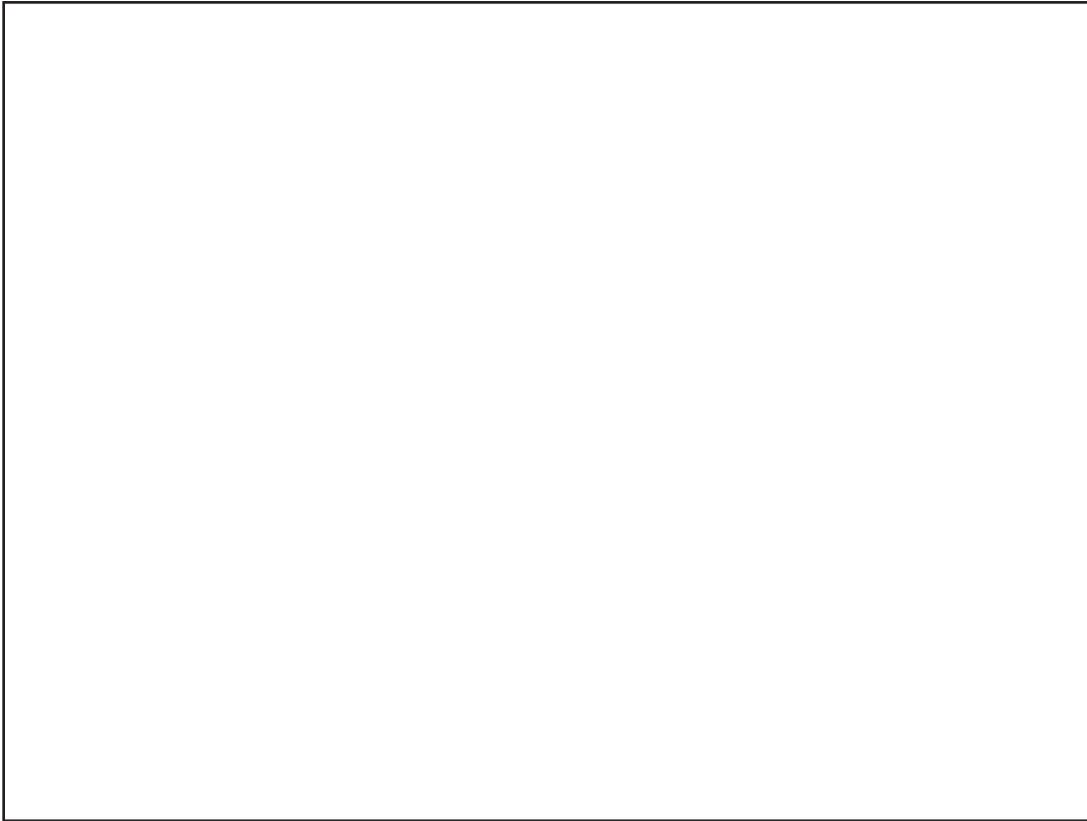


Figure 8. *The sleeping giant awakes.* Courtesy Greta Frick/Nos Ku Nhos Association.

measures to foretell its coming, the giant — like the erupting volcano — arrives only to vanish quickly thereafter, leaving in its stead the near-total destruction that the people of Chã must now confront.

The Outlook for Chã

Only time will tell whether the people of Chã will return to living inside the crater. As we see it, however, what has happened in Chã since late 2014 resembles the maneuvering and civil disobedience that took place after

the 1995 eruption. Thus, we are confident in making some predictions about what might take place in the near future. Even as the injunction against people returning to live in Chã remains in force, inhabitants are already trickling back into the crater from the miserable nearby “evacuation centers” in order to harvest crops, feed livestock and build new overnight dwellings in their remaining fields. This return is akin to the situation in 1995. Although there is still no consensus on the outlook for Chã, the government has been floating plans about building a new community at the edge of the crater for the displaced

1
2
3
4
5 residents. While some have expressed sup-
6 port for this option, others are explicit and
7 adamant about their desire to return to the
8 heart of the crater, near the now-submerged
9 village of Chã. Recent evidence on social
10 media sites and from other media is strongly
11 inclined toward this position. An example of
12 this sentiment can be seen in the trailer to
13 the upcoming documentary *O Regresso dos*
14 *Filhos do Vulcão* (*The Return of the Volcano's*
15 *Children*). “[Chã residents] must return to re-
16 build their houses *on top of the lava*,” pro-
17 claims a local woman.¹⁸ The ban in 1995 did
18 not stop the people of Chã from returning to
19 their beloved crater, the narrative goes, and
20 accordingly there is no reason why this can-
21 not happen again. “The way things are going,
22 it will not be long until Chã das Caldeiras
23 returns to being populated by people and
24 houses, in a rewriting of history from 1995,”
25 asserts Nicolau Centeio in *A Semana*.¹⁹

26
27 To conclude, we cite a December 2014
28 message that the guide Alcindo wrote on his
29 Facebook page, which reflects the intimate
30 and steadfast bond that the residents of Chã
31 have toward their volcano home:

32 Today we went to feed our animals in Chã,
33 so that they don't starve to death.

34 Why is it now that when we enter Chã we
35 are considered terrorists, or that we are to
36 blame for the volcanic eruption?

37 The children of Chã are living a difficult mo-
38 ment but we keep our heads up. We know
39 that today we are [outside the crater], but
40 we are hoping to return to Chã tomorrow.

41 We thank all of you for the moral support
42 you have given us, but we just want some-
43 thing that is simple and easy:

44 THAT THE AUTHORITIES STOP FRIGHT-
45 ENING THE POPULATION AND LET US
46 GO IN AND OUT OF CHÃ WHENEVER
47 WE WANT.

48 Acknowledgments

49 We thank Christine Weeks, Nancy Levine and
50 João Vasconcelos for their careful edits and sug-
51 gestions for the piece. We dedicate this to all those
52 in Chã who have lost homes and livelihoods: *du*
53 *sta ku nhos*.

54 Notes

55 1. This process was a “success” in that there
56 would be no loss of life from the eruption.

57 2. Cláudio Fonseca, *O Processo de Ocupação*
58 *e Povoamento de Chã das Caldeiras* (Praia, Cape
59 Verde: Instituto Superior de Educação, 2002).

60 3. Nicolau Centeio, “‘Homi grande’ sem mi-
61 sericórdia sobre Chã das Caldeiras,” *A Semana*,
62 December 3, 2014.

63 4. Vera Alfama, Alberto Mota Gomes and José
64 Brilha, *Guia Geoturístico da Ilha do Fogo* (Coim-
65 bra, Portugal: Department of Life Sciences, Uni-
66 versity of Coimbra, 2008), 55.

67 5. Information about the 1995 earthquake
68 was collected in Chã by the authors from 2006
69 to 2013.

70 6. Graham A. Tobin and Linda Whiteford,
71 “Community Resilience and Volcano Hazard: The
72 Eruption of Tungurahua and Evacuation of the *Fal-*
73 *das* in Ecuador.” *Disasters* 26, no. 1 (2002): 39.

74 7. E.g., Katharine V. Cashman and Shane J.
75 Cronin. “Welcoming a Monster to the World:
76 Myths, Oral Tradition and Modern Societal Re-
77 sponse to Volcanic Disasters.” *Journal of Volcanol-*
78 *ogy and Geothermal Research* 176, no. 3 (2008):
79 407–18.

1
2
3
4
5 8. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 220.

6
7 9. Nicolau Centeio “‘Homi grande’ sem misericórdia sobre Chã das Caldeiras,” *A Semana*,
8 December 3, 2014.
9

10 10. Note that the Portuguese word for “fire”
11 (“fogo”) is also the name of Fogo, the island in
12 Cape Verde where the volcano and Chã das Cal-
13 deiras are located.
14

15 11. Nicolau Centeio, “O vulcão deu, o vulcão
16 tirou,” *A Semana*, November 25, 2014.

17 12. C.f., Susanna M. Hoffman, “The Monster
18 and the Mother: The Symbolism of Disaster,” in
19 *Catastrophe and Culture: The Anthropology of*
20 *Disaster* ed. Susanna M. Hoffman and Anthony
21 Oliver-Smith (Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press, 2002),
22 133.
23

24 13. Teresa Sofia Fortes, “José Luís Tavares lança
25 ‘Coração de Lava’: Testemunho poético de uma
26 Chã das Caldeiras que já é passado,” *A Semana*,
27 December 17, 2004.

28 14. Gisela Coelho, “Renascer das lavas,” *A*
29 *Nação*, May 13, 2015.

30 15. E.g., Cashman and Cronin, “Welcoming a
31 Monster to the World.”

32 16. Hoffman, “The Monster and the Mother.”

33 17. “Vulcão do Fogo: O despertar de um gi-
34 gante,” *A Semana*, November 24, 2014.

35 18. See Agência Cabo-verdiana de Imagens,
36 “O Regresso dos Filhos do Vulcão — Teaser.”
37 YouTube video, 1:47. May 18, 2015, [https://www.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wO4eo1m_AjA)
38 [youtube.com/watch?v=wO4eo1m_AjA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wO4eo1m_AjA).
39

40 19. Nicolau Centeio, “Famílias regressam a
41 Chã das Caldeiras,” *A Semana*, March 2, 2015.
42

43 44 45 **Suggestions for Further Reading**

46 Hoffman, Susanna M. and Anthony Oliver-Smith,
47 eds. *Catastrophe and Culture: The Anthropology*
48 *of Disaster*. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press, 2002.
49

50 Schlehe, Judith. “Anthropology of Religion: Disas-
51 ters and the Representations of Tradition and Mo-
52 dernity.” *Religion* 40 (2010): 112–20.
53
54
55
56
57
58

59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69 **Samuel Weeks** is a doctoral candidate in socio-
70 cultural anthropology at the University of Cali-
71 fornia, Los Angeles (USA). From 2006 until 2008,
72 he served as a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer in Chã
73 das Caldeiras (Fogo, Cape Verde). After winning
74 an Ambassadorial Scholarship from the Rotary
75 Foundation, Weeks completed a master’s degree
76 in social anthropology at the Institute of Social
77 Sciences, University of Lisbon (Portugal). He was
78 the 2013 winner of the Eric R. Wolf Prize from
79 the Society for the Anthropology of Work. For the
80 2015-16 academic year, Weeks was a visiting
81 researcher at the University of Luxembourg on a
82 Fulbright/IIIE fellowship.
83
84
85
86
87

88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
Vitor Popinsky is a doctoral candidate in social
anthropology at the Institute of Social Sciences,
University of Lisbon (Portugal). His dissertation
research took place in Chã das Caldeiras (Fogo,
Cape Verde) and addresses topics such as kinship
and family organization, land ownership and use,
the reproduction of domestic groups and issues
surrounding “race.” Popinsky has also carried out
research in Mozambique on the HIV and AIDS
epidemics and on the National Reserve of Gilé as
part of his work in development studies at Lund
University (Sweden). In 2005, he won an award
from the Ruth Landes Memorial Fund (USA) to un-
dertake fieldwork in Brazil on the social responses
to the droughts that devastated parts of the country
during that year.