

Daniel Jacob Hruschka

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Updated 4/2017

EMPLOYMENT

2013-present *Associate Professor*
School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University
2009-2013 *Assistant Professor*
School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University

Additional Institutional Affiliations

ASU-SFI Fellow, Center for Biosocial Complex Systems, ASU
Honors Faculty, Barrett Honors College
Core Faculty, Center for Social Dynamics and Complexity
Faculty Affiliate: Center for Global Health; Center for Evolutionary Medicine; Global Institute of Sustainability; Center for Behavior, Institutions and Environment

EDUCATION

2006-2009 *Omidyar Fellow*. Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, NM
2006 *Ph.D.*, Anthropology. Emory University, Atlanta, GA
2003 *M.P.H.*, Epidemiology. Emory University, Atlanta, GA
1996 *A.B.*, Mathematics. Harvard College, Cambridge, MA

RESEARCH AREAS & QUESTIONS

Questions: What are the root causes of human cultural and biological diversity? How do we forge a social science that incorporates this diversity in its theories and methods? *Research Areas*: Global Health; Cooperation; Mathematical Modeling. *Geographic areas*: Bangladesh, Mongolia, United States

AWARDS AND RECOGNITION

2014 *Benjamin Meaker Visiting Professor*, Institute for Advanced Study, University of Bristol
2012-2013 *Centennial Professor Award*, Associated Students of ASU
2011-2012 *Faculty Achievement Award for Defining Edge Research: Young Investigator*, ASU
2012 *Director's Award for Innovation in Undergraduate Teaching*, SHESC
2012,2013 Nominated for *CLAS Zebulon Pearce Distinguished Teaching Award*, ASU College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (2 years)
2007 *Best New Investigator Paper Award*, Evolutionary Anthropology Society
2003-2004 *National Science Foundation*, graduate teaching fellowship in K-12 education
2001 *E.E. Hunt Student Poster Award*, Human Biology Association (with B. Kohrt)
1999-2000 *Center for the Study of Health, Culture and Society*, graduate fellowship
1996-1997 *Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Fellowship*, Mongolia
1992-1996 *John Harvard and Harvard College Scholarships*

SECTION 1. RESEARCH

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Co-author mentorship in Hruschka group: ** Undergraduate student, * Graduate student,

Co-author mentorship in other group: † Student or postdoctoral researcher

¹ First and second author contributed equally to paper

BOOKS

1. **Hruschka DJ.** (2010, single authored) *Friendship: Development, Ecology and Evolution of a Social Relationship.* University of California Press. [reviewed in *Human Nature* 24, 348-350; *Evolutionary Psychology* 9, 239-243; *Contemporary Sociology* 41, 91-93]

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Accepted and in press

1. Tiokhin L*, **Hruschka DJ.** No evidence that Ebola outbreak influenced voting preferences in 2014 elections, after controlling for autocorrelation in time series. *Psychological Science.*
2. Hadley CM, **Hruschka DJ.** Stability And Change In In-Group Mate Preferences Among Young People In Ethiopia Are Predicted By Food Security And Gender Attitudes, But Not Expected Pathogen Exposures. *Human Nature.*
3. Kaiser B†, **Hruschka DJ,** Hadley C. Measuring wealth in low-income settings: A conceptual and how-to guide. *American Journal of Human Biology.*
4. Hadley CM, **Hruschka DJ.** Testing Ecological and Universal Models of Body Shape And Child Health Using a Global Sample of Infants and Young Children. *Annals of Human Biology.*

2017

5. Hackman J*, Munira S, Jesmin K, **Hruschka DJ** (2017). Revisiting psychological mechanisms in the anthropology of altruism. *Human Nature.*
6. Voytyuk M*, **Hruschka DJ** (2017). Accounting for cross-cultural variation in perceptions of healthy eating. *Journal of Cognition and Culture.*

2016

7. **Hruschka DJ,** Hadley C (2016). How much do universal anthropometric standards bias the global monitoring of obesity and undernutrition? *Obesity Reviews.* 17 (11), 1030-1039.
8. **Hruschka DJ,** Burger O (2016). How does variance in fertility change over the demographic transition? *Philosophical Transactions B.* 371 (1692), 20150155.

9. Day LT¹, **Hruschka DJ**¹, Saha S, Mussel F, Jeffers E**, Alam S (2016). Perinatal mortality associated with use of uterotonics outside of Comprehensive Emergency Obstetric and Neonatal Care: a cross-sectional study. *BMC Reproductive Health*. 13: 129.
10. Bruening M, Ohri-Vachaspati P, Brewis A, Laska MN, Todd M, **Hruschka DJ**, Schaefer DR, Whisner CM, Dunton G (2016). Longitudinal social networks impacts on weight and weight-related behaviors assessed using mobile-based ecological momentary assessments: Study Protocols for the SPARC study. *BMC Public Health*. 16:901.
11. Kagawa Singer M, Dressler W, George S, Baquet CR, Bell RA, Burhansstipanov L, Burke NJ, Dibble S, Elwood W, Garro L, Gravlee CC, Guarnaccia P, Hecht ML, Henderson J, **Hruschka DJ**, Lewis-Fernandez R, Like R, Mouton C, Myers HF, Page JP, Pasick R, Pescosolido B, Schoenberg N, Stoner B, Strayhorn G, Szalacha L, Trimble J, Weisner TS, Williams D (2016). Culture: the missing link in health research. *Social Science and Medicine*. 170: 237-246.

2015

12. **Hruschka DJ**, Gerkey D, Hadley C (2015). Estimating the Absolute Wealth of Households. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*. 93: 483-490.
13. **Hruschka DJ**, Branford S, Smith ED, Wilkins J, Meade A, Pagel M, Bhattacharya T (2015). Detecting regular sound changes in linguistics as events of concerted evolution. *Current Biology*. 25: 1-9.
14. **Hruschka DJ**, Hagaman A* (2015). The physiological costs of reproduction among rich and poor in 65 countries. *American Journal of Human Biology*. 27: 5, 654-659.
15. **Hruschka DJ**, Hadley C, Brewis A, Stojanowski C (2015). Genetic population structure accounts for ecogeographic rules in tropic and subtropic dwelling humans. *PLOS ONE*. 10(3): e0122301.
16. Hackman J*, Danvers A*, **Hruschka DJ** (2015). Closeness is enough for friends, but not mates or kin: mate and kinship premiums in India and U.S. *Evolution and Human Behavior*. 36: 137-145.
17. Trainer S[†], Brewis A, **Hruschka DJ**, Williams D (2015). Translating Obesity: Navigating the Front Lines of the "War on Fat." *American Journal of Human Biology*. 27: 61-68.
18. Kohrt B, **Hruschka DJ**, Kohrt H, Carrion V, Waldman I, Worthman C (2015). Child Abuse, Disruptive Behavior Disorders, Depression, and Salivary Cortisol Levels among Institutionalized and Community-Residing Boys in Mongolia. *Asia-Pacific Psychiatry*. 7: 7-19.
19. Hack-Adams[†], N, Day, LT, & **Hruschka, DJ**. (2015). Advocating for quality low-cost management of children with diarrhoea in rural Bangladesh. *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, 100 (Suppl 3), A103-A103.

2014

20. **Hruschka DJ**, C Efferson, T Jiang, A Falletta-Cowden*, S Sigurdsson*, R McNamara, M Sands**, S Munira, E Slingerland, and J Henrich (2014). Impartial institutions, parasite stress and the expanding social network. *Human Nature*. 25:4, 567-579.

21. **Hruschka DJ**, Hackman J* (2014). When are cross-group differences a product of a human behavioral immune system? *Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences*. 8:4, 265-273.
22. **Hruschka DJ**, Hadley C, Brewis A. (2014) Disentangling basal and accumulated body mass for cross-population comparisons. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. 153:4, 542-550.
23. London D*, **Hruschka DJ**. Helminths and human ancestral immune ecology: What is the evidence for high helminth loads among foragers? *American Journal of Human Biology*. 26:2, 124-129.
24. Hadley C, **Hruschka DJ** (2014) Population level differences in adult body mass emerge in infancy and early childhood: Evidence from a global sample of low and lower-income countries. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. 154:2, 232-238.
25. Maupin J, **Hruschka DJ** (2014). Assessing the Accuracy of Two Proxy Measures for BMI in a Semi-rural, Low-Resource Setting in Guatemala. *BMC Public Health*. 14, 973.

2013

26. **Hruschka DJ**, Henrich J (2013). Economic and evolutionary hypotheses for cross-population variation in parochialism. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*. 7, 559.
27. **Hruschka DJ**, Brewis AA (2013). Absolute wealth and world region strongly predict overweight among women (ages 18-49) in 360 populations across 36 developing countries. *Economics and Human Biology*. 11:3, 337-344.
28. **Hruschka DJ**, Henrich J (2013). Institutions, parasites and the persistence of in-group preferences. *PLOS ONE*. 8:5, e63642.
29. **Hruschka DJ**, Rush E, Brewis AA (2013). Accounting for population differences in the relationship between height, weight and fat mass: an application of Burton's model. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. 151:1, 68-76.
30. Hackman J*, **Hruschka DJ**. (2013). Fast life histories, not pathogens, account for U.S. state-level variation in homicide, maltreatment, family ties, and religiosity. *Evolution and Human Behavior*. 34:2, 118-124.
31. **Hruschka DJ**, Maupin J (2013). Competence, Agreement, and Luck: Testing Whether Some People Agree More with a Cultural Truth than Do Others. *Field Methods*. 25:2, 107-123.

2012

32. **Hruschka DJ** (2012). Do economic constraints on food choice make people fat? A critical review of two hypotheses for the poverty-obesity paradox. *American Journal of Human Biology*. 24:3, 277-285.
33. Pervin J, Rahman M, Rahshid H, Razzaque A, Koblinsky M, Moran A, **Hruschka DJ**, Rahman A (2012). Association of antenatal care with delivery practice and perinatal mortality in a rural setting in Bangladesh. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth*. 12, 111.

34. Kohrt B, **Hruschka DJ**, Kunz RD, Baldwin JL, Upadhaya N, Sharma VD, Nepal MK, Koirala S, Thapa S, Tol WA, Jordans MJD, Rodkin N, Worthman CM (2012). Political violence and mental health in Nepal: a prospective study. *British Journal of Psychiatry.* 11, 268-75.
35. Edmonds JK†, **Hruschka DJ**, Bernard HR, Sibley L (2012). Women's social networks and birth attendant decisions: application of the network episode model. *Social Science and Medicine.* 74:3 452-459.
36. Rahman A, Moran A, Pervin J, Rahman A, Rahman M, Yeasmin S, Begum H, Rashid H, Yunus M, **Hruschka DJ**, Arifeen S, Streatfield PK, Sibley L, Bhuiya A, Koblinsky M (2012). Effectiveness of an integrated approach to reduce perinatal mortality: Recent experiences from Matlab, Bangladesh. *BMC Public Health.* 11:914, 1-14.

2011

37. **Hruschka DJ**, Brewis AA, Wutich A, Morin B* (2011). Shared norms and their explanation for the social contagion of obesity. *American Journal of Public Health.* 101:S295–S300.
38. Brewis A, **Hruschka DJ**, Wutich A (2011). Vulnerability to fat-stigma in women's everyday relationships. *Social Science and Medicine.* 73:4, 491-497.

2010

39. Kohrt BA, **Hruschka DJ** (2010). Nepali concepts of psychological trauma: the role of idioms of distress and ethnopsychology in alleviating suffering and preventing stigma. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry.* 34:2, 322-352.
40. Edmonds JK†, **Hruschka DJ**, Sibley L. (2010). A Comparison of Excessive Postpartum Blood Loss Estimates Among Three Subgroups of Women Attending Births in Matlab, Bangladesh. *Journal of Midwifery and Women's Health.* 55:4, 378-382.

2009

41. **Hruschka DJ**, Christiansen M, Blythe R, Croft W, Heggarty P, Mufwene S, Pierrehumbert J, Poplack S (2009). Building social cognitive models of language change. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences.* 13:11, 464-469.
42. **Hruschka DJ** (2009). Culture as an explanation in population health. *Annals of Human Biology.* 36:3, 235-247.
43. **Hruschka DJ** (2009). Defining cultural competence in context: diversity in friendship norms among U.S. high school students. *Ethos.* 37:2, 205-224.
44. Kohrt BA, Hadley C, **Hruschka DJ** (2009). Culture and epidemiology special issue: Towards an integrated study of culture and population health. *Annals of Human Biology.* 36:3, 229-234.
45. Sibley LM, **Hruschka DJ**, Kalim N, Khan J, Paul M, Edmonds JK, Koblinsky MA (2009). Cultural theories of postpartum bleeding Matlab, Bangladesh: implications for community health intervention. *Journal of Health, Population, and Nutrition.* 27:3, 379-390.

46. Brown RA, **Hruschka DJ**, Worthman CM (2009). Cultural models and fertility timing among Cherokee and white youth in Appalachia: beyond the mode. *American Anthropologist*. 111:4, 420-431.

Prior to 2009

47. **Hruschka DJ** & Hadley C (2008). A glossary of culture in epidemiology. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*. 62:11, 947-51.
48. **Hruschka DJ**, Sibley LM, Kalim N, & Edmonds JK (2008). When there is more than one answer key: Cultural theories of postpartum hemorrhage in Matlab, Bangladesh. *Field Methods*. 20:4, 315-27.
49. Sibley LM, Blum LS, Kalim N, **Hruschka DJ**, Edmonds JK, & Koblinsky M (2007). Women's descriptions of postpartum health problems: preliminary findings from Matlab, Bangladesh. *Journal of Midwifery & Women's Health*. 52:4, 351-60.
50. **Hruschka DJ** & Henrich J (2006). Friendship, cliquishness, and the emergence of cooperation. *Journal of Theoretical Biology*. 239, 1-15.
51. **Hruschka DJ**, Kohrt BA & Worthman CM (2005). Estimating between- and within-individual variation in cortisol levels using multilevel models. *Psychoneuroendocrinology*. 30, 698-714.
52. **Hruschka DJ**, Lende D & Worthman CM (2005). Biocultural Dialogues: Biology and Culture in Psychological Anthropology. *Ethos*. 33:1, 1-19.
53. Sellen D, Thompson AL, **Hruschka DJ**, Stein A, and Martorell R (2004). Early determinant of non-exclusive breast feeding among Guatemalan infants. *Advances in Experimental Medicine and Biology*. 554, 299-301.
54. **Hruschka DJ**, Schwartz D, Cobb-St. John D, DeCaro E, Jenkins R & Carey JW (2004). Reliability in coding qualitative data: Lessons learned from HIV behavioral research. *Field Methods*. 16:3, 307-31.
55. **Hruschka DJ**, Cummings B, Cobb St. John D, Moore J, Khumalo-Sukatukwa G & Carey JW (2004). Open-ended and fixed choice responses: a comparison from HIV research in Zimbabwe. *Field Methods*. 16:2, 184-202.
56. Sellen DW & **Hruschka DJ** (2004). Extracted food resource defense polygyny in native western North American societies at contact. *Current Anthropology*. 45:5, 707-14.
57. Kohrt BA, **Hruschka DJ**, Kohrt H, Panabieco N & Tsagaankhuu G (2004). Distribution of distress in post-communist Mongolia: a cultural epidemiology of *yadargaa*. *Social Science and Medicine*. 58:3, 471-85.
58. **Hruschka DJ**, Sellen DW, Stein A & Martorell R (2003). Delayed onset of lactation and risk of ending full breastfeeding early in rural Guatemala. *Journal of Nutrition*. 133, 2592-99.
59. **Hruschka DJ** (1998). Baria healers in the Eastern Province. *Journal of Mongolian Studies*. 21, 21-42.

BOOK CHAPTERS

1. **Hruschka DJ**, Hadley C (in press). Nutrition and Growth. Ed. W. Trevathan. *International Encyclopedia of Biological Anthropology*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
2. **Hruschka DJ**, Silk J (accepted). Cooperative relationships. Ed. R. Scott & M. Buchmann. *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*.
3. **Hruschka DJ** (2017). From thin to big and back again: a dual process model of the big body mass reversal. *Fat Planet*. Ed. E. Anderson-Fye & A. Brewis. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. pp. 15-32.
4. **Hruschka DJ**, Henrich J (2015). Prosocial Behavior, Cultural Differences in. In: James D. Wright (editor-in-chief), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, Vol 19. Oxford: Elsevier. pp. 238–243.
5. **Hruschka DJ**, Hackman J*, Macfarlan S (2015). Why do humans help their friends? Proximal and ultimate hypotheses from evolutionary theory. *Evolutionary Perspectives on Social Psychology*. Ed. V. Zeigler-Hill, L. Welling, T. Shackelford. New York: Springer. pp. 255-266.
6. Johnson JC, **Hruschka DJ** (2014). Research design and research strategies in cultural anthropology. In: *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. 2nd edition. Ed. H.R. Bernard, C. Gravlee. New York: Rowman and Littlefield. pp. 97-130.
7. Jordan FM, van Schaik C, Francois P, Gintis H, Haun D, **Hruschka DJ**, Janssen MA, Kitts JA, Lehmann L, Mathew S, Richerson PJ, Turchin P, Wiessner P (2013). Cultural Evolution of the Structure of Human Groups. In: *Cultural Evolution*. Ed: PJ Richerson & M. Christiansen. Cambridge: MIT Press. pp. 87-118.
8. **Hruschka DJ**, Schwartz D, Cobb-St. John D, DeCaro E, Jenkins R & Carey JW (2007). Reliability in coding qualitative data: Lessons learned from HIV behavioral research. In: *Content Analysis: Vol. 1*. Ed. R. Franzosi. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
9. **Hruschka DJ** & Kohrt BA (2003). Health and Illness in Mongolia. In: *Encyclopedia of Medical Anthropology*. Eds. M. Ember & C. Ember. New York: Springer. pp. 850-863.

INVITED COMMENTARIES AND RESPONSES

1. **Hruschka DJ**, S-Y Han[†] (accepted). Anti-fat discrimination in marriage gives a more coherent account of the poverty-obesity paradox. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. IF = 23.8.
2. **Hruschka DJ** (accepted). Warmth, competence and closeness may provide more empirically grounded starts for a theory of sentiments. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. IF = 23.8.
3. Brewis AA, **Hruschka DJ** (2014). Response to Hicks and Leonard. *Current Anthropology*. 54, 533-534. IF = 3.2.
4. Hackman J*, **Hruschka DJ** (2013). Reply to Fincher and Thornhill. *Evolution and Human Behavior*. 34, 315-316. IF = 3.7.
5. **Hruschka DJ**, Brewis AA, Wutich A, Morin B* (2011). Hruschka et al. respond. *American Journal of Public Health*. IF = 5.2.

6. **Hruschka DJ** (2010). Reply to Comment on “Culture as an explanation in population health.” *Annals of Human Biology*. 37:1, 129-130. IF = 1.4.

MANUSCRIPTS IN REVIEW

1. **Hruschka DJ**, Hackman J*, Tiokhin L*. Social discounting is not a human universal, but need-based giving may be.
2. **Hruschka DJ**, Sear R, Hackman J*. Worldwide fertility declines do not rely on stopping at ideal parities.
3. Han SY[†], **Hruschka DJ**. Deprivation or Discrimination? Comparing Theories of the reverse income-obesity gradient in the U.S. and South Korea.
4. Ruck D, Bentley RA, Acerbi A, Garnet P, **Hruschka DJ**. Neutral evolution over centuries of English word popularity.
5. **Hruschka DJ**. Cultural Diversity in the Meaning of Lies, Deceptions, and other Misrepresentations. In *Lying*. Ed. by Jennifer Fewell, J. Edward Mallot, Steven Neuberg, and Ayanna Thompson.
6. Hadley C, **Hruschka DJ**. Testing Ecological and Universal Models of Body Shape And Child Health Using a Global Sample of Infants and Young Children. *Annals of Human Biology*.

NON-PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

BOOK REVIEWS

1. **Hruschka DJ** (2016). A review of *A Talent for Friendship*. *American Anthropologist*. 118,972-973.
2. **Hruschka DJ** (2013). Dueling Banjos in the Evolutionary Study of Human Behavior. A review of *Meeting at Grand Central and Moral Origins*. *Current Anthropology*. 54:5, 648-649.
3. **Hruschka DJ** (2007). Review of “Evolution and Culture: A Fyssen Foundation Symposium.” Edited by Stephen C. Levinson & Pierre Jaisson. Cambridge, MIT Press. *American Journal of Human Biology*. 19, 141-143.
4. **Hruschka DJ** (2001). Review of “Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia.” By E. Bulag (1999). Oxford, Clarendon Press. *Journal of Mongolian Studies*. 23, 151-153.

REPORTS

1. Kagawa-Singer, M, Dressler, WW, George, SM, Elwood, WN, with the assistance of a specially appointed panel (**member of expert panel**). (2015, March). The cultural framework for health: An integrative approach for research and program evaluation. Bethesda: NIH Office of Behavioral and Social Sciences Research. http://obssr.od.nih.gov/pdf/cultural_framework_for_health.pdf

RESEARCH FUNDING (% recognition in parentheses if applicable)

EXTERNAL RESEARCH – COMPETITIVELY AWARDED

- 2017-2019 PI, NSF, “RR: Building a Robust Foundation for Measuring Material Wealth in Low- and Middle-Income Settings.” BCS-1658766. *Jointly funded by Cultural Anthropology and Methodology, Measurement and Statistics*. Total funding: **\$215K**
- 2016-2017 Co-PI, NSF, “Workshop: Enhancing robust and generalizable experimental behavioral science.” BCS-1647219 (D Medin PI). *Jointly funded by Developmental and Learning Sciences & 8 other programs*. Total funding: **\$67K** (Northwestern).
- 2016-2017 PI, NSF, “Workshop: Enhancing robust and generalizable experimental behavioral science.” BCS-1623555 (D Medin co-PI). *Jointly funded by Developmental and Learning Sciences & Cultural Anthropology*. Total funding: **\$21K**.
- 2013-2014 PI, NSF. “REG Supplement for Graduate Research.” BCS-1150813 (student: J Hackman). Total funding: **\$4K**.
- 2012-2013 PI, NSF. “REU Supplement for Undergraduate Research.” BCS-1150813 (student: M. Sands). Total funding: **\$4K**.
- 2012-2017 PI, NSF. “CAREER: Social Closeness, Helping and Neglect: Examining the Roots of Favoritism in Rural Bangladesh” BCS-1150813. *Jointly funded by Cultural Anthropology, Social Psychology Program and Decision, Risk, and Management Sciences Program*. Total funding: **\$505K**.
- 2013-2017 Co-investigator, NIH. “The Role of Friendship Networks on BMI and Behaviors among College Freshmen.” 13054157 (M Bruening PI). Total funding: **\$1,250K**.
- 2012 Co-PI, School of Advanced Research and NSF Short Research Team Seminar. “The Evolutionary Demography of Fertility: the Influence of Social Networks.” (co-PIs, M Shenk, R Sear). Total funding: NA.
- 2010-2012 PI, New Science of Virtues Grant, University of Chicago and Templeton Foundation. “Virtues in conflict: a cross-cultural study of virtue dilemmas and their resolution.” (J Henrich, C Efferson, co-PIs). Total funding: **\$215K**.
- 2008-2009 PI, NSF. Subaward for “Health seeking for influenza among Muslim poultry workers in Western India.” (R Barrett PI, \$125K). *Cultural Anthropology Program*. Subaward funding to Hruschka: **\$16K** (NA, Santa Fe Institute).
- 2002-2003 Co-PI, NSF Dissertation Improvement Grant. “Peer and family influences on middle school students’ agendas for development” (D Sellen PI). *Cultural Anthropology Program*. Total funding: **\$11K** (NA, Emory University).

INTERNAL FUNDING – COMPETITIVELY AWARDED

- 2007-2010 Senior Personnel, Emory Global Health Institute. “Recognition of and response to prolonged labor and birth asphyxia: a multi-site study and academic program development project.” (L Sibley PI). Total funding: **\$699K**.

- 2009 Co-PI, Santa Fe Institute Working Group. “Models of innovation and propagation in language change.” (Co-PI M Christiansen). Total funding: **\$14K**.
- 2008 Co-PI, Santa Fe Institute Workshop. “Models of innovation and propagation in language change.” (Co-PI M Christiansen, S Lansing). Total funding: **\$29K**.
- 2003 Co-PI, Burke Nicholson Interdisciplinary Forum Fund. “Building biocultural anthropology.” (Co-PI D Lende, C Worthman). Total funding: **\$12K**.
- 2000 PI, Hubert International Health Fellow. “Young Mongolian men’s cultural models of romantic and sexual relationships.” Total funding: **\$2K**.

WORKSHOPS, COLLOQUIA & PRESENTATIONS

INVITED PLENARY TALKS (EXTRAMURAL)

AAEA/EAAE/CAES Joint Symposium on Social Networks, Social Media, and the Economics of Food. *Marriage, Income and BMI: How social sorting contributes to the poverty-obesity paradox*. Montreal, Canada, May 2014.

European Evolution and Human Behavior Association. *In search of cues to altruism: studying proximate mechanisms to understand the evolutionary origins of costly giving*. Bristol, UK, April 2014.

INVITED TALKS (EXTRAMURAL)

Anthropology Department, Emory University, Atlanta, GA. *Searching for the Origins of Our Expanding In-group*. February 2016.

Institute of Quantitative Theory and Methods, Emory University, Atlanta, GA. *Do human fertility declines result from stopping or slowing? A novel mixture model for estimating two pathways to the fertility transition*. February 2016.

Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation, Seattle, WA. *Mapping Basal Body Form to Improve Population Monitoring of Over- and Undernutrition*. February 2015.

Global Forum: Cultural and Geopolitical Challenges in Global Health. Phoenix, AZ. *When does culture matter for health and what can we do about it?* March 2014.

Santa Fe Institute Community Lecture. Santa Fe, NM. *The Evolutionary Puzzle of Friendship*. June 2012.

Earthweek Sustainability Speaker. Mayo Clinic, Scottsdale, AZ. *Sustainable global health in a complex world*. April 2012.

Anthropology Department, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, NV. *Friendship: In search of a human relationship*. April 2011.

Anthropology Department, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA. *Friendship: The inner workings of a network tie*. April 2010.

Science of Virtues Symposium. University of Chicago. *Virtues in conflict: A cross-cultural study of virtue dilemmas and their resolution*. January 2010.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA. *Can cultural beliefs account for care-seeking behavior? The case of postpartum hemorrhage in Bangladesh.* February 2009.

School for Advanced Research Colloquium. Santa Fe, NM. *Does culture really influence behavior?* January 2009.

Center for Social Epidemiology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI Hruschka DJ. *Cultural domain analysis and social network analysis.* February 2008.

Anthropology Department, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL. Hruschka DJ. *Measuring culture and its impact on health: problems and possibilities.* January 2008.

Evolutionary Modeling Series, Washington State University, Pullman, WA. *Boundary maintenance and the evolution of cooperation.* October 2007.

Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, NM. *Cliquishness and cooperation in human social life.* February 2006.

Anthropology Department, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN. *Learning the rules of friendship: the problem of cultural competence in relational context.* January 2006.

INVITED WORKSHOP PARTICIPANT (EXTRAMURAL)

Santa Fe Institute Workshop. *Databases in Historical Linguistics.* Santa Fe, NM, August 2015.

Santa Fe Institute Workshop. *Regular Correspondences and Levenstein Distances in Studying Athapaskan.* Santa Fe, NM, February 2015.

School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar. *Obesity, upward mobility, and symbolic body capital in a rapidly changing world.* Santa Fe, NM. March 2014.

National Evolutionary Synthesis Center catalyst meeting. *Human Cooperation.* Durham, NC. April 2013.

Ernst Strungmann Forum. *Cultural Evolution.* Frankfurt Institute for Advanced Studies, Frankfurt, Germany, May-June 2012.

INVITED TALKS (INTRAMURAL)

Morrison School Seminar Series, Polytechnic Campus. *Deprivation or Discrimination: What accounts for the poverty-obesity paradox in high-income countries?* October 2016.

Workshop on need-based transfers in water management and disaster recovery workshop. *Closeness, Need and Sharing in Rural Bangladesh.* January 2016.

Workshop on need-based transfers in water management and disaster recovery workshop. *Friendship and Need-based Transfers.* January 2015.

Lying: An Interdisciplinary Conference. *Pump fakes and altruistic perjury: contextual and cultural variation in the meaning of misrepresentation.* October 2012.

Center for Institutional Diversity. *Favoring family, friends, and community: why do populations differ in in-group favoritism?* October 2011.

Center for Population Dynamics. *Deprivation, Abundance and Obesity: A critical look at current theories for the rise of obesity*. October 2011.

Center for Institutional Diversity. *For Love or Justice: Searching for the roots of cross-population variation in moral choices*. May 2011.

Santa Fe Institute Workshop. Statistical Inference for Complex Networks. *Network models of sound change*. Santa Fe, NM. December 2008.

SFI & School for Advanced Research Workshop. Role of Variation in Cultural Change. *Modeling culture change: what can we learn from language?* Santa Fe, NM. April 2008.

REFEREED PANELS—ORGANIZER AND DISCUSSANT ROLES

Hruschka DJ (2016). *In-groups, out-groups, and human preventable harm: toward an evolutionary anthropology of inter-group relationships*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Washington D.C. Invited Discussant.

Hruschka DJ (2014). *Producing a vertically integrated evolutionary anthropology: studies of proximate mechanisms in social dynamics*. Invited Session at American Anthropological Association Meetings. Washington D.C. Invited Discussant.

Wutich A, **DJ Hruschka** (2011). *Re-envisioning Culture: Challenging Legacies and Shifting Tidemarks in the Study of Human Diversity*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Montreal. Co-organizer.

Hruschka DJ (2010). *What roles do advocacy and science play in evolutionary anthropology*. American Anthropological Association Meetings, New Orleans, LA. Invited Roundtable Member.

Hruschka DJ, A Wutich, A Brewis-Slade (2010). *Parsing the Complex Whole without losing it: understanding the dynamic role of culture in health and environmental research*. American Anthropological Association Meetings, New Orleans, LA. Co-organizer.

Hruschka DJ, B Kohrt (2009). *How Categories Affect Care: Expanding opportunities or limiting care in health policy and clinical services*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Philadelphia, PA. Co-organizer.

Hruschka DJ, B Kohrt (2008). *Finding Common Ground: Overcoming barriers in applying anthropology for development, humanitarian, and nongovernmental organizations*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. San Francisco, CA. Co-organizer.

Hruschka DJ, C Hadley (2007). *Culture in Epidemiology: Identifying local culture in large-scale studies*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Washington D.C. Co-organizer.

Hruschka DJ, R Brown (2006). *Psychological anthropology and human behavioral ecology converge on health and well-being*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. San Jose, CA. Co-organizer.

Odden H, **DJ Hruschka**, R Brown (2005). *The Organization of Diversity: a Developmental Perspective*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Washington D.C. Co-organizer.

WORKSHOPS AND COLLOQUIA ORGANIZED

Sackler Colloquium (with Doug Medin, Joe Henrich, and Barbara Rogoff). *Pressing Questions in the Study of Psychological and Behavioral Diversity*. Irvine, CA, September 2017.

NSF-funded Workshop (with Doug Medin, Cristine Legare, Lera Boroditsky). *Enhancing Robustness and Generalizability in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Washington D.C., March 2017.

NSF-funded Workshop (with Doug Medin). *Enhancing Robustness and Generalizability in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe NM, March 2016.

National Evolutionary Synthesis Center Catalyst Meetings (with Mary Shenk and Rebecca Sear). *The Evolutionary Demography of Fertility*. Durham, NC. Three workshops: October 2013, July 2014, December 2014, May 2015.

School of Advanced Research Short Research Team Seminar (with Mary Shenk and Rebecca Sear). *The Evolutionary Demography of Fertility: the Influence of Social Networks*. Santa Fe, NM, June 2012.

Late Lessons Workshop (with Amber Wutich and Alexandra Brewis). *Dynamic Models of Cultural Diversity*. Arizona State University. February 2011.

Santa Fe Institute Working Group (with Morten Christiansen). *Models of Innovation and Propagation in Language Change*. Santa Fe, NM. March, 2009.

Santa Fe Institute Workshop (with Morten Christiansen and Steve Lansing). *Building Integrated Models of Linguistic Change*. Santa Fe, NM. February, 2008.

Burke Nicholson Symposium (with Dr. Carol Worthman and Daniel Lende). *Building Biocultural Anthropology*. Emory University. March, 2003.

REFEREED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (1st authored)

Hruschka DJ. *The promise of integrating big and small scales in the biocultural study of inequalities*. American Anthropology Association Meetings. Minneapolis, MN, November 2016.

Hruschka DJ. *Imagining the obesogenic environment in the quest to curb obesity*. Invited Executive session at American Anthropology Association Meetings. Denver, CO, November 2015.

Hruschka DJ. *From Thin to Big and Back Again: How Body Capital Contributes to the Obesity-Poverty Paradox*. American Anthropology Association Meetings. Washington DC, December 2014.

Hruschka DJ, Hagaman A. *Breast-Feeding, Inter-Birth Intervals, and Household Budgets: A Biodemographic Framework for Linking Changes in Fertility and Obesity in Low- and Middle-Income Countries*. Population Association of America Meetings. New Orleans, LA. April 2013.

Hruschka DJ. *Disentangling socially learned ideas and behavior: case studies of body ideals and vaccine beliefs*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Montreal, Quebec. November 2011.

Hruschka DJ. *The “culture” label and its influence on health-related treatment and policy*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Philadelphia, PA, December 2009.

Hruschka DJ, Sibley L, Day L, Banu H, Rahman N, Kalim N & Moran A. *Challenges of survey development in a multi-site study: lessons learned from a study of prolonged labor and birth asphyxia in Bangladesh*. Society for Applied Anthropology Meetings. Santa Fe, NM, March, 2009.

Hruschka DJ, Sibley L, Kalim N, Khan J, Paul M, Edmonds J & Koblinsky M. *Local theories of postpartum hemorrhage and their consequences for care-seeking in Matlab, Bangladesh*. Society for Applied Anthropology Meetings. Memphis, TN, March, 2008.

Hruschka DJ. *Limits on the creation of social capital: A View from U.S. High Schools*. International Social Network Analysis Meetings. Corfu, Greece May, 2007.

Hruschka DJ. *Friendships, social barriers, and the search for social goods among U.S. high school students*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. San Jose, CA. November, 2006.

Hruschka DJ. *The flexible organization of high school friendships* American Anthropological Association Meetings. Washington DC. December, 2005.

Hruschka DJ. *Seeking to emulate as a factor in making friends*. International Social Network Analysis Meetings. Redondo Beach, CA. February, 2005.

Hruschka DJ. *'Friendship', cliquishness and the emergence of cooperation*. Evolution and Human Behavior Seminar Series. Emory University. February, 2005.

Hruschka DJ, Kohrt BA, Worthman CM. *Estimating inter-individual variation in human cortisol levels: mixed models applied to data from Nepal, Mongolia, and the U.S.* American Association of Physical Anthropologists. Tampa, FL. April, 2004.

Hruschka DJ. *All Work and No Pray...: Young Adolescents Learning to Balance Church, School and Family in a Southeastern U.S. Community*. American Anthropological Association Meetings. Chicago, IL. November, 2003.

Hruschka DJ, Loeb L., Khumalo-Sukatukwa G, Moore J & Carey JW. *Open-ended and fixed choice responses: a comparison from HIV research in Zimbabwe*. Society for Applied Anthropology Meetings, Atlanta. March, 2002.

Hruschka DJ. *The Stigma of Syphilis in Mongolia and its Public Health Implications*. Central Eurasian Studies Conference. Bloomington, Indiana. March, 2001.

Hruschka DJ & Sellen DW. *Socio-ecological Correlates of Marriage Systems among Traditional North American Cultures: A Phylogenetic Approach*. Southern Anthropological Society Conference. Atlanta, GA. February, 1999.

Hruschka DJ & Smith N. *Ritual Process and Social Cohesion: Understanding Mechanisms, Considering Policy*. Association for Politics and the Life Sciences Conference. Atlanta, GA. September, 1999.

Hruschka DJ. *Baria Healers in Eastern Mongolia*. International Conference of Mongolists. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. August 1997.

REFEREED POSTER PRESENTATIONS (1st authored)

Hruschka DJ. *Homicide: are all non-kin alike?* Poster at American Anthropological Association Meetings, San Francisco, CA, November 2008.

Hruschka DJ. *Testing models of linguistic history: a likelihood approach.* Poster at the American Anthropological Association Meetings. Washington D.C. November, 2007.

Hruschka DJ, Kohrt BA & Tsagaankhuu M. *Yadargaa: symptomological variation of a fatigue disorder in Mongolia.* Poster at Human Biology Association. Kansas City, MO, March, 2001.

PRESENTATIONS AND POSTERS WITH STUDENTS AS FIRST AUTHORS

2016—1 Graduate (Northwest Evolution, Ecology, and Human Behavior Meetings)

2015—1 Graduate (American Anthropology Association Meetings)

2014—4 Graduate (American Anthropology Association Meetings, Society for Applied Anthropology, Northwest Evolution, Ecology, and Human Behavior Meetings)

2013—3 Graduate (American Anthropology Association Meetings)

2012—2 Graduate, 1 Undergraduate (American Anthropology Association Meetings, Human Behavior and Evolution Society Meetings)

2011—1 Graduate (American Anthropology Association Meetings)

SECTION 2. TEACHING & MENTORSHIP

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES

ASB 100 Introduction to Global Health (Arizona State University)
ASB 357 Society, Drugs & Health (Arizona State University; formerly ASB 395)
ASB 462 Medical Anthropology: Culture and Health (Arizona State University)
ASB 484 Research Internship (Arizona State University)
ANT 385 Culture Change: a Cross-Disciplinary Approach (Emory University)
Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (Mongolian National University)

GRADUATE COURSES

ASB 510 Health: Social and Biocultural Theories (Arizona State University)
Models of Culture Change (Santa Fe Institute, Complex Systems Summer Schools)

GRADUATE AND POSTGRADUATE WORKSHOPS

Cultural Consensus Modeling. One-day workshop at ASU's Institute for Social Science Research, ASU.
Statistics for Ethnographic Research. NSF-funded week-long workshop for post-PhD anthropologists.
Cultural Domain Analysis (International Center for Diarrheal Disease Research in Bangladesh, Center for Social Epidemiology, University of Michigan, Emory University)

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CURRICULUM & TRAINING PROGRAMS

RESEARCH-BASED INSTRUCTION

Director, Laboratory for Culture Change and Behavior, 2009-present
Group Honors Contract, *The Good and Bad of Food: How We Make Food Moral*, 2012-present

STUDENT SUPERVISION

UNDERGRADUATE HONORS THESES DIRECTED

Graduated

Nicole Fisk (2017), Annie Carson (2016), Eva Jeffers (2015), Alissa Sabatino (co-, 2015), Destiny Ly (2014), Shaili Parekh (2014), Hailey Magnussen (2014), Shantele Johnston (2014), Meghan Fisher (2012), Benjamin Lang (2012), Blake Thomson (2012), Trent Bowen (co-, 2012), Elizabeth Fox (2010).

In Progress. Jacob Gilson (2016-), Carly Sutton (2016-).

UNDERGRADUATE HONORS THESIS COMMITTEE

Graduated

Sydney Esposito (2017), Katherine Brewer (2015), Denisa Barbur (2014), Dawn Cole (2013), Arlis Jenkins (2012), Madeline Sands (2012), Michaela Staley (2012), Olga Bakun (2012), Colleen Healy (2010), Tabarik Ahmad (2011)

INDEPENDENT UNDERGRADUATE PROJECTS SUPERVISED

Mara Steinhaus (2010-2011). SHESC Undergraduate Research Fellowship. Earned MSPH at Johns Hopkins and is employed at International Center for Research on Women, Washington DC.
Madeline Sands (2012-2013). NSF Research Experience for Undergraduates & SHESC Undergraduate Research Fellowship. Currently graduate student at London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine.

OTHER UNDERGRADUATES TRAINED in the LABORATORY FOR CULTURE CHANGE & BEHAVIOR

Farizah Ali (2017), Mary Saxon (2017), Azalea Thomson (2016-2017), Delaney Billig (2016-2017), Kathleen Click (2016-2017), Ian Glatt (2016-2017), Ella Alzua (2016), Robert King (2016), Victoria Paz (2016), Megan Phillips (2014-2015, 2017), Melissa Lee (2013-2014), Chelsea Ferguson (2013-2014), Kristopher Smith (2012-2013), Yvonne Tran (2013), Elizabeth Kiehne (2010), Ginny De La Cruz (2011)

M.A. STUDENTS

*Graduated. *Committee Chair*

Madeline Sands* (2013-2014). Global Health.
Maria Nueves-Colon (2011-2012). Anthropology.
Ashlan Fallea-Cowden* (2009-2011). Anthropology.

Ph.D. STUDENTS

*Graduated or Defended. * Committee Chair, †Also M.A.*

Ashley Hagaman† (2012-2017). Global Health, Arizona State University
Mariya Voytyuk* (2012-2017). Global Health. Arizona State University
Heather Story* (2010-2016). Global Health. Arizona State University
Ming Xue (2011-2014). Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles
Sarah Hall (2011-2015). Global Health, Arizona State University
Amanda VanSteelandt† (2009-2014). Global Health, Arizona State University
Ben Morin (2010-2012). Applied Math in Life and Social Science, Arizona State University
Douglas London (2009-2012). Anthropology, Arizona State University
Joyce K. Edmonds (2009-2010). Emory University School of Nursing

In Progress.

Joe Hackman*† (2011-present). Anthropology. Arizona State University
Leo Tiokhin*† (2014-present). Anthropology, Arizona State University
Homaira Parveen† (2013-present). Global Health, Arizona State University
Lexi White (2014-present). Anthropology, Arizona State University

EXTERNAL EXAMINATIONS

Reader. Masters project, University of Auckland (2012).

SECTION 3. SERVICE

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

SERVICE – INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

- 2013-present *Associate Editor*. Evolution and Human Behavior. Journal Editor, Robert Kurzban
2015-2018 *Member-At-Large*. Evolutionary Anthropology Society

SERVICE – NATIONAL LEVEL

- 2017 *Young Investigator Committee*, Evolution and Human Behavior Society
2013-2015 *Instructor*, NSF-funded Course on Statistics in Ethnographic Research
2012-present *Editorial Board Member*. Field Methods
2011-2014 *NIH Expert Panel*. Operationalizing Culture for Health Disparities Research
2009-2013 *Panelist*. National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant, Cultural Anthropology Program
2008 *Program Committee*. Human Biology Association Meeting, Columbus, Ohio

Peer Reviewer

Grant Programs. Qatar National Research Fund (2013-present); U.S. National Science Foundation (2007-present)—Senior Research in Cultural Anthropology, Social Psychology Program, Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grants in Cultural Anthropology; School for Advanced Research (2009); The Wellcome Trust (2013); Santa Fe Institute Omidyar Fellowship (2009-2015).

Book Manuscripts & Proposals. University of Chicago Press; The MIT Press; Academic Press.

Journals—General: Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences; PLOS ONE; Scientific Reports.
—*Anthropology*: Current Anthropology; American Anthropologist; American Journal of Human Biology; American Journal of Physical Anthropology; Field Methods; Cross-Cultural Research; Human Organization; Medical Anthropology Quarterly; American Ethnologist; Annals of Human Biology; Ethos.—*Global Health*: British Medical Journal; American Journal of Public Health; International Journal of Epidemiology; Journal of Urban Health; Journal of Public Health; Obesity; Journal of Nutritional Science. —*Evolution and Human Behavioral Biology*: Evolution and Human Behavior; Behaviour; Human Nature; Behavioral Ecology and Sociobiology; Behavioral Ecology; Journal of Social, Evolutionary, and Cultural Psychology; Journal of Theoretical Biology; Theoretical Population Biology; Advances in Complex Systems; Ecology and Society; Rationality and Society; Psychoneuroendocrinology

SERVICE – UNIVERSITY & SCHOOL LEVEL

University & College Level Service

- 2012-2014 *Honors Faculty Council Chair*, Barrett Honors College
2011-2014 *Honors Faculty Council Member*, Barrett Honors College
2014 *Invited Panelist*, CLAS, *What I Wish I Knew Then*
2012 *Invited Continuing Medical Education Speaker*, Health Services at ASU

School Level Service: Leadership Roles (Chair or Faculty Representative)

- 2017-present *SHESC Associate Director*
2016-2017 *SHESC Executive Committee Representative*

2009-present *Faculty Honors Advisor*, Global Health
2016-2017 *Faculty Honors Advisor*, Anthropology
2016-2017 *Search Committee (Chair)*, Social Science Methods
2014-2015 *Chair*, Global Health Task Force
2014 *Search Committee (Chair)*, ISSR Director

School Level Service: Major Committee Member Roles

2016 *Search Committee*, SHESC Director
2014-2015 *Search Committee*, Evolutionary Medicine (2 positions)
2012-2013 *Search Committee*, Evolutionary Anthropology (2 positions)
2010-2011 *Search Committee*, Evolutionary Anthropology Target Hire (2 positions)
2009-2014 *Undergraduate Committee*
2012-2014 *Personnel Committee*

PUBLIC OUTREACH & COMMUNITY SERVICE

PUBLIC EXHIBITION

Choosing the Good. Museum exhibit at ASU Museum of Anthropology based on our team's research. Co-organizers: A Falletta-Cowden, J Newland, P Banko, **DJ Hruschka**, R Toon (February-May 2012).

K-12 CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Developed "Science of Friendship" curriculum in partnership with Santa Fe Institute "Growing Up Thinking Scientifically" program. Implemented in Santa Fe, NM science clubs aimed at under-represented minorities in STEM (2013-2014).

COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH PARTNERSHIPS

LAMB Project for Community Development, Bangladesh (2008-present)

International Center for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh (2007-present)

INTERVIEWS AND PUBLIC OUTREACH

Interview on KJZZ "The Show" on BMI cutoffs for obesity. July 2016.

Bioculturalism. Interview with Jeffrey Snodgrass on *Somatosphere*. March 2016.

Friendship. Entry for World Book Encyclopedia. September 2014.

Infections, Institutions, and Life Histories: Searching for the Origins of Collectivism and Individualism. Featured article in *This View of Life*, June 2013.

19th Century Iban and the Locus of Flourishing, Science of Virtues Discussion column, 2011

Presentations and discussion at Salon of the Senses. (1) *Friendship: The evolution of a relationship*.

Phoenix, AZ, March 2011. (2) *Choosing the Good*. Phoenix, AZ, June 2012. (3) *Money and Morals*, Phoenix, AZ, March 2013.

MEDIA COVERAGE

Research covered by *New York Times*, *Science News*, *Scientific American*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Arizona Republic*, *Santa Fe New Mexican*.

OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE

Technical Consultant, Center for Research on Maternal and Newborn Survival, Emory University, 2005-2009.

Health Analyst, Behavioral Intervention Branch, Division of HIV/AIDS Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Atlanta, GA, 2001-2003.

Associate Editor and Writer, Let's Go Travel Guides, Cambridge, MA, 1993, 1995-1996.