

ABRIDGED CV

Fall 2025

Glenn Davis Stone

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EDUCATION

1988 Ph.D. Univ. of Arizona (Anthropology; advisor, Robert M. Netting)
1977 B.A. Northwestern Univ. (Anthropology major)

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

2024-present Senior Research Professor, Washington and Lee Univ.
2022-24 Research Professor of Environmental Science, Sweet Briar College.
1995-2022 Assoc. and Full Professor of Anthropology and Environmental Studies, Washington Univ.
2001-02 Research Fellow, Univ. College London.
1988-95 Asst. and Assoc. Professor of Anthropology, Columbia Univ.
1987-88 Weatherhead Fellow, School of Advanced Research, Santa Fe.
1986 Instructor, Univ. of Arizona.

RESEARCH SPECIALTIES

Ecological anthropology, agricultural technology, agricultural history, political ecology, sustainability, biotechnology, indigenous knowledge, science studies, food studies, population, eugenics; India, Philippines, subSaharan Africa, Appalachia.

AWARDS and FELLOWSHIPS

John S. Guggenheim Fellow, 2016-2017.
Morley Medal for Accomplishment in Science, by Western Reserve Academy. 2015.
National Endowment for Humanities Fellowship. 2002.
Gordon Willey Prize for best archaeology paper in American Anthropologist 1998-2000 (with C. Downum), by American Anthropological Association. 2000.
Wenner Gren Foundation, Richard C. Hunt Fellowship. 1993.
School of American Research, Santa Fe, Weatherhead Fellowship, "Ethnoarchaeology of a Frontier: Agrarian Production and the Evolution of a Settlement System." 1987-88.

RESEARCH GRANTS (selected)

- 2021 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada), "Digital Agriculture and Surveillance Capitalism." \$291,393. (One of 3 PI's)
- 2020 NSF, "Pilot Comparative Research: Adoption of Digital Agricultural Technologies." \$33,192. (PI)
- 2019 European Commission, "Genome Editing and Agricultural Policy, Practice and Public Perceptions." €377,000. (One of 6 PI's)
- 2013 Templeton Foundation, "Genetically Modified Crops and Indigenous Management in India and the Philippines." \$239k. (PI)
- 2003 NSF, "Biotechnology and the Political Ecology of Information in Andhra Pradesh." \$152k. (PI)
- 2000 Wenner-Gren Foundation, "Genetically Modified Crops in Developing Nations: Multi-Sited Ethnography of the Effects on Agricultural Sustainability." \$18k. (PI)
- 2000 NSF, Scholar's Award for Methodological Training in Cultural Anthropology, "Crop Biotechnology for Developing Countries." \$49k. (PI)

FIELDWORK

Ethnography:

- Digital agriculture and smallholder decision-making, UK-Ethiopia-India-Philippines, 2023.
- Technology and politics in rice farming, Luzon, Philippines. 2013-2015.
- Alternative agriculture, multiple sites in US and Canada. 2012-present.
- Farming and GM crops, Telangana/Andhra Pradesh, India. 62 weeks in field, 2000-2008.
- Historical ecology of Tiv agriculture and conflict, Plateau State, Nigeria. Summer 1994.
- Kofyar settlement and agricultural change, Plateau State, Nigeria. 1984-1985.
- Minor fieldwork: Akita Japan, KwaZulu-Natal S. Africa, northern Thailand, England.

Biotechnology:

- Transgene expression in cassava, Danforth Plant Science Center. 2001.

Archaeology:

- Black Mesa Project crew chief, AZ. 1982.
- Zuni Archaeological Program crew chief, NM. 1981.
- State Historical Soc. of Wisconsin, asst. state highway archaeologist. 1979; 1980.
- Foundation for Illinois Archaeology, Kampsville IL, Director of High School & Public Programs. 1978.
- Foundation for Illinois Archaeology, Kampsville IL, Crew Chief. 1977.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS (* = peer-reviewed)

Books

- *2022 **The Agricultural Dilemma (How Not to Feed the World)**. Routledge, Oxfordshire.
- *1996 **Settlement Ecology: The Social and Spatial Organization of Kofyar Agriculture**. Univ. of Arizona Press. Outstanding Publication on Africa, **Choice**, Feb 1999.

Selected articles by topic

Eugenics

- *2025 Black Swans and Safety Nets: Food Aid, Dispersal, and Eugenics in Corbin Hollow. ***Southern Anthropologist*** (with R. Robinson) forthcoming.

On Politics of Agriculture

- *2025 GM Crops and the Jevons Paradox: Induced Innovation, Systemic Effects, and Net Pesticide Increases from Pesticide-Decreasing Crops. **Journal of Agrarian Change** (with A. Flachs and 2 others) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/joac.70006>
- *2023 The Knowledge Politics of Genome Editing in Africa. **Elementa: Science of the Anthropocene** 11 (1): 00143 (with J. Rock and 6 others).
- *2022 Surveillance Agriculture and Peasant Autonomy. **Journal of Agrarian Change** 2022:1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joac.12470>
- *2019 New Histories of the Indian Green Revolution. **Geographical Journal** 185(2):243-250. <https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12297>
- *2017 The Ox Fall Down: Path Breaking and Technology Treadmills in Indian Cotton Agriculture. **Journal of Peasant Studies** 45:1272-1296 (with A. Flachs).
- 2001 Malthus, Agribusiness, and the Death of the Peasantry (book review essay on **Hungry for Profit** edited by Magdoff et al., and **The Malthus Factor** by Ross). **Current Anthropology** 42:575-578.

On science & technology studies of agriculture and biotechnology

- *2025 Citizens as Consumers: Styles of Reasoning about Agricultural Biotechnologies and Publics. **Science as Culture** (with K. Fischer and 5 others). doi.org/10.1080/09505431.2025.2475330
- *2025 What Does Public Opinion Research Tell Us about Societal Reactions to Genetic Technologies in Agriculture? A Critical Review of the Field. **Science as Culture**, in press (with K. Fischer and 5 others).
- *2023 Beyond the Genome: Genetically Modified Crops in Africa and the Implications for Genome Editing. **Development and Change** (with J. Rock and 6 others). doi.org/10.1111/dech.12750
- *2023 Siloed discourses: A Year-Long Study of Twitter Engagement on the Use of CRISPR in Food and Agriculture. **New Genetics and Society** 42(1)(with K. Fischer and 3 others)

- *2022 Governing Agricultural Biotechnologies in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany: A Trans-Decadal Study of Regulatory Cultures. **Science, Technology and Human Values** 48:6 (with A. Ely and 6 others)
- *2018 Agriculture as Spectacle. **Journal of Political Ecology** 25(1).
- *2014 Biosecurity in the Age of Genetic Engineering. In **Bioinsecurity and Human Vulnerability**, edited by Nancy Chen and Lesley Sharp. SAR Press.
- 2013 Response to Herring and Rao. **Economic and Political Weekly** 48(33):70-72.
- 2012 Constructing Facts: Bt Cotton Narratives in India. **Econ. and Political Weekly** 47(38):62-70.
- *2011 Contradictions in the Last Mile: Suicide, Culture, and E-Agriculture in Rural India. **Science, Technology and Human Values** 36:759-790.

On indigenous knowledge

- *2025 Skill Talk: The Struggle over Agricultural Decision-Making. **Outlook on Agriculture** 54(2) <https://doi.org/10.1177/00307270251334169>.
- *2016 Towards a General Theory of Agricultural Knowledge Production: Environmental, Social and Didactic Learning. **Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment** 38(1):5-17.
- *2014 The Problem with the Farmers Voice. **Agriculture & Human Values** 45:1272-1296 (with A. Flachs)
- *2013 Rhythms of the Herd: Long Term Dynamics in Seed Choice by Indian Farmers. **Technology in Society** 36:26-38. (with A. Flachs and C. Diepenbrock)
- *2007 The Birth and Death of Traditional Knowledge: Paradoxical Effects of Biotechnology in India. In **Biodiversity and the Law: Intellectual Property, Biotechnology and Traditional Knowledge**, edited by Charles McManis, pp. 207-238. Earthscan.
- 2007 Indigenous Knowledge. In **Encyclopedia of Environment & Society**, pp. 985-989 (with R. d'Avignon).

On food studies

- *2017 Heirloom Rice in Ifugao: An 'Anti-commodity' in the Process of Commodification. **Journal of Peasant Studies** (with D. Glover). For discussion see [Stick It To the Man Rice](#).
- *2016 Disembedding Grain: Golden Rice, the Green Revolution, and Heirloom Seeds in the Philippines. **Agriculture & Human Values** 34(1):87-102. (with D. Glover)
- *2013 The Trials of Genetically Modified Food: Bt Eggplant and Ayurvedic Medicine in India. **Food Culture & Society** 16:21-42 (with C. Kudlu).

On biotechnology in general

- 2021 Genetically Modified Crops. **Oxford Research Encyclopedia**.
- *2020 Golden Rice and Technology Adoption Theory. **Technology in Society** 60:101227 (with D. Glover and S. Kim).
- *2017 Dreading CRISPR: GMO's, Honest Brokers, and Mertonian Transgressions. **Geographical Review** 187:584-591.

- *2010 Anthropology of Genetically Modified Crops. **Annual Review of Anthropology** 39:381-400.
- *2005 A Science of the Gray: Malthus, Marx, and the Ethics of Studying Crop Biotechnology.
In **Embedding Ethics: Shifting Boundaries of the Anthropological Profession**, edited by L. Meskell and P. Pels, pp. 197-217. Berg, Oxford.
- 2004 Social Constraints on Biotechnology in Developing Countries. **AgBioForum** 7: 75-78.
- *2002 Both Sides Now: Fallacies in the Genetic-Modification Wars, Implications for Developing Countries, and Anthropological Perspectives. **Current Anthropology**, 43(4):611-630.

On biotechnology in India

- *2020 Long-Term Impacts of Bt Cotton in India. **Nature Plants**: 6:188-196 (with K.R. Kranthi).
- *2015 Biotechnology, Schismogenesis and the Demise of Uncertainty. **Journal of Law & Policy** 47:29-49.
- *2011 Field vs. Farm in Warangal: Bt Cotton, Higher Yields, and Larger Questions. **World Development** 39(3):387-398.
- *2007 Agricultural Deskilling and the Spread of Genetically Modified Cotton in Warangal. **Current Anthropology** 48:67-103. For discussion, see: [Ganesh and Brahma bow to a new god](#) (Salon.com).
- *2004 Biotechnology and Political Ecology of Information in India. **Human Organization** 63:127-140.
- 2002 Biotechnology and Suicide in India. **Anthropology News** 46(5):5.

On theories of agriculture and agricultural change

- *2001 Theory of the Square Chicken: Advances in Agricultural Intensification Theory. **Asia Pacific Viewpoint** 42:163-180.
- * 2001 The Causes of Land-Use and Land-Cover Change -- Moving Beyond the Myths. **Global Environmental Change: Human and Policy Dimensions** 11:5–13 (with B.L. Turner and 24 others).
- *1999 Non-Boserupian Ecology and Agricultural Risk: Ethnic Politics and Land Control in the Arid Southwest. **American Anthropologist** 101:113-128 (with C. Downum).
Winner, Gordon Willey Award from American Anthropological Association
- *1997 Predatory Sedentism: Intimidation and Intensification in the Nigerian Savanna. **Human Ecology** 25:223-242.
- 2013 Agriculture. **Oxford Bibliographies** 10.1093/obo/9780199766567-0093 (with A. Flachs).

On sustainable smallholder agrarian society in Nigeria

- *1998 Keeping the Home Fires Burning: The Changed Nature of Householding in the Kofyar Homeland. **Human Ecology** 26:239-265.
- *1990 (G.D.Stone, R.M.Netting, and M.P.Stone) Seasonality, Labor Scheduling and Agricultural Intensification in the Nigerian Savanna. **American Anthropologist** 92:7-23.
- *1989 (R.M.Netting, M.P.Stone, and G.D.Stone) Kofyar Cash Cropping: Choice and Change in Indigenous Agricultural Development. **Human Ecology** 17:299-319. Reprinted in **Case Studies in Human Ecology** (1996), edited by D.Bates and S.Lees.

- *1984 (G.D.Stone, M.P.Stone and R.M.Netting) Household Variability and Inequality in Kofyar Subsistence and Cash Cropping Economies. **Journal of Anthropological Research** 40:90-108.

On gender and agriculture

- *2000 (MP.Stone and G.D.Stone) Kofyar Women Who Get Ahead: Incentives for Agricultural Commercialization in Nigeria. In **Women Farmers and Commercial Ventures: Increasing Food Security in Developing Countries**, edited by A. Spring, pp. 151-170. Rienner, London.
- *1995 (M.P.Stone, G.D.Stone and R.M.Netting) The Sexual Division of Labor in Kofyar Agriculture. **American Ethnologist** 22:165-186.

On ethnoarchaeology

- *1994 Agricultural Intensification and Perimetrics: Ethnoarchaeological Evidence from Nigeria. **Current Anthropology** 35:317-324.
- *1993 Agricultural Abandonment: A Comparative Study in Historical Ecology. In **Abandonment of Settlements and Regions**, edited by C.Cameron and S.Tomka, pp. 74-81. Cambridge Univ. Press
- *1992 Social Distance, Spatial Relations, and Agricultural Production among the Kofyar of Namu District, Plateau State, Nigeria. **Journal of Anthropological Archaeology** 11:152-172.
- 1991 Settlement Ethnoarchaeology: Changing Patterns of the Kofyar. **Expedition** 33(1):16-23.
- *1990 An Ethnoarchaeological Perspective on Soils. **World Archaeology** 22:104-114 (with R.Wilshusen).

Field archaeology

- 1984 Arizona D:11:2025. In **Black Mesa 1982**, edited by D.L.Nichols and F.E. Smiley, pp. 193-208. So. Illinois Univ. Press, Carbondale.
- 1984 Arizona D:11:2038. In **Black Mesa 1982**, edited by D.L.Nichols and F.E. Smiley, pp. 223-231. So. Illinois Univ. Press, Carbondale (with C. Barton and A. Cunningham).
- 1984 Arizona D:11:2051. In **Black Mesa 1982**, edited by D.L.Nichols and F.E. Smiley, pp. 239-253. So. Illinois Univ. Press, Carbondale (with C. Barton and A. Cunningham).
- 1981 Archaeological Testing at NM:12:K3:3, Zuni Indian Reservation. **Zuni Archaeological Program Report** 169. 73 pp.
- *1981 On Artifact Density and Shovel Probes. **Current Anthropology** 22:182-83.
- 1981 The Interpretation of Negative Evidence in Archaeology. **Atlant: Occasional Papers in Anthropology** 2:41-53, Univ. of Arizona.
- 1981 Archaeological Testing at NM:12:K3:3, Zuni Indian Reservation, New Mexico. Zuni Archaeological Program Report 169. 73 pp.
- 1980 Highway Archaeology in Wisconsin: The 1979 Field Season. **Wisconsin Dept. of Transportation, Arch. Rept.** 2. 66 pp (with J.Penman).
- 1979 An Archaeological Evaluation of the Mortland Island Site, Illinois River, Calhoun County, Illinois. Report to St. Louis District Corps of Engineers. 56 pp.

SELECTED POPULAR WRITING AND MEDIA

- 2023 The Green Revolution is a Warning, Not a Blueprint for Feeding a Hungry Planet. **The Conversation**, 4 Oct. <https://tinyurl.com/yd4239zx>
- 2020 Long-term analysis of a controversial GMO crop. **Nature: Research Behind the Paper**.
- 2020 The Philippines has Rated ‘Golden Rice’ Safe, but Farmers might not Plant It. **The Conversation**, 7 Feb. with D. Glover <https://tinyurl.com/yse25ddz>
- 2019 Historians Rethink the Green Revolution. **Geography Directions** <https://bit.ly/2Uc3AIq>
- 2018 The Dubious Virtue of Apostasy. **The Common Reader** Dec 13. <https://bit.ly/2G7VfjZ>
- 2011- FieldQuestions.com blog. <https://fieldquestions.com/>
- 2015 The FoxNewsization of GMOs. **EnviroSociety** <https://tinyurl.com/54uj47yd>
- 2014 Japanese Agriculture Show Village. **Culture and Agriculture** blog. AAA website.
- 1996 Out of Africa: Hope and Progress (with M.P. Stone). Op-Ed in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, reprinted (1998) in **World Explorer: Africa**, edited by M.Lavesseur et al. Prentice Hall, NY.

INTERVIEWS

- 2024 Golden Rice: Why is it banned and what happens now? **The Guardian** podcast, 6 June.
- 2022 **The Received Wisdom** podcast (S. Parthasarathy and J. Stilgoe)
- 2022 **Between the Lines** podcast (D. Glover and L. Cabral).
- 2018 **Medium magazine**, on future of food. <https://bit.ly/2LbwOpk>
- 2017 Forget GMOs. The next big battle is over genetically ‘edited’ foods. **Washington Post**, 13 June.
- 2017 NC State “Pioneers of GMO Research” <https://source.wustl.edu/2017/10/pioneers>
- 2012 Al Jazeera TV on biopiracy (Jan)
- 2011 **Down To Earth** magazine (Dec)
- 2015 **Secret Ingredient** podcast series (T. Philpott & R. Patel), interview on Golden Rice
- 2012 Al Jazeera TV on biopiracy, Jan.
- 2011 Bat of Minerva, Univ. of Minnesota (Sept)
- 2011 **Down To Earth** magazine, Dec.
- 2010 KMOV radio, St. Louis, on genetically modified salmon (Sept)
- 2010 **Science Friday** with Ira Flatow, on genetically modified crops (March).

SERVICE & PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES (selected)

- NSF Cultural Anthropology Program review panels (2005-2006, 2021)
- NSF Human-Natural Systems review panel (2009)
- NSF Committee of Visitors, review of BCS division (2012).
- Advisory Board, **Nature Plants** (2015-present).
- Editorial Board, **Culture Agriculture Food & Environment** journal (2013-present).

Editorial board and book review editor, **American Anthropologist** (1998-2000).
 Contributing editor, **Current Anthropology** (1997-1999).
 President, **Anthropology & Environment Society** of AAA (2011-2013).
 AAA Task Force on World Food Crisis member (2009-2016).

RECENT INVITED TALKS (~ 50 in last 20 years, including 2 keynote talks)

- 2025 Univ. Missouri College of Agriculture, Food & Natural Resources, Research Symposium keynote, "Academic Dilemmas and the Underlying Philosophy of Agricultural Research"
- 2025 Rural Economy Workshop, Indian Institute of Technology, Assam, "False Positives: Epistemic Cultures and the Illusion of Success."
- 2025 Virginia Tech Univ., "Malthus Got It Backwards: Modern Agriculture, the Ungreen Revolution."
- 2024 Washington & Lee Univ., Just Food Series. "Food, Power and Eugenics in the Blue Ridge."
- 2020 Dickinson College, Clarke Forum, "Unraveled Myths: The Green and Gene Revolutions."
- 2019 Wageningen Univ., "Peasant Autonomy and Surveillance Agriculture."
- 2019 Colorado State Univ, "Agriculture and Technology Fetishism in the 21st Century."
- 2019 Washington Project for the Arts, "GMOs: History, Perspectives, Ethics."
- 2019 Ohio State Univ., "Tryptophan, Peasant Economies, and Eugenics in the Blue Ridge Mountains."
- 2018 Washington & Lee Univ., "GMO's in the Third World? Insights from India and Philippines."
- 2017 Heidelberg Univ. workshop, "Towards a General Theory of Agricultural Spectacle."
- 2017 N. Carolina State Univ., Genetic Engineering & Society colloquium, "Counterclaims and Counterfactuals."
- 2017 N. Carolina State Univ., public talk, "The Wisdom of the Farmer? Insights from a 16-Year Study of GM Cotton in India."
- 2016 Univ. of Virginia, STS program, "Fixing the World by Fixing the Crops?"
- 2016 Morley Medal Speech, Western Reserve Academy, Hudson Ohio.
- 2015 Inst. of Development Studies, Sussex, "Making and Unmaking Agricultural Knowledge."
- 2015 National Museum of the Philippines, "The larger context of rice terraces."
- 2014 National Academy of Sciences, NRC committee hearing on GE crops.
- 2014 Cambridge Univ., Templeton Conference, "Seed Trend Dynamics and GMO Politics."
- 2014 Univ. of Cork, Sociology, "Contested Science of GMO's."
- 2014 UNC-Charlotte, Philosophy, "Ignorance and Ethics."
- 2013 Heidelberg Univ., keynote talk at "Agrarian Crisis, Global Concerns and the Contested Agro-ecological Futures in South Asia" conference, "Power, Experiment, and Knowledge in Indian Agriculture: Creation, Sustenance, and Destruction."
- 2013 Wageningen Univ, Netherlands, "Golden Rice and Green Capitalism in the Philippines."
- 2013 Dartmouth College, "Sustainability and Information Divides: GM Crops and Local Farms."
- 2013 Indiana Univ. (Dhar India Studies), "India and the GMO Debate: Economists, Activists, and the Plight of the Cotton Farmer."

2013 Indiana Univ., Sawyer-Mellon Food Seminar, “Virginia Politics and Local Food Rebels.”

2013 Lynchburg College, College speaker series, “Frankenfoods and Free Will.”

2013 Univ. of Missouri, “GM Crops and Indigenous Management”

2013 Cambridge Univ., Templeton Conference, “Rice, Cotton, and Technology Change.”

2012 Yale Univ., “Land in India” conference, “Your Own Facts: Epistemological Entitlement and Bt Cotton in India.”

2012 Dalhousie Univ., “Activists, Economists and GMOs: Unanswered Questions in India.”

2012 Northwestern Univ., Speaker at student-organized Human Rights Conference.

2011 School of Advanced Research, Santa Fe, Bioinsecurities symposium, “Biosecurity in the Age of Genetic Engineering.”

2011 Univ. of Minnesota, Inst. Adv. Study. “Known Unknowns and GMO Research.”

2011 Max Planck Inst. of Economics, Jena. “Biotechnology and Development in India.”

2011 Yale Univ., Biotechnology in Agriculture Group. “GM Crops: Micro/Macro Perspectives.”

2010 Penn State, Anthropology Dept. “Micro and Macro Perspectives on Crop Biotechnology”

2009 STS Program, M.I.T. “Biotechnology, Group Dynamics, and Agricultural Performance.”

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (~ 75)

COURSES TAUGHT

Washington University:

Culture and Environment (undergrad; core course in Global Health & Environment program)

Anthropology of Food (grad/undergrad seminar)

Political Ecology (grad/undergrad seminar)

Proposal Writing (grad seminar)

Brave New Crops: Politics and Biology of GMO Crops (undergrad/grad) *College-funded course combining lectures by me, molecular biologists, law faculty, Monsanto leaders, activists, the media, and agriculture.*

Village India Program *took college students to teach and do research in Kalleda village, Telangana from 2007-2010.*

Columbia University:

Human Origins (Undergrad intro course)

Political Ecology (mixed undergrad/grad course)

Archaeological Theory (graduate seminar)

Archaeological Methods (mixed undergrad/grad course)

Archaeology of the American Southwest (undergrad course)

University of Arizona:

Archaeology of the American Southwest (undergrad course)

SELECTED THESIS SUPERVISION (at Washington Univ. in St. Louis)

2020 NSF, Cultural Anthropology, “Doctoral Dissertation Research: The Impacts of Public Policy on Rural Social Organization.” \$5,613. (PI with Matt Abel)

Matthew Abel, PhD 2023 (“The Forest and the Factory: Debt, Development, and Community in the Amazon Delta”)

Kate Farley, PhD 2022 (“Wild Roots: Ginseng, Conservation, and Nature in the Appalachian South”)

2018 NSF, Cultural Anthropology, “Doctoral Dissertation Research: A Comparative Study of Skilling Institutions in U.S. Alternative Agriculture.” \$21k. (PI with Bradley Jones)

Bradley Jones, PhD 2022 (“Cultivating Life: Skill, Sovereignty, and the Nature of Knowledge”)

Andrew Flachs, PhD 2016 (“Cultivating Knowledge: The Production and Adaptation of Knowledge on Organic and GM Cotton Farms in Telangana, India”)

Alison Heller, PhD 2015 co-advisor (“Interrogating the Superlative Sufferer: Experiencing Obstetric Fistula and Treatment Seeking in Niger”)

2008 NSF, Cultural Anthropology, “Doctoral Dissertation Research: Journey from Plant to Medicine, A Study of Ayurvedic Commodity Chains in Kerala” \$15k. (PI with Chith Kudlu)