# CURRICULUM VITAE Rebecca Gearhart Mafazy

Professor of Anthropology Department of Sociology and Anthropology Illinois Wesleyan University

## **EDUCATION**

1998: Ph.D. Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. <u>Dissertation:</u> Ngoma Memories: A History of Competitive Music and Dance Performance on the Kenya Coast.

1993/94: University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

1993: M.A. African History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. <u>Thesis:</u> *John Streeter and the Runaway Slaves: a History of the Kenya Coast in the 1870s and '80s.* 

1993: Graduate Certificate in African Studies, Center for African Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

1989: B.A. (cum laude with honor) History & African Studies, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

## TEACHING EMPLOYMENT

Fall, 1999 - Present: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois.

Fall 2005, Tenured, Promoted to Associate Professor of Anthropology

Fall 2006–Spring 2007; Fall 2008-Spring 2014; Fall 2015-Spring 2016: Chair, Department of Sociology & Anthropology

Fall 2013, Promoted to Full Professor of Anthropology

## Courses taught at Illinois Wesleyan:

Gateway 100: Colonialism & Resistance in Africa; Gateway 100: The Enigma of the Gift; Anth 171: Introduction to Cultural Anthropology; Anth 250: World Music; Anth/Enst 270/370: Native Americans & the Environment; Anth/Enst 274: Peoples and Cultures of East Africa; Anth 275: Anthropology of Theatre, Performance & Spectacle; Anth 295: Meeting the Swahili of Kenya (Travel Course); Anth 350: Healing, Birthing & Dying; Anth 352: Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective; Anth 355: African Expressive Arts; Anth 380: Visual Ethnographic Methods; Anth 397: Internship; Anth 450: Independent Study. Spring, 1999: Adjunct Professor, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, Florida. *Introduction to Anthropology; Language & Culture*.

Spring, 1999: Adjunct Professor, St. Vincent's Medical School, Jacksonville, Florida. *Introduction to Anthropology*.

Fall, 1998: Instructor, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida. Visual Anthropology.

Summer, 1998: Instructor, Center for African Studies, University of Florida. *The African Experience*.

## **TEACHING / RESEARCH GRANTS**

2016-17: Fulbright Scholar in Residence to sponsor Kirill Maslinsky (European University at St. Petersburg, Russia) to teach Anthropology of Childhood at IWU, Fall 2016.

2014-15: IWU, Faculty Sabbatical for Fall and Spring semester. Paid leave for the academic year to work on *The Swahili Art of Life*.

2013: IWU, Mellon Foundation Re-Centering the Humanities Speaker-and-Performance Series Grant to sponsor visiting scholar Dr. Deforia Lane (Director of Music Therapy, Cleveland Clinic), September 16, \$3,325.

2013: IWU, Action Research Center Associates Grant to fund a student leadership conference October 2, 2013, \$1000.

2012: IWU, Provost's Curriculum Development Grant to connect anthropology programming to *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks*, summer reading, \$500.

2008: IWU, Artistic & Scholarly Development Grant to edit visual material for *The Swahili Art of Life*, \$3,500.

2008: IWU, Provost's Research Development Grant to host a 3-day symposium (March 29 – 31) on "Contesting Identities: Re-Centering Kenya Coastal History & Society," \$3,500.

2007: IWU, Faculty Sabbatical for fall semester. Paid semester leave to work on *The Swahili Art* of Life.

2004: IWU, Humanity Series Grant to sponsor a campus visit by two Sudanese "Lost Boys," African Culture Week, Nov. 1 - 7, 2004, \$484.80.

2004: IWU Curriculum Development Grant to develop courses in Biological Anthropology, with Charles Springwood, \$6,997.

2003: IWU, Humanities Series Grant to bring *The Orchid Ensemble* to campus for a 3-day artist in residency over the Chinese New Year, January 20-22, 2004, \$9,250.

2003: IWU, Junior Faculty Leave for Fall semester. Paid semester leave to conduct research for *The Swahili Art of Life*.

2002: IWU, Heritage / Arthur Vining Davis Collection Development Grant to enhance the Africana collection, \$5,000.

2000: IWU Curriculum Development Grant to develop a May term travel course to Kenya, \$2,000.

1999: IWU Curriculum Development Grant to develop and revise courses in Visual Anthropology and Sociology, and to establish a film editing lab, with Georganne Rundblad, Charles Springwood, and Christopher Prendergast, \$8,000.

1998: University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences dissertation write-up fellowship, \$2,000.

1995/96: Fulbright Scholarship to conduct research in Kenya for a Doctoral Dissertation in Anthropology, \$15,000.

1993: University of Florida, Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies Travel Fellowship for summer research in Kenya, \$2,000.

1990/91: University of Florida, Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies Tuition Fellowship for Graduate studies in African History, \$20,000.

## **OTHER GRANTS**

2015: Rotary Global Grant for purchasing medical equipment for the Lamu Center of Preventative Health in Lamu Town, Kenya, \$48,835. Co-authored by Hank Campbell and Munib Abdulrehman.

2012: Mount Holyoke College, 1905 Fellowship for developing a laboratory for Malaria screening at the Lamu Center of Preventative Health in Lamu, Kenya, \$3,875.

## <u>SCHOLARSHIP</u> Published Peer-Reviewed Books, Chapters, and Articles

2015. Forming and Performing Swahili Manhood: Wedding Rituals of a Groom in Lamu Town. In *Gendered Lives in the Western Indian Ocean: Islam, Marriage, and Sexuality on the Swahili Coast,* Katrina Thompson and Erin Stiles (Eds.). Ohio University Press.

2014. Co-edited by Linda Giles. *Contesting Identities: The Mijikenda and their Neighbors in Kenyan Coastal Society*. Africa World Press, 308 pp.

2014. Co-authored by Linda Giles. Introduction. In *Contesting Identities: The Mijikenda and their Neighbors in Kenyan Coastal Society*. Rebecca Gearhart and Linda Giles (Eds.). Africa World Press, xxiii-xxxviii.

2014. Paths to Prosperity: Pokomo and Giriama Migrant Workers in Lamu. In *Contesting Identities: The Mijikenda and their Neighbors in Kenyan Coastal Society*. Rebecca Gearhart and Linda Giles (Eds.). Africa World Press, 145-168.

2014. Co-authored by Munib Said Abdulrehman. Concepts of Illness among the Swahili of Lamu, Kenya. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*. 25 (3): 218 - 222.

2013. Seeing Life Through the Eyes of Swahili Children of Lamu, Kenya: A Visual Anthropology Approach. *AnthropoChildren: Ethnographic Perspectives on Children & Childhood*, 3 (3). URL : http://popups.ulg.ac.be/2034-8517/index.php?id=1676.

2013. Co-authored by Erick Henderson (IWU '12). Observations on Eye Care in Lamu, Kenya: Overlooked Needs and Proposed Interventions. *The Journal of Global Health, 3* (1): 36-39.

2012. Co-authored by Munib Said Abdulrehman. Purity, Balance and Wellness among the Swahili of Lamu, Kenya. *The Journal of Global Health*, 2 (1): 42-44.

2011. Detstvo v Kul'ture Suahili (Childhood in Swahili Culture). In *Konstruiruia Detskoe: Fililogiia, Istoriia, Antropologiia (Constructing Childhood: Philology, History, Anthropology)*. M.R. Balina, V.G. Bezrogov, S. Sheridan (Eds.). Moscow - St. Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 460-473.

2005. Ngoma Memories: How Ritual Music and Dance Shaped the Northern Kenya Coast. *African Studies Review*. 48 (3): 21-47.

2005. Taking American Race Relations on the Road...to Africa. *African Studies Quarterly*. *8* (2):70-83. URL: http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v8/v8i2a4.htm

2003. Co-authored by Steve Witt. Ethnography and Information Literacy: An Assessment Project. *Assessing Student Learning Outcomes for Information Literacy Instruction in Academic Libraries*. Elizabeth Fuseler Avery (Ed.). Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 265-278.

2000. Rama Maulidi: A Competitive Ritual Ngoma in Lamu. In *Mashindano! Competitive Music Performance in East Africa*. Gregory Barz and Frank Gunderson (Eds.). Mkuki na Nyota Press, Dar es Salaam / Michigan State University Press / African Books Collective, 347-365.

1998. Contemporary African Film at the 13th Annual Carter Lectures on Africa: Interviews with Filmmaker Salem Mekuria and Film Critic Sheila Petty. *African Studies Quarterly*. 2 (1). URL: http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v2/v2i1.htm

### **Other Publications**

1998. Four Days for the Prophet. *The World & I, 13*(9): 218–23.

## **Visual Media Exhibitions**

January, 2015. *Picha za Maisha Yetu: Photographs by Swahili Children of Lamu Town,* original color photographs taken by six Lamu Town children in July, 2011. American Corner, Mwana Arafa House, Lamu Town, Kenya.

2007 – Present. *Swahili Expressive Arts Collection,* a digital media archive featuring images and metadata on *maulidi* traditions in Lamu, Kenya. URL: http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/sea/

June – November, 1996. *Swahili Praises to the Prophet*, original color photographs and video presentation of the 1995 Maulidi Festival in Lamu, Kenya. Lamu Fort Museum, Lamu, Kenya.

### In Press

New Modes of Expression and Changing Gender Relations among Swahili Youth at Home and Abroad. In *Swahili Trans-local Connections Within and Between Boundaries,* Francesca Declich (Ed.), Brill Press.

### **Under Review**

*The Swahili Art of Life: A Visual Ethnography of Lamu Town, Kenya.* A collection of ethnographic photo-essays, each focusing on a unique expressive art form among the Swahili of Lamu Town, Kenya.

## **PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS**

## **Peer-Reviewed Professional Conferences**

2015, November 21: "Culture as Armament: Identity Politics in Lamu Town, paper presented at the African Studies Association Meetings, San Diego, CA.

2014, December 6: "The Use of Herbals in Diabetes Self-Management among the Swahili of Lamu, Kenya," co-authored by Munib Said Abdulrehman, poster presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, Washington D.C.

2014, April 12: "Connecting Students to Non-Western Healers: Exploring "Medicine" in Global and Local Contexts," paper presented at the Central States Anthropological Society Meetings, Normal, IL.

2014, April 12: "Introducing *Contesting Identities: The Mijikenda and their Neighbors in Kenya Coastal Society* and Three Selections Therein," paper presented at the Central States Anthropological Society Meetings, Normal, IL.

2013, November 23: "Becoming American: Exploring Immigrant Experiences in a Visual Anthropology Course," paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, Chicago, IL.

2013, April 6: "The World on a Plate: Circulating Recipes and Ideas in Swahili Cuisine" paper presented at the Central States Anthropological Society Meetings, St. Louis, MO.

2012, November 16: "Exploring Maternal Healthcare Knowledge & Practice among the Swahili of Lamu, Kenya," co-authored by Munib Said Abdulrehman, poster presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, San Francisco, CA.

2011, November 17: "Forming and Performing Swahili Manhood: Wedding Rituals of a Lamu Groom," paper presented at the African Studies Association Meetings, Washington, D.C.

2011, October 1: "Seeing Swahili Children: A Visual Anthropological Approach," paper presented at the Transforming Childhood: Discourses & Practices Conference, European University, St. Petersburg, Russia.

2011, April 7: "Circulating Paths to Wellness Among the Swahili of Lamu, Kenya," coauthored by Munib Said Abdulrehman, paper presented at the Central States Anthropological Society Meetings, Iowa City, IA.

2010, November 20: "Circulating Paths to Wellness Among the Swahili of Lamu, Kenya," coauthored by Munib Said Abdulrehman, poster presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, New Orleans, LA.

2010, September 15: "Changing Notions of Swahili Childhood," paper presented at the Childhood & Globalization conference held jointly at Illinois Wesleyan University and Illinois State University. 2009, November 20: "Skype, Facebook and Chatrooms: New Modes of Expression and Changing Gender Relations in the Swahili Diaspora," paper presented at the African Studies Association Meetings, New Orleans, LA.

2008, November 19: "Revolving Doors: The Circulation of Swahili Woodwork Design," paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, San Francisco, CA.

2008, November 14: "Swahili Woodwork Design: Shared, Borrowed, Bought, or Embezzled?" paper presented at the African Studies Association Meetings, Chicago, IL.

2007, October 18: "Breaking into the "Global Village:" Arts and Crafts in Coastal Kenya," paper presented at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York City, NY.

2006, November 18: "Critical Constructions of a Shared Past: Further Expanding the View on Kenyan Coastal History, Culture, and Identity" roundtable presentation at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

2005, November 18: "Non-Swahili Laborers in Lamu, Kenya: Coastal History from the Kitchen Floor," paper presented at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington D.C.

2004, November 11: "The Ritual Requisites of Work among the Bajuni of Kenya," paper presented at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.

2004, February 13: "Visualizing Performance: Innovative Ethnographic Research Methods in Visual Anthropology," paper and film presented at the 2004 Congress on Research in Dance, Carter Lectures in African Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

2002, November 20: "Mediating Culture: Swahili Tutors, Host Families & Educational Tour Guides on the Kenya coast," paper and film presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.

2001, November 30: "Playing Narrator: The Visual Autobiographies of Two Girls from Two Worlds (Lamu, Kenya & St. Paul, Minnesota)" paper and film presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.

2000, November 19: "Representing Bajuni Landlessness in Kenya: When Ethnographic Praxis is Politics" paper and film presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

2000, April 21: "Containers & Connectors," roundtable presentation at the Central States Anthropological Society Annual Meeting, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN. 1999, November 20: "Timing is Everything: Performance Rituals and Slash and Burn Agriculture among the Bajuni of Kenya" paper and film presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in Chicago, IL.

1999, November 12: "Expressing the Unspeakable in Mijikenda Music and Dance Performance" paper & film presented at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.

1998, October 29: "Competition and Ownership on the Kenya coast: The Struggle for Wealth in People" paper presented at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL.

1998, March 28: "The Visual Anthropologist's Narrative" paper and film presented at the Florida Academy of Sciences, Orlando, FL.

1998, March 5: "Female Ngoma Leaders on the Kenya coast: A Story of Competition over Social Capital" paper and film presented at the Women's Studies Conference, Valdosta State University, Valdosta, GA.

1997, November 15: "Imagining and Imaging the Past through Multiple Narratives: the Use of Video in the Documentation of Historical Pluralism" paper and film presented at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting in Columbus, OH.

1996, November 24: "Ethics in the Field" roundtable presentation at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting in San Francisco, CA.

## **Select Off-Campus Presentations**

2015, October 21: "Employing Intellectual Empathy: Overcoming Forces that Separate Us" Global Skills Series Lecture, Illinois State University, Normal, IL.

2013, October 24: "Making Connections with Non-Western Healers," Central Illinois Psychiatric Nurses Association (CIPNA), Methodist Medical Center, Peoria, IL.

2013, February 20: "Contesting Identities: The Mijikenda and Their Neighbors in Kenyan Coastal Society," Center for African Studies, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

2006, February 23: "Taking American Race Relations on the Road...to Africa," Global Review, Illinois State University.

2003, April 26: "Using Visual Media in Teaching about Africa," Center for African Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

2003, February 7: "The Swahili Art of Life: Artists & Expressive Culture on the Kenya Coast," Five College African Scholars Program, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA.

2002, February 25: "The Making of the Swahili: Coastal Culture in Historical Perspective," Center for African Studies Colloquium, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

### Select IWU Presentations

2016, February 14: "Ritual & Community." An Odalan Celebration, an Offering of Music & Dance. Religion, Music & the Humanities Series, Evelyn Chapel.

2014, September 13: "Healthcare & Human Rights: A Case Study of Lamu, Kenya." Center for Human Rights & Social Justice Workshop.

2014, April 10: Secret Societies, Witch-finding, and "Traditional" Political Institutions in the Shaping of Mijikenda Identity: Selections from *Contesting Identities: The Mijikenda and Their Neighbors in Kenyan Coastal Society*. International Studies Colloquium.

2013, April 22: "Course-Clustering, 2013-14: What is it & Why Should I Join in?" Non-Org presentation.

2012, October 29: "Pussy Riot Against Vladimir Putin: Victory in Defeat." Non-Org presentation with Marina Balina and Kathleen Montgomery.

2009, May 2: "Rites of Passage in Cross-Cultural Perspective." Address to inductees, Phi Beta Kappa Annual Induction Ceremony.

2008, January 31: "ENSO-Related Flooding in 1997/98: Climate and Livelihood Impacts in Coastal Kenya." Focus the Nation on Global Climate Change Teach-In.

2006, December 7: "Darfur: Get the Facts!," Campus lecture sponsored by the Intercultural Leadership Alliance, the Black Student Union, and I & P Commission of the Student Council.

2006, September 14: "Remembering Our Childhoods: Stories from the Edge of Poverty" International Studies Colloquium, Illinois Wesleyan University.

2006, April 4: "Connections that Make a Difference." Address to inductees, Phi Beta Delta (International Studies Honor Society) Annual Induction Ceremony.

2006, March 2: "Making a Difference: The Limits and Possibilities of International NGOs." International Studies Colloquium.

2005, April 9: "Taking Race on the Road...to Africa," President Wilson's Inauguration Symposium.

2001, February 28: "Misrepresenting Africa," International Studies Colloquium.

2001, February 26: "Napolean Chagnon - Friend or Foe of the Yanomami?: Assessing the Latest Scandal in Anthropology," Non-Org presentation with Charles Springwood.

2000, October 18: "Being Female in the Field: Stories of Women Anthropologists," lecture sponsored by Alpha Lambda Delta, National Scholastic Honor Society for Freshman Women.

2000, March 27: "The Sufi Impact on the East African Coast," Student-Faculty Colloquium on Religion.

## **COMMITTEE WORK & SERVICE ACTIVITIES, IWU**

Department of Sociology & Anthropology, chair, Fall 2006–Spring 2007; Fall 2008-Spring 2014; Fall 2015 – Spring 2016 African Studies Team, coordinator, Fall 2000 - present Phi Beta Kappa, lambda chapter, *president*, Fall 2007 – Spring 2014 Center for Human Rights and Social Justice, associate director, 2013 -14, 2015-16 Council for University Programs and Policies (CUPP), vice chair, Fall 2013 – Spring 2014 International Studies Steering Committee, member, Spring 2001 - present Environmental Studies Steering Committee, member, Fall 2002 – present Development Studies Team, member, Fall 2000 – present Unraveling Inequality Course Cluster, coordinator, Fall 2013 – Spring 2014 Making Human Rights Real Course Cluster, coordinator, Fall 2012 – Spring 2013 What We Eat, Why it Matters Course Cluster, *coordinator*, Fall 2011 – Spring 2012 First Year Advisory Board, member, Fall 2012 – Spring 2013 Space Allocation Committee, member, Spring 2013 Promotion & Tenure Committee, member, Fall 2010 – Spring 2012 Nominating Committee, member, Fall 2008 – Spring 2010 Strategic Planning and Budgeting Committee, member, Spring 2006 – Spring 2009 Identity Work Group, Strategic Planning Sub-Committee, member, Fall 2005 – Spring 2007 Academic Appeals Board, member, Fall 2002 – Spring 2003; Fall 2004 – Spring 2006 Fulbright Advisory Committee, member, Fall 2004 – Spring 2007 Evelyn Chapel Advisory Board, member, Fall 2000 – Spring 2006 Diversity Committee, member, Fall 2005 - Spring 2006 Committee for a Sustainable Campus, member, Fall 2004 - Spring 2005 Humanities Series Grant Committee, member, Fall 2001 – Spring 2003; Fall 2004 International Film Series, coordinator, Fall 2001 – Spring 2003 Green Task Force, Green Dining Committee, chair, Fall 2000 - Spring 2002

## Faculty Advisor to Registered Student Organizations

African Students Association, Fall 1999 – present Anthropology Club, (with Charles Springwood), Fall 1999 – present Capoeira Club, Fall 2008 – Fall 2012 FaceAIDS, Fall 2008 – Spring 2014 Global Medical Brigades, Fall 2008 – Spring 2015 International Justice Mission, Fall 2009 – Spring 2013 Lamu Center of Preventative Health, Spring 2009 – Fall 2012 Muslim Students Association, Fall 2000 – Spring 2012; 2015-16

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

To the Academic Community

#### **Recent Book Reviews**

In Step with the Times by Paolo Israel (Ohio University Press, 2014). *Kronos: Southern African Histories*, 2015, 41 (1): 351-352. URL: http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&pid=S0259-01902015000100016&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=en

### African Women: A Historical Panorama by Patricia Romero (Markus Wiener, 2015).

The Journal of African History. In press.

#### **Manuscript Reviewer**

African Studies Quarterly Cultural Anthropology Journal of African American Studies Social Science and Medicine

## To the Local Community

#### **Pre-performance Lectures**

2010, April 8: "Dangerous Movements: A History of Capoeira," a pre-performance lecture prior to the DanceBrazil concert, Bloomington Center for the Performing Arts.

2007, February 15: "The Social History of Isicathamiya: The "Tip Toe" Performance Tradition of Ladysmith Black Mambazo," a pre-performance lecture prior to the Ladysmith Black Mambazo concert, Bloomington Center for the Performing Arts.

### **ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP**

### **Professional Organizations**

African Studies Association American Anthropological Association Association for Africanist Anthropology Central States Anthropological Society Society for Visual Anthropology

### **Honor Societies**

Phi Beta Kappa Phi Kappa Phi Lambda Alpha (Anthropology Honor Society) Phi Beta Delta (International Studies Honor Society)

#### **Non-Governmental Organizations**

Lamu Center of Preventative Health (lamuhealth.org), *secretary*, Board of Directors Seven Circles Native American Heritage Center, *secretary*, Board of Directors Seven Circles Native American Heritage Center, *academic outreach coordinator* Bloomington-Normal Citizens for Peace and Justice, *past president* 

## **DISTINCTIONS**

2016-17 Kemp Foundation Award for Teaching Excellence, Illinois Wesleyan University.

IWU Student Senate Faculty Civic Engagement Award (inaugural award) March, 2013.

Gearhart, Rebecca. Mississippi Memories: My Life in Anoka, Minnesota. 2012 Winner of the Prairie Rivers Network Essay Contest. *Prairie River Notes*, 2012. 12 (2): 6.

From Russia with Love: An Ongoing Collaboration between Illinois Wesleyan and Russian Scholars Inspires New Research and Surprising Cultural Insights. *Illinois Wesleyan University Magazine*. Winter, 2011-12: 7-9.

Professor and Alumnus Help Student Bring Eye Care to Lamu. *Illinois Wesleyan University Magazine*. Fall, 2011: 6.

Howard, Erin. Becoming an Insider and an Outsider: The Research of an Anthropologist. *Association for Women in Science*, 2009: 23-25. An article written by an IWU alumna about my visual ethnographic research.

Into Africa: IWU Anthropology Professor, Rebecca Gearhart, Brings East African Culture to the Classroom. *Illinois Wesleyan University Magazine*. Spring, 2000: 20-23.